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MOHAMMED

AND

MOHAMMEDANISM

محمد صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم اور اسلام
مصنف ایس ڈبلیو کوئیلے
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1889ء
کتاب 97

Many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many.
MATT. XXIV. 11.

Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which Jesus Christ. 1 COR. III. 11.

MOHAMMED

AND

MOHAMMEDANISM

Critically considered

BY

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PREFACE

A NEW work on Mohammed and Mohammedanism seems to require some words of explanation to the reading public whose attention it claims. There exists already a goodly number of such works, both in the English language and in other European languages. It stands to reason that any further addition should be able to justify itself, either by opening fresh sources of information, or by placing old materials into a new and clearer light. Is this possible? Have the previous works, with the widely diverging results of their investigations, wholly exhausted the topic, or have they left room, if not for startling discoveries, at least for the useful gleanings of earnest and painstaking followers? One of my English predecessors wrote, fifteen years ago, that the treatment of the subject 'hardly now admits of originality.' Probably many are of the same opinion. But I would in all modesty, and yet with confidence, appeal to the judgment of any qualified reader, whether the following work possesses a degree of independence and originality sufficient to vindicate its place amongst all the more or less meritorious productions by which it has been preceded. It is true, the historical data exist for all alike, and we cannot multiply them at will; but in their investigation and utilisation there remains a wide field for the play of a variety of talents and of sundry measures of judgment.

As in nature, so in history, objects assume a different aspect according to the standpoint from which they are contemplated. In the suitability of the different standpoints also there is a gradation from the worst to the best.

As a rule, the higher and freer the standpoint, the more serviceable it is for obtaining a correct view. He would be a bold man who affirmed that he had so entirely exhausted the momentous subject of Islam and its Prophet, as to leave nothing more to be done by those who follow after. Taking for granted that my predecessors, whose merits I gratefully acknowledge, rather wished to encourage than prohibit further research, I kept my eyes open, whilst following in the way they had trodden, and judged for myself, as they had done before me. The intelligent reader, by accompanying me on the stern and bracing march of research, will be able to say, whether I have succeeded in observing here and there what had been left unnoticed by those who went before me, and in occasionally placing in a fuller and truer light what was already known.

I would especially invite the thoughtful reader to direct his attention to the manner in which I have traced the development of Mohammed into the prophet he became; to the inward harmony which I have shown to exist between his Meccan and Medinan periods, notwithstanding their outward dissimilarity; to the large mythical element in the Moslem biographies which I have laid bare, together with the leading idea from which it sprang; and to the peculiar character of the Mohammedan opposition to Christianity and Christendom, which I have pointed out in its fundamental principle and in its practical manifestation throughout the course of its history. It appears to me almost impossible that any judicious reader could honestly and impartially ponder the grave array of data and records which I unroll before him, without becoming convinced, with me, of the designedly and deeply antichristian character of the entire system of Islamism.

Many have wondered at the haughty complacency and air of superiority with which the devout Mohammedans are wont to look down upon Christianity and its professors. Often the scanty success of Christian Missionary efforts

amongst Mussulmans has been discussed as something strange, and calling for explanation. But leaving aside the intimate union between the secular and the religious in the Islamic system, which places the sword of coercion in its hand, and looking only at the transcendent halo of the mythical Mohammed, as it is set forth in my Second Book, who can wonder any longer that if *such* a Mohammed sits enthroned in the hearts of the Mohammedans, they should see in Christ but scant 'comeliness and beauty' that they 'should desire Him'? What a mass of superstitious rubbish has to be swept away from the path of the pious Moslem, before his vision can become unimpeded and free enough to perceive the all-surpassing spiritual majesty of Him who could say, 'He who hath seen me hath seen the Father!' (John xiv. 9.) I repeat, Let any one who wonders why a greater number of Mohammedans do not become Christians, carefully read our Second Book, and he will understand the self-sufficiency of men who regard such fancy-pictures of Mohammed as real, and such fairy-tales about his apostolic pre-eminence as true. In order to become Christians, the Moslems have as much to unlearn as to learn.

Some Christian writers have considered it an act of justice towards them to endeavour to prove that their Prophet was innocent of much with which Christians had charged him. No one will deny that justice is a virtue which we are bound to exercise even towards adversaries. But if our goodwill to the Mohammedans is of the sterling kind which wishes to help them into the full daylight of Christian Truth, we are more likely to benefit them by frankly pointing out the distortion of the lengthened shadow they are following, and the perfect symmetry of the image it reflects, than by assuring them that however distorted the shadow may be, yet it is not quite so distorted as has been represented. Fashions are proverbially tyrannous. So strong has the modern fashion of 'justice to Mohammed' grown, that it has sometimes manifested itself by positive

misstatements in his favour. What hollow and undeserved praise has, *e.g.*, been lavished on the Arabian Prophet by reason of his retirement to a cave on Mount Hira! To such a degree these fancies have been repeated that they have become a widespread superstition. I trust that the advocates of fairness and justice, whom I claim as colleagues, will feel beholden to me for having reduced their exaggerating cave-story to its proper historical dimension.

I have not concealed, throughout the work, that my standpoint, in forming a judgment, is that of Christianity. All civilised and well-informed men who have impartially studied the subject agree in this, that, as a whole, Christianity is far superior to Islam, or to any other existing religion. It further admits of not any doubt, that only by the light of the higher religion can the lower be rightly estimated: just as in nature, in science, and in art, the higher development throws the necessary light on the less developed forms. In judging anything, a standard is required to guide our judgment. I have not heard of any one having discovered a worthier standard for judging the claims of Mohammed than is given in the Person of Christ; or the claims of Islam, than genuine Christianity. Any one who declines to judge the lower religion by the higher one, rejects the only standard by which he can hope to arrive at a correct and sure judgment.

When I lived amongst the Mohammedans as a Christian Missionary, I, in dealing with them, naturally felt it an incumbent duty to seek to discover all the bright spots, all that is true and good, in their religion, all that might form a bond of agreement between us, and a starting-point for a still higher advance. But it was no less a plain duty to have an open eye for all the defects and faults inherent to the system, in order to be able to point them out to its votaries, and thus to help them to a just sense of the possibility and necessity of rising to something far higher and better. No one more than a Missionary to the Mohammedans

must see how indispensable it is for him to form a correct estimate as well of the bright as the dark side of Islam, and to meet its professors in a spirit of fairness and benevolence. The Moslems deserve our esteem as fellow-worshippers with us of the Great God of the Universe; and they need our heartfelt sympathy, our loving help, as unhappily deprived, by the Islamic veil, of a full sight of the One Mediator between God and man, the only Saviour of sinners. In this spirit I found it quite possible to have friendly intercourse with them, which in several cases ripened into actual friendship.

My practical acquaintance with Mohammedans began over forty years ago, when I held the post of Professor of Hebrew and Arabic in the Church Missionary College at Fourah Bay, near Freetown, on the west coast of Africa. I often visited a Mohammedan village in the immediate vicinity, and was on such friendly footing with its spiritual head as to be often invited to accompany him to the mosque, and to be present during their service. In Egypt, in Palestine, and in European Turkey, I had ample opportunity, during more than a quarter of a century, of still further extending my acquaintance with Mohammedanism and the Mohammedans. I had the pleasure of counting amongst my friends some of all the classes of Moslem society, from the highest to the lowest. We must not look for perfection in fallen man anywhere, but I have met with truth-loving, honest men, and fine natural characters, amongst the Mussulmans of my acquaintance. If one has the opportunity of an insight into men's inner life and religious aspirations, one may still be disposed to say, with Tertullian, *Anima humana naturaliter Christiana.* Man as such, no matter of what country or nationality, has a natural sensorium and capacity for the Divine verities of Christianity. Often I said to myself, in becoming acquainted with God-fearing, open-hearted Moslems, 'What noble Christian characters these men will become, if once they receive Christ!' But the

Mohammedans are, as it were, defrauded of their faith in Christ by the counterfeit obtruding itself to their vision, and intercepting their heart's ready trust in a Mediator and Saviour, of whom they stand as much in need as other men. Islam has an undoubted tendency to engender in its votaries an excessive sense of religious superiority, and a contempt for every other faith and its professors. The Moslems are not accustomed to examine into the foundation and proofs of their own religion. They are taught to look upon the question 'Why?' in matters of religion, as blamable rather than laudable. They take for granted that their Islam is the Divine revelation in the absolute sense, and their Prophet the seal and chief of all other prophets. They have to be taught to think and reason, to ask for proof and weigh evidence, to rise from a blind faith to an enlightened faith. When once they consent to learn that all the boasted equality or superiority of Mohammed to Christ rests on mere fiction, devoid of all foundation in fact; and if their Governments make religious liberty a reality,—then we may hope that they will as readily enter the common bond of European Christianity, as they have already begun to adopt the advantages of European civilisation.

I trust it will not be deemed unbecoming in one, who has spent the best part of his life in seeking to interpret Christ and Christianity to the Mohammedans, to have devoted some of his declining years to this present attempt of interpreting Mohammed and Mohammedanism to the Christians. May it prove useful in fostering a true, *i.e.* a Christian, estimation of Mohammed and Mohammedanism, and in stimulating the zeal of the Church of Christ to promote amongst our Moslem fellow-men the Kingdom of God and of Christ, which is a Kingdom of Truth!

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CONTENTS

BOOK I.

MOHAMMED VIEWED IN THE DAYLIGHT OF HISTORY.

PAGE

HE IS TO BE UNDERSTOOD IN HIS RELATION TO HIS SURROUNDINGS, 1, 2

CHAPTER I.

MOHAMMED DEVELOPING INTO THE PROPHET HE BECAME, OR HIS HISTORY UP TO THE FORTIETH YEAR OF HIS LIFE, . . . 3-71

I. The Political Factor, ... 3-17
II. The Religious Factor, ... 17-28
III. The Ancestral or Family Factor, ... 28-36
IV. The Personal Factor, ... 36-48
V. The Product of the afore-mentioned Factors, or Mohammed assuming the character of a prophet and messenger of God, . . 48-71

CHAPTER II.

MOHAMMED EXERCISING THE PROPHETIC MISSION HE CLAIMED, OR HIS HISTORY DURING THE LAST TWENTY-THREE YEARS OF HIS LIFE, ... 72-241

Essential Inward Union of the Meccan and Medinan Periods, notwithstanding their Outward Difference, ... 72-75

I. Mohammed's ill success in seeking recognition as the Prophet of Islam, or the Meccan Period of his Public Life, from about the Fortieth to the Fifty-Third Year of his age, ... 76-115

1. Mohammed's diffident start as a Prophet, ... 76-77
2. Mohammed's earliest converts, ... 77-85
3. A further increase in the number of converts emboldens Mohammed, but, at the same time, arouses persecution, . 85-88
4. Mohammed finds safety from persecution by removing to the house of Arkam; and his believers by emigrating to Abyssinia, 88-89
5. Mohammed, by sacrificing principles, enters into a compromise with the Koreish, ... 90-92

PAGE

6. Mohammed's withdrawal from the compromise fans afresh the flames of ridicule and persecution, ... 92-93
7. The two important conversions of Hamza and Omar take place notwithstanding the prevailing persecution, ... 93-97
8. After these conversions, persecution bursts out more fiercely, and Mohammed, with his entire family, is put under a ban, 97-99
9. Mohammed, bereft by death of Khadija and Abu Talib, finds Mecca increasingly unsympathetic, and at last fixedly hostile, 99-101
10. Definitively rejected by Mecca, Mohammed addresses himself to other Arab Communities, but meets with no better reception, 101-104
11. Mohammed succeeds in gaining a number of partisans amongst the people of Medina, ... 104-107
12. The spread of Islam amongst the people of Medina prepares the way for Mohammed and his whole party to emigrate thither, ... 107-115

II. Mohammed's complete success in securing recognition as a Prophet, and in rendering Islam the dominant power of Arabia, or his Medinan Period, comprising the last ten years of his life, . 115-241

1. Mohammed settles in Medina, and seeks to unite around him the different sections of the population, as a first step in the realisation of his Plan, ... 115-124
2. Mohammed, by establishing Islam as the paramount power of Medina, displaces the previous Polytheism, and forces the dissenting Arabs either to emigrate, or to simulate submission. In this sense he shows himself anti-Pagan, . 124-128
3. Mohammed at first accommodates himself to the Jews, in the hope of gaining them over to Islam; but failing in this, he deliberately turns against them, and shows himself decidedly anti-Jewish, ... 128-134
4. Mohammed, unsuccessful to convert the Christians by way of theological disputations, seeks to degrade their religion, and reduces them to a state of vassalage. He shows himself positively anti-Christian, ... 135-140
5. Mohammed engages in a number of warlike expeditions against the Koreish, for the purpose of revenge and plunder, which culminate in the victorious battle at Bedr, . . 140-152
6. The Meccans, under a sense of their disgraceful defeat at Bedr, stir up their confederates against Mohammed, and avenge themselves by the decided victory at Ohod, . . . 152-159
7. In consequence of his defeat at Ohod, Mohammed has to meet several hostile demonstrations of Bedouin tribes, and afterwards a protracted siege of Medina by a formidable Meccan army, ... 159-168
8. Mohammed's anti-Jewish policy leads to the heartless overthrow of the Jewish tribes of Medina, and the unjust conquest of Khaibar, with other Jewish communities, . . 168-185

PAGE

9. Mohammed extends his policy of conquest, subjugation, and plunder to a number of Bedouin tribes, and injures Mecca whenever he can, ... 185-188

10. Mohammed shows his veneration for the Kaaba by arranging a pompous pilgrimage to it; but the Koreish prevent his caravan of pilgrims from approaching nearer than Hodeibia, where he succeeds in concluding an armistice with them, 188-191

11. Mohammed, making good use of his armistice with the Koreish, seeks to extend his influence abroad by sending messengers to neighbouring potentates, summoning them to embrace Islam, ... 192-196

12. Mohammed, with 2000 followers, visits the pilgrim-festival, according to treaty right; and, after despatching marauding expeditions to various parts, including one to Muta, finds a pretext for breaking the armistice, and easily conquers Mecca, with an army of 10,000 men, ... 196-203

13. After the conquest of Mecca, Mohammed's power rapidly increases, and he gains the important battle of Honein, which yields him an immense booty, and leads to the capitulation of the rich town of Taif, ... 203-206

14. Mohammed starts with a military expedition against the Roman empire, but only reaches as far as Tabuk, whence he despatches some troops against Duma, and then returns, 206-210

15. The Arab power of resistance being broken by the rapid extension of Mohammed's triumphs, so many tribes are induced by fear and self-interest, to send special deputies to Medina, offering their submission to Islam, that the 9th year after the Flight is styled, 'The Year of the Deputations,' 211-215

16. The superficiality of the conversions and compacts effected by those deputations, is illustrated by the instances of two Arab tribes, and of two rival Prophets, ... 215-221

17. Mohammed celebrates the complete triumph of Islam over Arabia by attending the reformed pilgrim-festival of the year 632, with a company of 114,000 Moslem followers, . 221-223

18. Mohammed seeks to tighten his grasp on Arabia by the despatch of Collectors or Residents to its different provinces; and then directs his earnest attention to a fresh attack upon the Roman empire, by collecting an army to invade Syria, 224-228

19. Mohammed is arrested in his career of conquests and sensuality by the unsparing hand of death, ... 229-233

20. Mohammed has scarcely closed his eyes, when discord among his followers threatens to break up the whole fabric he had erected; but Abu Bekr manages to be chosen first Calif, and, as such, takes up the plans of his late friend, . 233-241

BOOK II.

MOHAMMED VIEWED IN THE MOONSHINE OF TRADITION.

PAGE

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BOOK I. AND BOOK II. EXPLAINED, . 242-245

CHAPTER I.

THE BIOGRAPHIES OF MOHAMMED BY MOSLEM AUTHORS, ATTRIBUTING TO THEIR PROPHET AN EQUALITY WITH, OR EVEN A SUPERIORITY TO, THE PROPHET OF NAZARETH, APPEAR IN THE LIGHT OF A THINLY DISGUISED PLAGIARISM OF THE EVANGELICAL RECORDS, AND MOHAMMED HIMSELF AS AN OBVIOUS PARODY OF JESUS CHRIST, ... 246-374

1. Pre-existence is ascribed, as first to Christ, so afterwards to Mohammed; and each of them is represented as the Cause or Medium of the existence of all other creatures, . . . 246-252
2. Mohammed's genealogy is traced through Abraham to Adam, just as that of Jesus Christ, ... 252-253
3. As the angel Gabriel announced the conception of Jesus Christ by the Virgin Mary, so he also announced that of Mohammed by Amina; but the latter 'to every place on the face of the earth,' 253-254
4. As before the birth of Jesus, so also before that of Mohammed, an angel announced the name he was to bear, ... 254
5. The birth of both was distinguished by the glory of a heavenly light, the appearance of angels and by signs on the earth and in the starry sphere, ... 254-257
6. Though both were subjected to the rite of circumcision, yet there was a difference in favour of Mohammed, ... 257
7. A benediction is uttered on the breasts that gave them suck; but in the one case it came from the visible, and in the other, from the invisible, world, ... 258
8. Not long after their birth, their Nature and Destiny are made known by special revelation, ... 259-261
9. Like Jesus, Mohammed also was presented in his early infancy to the Deity in the national Sanctuary, ... 261
10. They both developed in their childhood under the special favour of God, and showed marks of an uncommon measure of Divine Grace, 261-265
11. Both were lost in their childhood, but found again: the one by his mother's diligent search, the other by supernatural revelation, 265-266
12. Twelve years old, their special relation to God and uncommon destiny was made known during a journey; and then they were taken away from the place where their presence might prematurely have roused the hostility of the Jews, ... 267-269

PAGE

13. The appearance both of Jesus Christ and of Mohammed was expected amongst the Jews and others, having been foretold by Prophets, 270-271

14. Whilst they were honouring a penitentiary institution by accommodating themselves to it, a supernatural occurrence and voice inaugurated their own public mission, ... 271-273

15. Witness is borne to them, and their Divine mission is made known to men, by another distinguished servant of the true God, who soon afterwards is removed from this world, ... 273-276

16. They and their public mission are the object and end of all previous prophecy, as ushering in the grand era of fulfilment, . . 276-279

17. After the commencement of their public ministry, both of them had to pass through the ordeal of a remarkable Satanic temptation, which aimed at seducing them into a most important change of their mission, but without success, ... 280-282

18. As Jesus Christ chose twelve apostles from amongst His disciples, so also Mohammed selected twelve apostles from his Moslem followers, but he not only from amongst men, but also from amongst spirits, ... 283-284

19. In the exercise of their public ministry, they gathered disciples around them, and zealously preached the Faith, one sermon on a mount being especially noted; and they also made diligent use of the gathering of great multitudes, during the annual festivals of the nation, ... 284-286

20. In order to tempt and test them, difficult questions were submitted to them by their opponents, which they were able to solve, . 286-290

21. The impression made by their words and presence was such as often to disarm their enemies, and frustrate the hostile designs they entertained against them, ... 290-293

22. They were reviled and persecuted in their own home because of their testimony and the unflinching discharge of their prophetic mission, especially when this involved opposition to the then existing state of religion, and exposure of prevailing abuses, 294-297

23. Unconvinced by their words and acts of the Divine mission they claimed, the people proffer them unacceptable demands, which are not granted, and only widen the breach between the prophet and the people, ... 297-299

24. Both of them came in contact with spirits from the unseen world, who recognised, honoured, and obeyed them more readily than the people of this world to whom they addressed themselves, 299-302

25. Both of them received visits from good angels, ... 302-303

26. The most remarkable story concerning the mythical Mohammed is that of his 'Ascension into Heaven.' Whilst Jesus Christ, during His earthly life, conversed only with two of the long-departed saints, Moses and Elijah, and did not ascend into heaven till after his death, Mohammed, honoured with an ascension into heaven long before his natural death, had personal communion with all the previous prophets; and, leaving Jesus far below in the second heaven, himself mounted high above the seventh; and,

PAGE

entering into the immediate presence of the Divine Majesty, attained to the most exalted degree of God-likeness, so that God said unto him, 'I and thou,' and he unto God, 'Thou and I,' 304-314

27. Persecuted and threatened with death by their fellow-citizens in the town in which they had grown up, they escaped from their hands as by a miracle; and, together with their disciples, transferred their domicile to another town, willing to receive them, . 315-322

28. In this new domicile they developed a great activity; and from it, as their headquarters, they undertook expeditions, in order to carry out their mission, and to secure for it a more extensive recognition, 322-324

29. They united their followers in the closest ties of brotherhood, which caused a relaxation in the stringent laws of possession and inheritance, ... 324-326

30. They introduced a mode of worship in which Jerusalem with its temple ceased to be looked upon as the seat of the Divine Presence, or the Kibla, that is, the quarter towards which prayers had to be directed, ... 326-328

31. They were called upon to decide what punishment should be inflicted on adulterers, regard being had to the punishment prescribed by the Law of Moses, ... 329-330

32. They publicly invited the Jews to believe in their heavenly mission, and to embrace the religion they preached, but met only with partial success, ... 330-331

33. Besides their efforts amongst the Jews, they also commissioned ambassadors to distant nations and their rulers, for the purpose of inducing them to become disciples of the new Faith, . . 332-333

34. They opened up to men the way of atonement and pardon of sin, to find salvation, ... 333-336

35. They had the mission of overcoming the devil and destroying his works, ... 336-339

36. As Jesus Christ, so also Mohammed, was above all other men in worth and dignity, ... 339-340

37. Each of them was the greatest and best of all God's messengers, 340-341

38. Each of them is the Holder of the Keys, ... 342

39. Their body is the true temple, that is, the abode of the Divine Presence, or Shechina, ... 342-343

40. They are both stamped with the Divine Seal, ... 343

41. Both of them have seen God, and heard Him speak, ... 343

42. They taught their people how to pray, ... 344

43. Each of them sanctioned the drinking of his blood, and ascribed to it a saving virtue, ... 345

44. Jesus speaks of stones which would cry out under certain circumstances, but Mohammed of stones and trees which actually did call out, ... 345-346

45. Each of the two prophets illustrated the hopelessness of a case by referring to a camel passing through the eye of a needle, . . 346

PAGE

46. Both the prophets sometimes imparted Divine benefits and blessings by the laying on of their hands, ... 347-348

47. By their mediation and benediction a small quantity of food miraculously sufficed to feed a large number of people, . . . 348-350

48. Towards the close of their earthly course, both the prophets triumphantly re-enter the capital city and national sanctuary, accompanied by a vast multitude of exultant followers, though previously they had to flee from it, their liberty and even their life being threatened by the parties in power; and they authoritatively rid the sanctuary of what was desecrating it, . . 350-355

49. Both Jesus and Mohammed continued up to the close of their career, and with death already at the door, in the zealous discharge of their respective life-work, ... 355-358

50. The death of both these prophets was no less wonderful than their birth and life, ... 358-374

a. Their approaching death was foreknown and foretold by them, 358-359

b. Their death was not unavoidable, but freely accepted by them, 359-361

c. Angels would have been ready to prevent their death, had they desired it, ... 361

d. They died a martyr's death, ... 361-362

e. As the sufferings in their death were greater than other men's, so also is their reward, ... 362-363

f. Their sufferings and death are meritorious, taking away sin and helping all their people into paradise or heaven, . 363-364

g. In their sufferings of death, Satan had no power over them, 364-365

h. Their death-agonies were so extreme, that in their distress they called out after God, ... 365

i. The fact of their death was indubitably established by the state of their body, ... 365-366

j. Their death was accompanied by extraordinary phenomena, and its effects reached even to the invisible world of spirits, 366-368

k. They were expected not to succumb to the power of death, or to remain in its grasp, ... 368-369

l. They received an honourable burial, their friends preparing their body, wrapping it in fine linen, and, with an ample use of costly spices, depositing it in a new sepulchre, 369-371

m. Their sacred tomb had been the subject of a previous Divine revelation, ... 371-372

n. Devoted friends visited their tomb, and there received supernatural revelations, showing that, even after death, they were still living, ... 372-374

CHAPTER II.

PAGE

SUNDRY SKETCHES OF MOHAMMED UNDER VARIOUS ASPECTS, DRAWN BY MOSLEM HANDS, ... 375-446

I. Physical Qualities and Moral Virtues of the Lord of the world, 375-383

1. Mohammed's bodily or physical qualities, . . . 375-377
2. Mohammed's mental qualities, ... 377-383

II. Habits of the Prince of Princes, ... 383-405

1. His habits in regard to dress, ... 383-385
2. His habits as regards eating and drinking, . . . 385-389
3. His noble travelling habits, ... 389-390
4. His habits in the intercourse with his pure wives, . . 390-392
5. His habits in the intercourse and conversation with his friends and companions, ... 392-396
6. His habits in using ornaments and ointments, . . 396-397
7. His habits in regard to auguries, ... 397-398
8. His habits as regards the Akika-offerings, ... 398
9. His habits in asking permission, and in saluting, . . 398-399
10. His habits as to sneezing and yawning, ... 400
11. His habits as to walking and riding, ... 400
12. His habits as to waking and sleeping, ... 401
13. His habits in administering medicines to the sick, . . 401-405

III. The Religious Services of that Prince, ... 406-416

IV. Peculiarities of the Prophet, ... 416-422

1. The religious duties peculiar to the Prophet, . . . 417-418
2. Things unlawful and forbidden to the Prophet, . . 418-420
3. Things permitted to him, *i.e.* things whose legality was peculiar to that prince, ... 420-422

V. Mohammed's Excellencies and Miracles, ... 422-446

1. His excellencies, ... 422-434
2. His miracles, ... 434-446

BOOK III.

MOHAMMEDANISM VIEWED IN ITS HISTORICAL POSITION, ESPECIALLY AS REGARDS ITS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY AND CHRISTENDOM.

PAGE

OUR CANON OF JUDGMENT, ... 447-448

I. Mohammedanism, by its historical hostility to Christianity, has proved itself a weapon of the kingdom of darkness against the kingdom of light, thus taking rank, side by side, with anti-Christian Judaism and anti-Christian Paganism, . . 448-458

II. Unbelieving Judaism diabolically opposed Christianity in its personal manifestation, ... 458-461

III. The Heathenism of Rome diabolically opposed Christianity in its congregational or ecclesiastical manifestation, . . . 461-464

IV. Islamism, a compound of Jewish fanaticism and Roman despotism, likewise opposed Christianity, but more especially in its national and political manifestation, ... 465-468

V. Mohammed, the Prophet and Propagator of Islam, laid the foundation of the anti-Christian and permanently hostile policy of the Mussulman world against Christianity and Christendom, . 468-474

VI. The Mohammedan world, under the direction of the Arabs, and acting in the spirit of its prophet, pursues an interior and exterior policy, decidedly anti-Christian, ... 474-479

VII. The Mohammedan world, under the direction of the Turks, retains and carries out the anti-Christian policy started by the Arabs, as long as its power of doing so lasts, ... 479-485

APPENDIX I. Mohammed's Wives and Concubines, . . 487-509

APPENDIX II. Mohammed's Children and Grandchildren, . 510-524

INDEX, ... 525-540

CORRIGENDA.

Page 17, line 7, *for* hel up *read* held up
,, 137, ,, 18, *for* El Amran *read* Al-i-Amran.
,, 159, ,, 13, ,, id. ,, id.
,, 195, ,, 31, *after* had *insert* after claiming to be a prophet.
,, 210, ,, 7, *for* capitulation *read* capitation.
,, 250, ,, 20, *insert* " *after* mothers.
,, ,, ,, 21, *for* true."' *read* true.'
,, 276, ,, 23 and 25, *for* Him, His *read* him, his.
,, 288, ,, 27, *after* deemed *add* them.
,, 307, line 3 from foot, *for* Aksa *read* Mosque of Omar.
,, 349, line 29, *for* [1] *read* [2].
,, 469, last line, *for* national *read* rational.
,, 475, line 30, *for* religion. *read* religion.'
,, 508, lines 8 and 19, *for* Leili *read* Leila.

BOOK I.

Mohammed viewed in the Daylight of History.

As every man, in his place and degree, is an architect of the world's history, and contributes his share, great or small, for good or for evil, to the work of his time: so also is every one the child of the age in which he lives, and bears the impress of the generation to which he belongs. This becomes all the more manifest, the greater the power he wields and the closer the contact he experiences amongst his fellow-men. No man can be fully understood, nor his character duly appreciated, without regard to the family in which he was born, the circumstances under which he grew up, the social organism of which he was a member, not even without a reference to the country which furnished him with a home. In like manner, any age can only be rightly estimated, if considered as the result of previous ages; and any nation, if viewed in the light of its own past history and in its relation to other nations.

If, therefore, we undertake to form a true estimate of the character and work of *Mohammed*,[1] who was so prominent a figure of his age, and left such deep and strongly marked

[1] This is the proper form of the Arabic name as pronounced in the polished and highly euphonic language of the Turks, and it deserves to be generally adopted amongst Europeans. 'Muhammad' is the harsher pronunciation of the same word used by Eastern Moslems who are accustomed to more guttural and less polished sounds. 'Mahomet,' 'Makhumet,' etc., are simply corruptions of the proper word, and are justly discarded as having no foundation whatever in Arabic grammar. It is surely a false conservatism which retains such obviously faulty forms; and the reading public has a right to expect that the proper names should be brought before it in their true form.

'footprints in the sands of time,' we must not regard him as a mere individual, but in his organic connection with the world around him, in his family relationship and social ties, in short, as a child of the age and country by which he was moulded, and which he influenced in return.

Mohammed was not only the Ruler of a *State*, but pre-eminently also the Founder of a *Religion*. Though not ignorant of Jesus Christ and the Divine adoration paid Him by the Christians, yet was he bold enough to claim for himself a heavenly mission as the last and greatest of all God's messengers for the guidance of mankind. His utterances, as God's mouthpiece or prophet, were to be unquestioningly received by his Arab countrymen and by the world at large. It is in this extraordinary character and with these astounding pretensions that he presents himself to us in history; and as such he is still reverenced by the world of Moslem believers. Hence, in seeking rightly to apprehend Mohammed as an historical phenomenon, the first great question confronting us with a demand for solution, is this: How and by what moving influences came Mohammed of Mecca to conceive the lofty pretension of being God's highest Apostle, God's final Prophet? And the second, of no less moment, and necessarily following from the first, is this double question: What was the actual life and work of Mohammed? and how did it bear out his extraordinary claims?

The succeeding biographical sketch of the Arabian Prophet and Potentate is intended to materially assist the intelligent reader in forming a correct answer to these important questions; and its division into two chapters is naturally suggested by the subject-matter itself.

CHAPTER I.

MOHAMMED DEVELOPING INTO THE PROPHET HE BECAME, OR HIS HISTORY UP TO THE FORTIETH YEAR OF HIS LIFE.

ACCORDING to the principles just mentioned, we have here to bring to light the different elements entering into the composition of the Arabian Prophet; or to point out how Mohammed's claim of prophetship is the product of a variety of factors, which we shall distinguish as *a political, a religious, an ancestral,* and *a personal factor.*

I. *The Political Factor.*

The physical character of Arabia as a Peninsula with extensive deserts and high mountain-ranges; the common descent and national affinity of its Semitic inhabitants; the peculiar language or dialects spoken by them; their passionate love of liberty and their war-like disposition—had co-operated for several thousand years in preserving national independence and in preventing the invasion of foreign conquerors. Neither the Egyptians and Assyrians, nor the Babylonians and ancient Persians, nor finally the Macedonians in their rapid march of Asiatic conquests, subjugated and held any part of Arabia. But at last the want of national union and the greatly increasing internal discords which frequently led to sanguinary inter-tribal feuds gradually prepared the way for foreign invaders. After ages of independence, the liberty-loving roamers of the desert and the proud dynasties of warlike kingdoms had to bend their necks repeatedly to *Roman, Abyssinian,* and *Persian* domination, though they sought, by desperate but mostly isolated efforts, to regain their independence as soon as favourable circumstances seemed to offer them any prospect of success.

The war-expedition consisting of 10,000 Roman troops and several thousand Eastern auxiliaries which the *Roman* Emperor Augustus despatched in the year 24 B.C. under Aelius Gallus to the southern kingdom of Yemen, for the purpose of securing a direct trade-route to India, appears not to have led to any real conquest. But from the time when Trajan first sent an expedition under his General, Cornelius Palma, against Northern Arabia, which conquered the kingdom of Nabathea, A.D. 105, and when he himself, after having subdued Mesopotamia, invaded Arabia with his victorious army and completely devastated its eastern coast along the Persian Gulf, A.D. 116, Roman influence maintained itself more or less. Several of the Arab chiefs in the northern parts of the country yielded submission, and accepted the position of Roman vassals. Roman historians record that about 536 A.D. the Emperor Justinian conferred the chieftainship of the Arabs of Palestine upon the Emir Abu Karīb, in exchange for a country he had possessed on the shores of the Red Sea; and likewise assigned an Arab principality to Kais, a prince of the Kinda tribe. The kingdom of *Hira* in the north-east of Arabia, though mostly under Persian influence and frequently at war with the Emperor of Constantinople and his allies, had yet also to suffer, at times, from the power of *Rome*. One of its kings, Munzir IV., who ascended the throne A.D. 580, repaired with his suite to Constantinople to secure the Emperor's favour and support; but afterwards turning against him and siding with the Persians, he was defeated, dethroned, and banished by the Romans. The kingdom of the *Ghassanides* in North-western Arabia was almost uninterruptedly dependent on the *Roman* power, since its establishment about the end of the third Christian century till the time of Mohammed.

'The dynasties of Hira and of the Ghassanides were native to Arabia, and it was through them that the Arabs communicated with the external world and received their ideas as well of Europe as of Asia. Hira, moreover, since the fall of the Himyar line in Yemen, became the paramount power of Central Arabia. To this cause, and to the permanence and prosperity of its capital, it was owing that Hira enjoyed a larger *political* influence than the Ghassanide

kingdom. But the latter, though inferior in magnificence and stability, possessed, especially over the Western Arabs, a more important *social* power. It lay closer to the Hejaz and in the direct line of its commerce. There was therefore with its prince and people a frequent interchange of civility, both in casual visits at the court and in the regular passage of the mercantile caravans through the country. It is to this quarter therefore, that we must chiefly look for the external influences which moulded the opinion of Mecca and Medina.' Sir W. Muir, from whose able *Life of Mahomet* the preceding passage is quoted, also further observes: 'It is remarked even by a Mohammedan writer, that the decadence of the race of Ghassan was preparing the way for the glories of the Arabian prophet.'

But this kind of preparation for Mohammed's later exploits and military triumphs to which Mohammedan writers draw attention, is not what we chiefly mean in speaking of a political factor as contributing to the very rise itself of a prophet-king in Mecca and Medina. True, the relatively weakened state of the Empires of Persia and Rome rendered the Mohammedan foreign conquests at all feasible: but it was the oppressive power they had acquired over great portions of Arabia, and the humiliation this implied for the Arabs, which first of all roused the latter into searching for means by which they might resist the foreigner and recover their own independence. The truer the patriot and the greater his love of country, the more he burned with indignation at the existing state of things, and the more earnestly he cast about for a remedy. The nearer foreign usurpation pressed, the stronger became the incentives to see it removed, and rendered impossible for the future.

Now, when Mohammed had already attained the age of manhood, Roman domination made itself felt for a time in the sacred metropolis of Mecca itself. For shortly after his accession to the throne, A.D. 610, the Emperor Heraclius nominated Othman, then a convert to Christianity and (earlier) a friend and follower of the Hanif Zeid, as Governor of Mecca, recommending him to the Koreishites in an authoritative letter. Othman endeavoured by moderation and kindliness to make himself acceptable with the Meccans. He

pointed out to them that it was to their own interest to acknowledge his authority, inasmuch as the Emperor had it in his power materially to damage or greatly to foster their commerce abroad. Thus they were induced to accept him, though reluctantly, as their Governor. But before long they rose in rebellion against him, at the instigation chiefly of his cousin Abu Zama. Othman was driven from the country, having to flee for his life, and straightway went to the Emperor to inform him of what had happened. Upon this, Heraclius sent an order to Amr, the Governor of Arabia Petræa, to imprison every merchant from Mecca whom Othman might denounce to him. Othman no doubt believed that he was working for the true welfare of his country, sunk in heathenism, by helping the Roman Government, as the exponent of the superior Christian religion, to extend its influence over his native city. But this made him obnoxious to his countrymen who were jealous of their independence and wedded to their own ancestral institutions. His later interference with their commerce still further exasperated them against him, and he is reported to have been assassinated in Arabia Petræa.

These facts were well calculated to prove instructive to his Hanifite friends in Mecca and to other awakened patriots who were equally desirous of raising their country politically, and of leading it to a purer Faith. For they showed them how precarious and dangerous it was to make use of foreign support and to encourage political influence from abroad for securing the realisation of their object, and thus suggested to them the adoption of less irritating and more strictly patriotic measures, such as we afterwards find Mohammed actually employing.

The *Abyssinian* wars and conquests in Arabia during the century preceding the age of Mohammed are expressly mentioned and their origin is circumstantially related by Ibn Ishak, in his celebrated *Life of Mohammed.* This is the earliest of the Mohammedan biographies by Moslem authors, still preserved to us, and it is constantly referred to as an authority throughout the following pages. Ibn Hisham, who edited that work, with additions and omissions, tells us that the reason why Ibn Ishak at all referred to those

wars was 'their connection with the life of the Apostle of God.' That the Abyssinian and other foreign conquests in Arabia had an important bearing on the rise and victorious career of Mohammed, can be accepted as an historical truth, though we have to view it in a light and to trace it in a manner widely different from that of the Mohammedan historians. The details with which they adorn their account make it clear that in their eyes the connection of those events with the life of Mohammed was, that they appeared to point to a special Divine Providence for the protection of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina from foreign subjugation and for the prevention of Christian Governments from permanently establishing their power within the Peninsula of Arabia.

Their narrative, evidently much embellished, if not wholly fictitious, is as follows: One of the Himyarite kings, Tiban Asad Abu Karib by name, whose son had been killed in Medina, brought an army before that city, intending to destroy it, to slay its inhabitants, and to cut down its palm-trees. But two learned Jewish doctors came before him, earnestly trying to dissuade him from carrying out his intention, lest he should draw upon himself a speedy punishment; for, said they, this city is destined to become the refuge and home of a prophet, who, in the latter times, will rise up amongst the Koreish in the holy city. The Himyarite Tobba or king was so impressed with the speech of the Jewish doctors that he not only spared the city, but also embraced the Jewish religion. On his departure, he was met by a deputation whose object was to induce him to sack the temple of Mecca, by promising him that he would find there great treasures of pearls, precious stones, gold and silver. But being again enlightened by the Jewish doctors that this was a mere stratagem to lead him and his army to certain destruction and that the only temple chosen by God upon earth, the temple of their father Abraham, was the one in Mecca: he rewarded the deputation by cutting off their hands and feet. Thereupon proceeding to Mecca to perform the usual religious services in its sanctuary, he was the first to cover it with costly striped linen, as bidden in a dream. He also offered sacrifices and regaled the inhabitants of Mecca at a feast. But the last of his successors in the Himyarite

kingdom, Yusuf dzu Nowaz, a Jewish zealot, attacked the Christian province of Najran, and, having conquered it, gave its inhabitants the choice between Judaism and death. On their preferring death, he caused a long ditch to be dug for them, where he had some of them burned, and the rest slain with the sword, till about 20,000 of their number were killed, amongst them Abd Allah Ibn Thamir, their chief and priest. Thus we are given to understand that whilst Mecca and Medina were signally preserved from the cruelty and cupidity of Himyar, Christian Najran was delivered up to become an easy prey.

This Jewish atrocity became the cause of the conquest of Yemen by the *Abyssinians* and of their subsequent rule in Arabia. For one of the doomed Christians, Dauz dzu Thalaban by name, escaped into the desert on so fleet a horse that the Jews could not overtake him. He went straight to the Emperor of Constantinople to tell him what misfortune had befallen the Christians of Najran and to supplicate help against Dzu Nowaz. The Emperor replied: 'Your country is far from mine; but I will give you a letter to the king of Abyssinia who is also of our Faith and nearer to your home.' Accordingly he wrote to the Nejashi or king of Abyssinia, requesting him to help and avenge the Christians. When Dauz had delivered the Emperor's letter, the king placed 70,000 Abyssinians at his disposal, under the command of Aryat. The army was conveyed across the sea to Yemen in many hundred vessels, and the opposing Himyarites, with their allies, were totally defeated. The king Dzu Nowaz sought his death in the sea, and the Abyssinians took possession of his country.

After some years, the command of the army of occupation passed from the hands of Aryat into those of Abraha, whom Ibn Ishak describes as 'a good Christian.' He built so magnificent a cathedral in the capital, Sana, that nothing like it could be seen anywhere. When he informed the king of this, he also expressed his determination not to rest till he had turned the course of the pilgrimages of the Arabs from their temple in Mecca to this cathedral. The Arabs, on hearing of this resolve, were much irritated; and one of them, connected with the national sanctuary, went to Sana and polluted the grand Christian church. Abraha was highly

offended by this act of contempt and swore he would in retaliation level the temple of Mecca to the ground. He at once ordered an expedition for this purpose which he commanded in person, being mounted upon an elephant.

On the route he encountered a hostile army of confederate Arab tribes, under Dzu Nefr, which he defeated, and further on another under Nufeil, which he likewise routed, and finally encamped at Moghammas, whence he despatched horsemen to plunder the tribes of Mecca. By Abd ul Móttaleb's advice the whole population of Mecca left the threatened city and took refuge in the mountains, to await what further steps would be taken by Abraha. But on the following morning, when the army was ready to enter the city, his elephant lay down and would not move a step in that direction. Then, according to Ibn Ishak's further account, God sent against them, from the sea, birds like swallows, each of which carried three pebbles as large as a pea, one in the beak and two between the claws; and any person on whom these pebbles were dropped, died immediately. The warriors fell down on every side and perished in every path. Those who were not hit, precipitately fled by the way they had come. They carried Abraha along with them, who had likewise been hit. His limbs fell from him, one after another, so that on reaching Sana he looked like an unfledged bird, and ere he died his chest and heart had become dissolved. But immediately after the close of this dreadful story Ibn Ishak adds a remark which far better accounts for the hasty retreat of the Abyssinian army, saying, 'Yakub Ibn Otba told me that in the same year small-pox had for the first time been seen in Arabia.'

This disastrous expedition against Mecca which happened A.D. 570, the very year of Mohammed's birth, and generally known as 'the year of the elephant,' on account of the elephants employed by Abraha, greatly damaged the Abyssinian power in Arabia and revived the patriotic hopes of the native tribes. But it was not till nearly the end of the century that the Abyssinians were finally expelled from Arabia, by the help obtained from Persia. Ibn Ishak says: 'The dominion of the Abyssinians in Yemen lasted seventy-two years, under the four princes, Aryat, Abraha, Yaksum, and Masruk.'

These events happened, so to speak, before the eyes of Mohammed, and he would not have been the reflecting, calculating, and shrewdly observant man he appears in history, if they had not impressed upon him the danger of inviting one foreign power in order to get rid of another, and taught him to rely on Arabs alone for the security of his country against foreign domination. He was wise enough to learn a lesson where many others remained uninstructed.

Galling as the tribes of Southern Arabia felt the yoke of Abyssinia, they did not summon enough patriotism and heroism to shake it off, but rather looked abroad for help. This they found in *Persia*; but thus they only passed from one foreign oppressor to another. Ibn Ishak interestingly narrates this change in the following words: 'When the oppression of the Himyarites had lasted a long time, the Himyarite Abu Murra Seif went to the Emperor of Byzanz, requesting him to drive the Abyssinians out of the country and to take possession of it in their stead. But as the Emperor did not listen to him, he departed, and applied to the Persian Governor of Hira, who accompanied him to the Persian court and presented him to Chosroes. The audience took place in the saloon where the king's golden crown, studded with hyacinths, smaragds, and pearls, was suspended from the cupola by a golden chain. As it was too heavy to be worn, the king only put his head into it, and every one who saw him for the first time had reverentially to prostrate himself before him. Accordingly Seif did the same, saying to the monarch, "O king, strangers have subdued our land, and I am come to seek thy help and to ask thee to take possession of it." Chosroes excused himself, on the ground that the country was far off and offered few advantages; and then presented Seif with the gift of 10,000 dirhems and a beautiful garment. After having quitted the king's presence, Seif distributed the money amongst the people. When the king, who gathered from this that he must be of high rank, asked him for the reason of his conduct, he replied, "What should I do with this money? The mountains of the land from which I come consist of gold and silver, for which reason it is so much coveted."

'Upon this Chosroes assembled his satraps to consult

them about Seif's request. One of them said: "O king, thy prisons contain many who are condemned to death whom thou mightest send with him. If they perish, thy will is accomplished; and if they conquer, thou hast gained another kingdom." Chosroes being persuaded, sent with him 800 men out of the prisons, and gave them an elderly man from one of the noblest families for a commander, whose name was Wehrez. They embarked in eight vessels, of which two were lost and six landed safely at Aden. There Seif collected from his countrymen as many as he could and brought them to Wehrez, saying, "My foot shall stand by thine, till we together conquer or die."

'Meanwhile Masruk also, the Abyssinian prince of Yemen, had collected his troops. Wehrez first sent his own son against him, in order to exercise him in the practice of war; but he was slain, and his death greatly increased the wrath of the Persians. When afterwards the two armies met in battle-array, Wehrez took up his bow, which was so strong that none but himself could bend it, and aimed at the Abyssinian commander. His arrow cleft the hyacinth worn by Masruk between his eyes and penetrated his head to the neck, so that he reeled and fell from his mule. Then the Persians made an impetuous attack, defeated the Abyssinians with great slaughter and dispersed them in every direction. On arriving before the city of Sana, Wehrez had the gate demolished; for he said, "My banner shall not enter bent but erect."

'Thus the *Persians* occupied Yemen instead of the Abyssinians. On the death of Wehrez, Chosroes appointed his son Merzeban to succeed him; and his second successor was Badzan, who remained Governor of Yemen till the time of Mohammed. In those days Chosroes wrote to him: "I have heard that a Koreishite in Mecca pretends to be a prophet: go to him and tell him to desist; and if he does not comply, send me his head.", Badzan forwarded Chosroes' letter to the Apostle of God who sent him the following reply: "God has sent me the assurance that in such and such a month and on such and such a day Chosroes will be slain." Badzan, on receiving this letter, waited to see what would happen, thinking, if he is a prophet, then what he has foretold will come to pass. God actually slew Chosroes by the hand of his son Shiruweih

on the same day which the Apostle of God had foretold. As soon as Badzan learned this, he sent to inform the Prophet that himself and all the Persians under him had embraced Islam.'

This narrative of the Moslem historian evidently seeks to attribute to Mohammed a supernatural knowledge of a future event, and connects Badzan's conversion to Islam with the fulfilment of that prophecy. But it is known from history that when Chosroes II. was completely defeated, A.D. 627, near the ruins of ancient Nineveh, and his capital Destagerd (= Artemita), with all its accumulated treasures, fell into the hands of the Emperor Heraclius, he was so enraged against his satraps and grandees, that a conspiracy headed by Shiruweih, one of Chosroes' own sons, was formed amongst them which led to his assassination. Badzan, whose disloyalty is apparent from his communicating his royal master's letter to Mohammed, had, as we learn, previously received an offer from the prophet that, if he embraced Islam, he should be confirmed in his dominion and have other portions of Persia added to it.

Some time before Mohammed claimed to be a prophet in Mecca, a request of Chosroes to his vassal, the ruler of Hira, for a supply of Arab beauties to replenish his harem, led to a conflict in which the powerful Arab tribe of the Beni Bekr became involved. The Persians mustered a large army, comprising many Arab auxiliaries, with the view of crushing the Beni Bekr. A battle ensued, but it terminated in favour of the Arabs, as is thus graphically described by Sir W. Muir: 'The word of alarm had been given, and as it rapidly passed from clan to clan amongst the ramifications of that great tribe, the Arabs flocked to the rendezvous in the valley of Dzu Kar. The opposing ranks were about to close, when the iron-hearted Hanzala, their commander, with his own hand severed the girths of the camels on which were seated his wife and the other women of the tribe, and thus abandoned them, in case of defeat, to certain captivity. The Arabs fought with desperate bravery, and the Persian army was completely routed. This defeat, ominous of the fate of Persia, took place A.D. 611, a few months after Mohammed had entered on his prophetic career.'

This great military success, crowning the united and determined efforts of a single, but large and powerful tribe, clearly proved the possibility of entirely throwing off the Persian yoke. It took place when Mohammed was just rather timidly beginning to offer himself to the faith of his countrymen, and could hardly fail to inspire him and the Arabs who were half disposed to listen to his proposals with the hope of far greater successes in the future, if they were but united as one nation, and fought the foreigner under a generally recognised leadership.

The preceding rapid glance at Arab politics has shown us that for ages before the Mohammedan era Arabia had been forced to yield part of its independence to foreigners: to Romans, Abyssinians, and Persians. From them it had in turn to accept that domination and interference which is always felt the more humiliating and vexatious by any people the greater its national pride and the stronger its love of liberty. We have seen that since 'the year of the elephant,' or about the time of Mohammed's birth, the Abyssinian power began to wane, but that the Persian influence steadily waxed stronger, so that at the time when Mohammed sprang into manhood, Persian domination had become firmly established both in Yemen and Hira, and was gradually extending from these southern and northern centres over the interior portions of the Peninsula. Even Mecca and Medina seem to have been claimed as under Persian suzerainty. For when Mohammed sent his summons to Chosroes II. to embrace Islam, that potentate angrily tore up the letter, saying, 'Shall Mohammed, who lives in my dominion and is my subject, write to me such a letter?' Still, it could not escape the observation of the keen-eyed sons of Arabia, that whilst Persian domination was seeking to tighten its hold upon their country, desperate struggles for supremacy were going on in the north between Persia and Rome, necessarily tending to exhaust both those national adversaries. These were circumstances eminently calculated to revive the hopes of independence amongst the liberty-loving tribes of Arabia. They would particularly influence the merchants of Mecca, who knew more about foreign politics, and were naturally eager to extend their

influence abroad, and to secure for themselves free commerce and low duties.

The Arabs had now been taught, by long and painful experience, that it was chiefly owing to their division into independent and often hostile tribes, to their want of brotherly union and national cohesion, that they had been unable to keep themselves from foreign subjugation; that their national sanctuary had been in danger; their commerce, that vital condition of their existence, threatened; and that they had even been compelled to submit to the degradation of fighting against each other in the interest of foreigners. We need only call to mind the modern instances of Germany and Italy, in order to understand how, when a great nation has been forced, through its internal dissensions, to submit to contempt, invasion, and conquest, all the pride and patriotism of its citizens are roused to contend for the restoration of their national honour and power. Though their efforts may for a time be defeated, or prove only partially successful, strength and wisdom are gained by the very conflict, till that surest and saddest cause of national degradation, internal disunion and mutual antagonism, is removed, and their great object accomplished.

It cannot be doubted that the thoughtful and patriotic Arabs were no less keenly sensible of the dishonour and weakness resulting from their disunion, and equally determined on vigorous efforts for gaining national strength and security. In point of fact, we find Mohammed, by suasion and constraint, uniting all the hitherto isolated tribes of Arabia into one political organisation under his own rule; and then sending forth vast hosts of horsemen on foreign expeditions of conquest. Surely it cannot be supposed that he effected these great political results, without having actually aimed at them, or formed some *plan* for their accomplishment. It is but rational to infer from what he has done, what he wished to do.[1] In all probability his political plan, as it happens generally, was not at once definite and complete, but grew out of more or less vague ideas and indistinct cravings for

[1] This inference is fully borne out by the opinion of so powerful a thinker as Hegel, who says in his *Logic*, p. 281: 'In respect of the union between the inner and the outer, it is to be acknowledged that the great men wished to do that which they have done and that they did that which they wished to do.'

power; but it must have formed an integral part of the vast scheme before the eye of the prophet's mind, just as its realisation constituted an essential and prominent portion of the stupendous work which he achieved. Armies of thousands and tens of thousands of men are not formed and employed by chance, or by a mere sudden impulse; but they presuppose in their originator a deliberate purpose, and, in the world around, inviting causes and favourable conditions. The important political exploits of Mohammed demand for their explanation corresponding political designs; and the formation of these designs implies a political situation which called for them and suggested their feasibility. This is the rational principle here contended for, and this the explanation why in the development of so singular a prophet as the one before us we have to recognise a *Political Factor.*

A tacit recognition of this principle plainly underlies the fact that the Moslem historians recite the above-mentioned political events as an introduction to their narrative of Mohammed's history; and it is with the same view that they also record an extraordinary prophecy, which is evidently a *predictio post eventum.* The fabulous story, seriously narrated by Ibn Ishak as history, is this: Rabia Ibn Nazr, one of the weakest of the Tobbas or kings of Yemen, had a dream which so frightened him that he called together all the soothsayers, sorcerers, augurs, and astrologers of his realm, saying to them: 'I have had a bad dream which terrifies me: tell me what I have dreamt and what is the meaning of the dream.' They said, 'Tell us thy dream and we will give thee its interpretation.' He replied, 'If I tell it you, I shall have no guarantee as to the correctness of the interpretation: he who is able to interpret it correctly, must also know what the dream was, without my telling it him.' Then one of them answered, 'If the king requires this, then let him send for Satih and Shik, who will tell the king what he wishes to know; for these are the two most learned men.' The king sent for them; and Satih arriving first, told the king that he had seen in his dream a fire proceeding out of darkness, spreading over the sea-coast, and consuming everything having a skull. The king said, 'Thou hast truly stated the dream, O Satih! and now, how dost thou interpret it?'

Satih continued, 'I swear by the wild beasts of the field that the Abyssinians will invade your land and take possession of the provinces between Abjān and Jorāsh.' The king said, 'By thy father, O Satih! this is sad news; and when is it to come to pass, in my time or later?' Satih replied, 'Not for sixty or seventy years.' The king inquired, 'Will their dominion be lasting or not?' Satih answered, 'After continuing for upwards of seventy years, part of them will perish and part be routed.' The king asked, 'Who will defeat them and drive them out of the country?' Satih answered, 'Arim dzu Yezen will come against them from Aden and will not leave one of them in Yemen.' The king: 'Will his dominion last?' Satih: 'It also will come to an end.' The king: 'Who will put an end to it?' Satih: A pure prophet, the receiver of revelations from the Most High, with whose people the dominion will remain to the end of time.' The king: Hast thou told me the truth?' Satih: 'By the evening redness, by the night, and by the early dawn, I have told thee the truth.' Then also came Shik, narrated and interpreted the dream in substantially the same way. King Rabia was so impressed with what he heard that he sent away his wife and children with provisions for the journey and a letter to Sabur I., king of Persia, who assigned a residence to them in Hira.

It is nothing more than retranslating the scope of this spurious prophecy into history, to affirm that Mohammed, by pondering the political events which had lately passed or were just passing in his country, was led to conceive the idea that it was fully as practicable for him, in the character of a heaven-commissioned ambassador, to gain political authority over the multitudinous tribes of Arabia, as for those foreigners who had successively exercised their humiliating domination; and that, having once formed this conviction, he also possessed enterprise, self-confidence, and daring enough to attempt the proud plan, and, favoured by circumstances, marvellously to succeed in its realisation. In the sense of Rabia's symbolical dream, Mohammed, by the system of violence and conquest in the name of religion, which he inaugurated and began to carry out with all the rapidity and irresistibility of a conflagration, only fulfilled the fore-ordained decree of an inscrutable Providence.

It is a known fact that in the age and fatherland of Mohammed, politics and religion were closely intertwined and inseparably bound up together. The several political parties exercising power and dominion, also represented different tenets of belief and sundry religious interests. The Romans and Abyssinians were identified with Christianity. Whole tribes and districts held up the banner of Judaism and waged war in its propagation. The Persian power was the exponent of fire-worship; and the Arabs in general were devoted to that native idolatry which had its centre in the national sanctuary of the Kaaba. Under these circumstances it could hardly be otherwise, but that any great national movement for breaking the yoke of foreign usurpation and enforcing the principle of 'Arabia for the Arabs, under one central government purely native,' should also essentially bear a *religious* character.

II. *The Religious Factor.*

The religion most widely prevalent in Arabia, when Mohammed began life, was a species of heathenism or idol-worship, which had its local centre in Mecca and its temple. The city of Mecca was the religious metropolis of the nation, and consequently its influence extended to every part of Arabia where the sanctity of its shrine was acknowledged. In the days of Mohammed the Kaaba or Meccan temple was already of high antiquity; and as early as the time of Christ, the Roman historian Diodorus Siculus mentions a celebrated temple in the Hejaz which was revered and visited by all the Arabs. According to a theory held by many, this temple had been originally connected with the ancient worship of the sun, moon, and stars, and its circum-ambulation by the worshippers had a symbolical reference to the rotation of the heavenly bodies.[1] Within its precincts

[1] Dr. L. Krehl, in his carefully written *Das Leben des Muhammed*, says on p. 21: The primitive religion of the Arabs was a worship of the stars, itself a transmutation of the still more ancient worship of light, which was intended for the powers on high, symbolised by the visible heaven, and in which idea and symbol were easily confounded. Taking the image for the ideal itself, man came to regard the celestial bodies as deities, and as controllers of his own destiny to whom he owed worship.

and in its neighbourhood there were found many idols, such as, Hobal, Lat, Ozza, Manāh, Wadd, Sawā, Yaghut, Nasr, Isāf, Naila, etc. A black stone in the temple wall was regarded with superstitious awe as eminently sacred. It is not quite clear what was the origin of the worship of this black stone: whether it was held to be supernatural as being an aërolite; or whether its supposed sanctity was a relic of the stone-worship anciently more or less prevalent in Arabia; or whether it had some connection with the Eastern practice of erecting stone altars for the purpose of sacrifices, and stone pillars as monuments of gratitude for Divine favours, a practice which we meet with in the history of the Patriarchs. The attempt of the Mussulmans to derive it direct from a stone altar or pillar, erected by Abraham and his son Ishmael, in that identical locality, is altogether unsupported by history, and, in fact, flagrantly contrary to the Biblical record of the life of Abraham and his son. The *pagan* character of the temple is sufficiently marked by the statement of Mohammedan writers that before its purification by their Prophet, it contained no less than 360 idols, as many as there were days in their year; and that on its walls were painted the figures of angels, prophets, saints, including those of Abraham and Ishmael, and even of the Virgin Mary with her infant Son.

The Meccan religion was therefore not one of a narrow, exclusive kind, but so elastic and comprehensive that its temple could well serve as the national sanctuary for entire Arabia. This was in perfect agreement with the relatively liberal spirit and enlarged horizon of the Meccans as habitual travellers and intelligent merchants. Their commercial interests brought them into contact with the professors of many different religions, and dictated to them the policy of living in friendship with them all. They were thus prepared to tolerate and recognise the various creeds, and to please the Heathens, the Ishmaelites, the Jews, and the Christians alike, by opening the Kaaba to the several objects of their veneration. From the same latitudinarian standpoint they were also afterwards by no means indisposed to recognise Mohammed as a prophet: if he, in return, had but continued to acknowledge their idols as useful mediators, and as worthy

of worship. They only opposed him when he claimed an exclusive right for his new way, and wished to abolish the old religion altogether.

The influence exercised by the sanctuary of Mecca over the Arabian tribes, far and near, was very considerable: it was, in fact, the greatest national power, and the most extensively recognised authority then existing in all Arabia. The Kaaba was looked upon as the *Beit Ullah* or House of God, where Divine revelations and decisions were sought in doubts, difficulties, and disputes. The reputed sanctity of the temple extended to the whole surrounding district, which was treated as *Haram*, or an inviolable territory, at whose border all hostilities and combats had to be hushed. To facilitate the pilgrimage to this national Holy Place, from even the remotest provinces, four months of every year were set apart as sacred, during which all feuds and wars had to cease throughout the land, so that every one might travel without danger or molestation. In consequence, multitudes from every part of Arabia annually flocked to Mecca to worship at God's Holy House, whose very guardians were looked upon with special respect and reverence. The people of Mecca were fully sensible of their dignity and privilege, as the keepers and ministers of the national temple. Amongst their leading families the right of directing the ritual observances during the annual pilgrimage, the prerogative of providing the pilgrims with food and water, and the honour of keeping the key of the Kaaba, were considered so desirable and valuable as often to become the cause of mutual jealousy and even of sanguinary conflicts.

It is therefore no matter of surprise, but a thing to be reasonably expected, that, in case a native of Mecca were to conceive the idea of establishing a power over the scattered tribes of Arabia, and of uniting them under one central government, he should avail himself of a means already in existence and with which he had been familiar from his youth. Mohammed, with great practical insight and shrewdness, seized on this advantage and retained the heathen shrine of his native city as the local centre of Islam. He sanctioned it by his own example as a place of religious pilgrimage for all his followers; and though, after his flight to Medina, he

for a short time adopted Jerusalem as his Kibla, in the hope of thus reconciling the Jews to Islam; yet when he saw the device fail, he, in the second year, returned to his former practice of worshipping towards the Kaaba. It is not impossible that this was his concealed intention all through the period of his outward accommodation to Judaism, and if so, he would no doubt, after securing the submission of the Jews, have reverted to his original practice, by again transferring the Kibla from Jerusalem to Mecca. His prudence naturally dictated to him to delay the step until the strength of his Arab following had sufficiently increased to warrant him in disregarding the opposition sure to come from the great number of Jewish converts hoped for. In what light Mohammed wished Mecca, as the guardian of God's Holy House, to be considered, is well seen from the public address which, on the day after the conquest of the city, he delivered, and which will be found recorded in its proper place.

Thus the belief in the sanctity and unique character of the Meccan temple became firmly established amongst the Mussulmans; and it will perhaps not be uninteresting to the reader to find here their teachings on this subject, as translated from the well-known Rawzet ul Ahbab: 'When Adam had been sent out of Paradise to this earth, he became exceedingly sad and downcast, and thus made complaint to God: "O God, I am distressed because I can no longer hear the voice of the angels."[1] The Most High gave him this answer: "O Adam, I have sent a House to the earth which the angels compass about, just as they surround my Throne in heaven; therefore turn towards it and become familiar with it." Upon this Adam, who at that time was in India, walked to the House of the Kaaba, God sending an angel with him to show him the way. Every one of Adam's steps was 50 parasangs long; and every spot on which he trod was destined to become a city, as also the space between his feet to become cultivated. In a very short time he reached the Haram, where he found a temple, consisting of

[1] Notice how here the sad consequence of the fall of man is placed in his separation from angelic company, and not in the interruption of communion with his Maker.

a single celestial hyacinth, with two doors of green smaragd, one on the east side and the other on the west side. Then God sent an angel to teach Adam the ceremonies of the pilgrimage.

'According to another report, the Most High commanded Adam to build the House of the Kaaba, and sent angels to assist him in doing so. Gabriel swept the place with his wing, till it lay open down to the seventh foundation of the earth; and other angels brought stones, of such a weight that thirty men could not lift one of them. In this way Adam laid the foundation and completed the building. The Black Stone was sent by God from Paradise, to be inserted in a certain fixed place of the structure. This stone was a white hyacinth, as is stated in a tradition derived from the Prophet; and when it first came from Paradise it was whiter than milk, but men's sins made it black. It is recorded on the authority of Ibn Abbas that Adam made forty pilgrimages from India to the Kaaba. After him, his children also paid their visits to the House, till the time of the flood of Noah. Seth was the first to repair it with stone and mortar. At the Deluge the House of the Kaaba was taken up to the seventh heaven; and Gabriel was sent to hide the Black Stone in the mountain Abu Kabis, to prevent its becoming immersed. The prophets succeeding Noah went to the Haram territory, with the purpose of visiting the House; but did not know the exact spot where the building had stood.

'This state of things lasted till the time of Abraham, to whom God showed again the exact locality, and gave him a command to rebuild the Kaaba. The way in which God made this known to him is differently reported: (1) God made the creature Shechina, in the shape of a little cloud, and ordered Abraham to follow it whithersoever it went, and to build the Kaaba on the spot where it should happen to alight.[1] (2) In that Shechina there was something like the head of a lion, or like the head of a lion's whelp, which said to Abraham, "Make the building of the Kaaba exactly as large as my shadow, neither larger nor smaller." (3) God sent a storm which so thoroughly swept the place of the Kaaba

[1] This is obviously a travesty of the Biblical pillar of fire and cloud and the Shechina, in glorification of Islam.

that Abraham could lay its foundation. (4) Gabriel came and showed him the place. These different views can be reconciled by assuming that the place was first shown to Abraham by means of the Shechina, and of the storm, and that afterwards Gabriel came to confirm and ratify the choice of the spot.

'Then Abraham rebuilt the House of the Kaaba according to Gabriel's instruction, and with the assistance of Ishmael. Having reached the height of the Black Stone he said to Ishmael, "Fetch me a fine stone to serve as a token to the servants of God." When he had brought one, Abraham said, "Fetch me a finer one;" and as Ishmael was going to look for one, the mountain Abu Kabis called out, "O Abraham, what thou requirest (viz. the Black Stone) is with me: take it." Then Abraham took the Black Stone and built it firmly in its place.

'When the building was finished, Gabriel came and taught Abraham all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, by practically going with him through them all. At the close of this instruction, Abraham mounted the place of stones and called out: "O ye servants of God, the pilgrimage to the House of the Kaaba is a religious duty for you." God caused this call to be heard by all, even by those who were still in the reins of their fathers and in the wombs of their mothers, so that all who are predestined to make the pilgrimage, until the day of the resurrection, replied to Abraham's call, "We are ready at thy behest, O God! we are ready."

'It is recorded that the stones with which the Kaaba was built were taken from five, or according to some, from six different mountains; and that the angels helped Ishmael to quarry and carry them. After the days of Abraham the House of the Kaaba was repeatedly rebuilt, namely, first by the Amalekites, then the Jorhamides, then the Koreishites, and lastly by several Moslem potentates. In its present form it is to remain, till the time when it will be demolished by the Abyssinians, as the Prophet has foretold.'[1] End of the quotation from the Rawzet ul Ahbab.

History shows us that Mohammed, by declaring the

[1] The reader will observe that this extravagant story is only a loose collection of the several accounts circulating amongst the Mussulmans on the subject.

national sanctuary of Mecca a Divine Institution and by re-enacting the obligatoriness of a pilgrimage to its temple as God's House, only adopted one of the most effectual means within his reach for extending his authority over all Arabia. In like manner we can see by the aid of the same light of history, that there exists no constraining reason for tracing his reformation of the national religion, or his rejection of idols and idol-worship, to a supernatural revelation and a miraculous Divine interposition made specially to himself; but that all this can be perfectly well accounted for by the religious condition of society in his days. In the age of Mohammed, heathen idolatry was no longer universally dominant in Arabia, but had suffered greatly in extent and prestige. Whole tribes and districts were under the sway of Judaism, the stubborn advocate of an absolute Monotheism. Christianity, equally opposed to Polytheism, prevailed in great portions of Najran and other parts, and its tenets were known far and wide. A picture of the Virgin Mary with her infant Son was found in the Kaaba itself, and the Abyssinians had started a military expedition from Yemen, in the year of Mohammed's birth, for the purpose of demolishing the idol-temple of Mecca. The idea of worshipping only one God, instead of many, was therefore nothing new in Arabia, nothing which Mohammed could only learn by a direct revelation from heaven: but something widely known and with which every Arab who cared for it could easily acquaint himself.

But what shows still more conclusively that even in Mecca the prevailing idolatry was no longer unquestioningly followed by all, and that there were thoughtful men wishing for something better, is a fact with which Mohammedan historians themselves acquaint us. Ibn Ishak gives us the following interesting narrative:

'The Koreish had an annual festival on which they assembled round their idols whom they worshipped, to whom they sacrificed and whom they carried about in procession. But four men kept aloof and made a secret covenant of friendship with each other. These four men were: Waraka Ibn Nawfal, Obeid Allah Ibn Jahsh whose mother Omeima was Abd ul Mottaleb's daughter, Othman Ibn el Huweireth, and Zeid Ibn Amr. They said to each other, "Ye know, by

God, that your nation has not the true Faith and that they have corrupted the religion of their father Abraham: how shall we compass a stone which neither hears nor sees, neither helps nor hurts? Seek ye another faith for yourselves: for the one you have is useless." Thereupon they separated and travelled in different countries, seeking the true faith of Abraham. Waraka absorbed himself in Christianity and studied the books of the Christians, till he was well acquainted with their doctrine. Obeid Allah continued in his doubts till he embraced Islam. Then he emigrated to Abyssinia, together with his wife Omm Habibeh, Abu Sofyān's daughter, who also was a believer. Whilst they were there, he embraced Christianity and died as a Christian. After Obeid Allah had become a Christian, he said to his companions who had emigrated with him to Abyssinia, "*We* see clearly: but *you* are still seeking and do not yet see." He made use of a word which is employed in speaking of the young of a dog opening its eyes for the first time and not yet able to see clearly. Later on Mohammed married Obeid Allah's widow, sending Amr Ibn Omaia to the king of Abyssinia to ask for her; and the king accepted the application in consideration of a dowry of 400 dinars. Othman went to the Emperor of Byzanz, became a Christian, and attained to great honour there. Zeid embraced neither Judaism nor Christianity, yet relinquished the faith of his nation, kept aloof from the idols, abstained from eating dead carcasses or of the meat of an animal sacrificed to idols, and from drinking blood; and he condemned the practice of burying female infants alive. He said, "I worship the Lord of Abraham," and also openly rebuked the faults of his nation. In his old age he sometimes leaned against the Kaaba, saying, "O ye assembly of the Koreish, by Him in Whose power my soul is, there is none of you in the faith of Abraham, except myself." Then he continued, "O God, if I knew in what manner Thou likest best to be worshipped, I would do so: but I know it not." When once Mohammed was asked by a woman related to Zeid, whether she might pray for him (Zeid), he answered, "Yes, you may: he will be raised at the resurrection as a distinct religious community." He wrote verses about separating himself from the faith of his nation,

saying: "Shall I believe in one Lord, or in a thousand Lords? If so, dominion would have to be divided. I have forsaken Lat and Ozza: thus acts the strong, the faithful . . . I worship my Lord, in order that He, the Gracious, may forgive my sins. O ye people, preserve the fear of God, your Lord: then you will not perish. Thou shalt see how gardens shall be assigned to the pious for their habitations, but to the unbelievers the flaming fire of hell. In life they find reproach, and after death what oppresses their bosoms."'

This quotation from Ibn Ishak's work proves conclusively that the religious fermentation, produced among Arab society in general by the spread of Monotheism in its Jewish and Christian forms, had actually reached Mecca; and that the idolatry practised in the national temple of the Kaaba was exposed by men of character and standing as contrary to sound reason and inconsistent with true notions of the Divine Being. Nor can it be doubted that this opposition to the prevailing form of religion in Mecca became notorious throughout the city. For Ibn Ishak further tells us that El Khattab, Zeid's uncle, 'reproached him (Zeid) with forsaking the religion of his people, and so persecuted him that he was compelled to leave Mecca and to remain outside the city on Mount Hira. El Khattab even instigated the young folks to prevent his re-entering the town. Therefore when they heard of his having come secretly, they drove him back again and ill-treated him, lest he should harm their religion and lest any one should follow him in turning away from the ancient Faith.' Sprenger, one of Mohammed's latest and ablest biographers, says of this Zeid: 'It is probable that he travelled and discoursed with men acquainted with the Scriptures on religious matters; and he may have been a Deist before Hanifism was being propagated in Mecca: but Ibn Ishak is mistaken in saying that he was murdered on his way home. He did return to his native city, but had to live in banishment on Mount Hira, because of his faith, and after dying as a Hanifite, was buried at the foot of the mountain.'

Besides the four men named by Ibn Ishak, there were others who likewise repudiated the prevailing idolatry, *e.g.* Abu Amir of Medina and his followers there; and Omaia Ibn

Zalt of the important town Taif, two days from Mecca, who was at the same time a renowned poet. These men naturally met with more or less sympathy from the intelligent portion of their countrymen, and were in fact a small sect of Deists, distinguished by the appellation of '*Hanifites*,' i.e. Separatists, Dissenters, Nonconformists, Protestants, on account of their having turned away and separated from the national Polytheism and professing only the one true God.[1] This step of separation and turning away from idols to God, being similar to what Abraham did in his days, they also professed that they were holding 'the Faith or Religion of Abraham.' One of these Nonconformists was the son of an aunt of Mohammed; and two others were near relatives of his wife Khadija. Is it surprising that a reflective mind like Mohammed's should be attracted by the more enlightened religious views of influential and intelligent men, so closely related to him? May we not go still further than this? It was, we are informed, Mohammed's custom during the hottest season of the year to retire to that very Mount Hira where the zealous Hanif Zeid lived in banishment for many years. There he may perhaps have enjoyed many an instructive interview with this persecuted but steadfast reformer, and have received from him much of that light on religious matters which,

[1] The transient assumption of a similar name by a number of Turks who were disposed to break loose from orthodox Islamism, became the direct cause of the notorious violent interference of the Turkish Government with the Protestant missions in Constantinople, in the year 1864. Rumours were then spreading that 30,000 or 70,000 or 120,000 Turks had become *Protestants* and were petitioning the Government to hand over to them one of the mosques for their own separate worship. We, the Missionaries of several Societies, were astonished at those rumours, because we had no connection with, nor even knowledge of, a Protestant movement of anything like those dimensions. The Government nevertheless suspected us of being at the bottom of the movement, and perhaps not unnaturally, on account of the name mixed up with it. The Sublime Porte, wishing to stop the movement and silence the rumours, determined to close and seal up all the offices of the different Protestant Missionary Societies then at work in Constantinople. A long correspondence ensued between the English and the Turkish Governments. The end of this was, that we Missionaries were restricted in our work to mere private intercourse with individual Turks, and enjoined to avoid anything the least calculated to draw public attention upon us. The rumoured existence of so widespread a reputedly Protestant movement long remained an unsolved mystery to us.

A number of years later, when on a Missionary tour in Western Turkey, I was requested by some Albanians to assist them in procuring the recall of one of their

after the master's death, he gave out as having been derived direct from heaven, through an angel specially sent to him by the Almighty. As a matter of fact and history we find Mohammed glory in the appellation of 'Hanifite' and openly declare that his doctrine is nothing but the ancient 'Faith or Religion of Abraham.'

The very idea of some one becoming 'the prophet of his country,' that is, specially of Arabia, does not seem to have been originated by Mohammed, but to have been extensively entertained by the Hanifite sect. For it is expressly recorded by El Zobair, that Omaia, the celebrated poet of Taif, himself a Hanifite, 'had a desire to be chosen to the prophetic office, because he had read in the Sacred Books that a prophet was to rise up amongst the Arabs; and it was believed that he might himself be that prophet. When Mohammed had received his mission, people said to Omaia, "This is he of whom thou didst speak, and whom thou didst expect." But he envied him and said, "I had hoped to be chosen myself."'

It must therefore be accepted as an established fact of history that the religious condition of Arabia, about the age of Mohammed, was such that no new supernatural revelation, nor even uncommon originality of mind, was required

friends, a native Bey, who had been banished to a fortress in Syria, ostensibly on the charge of having had a share, at Constantinople, in an attempt to place Murad Effendi on the throne, but in reality, they affirmed, because he had become a 'Protestant.' On closer inquiry I found that this Bey had nothing whatever to do with our Christian Protestantism, but that in fact he was a kind of Protestant Mussulman, repudiating traditional Mohammedanism, as the Protestant Christians had repudiated Roman Catholicism. There were thousands of Mohammedans in those parts, generally called Pektashis, but, as it would seem, occasionally also Protestants, who were described to me as men abstaining from the Ramadan fast and the five daily prayers, but retaining the Mussulman form of a deistic belief in God.

Now if the many thousands of rumoured Protestants in Constantinople who, without any desire to embrace historical Protestantism, wished to occupy a position within Islam, corresponding to that of Protestants within Christendom; the alarm of the Porte at those rumours and the fact that the whole movement was kept apart and concealed from the Protestant Missionaries, became equally intelligible. It is evident that in name and in religion these Mussulman Protestants of Turkey closely resembled the ancient Hanifites of Arabia. Their movement was virtually an attempted return to pre-Islamic Hanifism, which latter had itself been the protoplast from which historic Islamism developed itself.

for any one living in Mecca, to perceive and expose the folly of idolatry, to profess Monotheism, and, at the same time, to retain the ancient customs and ceremonies of the national sanctuary, the Kaaba. Mohammed in attempting all this only followed the example of others. They were unable to bring about the change in the national religion which they desired: but he succeeded in the difficult undertaking because he was more favoured by circumstances, and because he did not shrink from freely adopting the means of violence and coercion, or of craftiness and bribery, which lie outside the domain of pure religion. Zeid Ibn Amr signally failed in his attempted national reformation, because, instead of being supported by a powerful family, he was shamefully abandoned by his nearest relatives and delivered over to the cruel persecution and heartless contumely of an ignorant and frivolous populace. Mohammed, on the contrary, when likewise at the point of succumbing to popular annoyances and vexations, was protected by mighty friends and patrons; and it is abundantly clear that what saved him from the fate of Zeid and others, was his kinship to a powerful aristocratic family. This, therefore, aptly forms our next subject for consideration.

III. *The Ancestral or Family Factor.*

It is a great mistake to represent Mohammed as a poor man of low birth and as having been in his youth a mere 'camel-driver.' His biographer, Ibn Hishām, concludes the genealogy he gives of him with this remark: 'Accordingly the Apostle of God was the noblest of the sons of Adam, as regards descent, both on the paternal and the maternal side.' The fact is, that he belonged to one of the most distinguished tribes of Arabia, and was the scion of one of the most prominent aristocratic families in the important mercantile city of Mecca, that religious metropolis of the whole nation.

Several generations before Mohammed, Kussei, a leading man of the tribe of the Koreish, a branch of the larger Kinana tribe, married the daughter of Huleil, at that time the chief man of Mecca and the overseer of the temple. When Huleil died, Kussei's influence had already so far increased, that he could meditate on plans of securing for him-

self the position hitherto occupied by his father-in-law. He united round his person the family of the Koreish, who till then had been divided and dispersed amongst the Kinana tribe, together with many of the Kinanites themselves, and with the help of the party thus gained, he overcame his rivals and made himself the chief man of Mecca and the protector of its temple. The Koreish, thenceforth, were the ruling tribe or clan in Mecca, and Kussei's the most influential family. In recognition of his having united them into one tribe and raised them to their commanding position in Mecca, they surnamed him 'the Uniter or Gatherer' (El Mojammi).

After Kussei's death, the privileges connected with the supervision of the temple and the annual pilgrimage caused rivalries and discord amongst his sons. They formed two opposite factions, each allying itself with native clans and entering into solemn pacts and covenants with them, faithfully to support each other, and never to deliver any of their number to the opposite party, 'as long as the sea availed to wet a fleece of wool.' When both sides were already mustering for an open fight, the fratricidal combat was happily avoided by an agreement to share the coveted privileges between the two rival factions. The alliances and covenants, however, by which the opposite parties had severally united themselves with other clans, remained in force and imparted a certain dual character to the social state of Mecca, which lasted till the time of Mohammed and essentially contributed to ensure to him a protection without which he would certainly have been crushed by his enemies. No wonder, therefore that, as Ibn Ishak informs us, the Prophet at one period declared, 'The alliances which existed in the time of idolatry, are rendered only the more firm by Islam.'

In the above-mentioned peaceable arrangement, the important privilege of providing the pilgrims with food and water was assigned to Abd Menāf, the son of Kussei, and at his death, passed to his son Hashim, because he was wealthier than his elder brother Abd Shems. On one occasion Hashim made a journey to Medina and there married into an influential family. Salma, the new wife, had been married before, and Ibn Hisham says of her that she was so independent and held in such high repute that she could presume to

boast, 'she would not marry any man who did not leave her the liberty of quitting him again as soon as she liked.' She bore a son to Hashim; but when her husband returned to Mecca, she did not accompany him and also retained her infant son Sheiba with her. After a time, Hashim died at Gaza, during a mercantile journey, and his privileges passed to his younger brother El Mottaleb, who discharged his duties with such liberality in his new position that the Koreish surnamed him 'the Bountiful' (El Feiz). When Sheiba had grown up to man's estate, his uncle El Mottaleb went to Medina to fetch him. But Salma being unwilling to part with her son, he had to use great firmness, declaring, 'I shall not depart without him. My nephew is grown up. We are an honoured family amongst our people and enjoy many privileges. It is better for him to go home to his own family and his own tribe, than to live here amongst strangers.' At last Salma gave her consent, and El Mottaleb placed his nephew behind him on his magnificent she-camel and returned with him to Mecca. On their arrival, the Koreishites, taking the young man for a newly acquired slave, called him 'Abdu-l-Mottaleb,' (*i.e.* the slave of El Mottaleb); and by this surname he was known ever afterwards. But El Mottaleb said, 'Do not call him my slave: he is my brother Hashim's son whom I have fetched from Medina.'

Abdu-l-Mottaleb, therefore, is a native of Medina, where he grew up to man's estate, and where his mother and all his maternal relatives lived. What more natural than that he should always preserve a certain partiality for, and keep up a connection with, his native city? That the kinship was remembered and cultivated in his family is established by historical facts. His favourite son, Abd Allah, being taken ill on a mercantile journey to Gaza, remained with his relatives in Medina and died there. Abd Allah's widow, Fatima, with her little son Mohammed, likewise paid them a visit and stayed amongst them for a month, in the very house where her husband had died; she herself also dying on her homeward journey. This Abdu-l-Mottaleb is Mohammed's grandfather, under whose protection and as whose special favourite the lad grew up, after the premature death of his father Abd Allah. Thus we see that the way for the

famous Flight to Medina had been prepared, not merely by the conversion of a number of Medinites to Islam, but obviously also by the previously existing family ties and influences. This is nothing but what naturally resulted from the clannish character of Arab society in those days, and from the mutual jealousies of those two rival cities, Mecca and Medina.

After El Mottaleb's death, the right and honour of providing for the pilgrims reverted to the line of his elder brother and thus passed to *Abdu-l-Mottaleb*, his nephew from Medina. Abdu-l-Mottaleb was a rich man, as heir of his father Hashim's property. He had the wisdom and discretion to abstain from introducing novelties which might have given offence. Ibn Hisham, the historian, says of him: 'He retained everything which his fathers had introduced, and acquired an esteem beyond any of his predecessors, being loved and honoured by his entire people.' Ibn Ishak records that Abdu-l-Mottaleb, guided by a dream, rediscovered the celebrated well Zemzem, near the temple, which the Jorhomides had formerly covered over and obliterated, and that he successfully asserted his right over the well against the claims of the other Koreishites. The good quality and great abundance of the water of Zemzem soon brought the other wells into disuse; and so valuable was the discovery considered, that poets celebrated it in song and extolled the Hashimites as thereby surpassing all other Koreishites and all the rest of the Arabs in fame.

That Mohammed did not spring from an obscure family, but that his grandfather Abdu-l-Mottaleb was the most influential and powerful man of the aristocratic city of Mecca, will also appear from the following historical incident narrated by Ibn Ishak in his account of the unsuccessful expedition of Abraha against the idolatrous shrine of Mecca. He says: 'When Abraha was encamped at Mogammas, he sent his general, El Aswad, with a body of cavalry to plunder the neighbourhood of Mecca. Amongst the spoil which he collected, there were 200 camels, the property of Abdu-l-Mottaleb who was then the chief and lord of the Koreish. Abraha despatched the Himyarite Hunata to Mecca with this injunction: "Inquire after *the chief and lord of the city*,

and tell him that I am not come to make war against him, but only to destroy the temple. If they will not oppose this, I thirst not for their blood; and if he will not make war against me, bring him here to me." When Hunata, on making the necessary inquiry in Mecca, was taken to Abdu-l-Mottaleb and delivered Abraha's message to him, he replied: "By Allah, we will not war against him; for we are too weak for it. As regards the temple of Allah; if He will protect it against Abraha, it is His own temple and sanctuary; but if He will deliver it up, then we ourselves cannot protect it." After this, Abdu-l-Mottaleb accepted the invitation to the Abyssinian camp, where he made the acquaintance of the commander's elephant-keeper who thus introduced him to his master: "The Lord of the Koreish is before the door, soliciting admittance. He is the lord of the well of Mecca, feeding the men in the plain and the wild beasts on the mountain-tops: allow him to enter and to submit to thee his request." Permission being given, he entered and said, "I wish that the king would restore to me the 200 camels which have been taken away." Upon this Abraha, speaking through an interpreter, said: "When I saw thee first, I was pleased with thee; but thy words have lowered thee in my estimation. Thou makest mention of the 200 lost camels, but sayest nothing about the temple which I am come to destroy and which is the sanctuary of thyself and thy fathers." To this Abdu-l-Mottaleb replied: "I am the master of the camels: the temple also has its master, who will take care of it." Abraha said, "He probably will not stop me;" to which Abdu-l-Mottaleb again replied, "That is a matter between Him and thee." Abraha then ordered the camels to be restored to Abdu-l-Mottaleb who, on his return, informed the Koreish of all that had happened, and commanded them to leave Mecca and to retire to the mountain-recesses, from fear of the Abyssinian soldiery. Then Abdu-l-Mottaleb took hold of the ring of the temple-door, and, together with other Koreishites, implored God's help against Abraha and his army, adding, "O God, Thy servant looks after his camels: do Thou protect what belongs to Thee, and suffer not their cross and their cunning to prevail against Thy power."'

Next morning, when Abraha wished to proceed to Mecca, his elephant, with whose keeper (be it observed) Abdu-l-Mottaleb had made friendship, would not rise from the ground; and a virulent epidemic of small-pox broke out in the camp, necessitating the hasty retreat of the Abyssinians. But besides the fact that Abdu-l-Mottaleb had 200 camels to lose on a single occasion, there may be mentioned another indirect proof of his opulence. The Fihrist contains the following notice: 'In the museum of Mamun there was a document in the handwriting of Abdu-l-Mottaleb Ibn Hashim, written on leather. It was to the effect that Abdu-l-Mottaleb of Mecca had a claim on a certain Himyarite of Wark Sana, amounting to 1000 dirhems of silver, not counted, but weighed with an iron weight; and that, on demand, he received payment of that debt.'

Abdu-l-Mottaleb not only occupied a most influential social and political position in Mecca, but he was also a rigid devotee of idol-worship, as is proved by his readiness to sacrifice one of his own sons at the Kaaba. The following narrative is taken from Ibn Ishak: 'It is believed that when, at the time of the digging of the Zemzem well, the other Koreishites showed hostility to Abdu-l-Mottaleb, he made the vow that if he should ever have ten sons of an age to give him assistance, he would sacrifice one of them at the Kaaba. As soon as his ten sons had grown up to the requisite age, he informed them of his vow, and requested them to submit to its fulfilment. On expressing their readiness, and inquiring how it was to be done, he said to them, "Let every one of you write his name on an arrow and give it me." This done, he went to the idol Hobal who was placed within the Kaaba and before whom the sacrifices of the temple were offered. Hobal had seven arrows, each with a different inscription. If the arrow with the inscription "atonement" was drawn, the person for whom it was drawn had to pay the price of blood; if with "yes" or "no," a question was answered in the affirmative or negative; if with "water," the digging of a well was agreed to; if with "from you," or "not from you," a person was declared to belong, or not to belong, to a certain tribe; and if with "remaining," the case remained undecided. If they wished for

the answer "yes," but received the answer "no," they used to wait a year, and then repeat the inquiry till it became possible for them to act in agreement with the oracle. Abdu-l-Mottaleb's dearest son was Abd Allah, Mohammed's father; yet when the lot fell on him, Abdu-l-Mottaleb, provided with his sword, at once took him to the idols Isaf and Naila, to sacrifice him. But his other sons and the Koreish in general interfered, saying, "By Allah, thou shalt not slay him! for if thou do, any one might bring his son for an offering, and then how could mankind continue?" Upon this they agreed to submit the case to a priestess in Khaibar who had "a spirit that followed her." After she had learned from them that in their home the atonement for a man was ten camels, she told them, "Go home, place Abd Allah on one side and ten camels on the other, and let lots be drawn between them. If the arrow for the camels comes out, then sacrifice them in his stead—he is saved, and your Lord satisfied; but if the arrow for Abd Allah comes out, then add ten camels more; and go on in this way until the arrow for the camels is drawn." Having returned to Mecca, they acted on this advice, and the arrow for the camels was not drawn till their number had been increased to one hundred.'

To show Abdu-l-Mottaleb's special affection for his grandson, Ibn Ishak further narrates: 'The Apostle of God lived with his mother and grandfather; but his mother died in Abwa, between Mecca and Medina, when returning with him from a visit to his uncles, the Beni Adi, he being only six years old. After her death, he lived entirely with his grandfather. Abdu-l-Mottaleb had his couch near the Kaaba and when his sons attended on him, they stood around the couch; but such was their reverence for him, that none of them ever ventured to sit upon it. Once the Apostle of God, when yet a little boy, came and sat down on the couch. His uncles wanted to remove him, but Abdu-l-Mottaleb forbade it, saying, "Leave my son alone: by Allah, he will one day occupy a high rank!" Then he allowed him to remain sitting by his side and to stroke him, being pleased with whatever the child did. When the Apostle of God was eight years old, eight years after the elephant year, Abdu-l-Mottaleb died.'

One of his daughters lamented him in the following dirge,

'Shed tears in abundance, O mine eye, over the bountiful, the noble, the very best that ever rode on camel; over the excellent father who diffused blessings like the Euphrates. He was a lion, when anything great had to be fought for: every eye looked up to him. He was the prince of the Beni Kinana: of him they expected help, when the times brought misfortune; he was their refuge, when war threatened destruction; and he combated for them against every calamity. Oh weep for him, and weary not to mourn him, as long as there are weeping women!'

After Abdu-l-Mottaleb's death, the little boy Mohammed was taken to the house of his uncle Abu Talib, to whom Abdu-l-Mottaleb had commended him, because his father Abd Allah was Abu Talib's double brother, that is, they had not only a common father, but also one and the same mother, Fatima, the daughter of Amr Ibn Aid. 'Abu Talib now took care of the Apostle of God and always kept him near his person.'

It must, therefore, be admitted as beyond dispute, that Mohammed belonged to a family and a tribe which enjoyed a high position in their country, and were the distinguished exponents of a pure and genuine Arab nationality. The tribe of the Koreish, amongst which he was born and brought up, greatly prided itself on the purity of their descent and the services they had rendered to the fatherland and its temple. After having long felt the disadvantages and evils accruing from the disunion and disruption to which they had been a prey, in common with the whole nation, they at last wisely united, and, by valour no less than by a prudent use of circumstances, succeeded in making themselves masters of the important city of Mecca, at once the religious metropolis and an opulent emporium of the entire nation. The family in which Mohammed was born and bred, exercised a most powerful political and social influence; and, as we have seen, took the most prominent part in the negotiations with the invading Abyssinian army which had penetrated to the neighbourhood of Mecca, but was successfully kept from taking and sacking the city by Abdu-l-Mottaleb's dexterous management. The highest interests of this family centred in the national sanctuary, of which they had acquired the

superintendence, and whose pilgrims they were privileged to supply with food and water. Their riches were gained and multiplied by a diligent participation in the mercantile enterprises of the leading Meccan houses; and the regular trading expeditions to foreign lands which they assiduously used widened the circle of their knowledge and raised the scope of their aspirations.

All these more or less favourable circumstances could not but have a very decided effect and produce a certain ineffaceable impress upon any Meccan citizen of a susceptible nature and a calculating turn of mind. Now of such a nature and of such a bent of mind was Mohammed. Viewing the Arabian Prophet from the standpoint of family and kinship, we cannot but be struck with the thought that the religious aims and worldly projects which he mixed up in his mind and resolutely pursued by means as unscrupulous as they proved successful, were in full accord with his birth and education, and, in fact, the natural outcome of his antecedents. Belonging to a family of lordly merchants, the self-constituted guardians of the national temple, and inheriting alike their mercantile enterprise and their religious enthusiasm, he did not shrink from present self-denial and privation in order to secure the rich prize he saw glittering in the distance. As a merchant in a higher sphere and on a grander scale, he risked much and gained more. His later successes did credit to the mercantile family amongst which he had obtained his early schooling. But manifold and powerful as were the influences acting upon Mohammed from without, their actual results were necessarily shaped in accordance with the physical and psychical constitution, and with the strongly marked *personality*, of the man himself.

IV. *The Personal Factor.*

Mohammed was the only child of his father Abd Allah, the son of Abdu-l-Mottaleb, and of his mother Amina, the daughter of Wahb, lord of the Beni Zuhra. Ibn Ishak calls Amina 'the noblest woman amongst the Koreish, both by descent and rank.' He also states that Abd Allah died before the birth of his son; and Amina when he was only

six years of age. From this early death of both his parents it may perhaps be inferred that they were not of a sound constitution and robust health, and that his own highly sensitive and delicate nature may have been inherited from them.

At all events, his mother must have been a nervous, visionary person, if the traditional accounts of her have any foundation in facts, and are not altogether gratuitous inventions. The following narrative is attributed to her: 'When six months of my pregnancy had passed, I once happened to be in a state between waking and sleeping, and some one said to me: "Knowest thou that thou art with child?" and on my replying in the negative, that person continued, "Verily thou art bearing the Lord and Prophet of this nation." As the time of parturition drew near, that person again appeared to me in a vision, and said, "Commit him to the protection of the One, against the harm of every envier; and call his name Mohammed." Then this speaker from the unseen world added, "The sign of the truth of my word is, that, together with that Mohammed, a light shall be born which will fill the palaces of Bosra." On another occasion, likewise before Mohammed's birth, I saw in reality that a light proceeded from me by which the whole world became illuminated. It was by a reflection from this light that previously the palaces of the land of Bosra had become visible to me, so that I clearly saw them in Mecca.

'In the night when labour-pain seized me, I heard a great voice by which I was terrified; and I saw, as it were, a white wing brush across my bosom, whereupon that terror left me. Then I saw a cup with a white beverage, placed before me, resembling milk; and as I was thirsty I drank it and became quite calm and composed. In the same night there also appeared in my house a peculiar kind of birds which filled the whole house. Their beaks were of emerald, and their wings of ruby. The Most High lifted the veil off my eye, so that I saw the eastern and the western portions of the earth, and I beheld them plant three banners: one in the east, one in the west, and one on the roof of the Kaaba. At the birth there issued forth from me, together with the child, a light by which I saw the palaces of Bosra in Syria. When Mohammed was born, a white cloud from heaven enveloped

him, and took him up to heaven, so that he disappeared out of my sight. In that state I heard a caller call out, "Pass him through the east and west of the earth, and take him to the birthplaces of the prophets, that they may bless him, and pray for him, and that they may clothe him in the dress of the Hanifites, and present him to his father Abraham; and take him also to all the seas, that all their inhabitants may know his name, his attributes, and his form. Verily, in the seas his name is Annihilator, for not a grain of Polytheism remains on the face of the earth that shall not be annihilated in his time." Then in an instant they brought Mohammed back to me, wrapt in wool whiter than snow,' etc. etc.

Ibn Ishak narrates: 'The Apostle of God was born on a Monday in "the year of the elephant" (see p. 9), when twelve nights of the month Rabia-l-ewwel had passed. After he was born, his mother sent for Abdu-l-Mottaleb, begging him to come and see the child. When he came, she told him what she had seen during the time of her pregnancy, what she was told about him, and how she had been commanded to name him. It is believed that his grandfather then took him in his arms, and carried him to the Kaaba, to thank God for the gift; and after this was done, he brought him back to his mother and began to look out for a wet-nurse.'

In the Mohammedan biography entitled Rawzet ul Ahbab, the subject of the wet-nurse is thus introduced: 'It was customary amongst the noble families of the Arabs to give their children to wet-nurses, so that their wives might without care or trouble occupy themselves with their husbands, and bear the more children; and also because it is acknowledged that the enjoyment of fresh water and a healthy climate by children predisposes them to clearness of speech and eloquence. Hence they used to have their children nursed amongst Arab tribes, whose localities were celebrated for their pure water and salubrious air. Of all the Arab tribes the Beni Saad enjoyed the highest reputation on the score of the excellency of their air and water. Accordingly the women of the tribes in the neighbourhood of Mecca used to come to the city twice a year, in spring and autumn, for the purpose of obtaining infants to nurse; and when they had

received any, they took them away with them to their own tribe, to suckle and tend them there.'

Ibn Ishak has preserved to us the story which, in after-days, the Saadite woman Halima is reported to have told as to the way in which she became Mohammed's wet-nurse. It is highly coloured, to suit Moslem notions as to the special providences which ought to have signalised their Prophet from his infancy, and runs as follows: 'In a year of grievous famine I left my home with my husband and sucking babe, together with other women of the Beni Saad, who likewise were in search of babies for suckling. I had a troublesome journey, because my baby was crying with hunger. Neither myself nor the she-camel we took with us had milk enough to satisfy him; and the donkey on which I rode was so lean and weak that it could not keep pace with the caravan, and proved an irksome drag to it. But we buoyed ourselves up with the hope of help and deliverance, till we at last reached Mecca. The Apostle of God was offered to all the women; but none of them would accept him as soon as they learned that he was an orphan. For we expected presents from the fathers of the sucklings, and thought that a mere grandfather and widow mother were not likely to do much for us. But when all the other women had found sucklings, and we were about to return home, I said to my husband, "By Allah! I do not like to go back with my companions without a suckling; I will take this orphan." He replied, "Thou wilt not be a sufferer by taking it: God may bless us on its account." So I took the child, from no other reason than that I could not find another. When I laid him on my bosom, he found so much milk that he could drink till he had enough, and likewise his foster-brother drank, and was satisfied. Then they also both slept quietly, whilst before that my own child had been so restless as to give us no sleep. My husband, on going to our camel, found her quite swollen with milk, and drew so much from her that both he and I could drink as much as we liked; and we spent a most happy night. The following morning my husband said to me, "Know, O Halima, that thou hast obtained a blessed child." I replied, "By Allah, I hope so!" Then we departed, and I took him with me on my ass, which now ran so nimbly that my fellow-

travellers, with their asses, could hardly follow, and asked me whether this was the same animal as that on which I came. After our arrival at home, in the land of the Beni Saad, the most unfruitful of lands, my cattle returned every evening satisfied and full of milk, so that we had milk enough to drink whilst others suffered great want. Thus we found God's blessing and abundance in everything, till two years had passed, when the boy was weaned, having grown stronger than any other child. We now took him to his mother, though desirous to keep him longer, on account of the blessing he had brought to us. Accordingly I said to his mother: "Will you not leave your child longer with us, till he has grown stronger; for I fear the bad air of Mecca might prove hurtful to him?" We urged the matter until she consented, and sent the child back with us.'

The necessity which thus appeared to have existed, and to which Halima's story only covertly alludes, of securing to the child the benefit of a more invigorating climate beyond the usual term of suckling, confirms the assumption of his constitutional delicacy. An event happening not long after his second return to the country of the Beni Saad is a palpable *proof* that he was organically and from childhood an hysterical, visionary subject. Ibn Ishak reports that, when their Prophet was one day asked by some of his friends for an account of his early life, he described that event in the following words: 'Once, whilst I was tending the cattle, together with my foster-brother, two men clothed in white and bearing a golden wash-basin, filled with snow, came towards me, seized me, split open my body, took out my heart, cut it open, and removed from it a black clot, which they threw away. Then they washed my heart and body quite clean with the snow, and one of them said to the other, "Weigh him against ten of his people;" and when he did so, I outweighed them. Then he said, "Weigh him against a hundred of his people;" but I again outweighed them. He continued, "Weigh him against a thousand of his people;" and when I outweighed them too, he said, "Leave him now: for if thou wert to put his entire people into the scale, he would outweigh them all."'

Halima also refers to the same subject, proceeding with

her story as follows: 'Some months after our return home, when he was with the cattle, in company of his foster-brother, the latter, one day, came running to us, and said, "Two men robed in white, have seized my brother, the Koreishite, stretched him on the ground, cut open his body, and felt about in it."[1] I and his father hastened to the spot, and, finding him quite altered in appearance, we asked him what had happened. He answered thus: "There came towards me two men in white clothes, stretched me on the ground, split open my body, and sought something in it, I know not what." We brought him to our tent, and his father said to me, "I fear this boy is plagued by evil spirits: take him back to his family, before it becomes known." We therefore soon started to take him to his mother. She, on seeing us so unexpectedly, exclaimed, "O nurse, what has happened to bring thee hither, after all thy solicitation to keep the child longer?" I answered, "God has allowed my son to grow up; I have done my part, and am afraid lest any misfortune should happen to him." Amina rejoined, "This is not the reason: tell me the exact truth;" and she urged me, till I told her all that had taken place. Upon this she said to me, "Fearest thou that he is possessed with an evil spirit?" and on my answering "yes," she continued, "Never, by Allah! Satan finds no access to him; for he will one day have to occupy a high position. Shall I tell thee something about him?" On my again answering "yes," she went on, saying, "When I was with child I saw a light shining forth from me, so bright as to illuminate the palaces of Bosra in Syria. My pregnancy was lighter and pleasanter than I had ever seen. As soon as he was born he stretched out his hands on the ground, and raised his head towards heaven. But leave him now with me, and return safely to thy home."'

This account of an event happening in Mohammed's childhood, when, however, he cannot have been merely two or three years old, but must have been about double that age, is of great importance in rightly estimating his character and history. It proves that the hysterical paroxysms from which he suffered in after life, and to which he attributed his

[1] The boy, of course, narrates, not what he had seen himself, with his own eye, but what Mohammed had seen and told him.

prophetic call, did not result from the visit of an angel bringing him Divine revelations, as is believed by the Mohammedans, but were the natural outcome of a diseased state of health, and of an abnormal physical constitution, dating back to the earliest period of his life. Just as in his mature age he remained conscious of the sensations he felt during his cataleptic fits, so also in the instance of his childhood, related by his Bedouin nurse and himself, he was able to describe the subjective play of a disordered imagination during the paroxysm, as if it had been an objective reality. The disorder from which he suffered is supposed by his medical biographer Sprenger to have been *hysteria muscularis*, and although its attacks closely resembled common epileptic fits, yet they also differed from them, inasmuch as he retained a recollection of the workings of his mind during the paroxysms, which is not the case in ordinary epilepsy. Mohammed's hysterical sensations and visionary fantasies obviously were involuntary, and yet proceeded only from within his own psychical world, just as our ordinary dreams come involuntarily, but are nevertheless originated by ourselves. The nature of both phenomena is one purely subjective.

When Mohammed was six years old, his mother took him with her on a visit to their relatives in Medina. His great-grandmother Salma belonging to the powerful family of the Beni Adi, and his father Abd Allah having died, and lying buried amongst them, the little orphan was naturally remembered with interest by a number of friends and connections in Medina. The widowed Amina, on her part, whose entire hope centred in the one child, was equally disposed to keep up and refresh that interest amongst her son's kindred in the sister-city, which was at once his father's last resting-place and his grandfather's birthplace. They remained a whole month with the Beni Adi, living in the very house where Abd Allah had died; and, when many years later Medina opened her gates to the fugitive Prophet, he said that he could still recollect several scenes of this early visit. The short stay in the feverish climate of Medina seems to have been too much for his mother's delicate health; for she died during their return journey, before they reached Mecca. Such a tragic event was eminently calculated to intensify

the sympathy for the now fatherless and motherless orphan amongst his kinsmen and well-wishers in Medina; and it is but natural to imagine that they always made it a point to look after and befriend him, whenever they performed their pilgrimage to the shrine of Mecca, which was situated close to his grandfather's dwelling-house. This family relationship and its mutual cultivation prepared the way for, and doubtless first suggested the idea of, Mohammed's later emigration to Medina. It also supplies an easy explanation of the early conversion of a number of Medinites to Islam.

After Amina's death, her orphan son passed to the sole guardianship of his aged grandfather, the revered and influential Abdu-l-Mottaleb, who seems to have doted upon him with all the fondness and over-indulgence so often met with in grandparents towards their grandchildren, and who, before he died, urgently commended him to the care of Abu Talib, the child's paternal uncle. The biographers say that Abu Talib's love for his ward was such that he preferred him to his own children, and would never allow a meal to be begun until he was present. It requires no stretch of imagination to understand how such unusual deference to a young lad, could hardly fail to engender in his extremely susceptible mind strong notions about his own peculiar importance, dignity, and destiny; and, as fortune-tellers were then in great repute amongst the Meccans, it could easily be conceived that, for a trifle, those notions were fostered by their prognostications, even if Mohammedan history did not make express mention of the subject. But Ibn Ishak writes thus: 'A fortune-teller of the tribe Sihb often came to Mecca and prophesied to the lads taken to him by the Koreishites. On Abu Talib one day coming with some, the fortune-teller specially noticed the Apostle of God; but his attention was just then occupied with something else. As soon as he had finished, he again inquired after him, and desired that he should be brought. Abu Talib, suspecting those pressing solicitations, concealed him, whereupon the soothsayer called out, "Woe unto you! bring me that lad again whom I have just seen: by Allah, he will one day occupy a high position!"'

Early travelling with the far-famed mercantile caravans

of Mecca could not but widen the mental horizon of the aspiring youth, afford ample scope for his calculating mind, and prove a good school for becoming acquainted with different classes of men and for learning how to deal with them. His father, his uncles, his grandfather and great-grandfather, all took part in mercantile pursuits, and derived much of their wealth from joining other merchants in regular trading expeditions of large dimensions to foreign lands. Mohammed himself also had in all probability joined many of these caravans before he had developed those mercantile qualifications and trading abilities which afterwards recommended him as a fit and desirable agent to the wealthy merchant widow Khadija who engaged him.

But what appears to be his first journey of the kind, when he was still quite young, is fully narrated by the biographers. They tell us that, on one occasion, when Abu Talib was ready to start, his orphan nephew clung to him saying, 'O my uncle, I have neither mother nor father: with whom wilt thou leave me? Take me with thee on the journey.' This so touched the uncle's heart that he replied: 'By Allah! I take thee with me and allow nothing to separate us.' So they set out together, and the caravan halted, as was their wont, near the abode of a Christian anchorite, Bahira by name.

The biographers' predilection for the marvellous, and for discovering prognostications concerning Mohammed's later career, fastens on this journey; and they seriously narrate that Bahira, whom they represent as 'well acquainted with the Christian Scriptures,' had a book in his cell from which the monks instructed themselves, and which passed from one to another, as an heirloom. In this book the Arabian Prophet is reported to have been so minutely described that Bahira recognised him without difficulty in Abu Talib's nephew. On examining his back, he found the so-called 'seal of prophetship,' in the very place between his shoulders where it was to be, according to the description of the book. It had the appearance of the cicatrice left by cupping; and taking into consideration the lad's previous state of ill-health, it very probably was nothing more than what it looked. Bahira is then reported to have addressed this counsel to Abu Talib: 'Go home with the lad and carefully keep him

from the Jews: for if they see and recognise him as I do, they will seek to do him harm. Surely this thy nephew will one day occupy a high rank.' Abu Talib acted on this advice as soon as he had finished his business transactions in Syria.

Thus Mohammed grew up in the bosom of a mercantile family and in the midst of a busy city of traders; and turning these favourable circumstances to good account, he became himself an accomplished man of business and a practical merchant. His attractive personal qualities and eminent fitness for doing a profitable trade led to his marriage with the wealthy widow Khadija; and the vast increase of worldly means thus placed at his disposal favoured his conception and pursuit of still higher and more pretentious aims.

Ibn Ishak mentions the circumstances leading to the marriage with Khadija; and faithful to the general Moslem propensity of embellishing the ordinary events in Mohammed's life with traits of the supernatural, narrates as follows: 'The Koreish were a mercantile tribe, and Khadija an honourable merchant lady who placed her goods in the hands of agents for trading purposes and allowed them a share in the profits. When she heard of Mohammed's faithfulness, truthfulness, and good manners, she proposed to him to take the charge of her goods for Syria, offering better terms to him than to any one else. Mohammed accepted the proposal and took her merchandise to Syria, accompanied by her trusted servant Meisara. When he rested under the shadow of a tree, near the cell of an anchorite, the latter said to Meisara: "Under this tree no one has ever rested except a prophet." After having disposed of their goods and bought others instead, they returned to Mecca; but on the way, as is believed, Meisara saw two angels overshadow Mohammed, whilst he was riding on his camel, in the heat of the day. On their reaching Mecca, the goods they had brought with them were sold, and Khadija found that the capital invested had been doubled, or nearly so. Meisara also told her what the anchorite had said, and what he himself had seen of the overshadowing angels.

'When Khadija, who was an intelligent, good, and noble

lady, whom God had destined to high favours, had heard these things, she sent for Mohammed and said to him, "My cousin, I love thee on account of thy kinship with me, on account of the esteem thou enjoyest among thy people, as well as on account of thy faithfulness, truthfulness, and good manners;" and she wound up by offering herself to him for his wife. Khadija was at that time the most renowned of the Koreish ladies, both as regards her descent and her great wealth, so that every man amongst her people exceedingly desired to obtain her in marriage. Mohammed, who was then twenty-five years old, gladly accepted her flattering offer and went with his uncle Hamza to Khuweiled Ibn Asad, her father, formally to ask for her hand, and giving her twenty young camels as her wedding gift. Khadija was Mohammed's first wife, during whose lifetime he married no other, and she was the mother of all his children, with the only exception of Ibrahim, whom he had by the Coptic woman Mary.'

We are further informed by the biographers that Khadija lost no time in communicating Meisara's report about the anchorite and the overshadowing angels to her cousin, Waraka Ibn Nawfal, known as a learned Christian, reading the Scriptures; and that he said to her, 'If what thou hast told me is true, then Mohammed will become the *prophet* of this nation; for I know that such a prophet is to be expected and that the time is near.' He also made the following declaration on the subject in verse: 'Mohammed shall become the *lord* of this nation and shall conquer those who make the pilgrimage; he shall produce a light in the land by which unsteady mankind shall be kept straight; he shall destroy his enemies and bless those who are at peace with him.'

Now though this prophecy be nothing more than a *vaticinium post eventum*, put into Waraka's mouth for the glorification of Mohammed, it still tends to show that, in the eyes of his admiring Arab countrymen, it did not appear as at all unnatural or unreasonable to anticipate for him, even at that early period, an exalted position, both religious and political. For they saw that by his lucky marriage command of wealth had been added to his prestige as a

distinguished member of the most powerful aristocratic family of Mecca, which, at the same time, held the highest rank in religion, as the special guardians of the national sanctuary.

But this account of Khadija's visit possesses a still further significance of moment by showing that, already at this early period, she felt so drawn to her Hanifite friend Waraka, as to consult with him on delicate matters of affection and family interest. It is therefore exceedingly probable that she herself also sympathised at heart with the views and aspirations of the Hanifite sect. Fifteen years later, when perplexed and distressed on account of her husband's strange visions, we find her again resorting to the same counsellor for guidance and relief. Now by allowing due weight to both these facts, expressly reported by the historians, we may justly infer that likewise during the fifteen years' interval Hanifite sympathies and Hanifite influences were no strangers in the household of Khadija and her husband. In that household it was not the youthful husband but the staid wife who gave the tone and bore the sway. Khadija was evidently an Arab lady of a strong mind and mature experience, who maintained a decided ascendency over her husband, and managed him with great wisdom and firmness. This appears from nothing more strikingly than from the very remarkable fact that she succeeded in keeping him from marrying any other wife, as long as she lived, though at her death, when he had long ceased to be a young man, he indulged without restraint in the multiplication of wives. But as Khadija herself was favourably disposed towards Hanifism, it is highly probable that she exercised her commanding influence over her husband in such a manner as to promote and strengthen his own attachment to the reformatory sect of monotheists.

Under these conditions of religion, rank, wealth, domestic influence and friendly intercourse with awakened patriots who were fretting beneath the shackles of prevailing superstitions and anxiously feeling after religious reform, Mohammed's otherwise uneventful life smoothly passed on, till a serious and protracted return of his early cataleptic fits brought to the surface what had long been working in the

depths of his soul, and placed him before the public in an entirely new character—that of a man claiming to be God's specially commissioned Apostle or Ambassador. It is to the more direct tracing of this gradual inward process from its first inception till it reached its full manifestation, or, as it were, crystallised into solidity, that we have now to direct our attention.

V. *The Product of the afore-mentioned Factors, or Mohammed assuming the character of a Prophet and Messenger of God.*

The facts and data hitherto marshalled furnish us with adequate means, apart from all reference to any special intervention of Providence, for comprehending that remarkable character which stamped itself so mysteriously on the pages of history as *the Prophet and Ruler of Arabia* and as *the Author of the Politico-religious System of Islam.*

We have seen that by birth Mohammed belonged to a family which, from its influential political position, and from its enjoyment of valuable privileges connected with the national sanctuary, naturally took a special interest in the concerns of the whole nation, and regarded with indignation and pain the progress of foreign domination in the common Arab fatherland. It can be easily conceived, especially if we take into account the sociable manner in which the Arabs like to spend their leisure hours, how inevitably these matters must have formed, within the temple precincts, that regular rendezvous of the people, the topic of frequent and earnest conversations, to which Mohammed could not possibly have remained a stranger.

These deliberations about the degraded, suffering state of the nation, about the urgency and best method of doing something for its deliverance, necessarily affected Mohammed all the more deeply and strongly, the more he was distinguished by susceptibility, pensiveness, and activity of mind. Whatever stirred his soul, stirred it to the bottom, and took possession of it with something like overwhelming force. The patriotic feelings, extensively called into play around him, were sure to find in him a patriot of uncommon

devotion and of a planning, plotting thoughtfulness. The ills and wounds of the country lay patent to all. The Arab nation was one only in name, was a mere 'geographical idea;' but in reality it was broken up into endless subdivisions of independent tribes and clans, kept asunder by frequent inter-tribal feuds and worried by acrimonious internal dissensions, so that they fell an easy prey to the covetous designs of surrounding nations. Under these circumstances the earnest patriots could not easily mistake their duty. It must have appeared plain to them that, before everything else, they were to seek to unite the discordant elements into one political whole, and thus to form a power strong enough to effect a speedy emancipation from the foreign yoke, and to guard against the danger of a return of such calamities in the future. Of some such kind as this, were, in all probability, the political thoughts and aspirations which occupied and possessed Mohammed's mind, up to the time of the great personal crisis from which he emerged as the Prophet of his people; and their reflex action can be distinctly traced in the excessive political colouring of the religion which he bestowed on his followers.

But let Mohammed and his fellow-patriots set about realising their political plan, and by what truly appalling obstacles will they find themselves confronted! To call into existence a great political union—how difficult everywhere, and what a truly Herculean task in a country like Arabia! Where was the authority, the overawing power, likely to command recognition and submission from so many independent tribes, jealous of their liberty and morbidly suspicious of each other, or even from the small but proud aristocratic oligarchy of Mecca? The only thing known to them as possessing a sort of national influence was their temple in Mecca and the religion it represented: but this had wholly failed thus far in proving the uniting force required. Still it seemed that nothing short of a power possessing Divine authority could serve the purpose. Might not, therefore, the traditional religion be rendered serviceable by means of *reform?* Or might, perhaps, any other religion, with its supernatural prestige, be found preferable? Was it not by their religion, that the Christian Abyssinians and the

Christian Romans were united powers? Surely, if questions like these arose in the minds of Mohammed and other Arab patriots, it was very natural; and if religion was looked upon by them as one of the strongest bonds of union, they only gave proof of a just appreciation of facts.

As by birth Mohammed belonged to a family which was at once the chief representative of political power and the principal exponent of the traditional religion; so by marriage he had become the husband of an able and high-minded wife, old enough to be his mother, and exercising a controlling influence over his whole life. She not only herself entertained strong leanings towards the reform movement that had lately sprung up, but also cultivated familiar intercourse with near relatives and friends who took a leading part in the new religious fraternity. If Mohammed was not yet a Hanifite before his marriage, he surely soon became one, either openly or secretly, under the dominant conjugal influence of Khadija, and through the encouraging example of her esteemed kinsmen and acquaintances. For he was of a plastic nature and easily influenced by those to whom he felt attached. The Hanifites, though primarily a religious sect of Deists, in opposition to Polytheism, were mostly also warm patriots, intent on promoting the political union and well-being of their nation. One of their number, Khadija's cousin Othman, sought to establish a strong central government in Mecca, with the aid and under the prestige of the Roman Emperor, and, doubtless, in the hope of thus eventually securing for his country the inestimable blessings of Christianity, to which Hanifism was only a sort of midway-station, or stepping-stone, as indeed it had proved in his own case. But Othman completely failed with his scheme, and, after a very brief rule, had to save his life by a precipitate flight from the fury of his countrymen, who looked on his mild government as an intolerable yoke.

This very failure of Othman, through his relying on the aid and religion of a foreign country, plainly conveyed the lesson to the Hanifite friends whom he had left behind him in Mecca, that an entire dependence on their own people, the recognition, to a certain extent, of the ancient central sanctuary, and the preservation of a strictly national charac-

ter, might form a surer and a safer road to the goal after which they aspired. They had had a proof before their very eyes that to put forward the Christian religion as a shibboleth implied, in the estimation of the public, a reliance on the foreign States of Abyssinia and Rome and was sure to evoke all the national jealousies and animosities of the proud and sensitive Arabs. The religion prevailing in Mecca, notwithstanding its tolerant and comprehensive character, had no less failed as a rallying-point and uniting force to bring about the desired national union and national strength. For though the Kaaba enjoyed a wide reputation and included a great number of idols, yet different towns and districts possessed images and tutelary deities of their own to which they fondly clung, and which they were not prepared to give up or degrade in favour of others. Moreover, belief in the polytheistic shrine of Mecca had become greatly undermined by a widespread monotheistic ferment, the outcome of Judaism and Christianity. The Hanifites had indeed personally risen above the national idol-worship: they had clearly discerned that its time was fast passing away, that the spirit of the age demanded progress, and that a religion was needed more in keeping with the higher aspirations of man and with the truer ideas of the sacred writings by which the Jews and the Christians were raised so far above the benighted Pagans. But to be guided exclusively by the spiritual interests of pure religion might most seriously conflict with their much cherished political plans; and to yield to the latter the paramount importance they seemed to demand, might fatally interfere with the supreme interests of the revealed religion to which their consciences had become more or less awakened.

It is clear, then, that in this critical state two courses still presented themselves as possible to the partisans of Hanifism. Some of them might conscientiously subordinate their political aspirations and worldly plans to the deepest cravings of their God-seeking heart and openly embrace the religion of revelation and salvation, regardless of temporal consequences. Others might remain entangled in national political schemes and seek to find out a middle path. These would endeavour to unite the superior religious truths which had

dawned upon them with such a recognition of the hereditary sanctuary and its guardians as might prove helpful in gaining over a majority of the people to the intended compromise, and thus prepare the way for more extended national projects.

As a matter of fact, such a division between the leading advocates of religious reform actually took place. Ibn Ishak narrates that Waraka and Othman became Christians. Obeid Allah at first joined his cousin Mohammed, but afterwards likewise entered the Christian Church in Abyssinia, where also he remained till his death. Zeid, however, neither embraced Judaism nor Christianity, but professed to hold the Faith of Abraham and boldly repudiated all idol-worship. He openly rebuked his countrymen for their idolatry and evil practices, and strenuously sought to make propaganda for his views. In consequence of his zeal, he was persecuted and had to take up his abode outside the city on Mount Hira, where he probably remained for the rest of his life and was buried at the foot of the mount, though some traditions have it that he finally left his country and was killed amongst the Lachmites.

Mohammed, it appears, chiefly moulded himself after the pattern of Zeid, and, like him, professed to hold and teach nothing but the ancient Faith of Abraham. Though not really a great mind or original thinker, and rather of a soft, impressible nature, yet Mohammed possessed a good deal of tenacity; and what he had once mentally seized upon, he held fast, ruminated over it, and strove to carry it out with as much firm perseverance as shrewd calculation. Men of Mohammed's hysterical disposition are often found to have such an unexpected amount of strong will and quiet resolve, bordering on stubborn obstinacy, that their whole soul becomes absorbed in their aspirations and they seem more possessed by their ideas than possessing them. Mohammed venerated Zeid, and quietly, but tenaciously, took up his views and aims. We are informed by Ibn Ishak that, on being asked after Zeid's death whether his soul might be prayed for, Mohammed unhesitatingly declared such prayer lawful, adding, 'In the resurrection he will be raised up as a distinct religious community.' Wakidy, another of his bio-

graphers, narrates that the Prophet gave Zeid the salutation of peace, an honour vouchsafed only to Moslems; that he invoked God's grace on him and affirmed, 'I have seen him in Paradise: he is drawing a train after him.' Sprenger, one of his most learned biographers, says, 'Mohammed openly acknowledged Zeid as his precursor, and every word known as Zeid's we find again in the Koran.'

An indirect proof of Mohammed's veneration for the Hanif Zeid, before he claimed to be a prophet, may also be discerned in the fact that the young slave whom he received as a present from his wife Khadija, and whom he manumitted and adopted for his own son, was named Zeid. For as Ibn Hisham tells us that he had been brought from Syria, where Christianity was already dominant, he most probably was of Christian parentage and bore a Christian name. Now if his Meccan master gave him instead the new name of Zeid, he obviously did so in honour of the esteemed Hanif reformer of the same name whom he revered as his own spiritual guide.

Neither Zeid nor Mohammed was spiritually prepared, nor had their conscience been sufficiently stirred by an adequate sense of their fallen condition and sinfulness, thankfully to accept the salvation and earnestly to long for the sanctification offered in the Gospel of Christ. They both were and remained mere 'natural men,' unable to discern 'the things of the Spirit of God' (1 Cor. ii. 14); and, as far as we know, they died without having experienced the second birth and the renewing of their mind by that same blessed Spirit. But notwithstanding this, both were equally persuaded and sincerely believed that it would be a desirable thing, making for their country's good, to have its irrational idolatry replaced by the more reasonable profession of a deistic Monotheism. Had Mohammed been actuated by truly ethical motives, and had he aimed at purely religious objects only, there would have been no reason why he should not have followed a Waraka, an Othman and others in embracing the religion of the God-man Christ Jesus, which offers to fallen man salvation from sin and communion with the reconciled 'Father in heaven.' But as he yielded to the allurements of the world and the attractions of secular power, and as he

contented himself in religion with a mere formal worship and an external relation to God, like that between slave and master, ignoring altogether the indispensable regeneration by the Holy Spirit, he fell into the same snare as Zeid. Like him he stubbornly adhered to Hanifism, as distinct from Christianity, Paganism, and Judaism, and thus occupied a religious position which necessarily bore not only an anti-Polytheistic and anti-Judaistic, but also an anti-Christian character. It is on account of this unsatisfactory ethical condition of Mohammed personally, and as its unmistakable reflex, that the Islam which he afterwards instituted was essentially and from the first not merely opposed to Polytheism, but also to Christianity. Even the marked Jewish colouring which for a brief term he gave it in Medina, was not genuine, but the result of shrewd political calculation, and consequently was at once discarded when he saw the latter fail.

Accordingly, the most momentous and fatal turning-point in Mohammed's ethical history is to be looked for not within his prophetic period, but some considerable time before it. Then already he was placed in the critical balance and found wanting. What followed upon this was only the natural outcome of his first momentous lapse. At the time when the more enlightened Hanifites quitted their intermedial position of Deism and consistently advanced to the goal of Christian Theism, to which it naturally tends and for which it is a mere preparation, Mohammed, with his religious guide Zeid, obstinately held back, and treated the preparatory and temporary as the perfect and the final. This was the fatal step, the moral and religious lapse which led to all the subsequent vagaries and errors. Both these men were then acting as the Jews also had acted, when invited by their Messiah to the sublime consummation for which their whole past history had been merely a preparation. The Jews shut their ears to Christ's voice, and instead of allowing their ancient religion, on which they so greatly prided themselves, to issue into 'the new and living way,' degraded it into a dead formalism.

It would have been as possible for Mohammed to follow the wisest of his Hanifite friends into the daylight of

Christianity, as obstinately to wrap himself up in the dim twilight of a perverted Hanifism. But by refusing to be led on to Christ, the Saviour of man, he culpably closed his eyes to 'the Light of the world,' and turned the Hanifite twilight, by means of which he might have found the right way, into the dense darkness of night. He had heard the Gospel invitation: 'Come unto Me;' and this could not but produce a crisis in his inner life. The gates of darkness and of light, of death and of life, stood open before him. It was for him to choose which of them to enter. Unhappily he allowed the crisis to pass away without coming to the light, that he might have life; and preferred to take his stand and his portion with those whose conduct on one occasion was thus censured by the mouth of truth, 'But ye would not' (Matt. xxiii. 37). We see, therefore, that Mohammed's position with respect to Christianity was fully decided in principle, years before he presented himself as a prophet. The fatal decision happened when he practically rejected its claims to sufficiency, finality, and universality, by his stubborn clinging to Hanifism.

Such appears to have been the spiritual and ethical condition of Mohammed's own person, when the notorious physico-psychical phenomena of his disordered health led to his posing himself as the prophet of a religion whose historical basis and personal substratum we have now sufficiently brought to light. The fuel is prepared and laid ready. Only the igniting spark is required to kindle the whole and set the sinister fire ablaze. This spark proceeded from the darkness of the inner and unseen world, like the flash of lightning from a black cloud.

A new religion, pretending to possess a better title than Judaism and Christianity for replacing the prevalent and time-honoured Idol-worship of Arabia, had, at the very least, to claim for itself an origin in Divine revelation; and for its Prophet a special call and heaven-imparted mission, similar to that of Moses at the burning bush and to that of Jesus, whose coming had been announced by the angel Gabriel. Mohammed's visionary predisposition and unsound state of health furnished the ready means needed for the occasion. All his ancient biographers agree in ascribing to him symp-

toms of a state of nervous derangement, called *hysteria musculariſ*, which in his case often manifested itself by acute paroxysms, culminating in cataleptic fits. During these paroxysms, as we have already learned, he retained consciousness, so that when they were over, he could still remember the wild fantasies and strange ravings of his overwrought imagination, which he held to be supernatural communications from a higher world. But it has been ascertained by medical observation that such hysterical subjects frequently develop a tendency to dissimulation and deception, and this they seek to conceal so dexterously from themselves and others, that it requires experienced skill to detect it. Thus the patriotic sentiments and ambitious aims, both of a political and religious character, which for a long time had taken possession of Mohammed's mind and had increasingly become the all-absorbing subject of his day-dreams, also retained their hold on his soul in sleep. They formed the burden of the strange reveries and excited fancies which agitated his mind during his cataleptic fits and mental hallucinations, and were in fact the birth-throes which ushered the unlooked-for 'Arabian Prophet' into the world.

Ibn Ishak, the renowned collector of Mohammedan traditions and the author of the earliest history of Mohammed's life preserved to us, who already has been repeatedly mentioned, lived about a hundred years after Mohammed, and on the ground of his communications we trace, in the following pages, Mohammed's gradual transformation into a prophet. All the later Arab historians follow in his track, only that, as a rule, the later the historian, the more his recital abounds with the marvellous.

Ibn Ishak opens the fourth section of his book by the following statement, based on a tradition derived from the Prophet's favourite wife Aisha: 'When the time had come that God wished to honour Mohammed and to show mercy to mankind, *Mohammed's prophetic mission began by his having true dreams, like the bright morning dawn, and by his partiality for solitude.*' The biographer, in pointing out the origin of what he regards as the Divine mission of his Prophet, only goes back to his dreams. He might have gone still further back, as we have done, and have traced

those dreams to the ideals and aims which filled his imagination in a waking state. The dreams possessed for him a certain impress of 'truth,' because they were the reflection of his waking thoughts; and in a subject of such supreme excitability of nerves as Mohammed, they assumed a vividness which suggested a comparison with the 'dawn of morning.' As we are not told what the dreams themselves were, we may suppose that they had substantially the same character with which we are all familiar from our own experience in dreamland. A man brooding over such far-reaching and momentous plans as Mohammed, will naturally acquire an air of gravity and contract a partiality for *solitude* in which he may undisturbedly indulge his reveries.

From this *first* stage in the formation of the Arabian Prophet, that of *dreams*, Ibn Ishak proceeds in due order to the *second*, that of *visions*. He tells us in his narrative, on the authority of another tradition derived from 'some learned man,' that, 'One day, when Mohammed had gone out on some business, he remained away so long that he was missed everywhere, having wandered far in the deep valley of Mecca; and whenever he passed a tree or a stone, they called out, "Peace to thee, thou Apostle of God!" But on turning round and looking in every direction, Mohammed saw nothing but stones and trees. In this state Mohammed remained a long time, seeing and hearing many a thing.' In a later biography, the Rawzet ul Ahbab, we are told that, 'Before the coming down of the Koran, for the space of eleven years, Mohammed was hearing voices, without seeing any person; and for the space of seven years he was seeing a light.' Here, then, we have *hallucinations of the ear and the eye* and the former beginning before the latter, an order which has also been observed in other individuals of a similar organisation. As in our dreams the involuntary activity of our imaginative soul presents its images to us as objective realities, though on waking we become conscious that these had no existence out of ourselves, but were merely the half-conscious play of our own psychical powers, so also, in a diseased state of the nervous system, the imaginations and cogitations of the soul can reflect themselves in a person's waking consciousness or half-consciousness under

the form of objective realities. In both cases the affected individual has the sensation of seeing and hearing, although he does not actually see and hear in the ordinary sense of the word. There is plainly a close affinity between the soul's activity which, in an abnormal state of health, produces these hallucinations of the senses and that which is at the bottom of our ordinary dreams. But however much Mohammed's hallucinations of this indefinite sort were a step in advance of his vivid dreams, they were not yet sufficient to constitute a prophet. The voices coming he knew not whence and the lights flickering at random had to take a more definite shape: the lights had to become a supernatural person to his eyes and the voices intelligible words of revelation to his ears.

Ibn Ishak's next paragraph is headed: '*How Gabriel first descended*,' and thus sets before us the *third* stage of the process by which Mohammed unexpectedly developed into the Prophet of his people. The account given by him is derived from Obeid Ibn Omair, who, under the early Califs, used publicly to recite their Prophet's personal history in Medina, and he narrated the supposed apparition in the following way: 'The Prophet used annually to spend a month on Mount Hira, as it was a custom with the Koreishites, in their heathen state, to regard this as *tahannuth* (*i.e.* penance). He fed the poor who came to him; and when the month was over, he first circumambulated the Kaaba seven times, or as many times as it pleased God; and not till then returned he to his own house. Now when the year of his mission came, he went to Hira as usual, together with his family, in the month of Ramazan. In the night when God, from mercy towards his servant, honoured him with His message, Gabriel brought to him God's behest. I was asleep, Mohammed himself narrated, when he brought to me a silk cloth, written all over, and said to me, "Read!" I replied, "I cannot read." Then he pressed me upon the cloth, so that I thought I must die; and, on releasing me, he said to me again, "Read!" On my answering him as at first, "I cannot read," he again covered me with the cloth, so that I nearly gave up the ghost. Having released me and repeating his previous

command, I, from fear of being treated as before, asked, "What shall I read?" He answered, "Read in the name of thy Lord who has created man from a clot of blood. Read, thy Lord is the Most Merciful who has taught man by the pen what he did not know." I now read and Gabriel departed from me. Then I awoke, and it was as if these words stood inscribed upon my heart. I came forth from the cave and stood in the midst of the mount, when I heard a voice from heaven calling unto me, "Mohammed, thou art the Apostle of God, and I am Gabriel." I raised my head towards heaven to look for him who was speaking, and I saw Gabriel in the form of a man with wings, and his feet on the horizon. He called out, "Mohammed, thou art the Apostle of God, and I am Gabriel." I remained standing and gazing, going neither forward nor backward. Then I turned away from him: but to whichever side I directed my looks I still saw him before me. So I remained standing, without going forward or backward, till Khadija sent people to look after me. They having gone as far as the height of Mecca, returned to her; but I remained standing till the angel went away and then returned to my family. When I came to Khadija, I sat down on her lap and pressed myself against her. She asked me where I had been, and told me that she had sent people to look after me who had gone as far as the height of Mecca and returned to her. On recounting to her what I had seen, she said: "Rejoice, my cousin, and be of good courage: by Him in whose power my soul is, I hope thou wilt become the Prophet of thy people!" Then she arose, dressed herself and went to her cousin, Waraka Ibn Nawfal, who was a Christian, had read the Scriptures and acquired much knowledge from the Jews and Christians, and told him what I had seen and heard. Waraka exclaimed, "Holy! Holy! by Him in Whose hand Waraka's soul is, if thou hast told me the truth, then the greatest Namus (=νόμος, Law) has come to him which also appeared to Moses, and he is the Prophet of this nation. Tell him to be constant." Thereupon Khadija returned to Mohammed and communicated to him what Waraka had said.'[1]

[1] The reader will no doubt have noticed that Waraka's exclamation bears a strong Mohammedan colouring. For if he was a Christian and had read the

But either Khadija was not fully convinced by what she is reported to have heard from her Christian cousin, or she wished to make assurance doubly sure; for Ibn Ishak gives his next paragraph the superscription: '*How Khadija tested Mohammed's revelation*,' and thus introduces the *fourth stage, which brought conviction to Khadija and through her to her husband, that he was indeed the recipient of Divine revelation as a chosen prophet of God.* The story is derived by tradition from Khadija's own mouth. 'I said to Mohammed, "Canst thou give me notice when thy friend appears to thee?" He said, "Yes." I begged him to do so. Now when Gabriel appeared to him next he informed me of it. I thereupon said to him, "Sit here on my left thigh;" and when he had done so, I inquired, "Dost thou still see him?" He replied, "Yes." Then I made him sit on my right thigh and asked whether he still saw him; and he having answered in the affirmative, I made him sit on my lap and repeated my question. On his again answering by "Yes," I sighed, threw off my veil, and inquired once more whether he still saw him, whereupon he replied "No." Then I said, "Rejoice, O my cousin, and be of good courage. By Allah, it is an angel and not a Satan!"'

Khadija's singular reasoning was this, that a good angel could not bear to see her in a state of undress, permitted only to the eyes of a husband; but that an evil spirit would enjoy the illicit sight and therefore remain. Truly a very earthly and questionable criterion for discriminating between angels and demons: as if clothes could be to the sight of spirits what they are to the eyes of men, an impenetrable covering, or, as if the sexless spirits needed such a protection!

Mohammed's Moslem biographers have connected his periodical retirement to Mount Hira with his development into a prophet; and even modern Christian writers have made much of the circumstance, with the view of enhancing the spiritual character of their hero. According to these

Scriptures, he could not look forward to a still higher stage of Divine revelation, through a new prophet. But it is quite usual with Moslem historians to put such fictitious speeches into the mouths of men, to heighten the prestige of their Prophet. The idea put into Waraka's mouth is thoroughly Mohammedan, but altogether unbecoming a Christian.

representations Mohammed appears like a great, original mind whose consuming thirst for religious truth and certainty drove him into a new and lonely path to seek by abstraction from everything earthly, and by uninterrupted intense meditation, that light and spiritual communion with God after which his soul panted. But the historical record just quoted informs us that his annual retirement to Hira, instead of being the newly opened path of an original mind whose extraordinary energy shapes for itself uncommon forms of manifestation, was rather 'a custom with the Koreishites in their heathen state,' which he docilely followed, with a characteristic want of originality; and as for the ascetic recluse he has been painted, at those times, we are told that he not only did not leave his cherished Khadija behind him in Mecca, but always went '*with his family.*'[1] Khadija was near him when he had his dream in the cave, and she had servants at hand to send in search of him when, on rising, she found that he had gone. They went 'as far as the height of Mecca,' and not finding him, returned to their mistress on Mount Hira. After having regained his consciousness, he, of his own accord, returned to his family and sat on Khadija's lap, pressing himself against her like a frightened child. We have evidently to understand that his family was accommodated in tents not far from the cave. For the cave itself is small, extending only a dozen feet, or so, into the rock. It could not hold the entire family, but was a cool and quiet recess for one or a few at a time. We are told that the Koreishites regarded these annual sojourns on Mount Hira as *tahannuth:* and in whichever sense we take this word, it gives us to understand that the religiously disposed of the people made special use of their leisure, during these

[1] It is really strange that in the teeth of such clear statements by the earliest Mohammedan history preserved to us, even theologians like Dr. Marcus Dods should present to their readers such pictures of their own imagination as he does in his published *Lectures on Mohammed*, saying, on p. 19, 'Who can doubt the earnestness of that search after truth and the living God, that drove the affluent merchant from his comfortable home and his fond wife, to make his abode for months at a time in the dismal cave of Mount Hira?' It is time that the mistaken representation of Mohammed's annual retirement to Mount Hira, as if he tore himself from every creature and was not rather following the general custom of his heathen countrymen, should at last give way to the sober truth of history.—See also Sir W. Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 55, 59, 82, 83.

seasons, for religious exercises. But such regular changes to the purer country air from the confined and not over-clean city, especially during the heat of summer, have been of old, and are still, a widespread custom throughout the East, for the purposes of health, retirement, or pleasure.

Perhaps in earlier years Mount Hira had a still more particular attraction for Mohammed. For it was here that the persistent Hanif Zeid, his spiritual guide and pattern, lived in banishment, after his expulsion from Mecca; and here he may have enjoyed undisturbed intercourse with Mohammed and other Meccan sympathisers, during their annual retirement from the bustle of city life, till his death. This opinion seems to be borne out by the note in which Ibn Hisham comments upon Ibn Ishak's statement that Mohammed annually retired to Mount Hira for the purpose of penance. For he observes that the word of the original translated by 'penance' (*tahannuth*) ought, in accordance with an Arab custom, to be pronounced with *f* for its final consonant (=*tahannuf*) and rendered by 'Hanifdom or Hanifism,' that is, 'the exercise of the true Faith,' which, with Hanifs, meant pure Deism, as opposed to the prevailing idolatry. Within the city of Mecca it was part of common propriety and good manners, especially for one so closely connected by birth with the national sanctuary as Mohammed, to conform to the practice of its polytheistic religion. Outside its precincts this yoke could be shaken off, in favour of a simple, liberal Deism, either from a sincere conviction of its superiority or as merely a more convenient substitute for the accustomed ritual observances. But it was in the interest of Islam as a religion directly revealed from heaven, for its historians to keep out of sight Mohammed's intercourse with better instructed, superior minds, like Zeid and others, to whom he stood in the relation more of a learner and pupil than of a prophet. According to the teaching of Islamism, Mohammed derived his prophetic qualifications not from any human instruction, but from direct communication with the angel Gabriel, whose first apparition, as just related, is therefore of special importance and ought to be well understood.

The first part of the vision, in which Mohammed was

commanded to read, was obviously a dream; for he says himself that at its close he 'awoke.' Mohammed, knowing perfectly well that the religion of the Jews and of the Christians was affirmed to have been derived from Divine revelation, necessarily felt that he could not well present himself to the Arabs with a new Law, or a new Gospel, unless he was able to point to something like a supernatural commission. Such waking desires of great intensity not infrequently lead to dreams which seem to bring their fulfilment. Towards the middle of the present century, there lived near Cape Mount on the West coast of Africa, an interesting man, named Doalu Bukere, who, when a little boy, was taught a few Scripture passages in English, but not how to read and write, because the missionary who had taught him soon left the country. Doalu burnt with desire to learn to read and write, but lacked the opportunity. Such hold had this wish taken on his mind that at last, when he had reached the age of manhood, he, one night, had a dream in which the white teacher of his childhood appeared to him again and taught him to make a number of syllabic signs in the sand, for writing his native language. In this way he was able to form a complete syllabarium of original signs wherewith to write the Vei language: the only instance on record of negroes having invented a mode of writing of their own and applied it practically to one of their languages. Doalu described his dream as so vivid, that, on waking in the morning, he still distinctly recollected many of the signs taught him, and the very attitude assumed by his teacher in writing them for him on the sand.[1] In a manner exactly similar Mohammed declared concerning the words which he dreamt that Gabriel had taught him, 'These words stood inscribed upon my heart.' The more nervous and visionary the predisposition of the dreamer, the more impressive and vivid are his dreams and the more easily they pass into actual hallucination of the senses. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that Mohammed, as he tells us, on leaving the cave where he had dreamt, heard the voice he so much wished to hear, 'Thou art the Apostle of God;' and that, in raising his head towards

[1] See the Appendix to 'Outlines of a Grammar of the Vei Language, together with a Vei-English Vocabulary, by S. W. Koelle.' Church Missionary House, 1854.

heaven, he 'saw Gabriel in the form of a winged man, with his feet on the horizon.'

That the things which Mohammed heard and saw had no objective reality, but were merely the subjective workings of an overwrought and morbidly excitable imagination, seems also to be confirmed by his own statement, 'To whichever side I directed my looks, I still saw the angel before me.' For if Gabriel had really been standing with his feet on the horizon, like any ordinary object of the senses, it would have been quite possible to look away from him; but if, on the contrary, he had no existence except in Mohammed's own vision, then he was naturally seen by Mohammed's eyes in whichever direction they might be turned. It can be easily conceived that the more uncommon and abnormal the experience was, the easier it became for Mohammed and his friends either sincerely to form, or interestedly to feign, a belief in its supernatural origin; and the heavenly character of the vision once assumed and abetted, Mohammed could come before his countrymen with the claims of a divinely commissioned ambassador and prophet. This was quite enough to begin with. First let him be widely recognised as the Prophet speaking in the name of heaven and it will become easy, ere long, to assert himself as the paramount authority and irresponsible dictator on the earth.

His clear-headed and affectionate wife Khadija naturally employed all her influence to have her husband's ecstatic visions regarded as a Divine call to become the religious and political reformer of his nation, rather than allow them to be looked upon as indications of his being a sorcerer and possessed by demons, which would have been the only other alternative according to the prevalent Arab notions in those days. Thus Mohammed became persuaded by the help of his circumspect and kind-hearted wife to look upon his dreams and hallucinations as Divine revelations, and on himself as a heaven-commissioned ambassador and chosen prophet.

This may be called the *fourth* and final stage of his development into a prophet. His prophetic character appeared now indubitably established, being based upon the extra-

ordinary experience of what looked like a direct call and commission from heaven.

But it was not without great difficulty that Mohammed maintained himself on the height of this elevated position. His Arab biographers narrate that a cessation of those visions took place, lasting for a number of days, according to some account; or for longer periods, varying up to three years, according to other accounts. He, therefore, fell a prey to doubts again, being afraid lest Gabriel might have altogether deserted him. So great became his grief and despondency that he contemplated suicide, and repeatedly went to the neighbouring mountains, intending to cast himself over some precipice. It is plain that his whole soul was now possessed with this one idea and that his life had no longer any value for him, unless he could become the prophet he wished to be. No wonder that this all-absorbing desire soon issued in a fresh hallucination. According to the Rawzet ul Ahbab, he narrated it in these words: 'Walking in the way, I suddenly heard a voice from heaven; and lifting up my head, I saw the angel who had come to me in the cave of Hira, sitting upon a throne between earth and heaven and saying to me, "O Mohammed, thou verily art the apostle of God!"' According to Ibn Ishak, the angel further addressed to him the following words, which were afterwards embodied in the Koran as the 93rd Surah: 'By the morning brightness and by the night when it darkeneth! Thy Lord hath not forsaken thee, neither hath He been displeased. And surely the Future shall be better for thee than the Past; and soon shall thy Lord give thee, and thou shalt be satisfied. Did He not find thee an orphan and gave thee a home? and found thee erring and guided thee? and found thee needy and enriched thee?' Ibn Ishak explains the promised gift which shall 'satisfy' him, by 'Victory in this life and reward in the next.' Thus he suggests that from the very first beginning of Islam worldly conquests, power and riches, entered the contemplation and hope of its exponents, and that their realisation in Medina was nothing but the natural unfolding of these early germs.

After this fresh hallucination, as his biographers inform us, the revelations succeeded each other without further interruption, which we must take to mean, if we adopt the inter-

pretation given by Sprenger, that 'he now no longer waited for angel-visits, but took the voice of his own mind for Divine inspirations.' Such, indeed, may have been the case generally; and it is an accepted doctrine with the Moslems themselves, that there were revelations which Gabriel only communicated to Mohammed's heart, without visibly appearing to him: yet the hallucinations do not seem to have ceased altogether, but to have also subsequently occurred from time to time. Amongst others, Ibn Ishak communicates the following account which he received from 'a learned man,' as to the first institution of legal prayer, with the ablutions by which it must be preceded:—'When prayer was prescribed to Mohammed, Gabriel came to him on the height of Mecca, and pressed his heel into the ground, towards the valley, so that there welled forth water. Then Gabriel washed himself, whilst Mohammed was looking on to see how purification is to be made before prayer. When he had finished, Mohammed also washed himself in like manner, and when Gabriel performed the prayers, he repeated them after him. As soon as Gabriel had departed, Mohammed went to Khadija, and showed her how one is to wash before prayer, just as Gabriel had shown it to him. Then he also performed the prayers, as Gabriel had done; and she repeated them after him.'

Mohammedan history describes the more violent fits during which the supposed supernatural communications were made, as marked by the following traits:—He felt oppressed and his countenance was troubled, turning deadly pale or glowing red. He fell to the ground like one intoxicated or overcome by sleep, and foam would appear at his mouth. Sometimes he would hear the coming of the revelation like the ringing of a bell. If this state came upon him whilst riding on a camel, that camel's leg would bend from the weight of it. Even if it happened during the cold of a winter's day, perspiration would roll from his forehead. The Rawzet ul Ahbab enumerates these seven different modes in which Mohammed received his supposed revelations: 1, by true dreams; 2, by suggestions to the heart, without Gabriel being visible; 3, by Gabriel assuming the likeness of a man; 4, by the resemblance of the ringing of a bell, which of all

was the hardest and most painful to the prophet; 5, by Gabriel in his own proper form; 6, by Gabriel coming to him in the highest heaven on the night of the ascension; 7, by God speaking to him direct from behind a curtain on the night of the ascension.

From all this it can be readily perceived how easy and tempting it must have been for Mohammed to pass off as a Divine revelation any thought, wish, or fancy of his own which he liked to see invested, in the eyes of others, with a supernatural origin and a more than human authority. Still it is highly probable that all the visions reported of him are not the mere product of dishonest fabrication, without any foundation in fact. On the contrary, it appears that what formed the important turning-point in his outward course of life and what led him to regard himself as a chosen ambassador of God, such as he had long conceived to be the chief want of his country, was really a hallucination of his senses producing in him the sensations of seeing and hearing the angel Gabriel. It is likewise not impossible that, after the first hallucination, other similar ones supervened; and we have already seen how intensely and morbidly he yearned for them. But the manner in which they are narrated, and even the fact of their occurrence have to be received with stringent discrimination and great caution, because of the impure motives undeniably at work, as *e.g.*, in the case concerning Zeinab; and because of the strong tendency to dissimulation in subjects afflicted with the nervous derangement from which he suffered.

Those night-regions, where the half-conscious soul approaches the precincts of the invisible world of spirits, appear to be such treacherous ground that persons who venture upon it are ever in danger of falling under the misleading delusions of the Powers of Darkness, especially when their mind is still ethically undecided, and not firmly grounded in what is pure and true and good. It is freely to be admitted that Mohammed, in his character of a prophet, showed much zeal to overthrow idolatry and erect a kind of Deism in its place. In this way he conferred an undoubted boon upon his countrymen. But he had already, years before, refused to be led on, like some of his more enlightened Hanifite friends, from Deism to

Christianity, and he now set himself up as a rival to Christ, boldly denying both His Divine Sonship and His atoning death upon the cross.[1] He thus assumed a directly anti-Christian position, barring the way of his followers to the true and only Mediator between God and man. Thereby he inflicted upon them the greatest conceivable injury; and in doing so he, of course, cannot have acted under the influence and by the will of a holy God of love. This lamentable position of an open rival and virtual enemy, he occupied from the moment and by the very act of his starting a religion of his own in the face of Christianity, which was already asserting its claim to finality and to a destiny for all mankind.

There is, therefore, no alternative for any one who recognises in Jesus Christ the Divine Saviour of man and in Christianity the highest revelation of religious truth, but to look upon Mohammed as a false prophet, and upon Islam, despite its borrowed truths, as in its religious distinctness, a stupendous system of fatal delusions. As such, their origin surely cannot be derived from the realms of Light, but must be traced to the mysterious agency of the kingdom of Darkness.[2]

Only if people forget that God 'who spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by *His Son*' (Hebrews i. 1, 2) and if they define the prophet of the Bible in some such manner as to make him out to be 'a man so penetrated by the idea of God, His omnipotence, His glory, that *he takes his own conceptions of God for thoughts of God Himself, communicated to him by revelation*,' can they mistake the author of Islam for a true prophet, or affirm that 'quite undeniably there was something of prophetship in Mohammed'

[1] Compare the Tract, 'The Death of Christ upon the Cross, a Fact, not a Fiction: Being a Word in defence of Christianity against Mohammedan attacks' (Church Missionary House, London, 1885).

[2] Sir W. Muir, who expresses such exaggerated views of Mohammed's sincerity and piety at the beginning of his prophetic career, and even admits that the author of Islam might have been a true prophet of God, but for his secular aims and immoralities, cannot help gravely to discuss the question of a Satanic influence on Mohammed, though his manner of doing so is open to objections. See his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. pp. 90-96.

(see pp. 55 and 56 in Dr. Ludolf Krehl's *Das Leben des Muhammed.*)[1]

Much stress is often laid on 'the sincerity of Mohammed's convictions.' But in the instructive chapter, 1 Kings xx., four hundred prophets are mentioned as prophesying, and one of them appears so sincerely persuaded about the truth of his prophecy that he made him horns of iron to symbolise the manner of its fulfilment; and he smote the true prophet Micaiah on the cheek, saying 'Which way went the Spirit of the Lord from me, to speak unto thee?' Yet all these four hundred were not prophets of God, making known His will, but prophets of falsehood, uttering the inspirations of 'a lying spirit.' Earnestness and sincerity in promoting a cause are not in themselves proofs of its goodness. There are false prophets as well as true prophets. Between them there may often be a close similarity in appearance; but in reality they differ as widely as darkness differs from light. Instead of being dazzled by the zealous earnestness of Mohammed and by the Divine truths incorporated in Islam, it rather behoves us soberly to admit that error becomes all the more dangerous a masterpiece of Satan the better it succeeds in assuming the semblance of Truth or mixes itself up with it; and the more its advocates uphold it with an air of sincerity and earnestness.

[1] Dr. Krehl, in making these hyper-liberal concessions to Mohammed's claims, feels constrained, on page 343 of his work—where he admits that the prophet 'often pretended to speak under the influence of Divine inspiration, whilst he was consciously only trying to palliate selfish dispositions'—thus to confess the dilemma into which his theory has brought him: 'In such cases one often really does not know where the God-inspired prophet ceases and the egotistical man begins who is only thinking of things earthly, and is enclosed within the hazy atmosphere of earth.' This perplexity of the amiable biographer is the natural outcome of his false position, which prevents him from seeing that any man who diametrically opposes Jesus Christ and seeks to supplant Him, can only be a 'false prophet,' whatever his zeal and good intentions may otherwise be. The *true Prophets* are described by the Bible as 'holy men of God, speaking as they are moved by the Holy Ghost' (2 Pet. i. 21.) They therefore did not confound their own personal thoughts with the Divine inspirations, but clearly distinguished between their own ideas and the message which they were commissioned to deliver (comp. 1 Cor. vii. 25 to 40.) On the other hand, it is mentioned as characteristics of the *false Prophets* that they 'prophesy out of their own hearts' and 'follow their own spirit' (Ezek. xiii. 2, 3), and that they 'speak lying words in God's name which he has not commanded them' (Jer. xxix. 23).

Hitherto Mohammedanism has proved no common barrier to the spreading of the Gospel; and its aggressive hostility to the Kingdom of Christ has been marked by no ordinary violence and persistency. Should the future happen to differ from the past, by presenting to us the novel spectacle of Islamism becoming a stepping-stone to Christianity, even this could not change its original character or clear the Arabian prophet of his anti-Christian designs. We should then only have a fresh illustration placed before us of the fact that it is one of the most glorious achievements of the great God who guides the destinies of man to call light out of darkness and to overrule evil for good.

Mohammed's antipathetic behaviour towards Christianity could not but have the most fatal consequences for himself and the world. As soon as he made up his mind not to follow his friends who placed themselves under the leadership of Christ, but rather to set himself up as His rival and opponent, by founding a counter-religion, he practically violated the highest principle of Truth, and placed himself more completely under the dominion of error. Thus he fatally laid himself open to being used by spiritual powers as an instrument for carrying out dark designs, far beyond the horizon of his own will and perception.

From a general historical and religious standpoint, therefore, the question is of subordinate importance, How far Mohammed realised the sinister nature and fatal bearings of his enterprise and how far he believed himself God's chosen apostle; or, to what extent he was a conscious deceiver and to what extent the unconscious victim of deception. In either case—and there can be no doubt that sometimes the one and sometimes the other predominated—the indisputable fact remains that he consciously rejected Christianity and strenuously sought to supplant it. He made himself guilty of the great 'sin of the world,' by not believing in Jesus, the Saviour of man (John xv. 8, 9). He branded himself with the stigma '*Not of the Truth!*' by refusing to follow the guidance of 'the good Shepherd;' according to the word of Christ, '*Every one that is of the Truth heareth my voice*' (John xviii. 37). Consequently his politico-religious system also, as being essentially anti-Christian, and implying the

principle of cruel war and galling subjugation to all non-Mussulmans, cannot have been initiated in the interest of the kingdom of God or propagated for the promotion of the cause of righteousness and truth.

But in giving expression to this frank avowal, we need hardly add that it is not intended to convey the impression as if we held that Islam may not at some times and under some circumstances have proved, and still prove, a positive temporal boon and a relative spiritual blessing to its professors. The borrowed truths, embodied in the system, and the overruling government of an all-wise and all-merciful God, indeed amply justify us in expecting so much. We readily make this candid admission to those who may feel disposed to remind us of the brighter periods in the dark history of Islam, or who wish to lay stress on the superiority of the Mohammedan religion and civilisation, as compared with the utter darkness and deep degradation of many heathen lands.

Thus far we have traced how Mohammed became the prophet he was, and what were the different elements combining to produce in him the belief that he had to fulfil a great mission in the world. We have contemplated him in his own distinct individuality, his family relationship, his religious tendencies, and his political aspirations, till he stood before us in the form of a fully developed prophet and a miraculously commissioned ambassador. It now is our duty in the following chapter to inquire how his pretensions were received by his countrymen, and what success he achieved in the Arab nation.

The well-known Flight or Hegira (pronounce: *Hetchra*) naturally divides the period about to be treated into two halves, of pretty equal duration, but of very unequal result: *first*, the prophet's Meccan period of ill success; and *secondly*, his Medinan period of complete triumph.

CHAPTER II.

MOHAMMED EXERCISING THE PROPHETIC MISSION HE CLAIMED, OR HIS HISTORY DURING THE LAST TWENTY-THREE YEARS OF HIS LIFE.

WHAT history clearly places before us is the well-known fact that, when Mohammed died, he had virtually succeeded in making himself the paramount chief and sovereign ruler of the Arab nation. And what is no less notorious, is the other fact, that, about twenty years before his death, he had presented himself to his countrymen with the claims of a messenger of God, a bearer of new revelations, the founder, or at least restorer, of an absolutely true and final religion. He began his public career as a Prophet and finished his course as, in fact, a ruling Sovereign.

To us, in this present age, which distinguishes so widely between 'the things which are God's' and 'the things which are Cæsar's,' there appears in this something glaringly inconsistent and anomalous. Hence it has happened in our days that Mohammed's public life was sometimes represented as broken up into two heterogeneous halves—the one, that of a sincere man and true prophet of God; the other, that of a base apostate and carnal worldling.[1]

In the original records of Mohammed's life we cannot discover proofs of such an apostasy. He is never represented as betraying the least apprehension that the connecting link between his earlier and his later public life might have been

[1] The views expressed by Sir W. Muir in his different works on Mohammed belong to this category. See, *e.g.* his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. chap. iii. In his last and shortest work entitled *Mahomet and Islam*, he asks, 'Whether, in fact, the eye (of Mohammed) being no longer *single*, the whole body did not become full of *darkness?*' (p. 25), and exclaims, 'How has the *fine gold* become *dim!*' (p. 129): thus concisely indicating his appreciation of the difference of Mohammed's character in the two great periods of his prophetic activity.

a spiritual lapse. On the contrary, he and his followers recognised in his military exploits and political ascendency nothing less than the natural outcome and the due reward of his earlier labours and sufferings as a prophet. To Mohammed and the Mohammedans his public life from beginning to end is one congruous whole, which leaves room for no radical change of principles, but only for the development and maturing of what was originally aimed at and hoped for.

Therefore the historian of Mohammed's life seems bound, in order to do justice to his subject, to lay bare, if possible, this essential union, notwithstanding all the difference of outward appearances, and to give the most careful attention to all those historical records which may help him in explaining the intimate connection subsisting between the political and the religious, the worldly and the spiritual, throughout Mohammed's prophetic career. He must try to discover, from the materials transmitted to us, those traits and data which are calculated to demonstrate the inward connection and agreement of the different periods in Mohammed's life. He must seek to furnish historical proof that, as in his later period, when he ruled Arabia with the harshness of a military despot, he did so in the name of religion and by virtue of his prophetic character, so also, when he began his career as a religious reformer and apostle of God, he already entertained, more or less consciously, those secular and political designs which he afterwards realised. An historical view and psychological study of the subject must greatly enhance its claims to soundness and correctness, if it can produce in us the conviction, so natural in itself and so plainly entertained by the Moslem historians, that Mohammed became what he desired to become, and that he aimed from the first at what he obtained at last; and not, that the single-eyed, spiritually-minded prophet of the Meccan period rather suddenly, as if by accident, by the mere change of outward circumstances, turned into the cunning deceiver, the sensual worldling, of Medina.

Islam being evidently an attempted amalgam of God and the world, of religion and politics, the source from which it flowed cannot have been one of limpid purity. The prophet who instituted it, and whose impress it bears, surely cannot

have been a character of pure gold and unalloyed piety. It is by the fruit that the nature of a tree is made known. The impure secular and sensual outcome of Mohammed's second period was nothing else, as this work will plainly show, than the full development of the potentialities, the matured fruit of the seeds and germs, already covertly operative in the first.

That the political power and military conquests which mark Mohammed's second period were already contemplated by him, when he was still an opposed and persecuted reformer in Mecca, is not a mere surmise founded on the historical sequence of the two periods, but must necessarily be gathered from sundry express statements by his earliest biographers. Ibn Ishak narrates that on one occasion, when the prophet was still destitute of any political power, and owed the toleration which he enjoyed solely to his powerful family and influential friends, the elders of the Koreish came to his uncle Abu Talib, for the purpose of effecting a *modus vivendi* with his nephew, based on mutual concessions. Abu Talib called the troublesome nephew, and thus addressed him before them: 'Thou seest the nobles of thy people are assembled here to concede to thee certain things, and, in return, to receive concessions from thee.' Mohammed made this reply: 'Well, then, give me a word whereby *the Arabs may be governed and the Persians subjugated.*' Abu Jahl responded to this request in the name of his fellow-elders by saying: 'Thou shalt have *ten* words.' But Mohammed, setting him right, and indicating what kind of word, in his opinion, could alone answer the purpose, rejoined: 'Say, There is no God except Allah; and renounce what you worship besides Him.' These two remarkable words of Mohammed, taken in their context, as reported by his earliest biographer, plainly entitle us to the logical conclusion that Mohammed looked upon religion as the best means for securing worldly power: for he says in effect,—'If you wish to govern the Arabs and to subjugate the Persians, then exchange your idolatry with the profession of Monotheism and you will succeed.'

Ibn Ishak further reports that, when rough and combatant Omar, a near relative of Mohammed's precursor Zeid, had openly cast in his lot with the new prophet's movement,

he was in consequence attacked by some Koreishites. Having struggled with them from early morning till the sun stood above their heads, and being wellnigh exhausted, he addressed them thus: 'Do what you think best; but, by Allah, if we were only three hundred men in number, we would fight till either you had to give way to us, or we to you.'

These and such-like incidents plainly show that, with Mohammed and his early coadjutors, aspirations after secular power no less than after the dominance of their creed, and a disposition to use force, were not at all foreign to their iconoclastic zeal and their wish for religious reform even in Mecca. The Meccans were keen-sighted enough to perceive this full well. The historian, from whom we quote, expressly ascribes their sending the above deputation to the motive of fear. He informs us that they said: 'We are not sure whether *the dominion* will not be taken from us.' Religious profession and political pursuits were evidently as much blended in Mohammed's own thoughts and life as religion and politics are inseparably mixed up in Islam. The words spoken by him on the formal occasion referred to clearly show that when apparently he laboured for the subversion of idolatry and the propagation of Monotheism only, he was in fact already aiming at civil government at home and at military conquests abroad.

It is in this light that the two distinct periods of Mohammed's public life have to be viewed, and thus their essential continuity and their substantial inward union will without difficulty be discerned. Mohammed's apostolic cloak was loose and elastic enough to cover both the prophet and the tyrant, as the circumstances seemed to require it. The ardent preacher, the zealous reformer, the austere prophet of Mecca, pleading amidst annoyances and opposition for mere toleration and the bare recognition of his teaching, is in reality the seed and the precursor of the military commander, the insatiable conqueror, the despotic autocrat of Medina. In both places he is essentially the same man: only in Mecca he is trying to succeed with his plan, and in Medina he actually succeeds. This sameness, as well as distinctness of the two periods now to be passed in review before us, is intimated by the superscriptions which they respectively bear.

I.—MOHAMMED'S ILL SUCCESS IN SEEKING RECOGNITION AS THE PROPHET OF ISLAM, OR, THE MECCAN PERIOD OF HIS PUBLIC LIFE FROM ABOUT THE FORTIETH TO THE FIFTY-THIRD YEAR OF HIS AGE.

(1.) *Mohammed's Diffident Start as a Prophet.*

When, by the process described in the first chapter, Mohammed had become persuaded that he might regard himself as a chosen apostle of God, he was, according to the common belief of his followers, just forty years old. His age at the Flight to Medina being 53 years, his prophetic period in Mecca must have lasted about 13 years. But during all this time he did not succeed in effecting anything like a general recognition of his assumed new character; and at its close there was nothing left him but to flee from his home in despair and to seek in a distant city a better starting-point for realising his plans.

The cautious, not to say timid, manner in which Mohammed entered upon his prophetic mission is quite in keeping with the assumption that he did not consider religious reform as his exclusive object, but that he rather looked already beyond it to a more material and secular goal. His start as a prophet by no means calls to mind the saying: 'The zeal of Thine house hath eaten me up' (John ii. 17). He did not court martyrdom, or give proof, at this time, that he had the stuff in him of which martyrs are made. Ibn Ishak has a short sentence in his biography of the prophet which throws an important light on his personal character and courage, namely, 'For the space of three years, after his mission, he *concealed* his faith.' So long an interval he needed, before he could summon courage enough to profess openly what he contemplated and believed in secret. It required a fresh supposed admonition from God to induce him to take that further step. Ibn Ishak reports: 'Then God commanded him to come forward with his revelation, to acquaint the people with it, and to invite them to embrace Islam.' The Rawzet ul Ahbab, instead of saying that Mohammed 'concealed' his faith, uses the expression that he invited to Islam '*secretly*, so that only one or two at

a time embraced the faith.' In either case the admission is forced upon his biographers that at first he showed great diffidence and timidity in spreading the imagined revelations.

This is also confirmed by the circumstance that his earliest converts all belonged to the circle of his own family and friends. His biographers are careful to enumerate them by name. The lists handed down to us date from about a century after his own life, when priority of belief in Islam and its prophet, among ancestors, already constituted an honourable distinction in Moslem society with which valuable privileges and worldly advantages were connected. This naturally caused a tendency amongst the believers to date the conversion of their ancestors as early as possible; and we may take for granted that none of them was omitted from the list of early converts, and that every one's claims were insisted upon without any lack of interest and zeal.

The fact that Mohammed 'concealed' his faith for three years and invited to Islam 'secretly,' or ventured to persuade only members of his own family and dependent persons, might be looked upon as little creditable to a prophet called in so supernatural a manner and commissioned with so wonderful a charge direct from heaven. Perhaps Ibn Ishak felt something of this kind, and wanted to forestall possible objections on that score, when he found it judicious to make the following observation: 'The office of a prophet carries its troubles and burdens with it which only the constant and strong of God's apostles can bear, with His help and assistance; for they have to suffer much from men, and people quarrel with them about that which they proclaim in the name of God. But Mohammed acted according to the command of God, despite all the contradiction and ill-treatment from his people.' Such an assurance by the biographer is all the more opportune the less the actual life and conduct of his hero renders it superfluous, at this period.

(2.) *Mohammed's Earliest Converts.*

The first of his converts was his devoted wife *Khadija*. Traditions differ with regard to the order in which others

embraced the faith: but there exists complete unanimity on the point that Khadija's conversion preceded that of all the rest. There is not any reason for doubting this. Khadija, as we have seen above, had so great a share in Mohammed's persuasion of his prophetic call, and welcomed it with such fervid eagerness, that it is not easy to decide whether historical truth is better expressed by calling her his convert or him hers. Already at their marriage she was the proposing and he the consenting party. Mohammed was decidedly wanting in lofty independence and robust manliness of character. He had something naïve and almost feeble in his mental constitution, which at a later period invited the dominating influence of men like Abu Bekr, Omar, and others, and at the present kept him abjectly dependent on his high-minded and clear-sighted wife Khadija. Ibn Ishak says of her: 'She was the first who believed in God, in His apostle, and in the revelation. Thereby God sent him comfort: for whenever he heard something unpleasant, or was grieved by contradiction or charges of lying, God comforted him by her, when he returned home to her. She cheered him, made things easy for him, assured him of her faith in him, and represented to him the talk of the people as utterly insignificant.' Hers was plainly the stronger mind of the two, and he was aware of it, and good-naturedly accepted his position of subordination. She was rich, and he profited by her wealth. It was in her family that Hanifdom had obtained an extensive footing, whilst his own was identified with the interests of idolatry. He had to look up to her in every respect. She was full of resorts and kept her clear head above water, when he was engulfed in melancholy and fears.

It has been found strange that a man who later on manifested such an excessive passion for women, and provided himself with more than twice the complement of wives he permitted to his followers, should have remained a practical monogamist so long as Khadija lived; and the circumstance has been seized upon by his advocates as a proof of his earlier spirituality and purity. But the cogency of this proof is more than questionable, because the general authority and sway she exercised over him was quite sufficient to keep him within bounds in this respect. The true reason why he

remained a monogamist so long, was plainly not his personal continence and spirituality, but his dread of Khadija, whom he did not dare to offend, by adding to her rival objects of his affection. He, later on, gives the drastic counsel to husbands to punish refractory wives by 'removing them into beds apart and scourging them' (Surah iv. 38); but who can conceive that he himself would have ventured to carry out this advice against Khadija?

By her death he lost a master, and was set free to carry out his long-checked propensities. What these were can be gathered from the following anecdote of the Rawzet ul Ahbab. Shortly after Khadija's death, when Mohammed is represented as having been in a very dejected state of mind, Khawla, the sympathising wife of one of his friends, paid him a visit and asked him why he did not marry again. He replied: 'Who is there that I could take?' She answered: 'If thou wishest for a virgin, there is Aisha, the daughter of thy friend Abu Bekr; and if thou wishest for a woman, there is Sewda who believes in thee.' He without hesitation, solved the dilemma by saying to Khawla: 'Then ask them *both* for me.' She lost no time in doing what she was bidden, so that two months after Khadija had closed her eyes, Mohammed was already married to the attractive widow Sewda, who is described as tall and corpulent; and betrothed to Aisha, who was then only a girl six years old, and actually became his wife three years later. Aisha herself thus refers to the way in which her mother reared her to meet the prophet's taste: 'When I was betrothed to the prophet, my mother endeavoured to make me fat; and she found that with me nothing succeeded so well as gourds and fresh dates. Eating well of them I became round.'

This carnal taste and tendency of the Arabian prophet, which he showed already under his adverse circumstances in Mecca, naturally increased with his prosperity and opportunities in Medina, and furnished Aisha with a telling retort only a few days before his death. According to the Rawzet ul Ahbab, Aisha narrated as follows: 'The beginning of his Excellency's illness happened in Meimuna's room, whose turn it was that day. Then he came to my room, and as I had a headache, I said, "Oh, my head aches!" His Excellency

replied, "What harm would it be to thee, if thou wert to leave this world before me,—for then I would lay thee out, wrap thee in a winding-sheet, and say the prayers over thee." Being roused, I thus retorted on him: "This is exactly what thou wishest for; and I believe that on the same day thou buriest me, thou wouldest be bridegroom and bride with a new wife in my very room." His Excellency smiled.'

Khadija's superior mind and good manners were so highly appreciated by Mohammed that long after her decease he frequently praised her virtues; and it is reported of Aisha that the lavish praise bestowed upon her, though dead, raised feelings of jealousy in her own bosom, she being annoyed by his 'constantly holding up that toothless old woman as the pattern of a wife.' Before her death, which happened when she was 65 years old, her husband comforted her by saying, 'I have been commanded to announce to Khadija that in Paradise she will receive a house excavated out of one pearl to which neither noise nor illness can penetrate.'

Next in order to Khadija, *Ali* is mentioned as a convert to Islam: the first from amongst males. He was then only a little boy ten years of age; and his conversion can therefore not have been the result of mature conviction at all, but merely of that gratitude and affection which tied him to Mohammed as his benefactor and foster-father. Young and dependent as he was, he naturally accepted as true, without examination, whatever the prophet and the prophet's wife told him.

Their mutual relation can be gathered from the following account by Ibn Ishak: 'The first male person who believed in Mohammed, prayed with him and credited his revelations, was the ten-year-old Ali. It was a work of Divine favour and grace towards Ali, that once the Koreish were visited by a great scarcity. For then, as Abu Talib had a numerous family, Mohammed said to his uncle Abbas, who was the richest among the Beni Hashim, "Thou knowest that thy brother Abu Talib has a numerous family, and that all the people are suffering during this year of scarcity: let us go to him and lighten his burden by each of us taking one of his sons off his hands." Abbas consenting, they went together to Abu Talib, and made their offer. Then Mohammed took

Ali, pressing him to himself, and Abbas did the same with Jafar. Thus Ali remained with Mohammed till he received his prophetic mission, when he followed him, believed in him, and acknowledged him to be true.'

The same biographer also narrates, on the authority of 'some scholars,' that when the time for saying the prayers arrived, Mohammed went to the valleys of Mecca; and that Ali, without the cognisance of his father and uncles, accompanied him to pray with him there. One day Abu Talib surprised them in the act; and being requested by Mohammed likewise to embrace Islam and become his helper, he replied, 'Dear nephew, I cannot forsake the faith of my fathers, but, by Allah, so long as I live, no harm shall be done to thee.' Thus it appears that Abu Talib protected the new prophet, without accepting his revelations, simply because he was his nephew and the generous benefactor of his son Ali; and that, therefore, the fate of Islam, from its earliest infancy, did not depend solely on its religious merits, but was very largely shaped by the earthly interests of family and clanship.

Some time later, Ali became Mohammed's son-in-law and a valiant combatant in the cause of Islam; but Aisha's spite against him greatly marred his fortune, and at last issued in an open rupture and the sanguinary 'battle of the camel.'

Zeid, Ibn Haritha, is Mohammed's third convert, likewise from his own household. How he became one of its members is thus told by Ibn Hisham: 'Hakim had arrived from Syria with a batch of slaves, amongst whom was Zeid,[1] Ibn Haritha, a lad just passing out of boyhood. When his aunt Khadija,

[1] Above (p. 53) the opinion has been expressed that originally he had a Christian name, and that it was not till he became an inmate of Mohammed's house that he was called Zeid. This opinion is not weakened by the fact that Ibn Hisham here introduces him at once by the latter name. For it is quite usual with Mohammedan historians to call Moslems by their later appellations long before they had adopted them, so much so, that their original and proper names sometimes became lost altogether. Thus, *e.g.* the name of 'Abu Bekr' (*i.e.* 'father of the virgin') can only have been applied to him since his daughter Aisha became Mohammed's wife; and yet he is always spoken of by that name, long before he can possibly have borne it. Even as regards Mohammed's own name, it is doubtful whether it was given him originally, or whether it was not rather adopted by him late in life.

who was then Mohammed's wife, visited him, he made her the offer of choosing one of the slaves for herself. Her choice falling on Zeid, she took him away with her. When Mohammed saw him, he begged him of her as a present, and having received him, he gave him his liberty and adopted him for his own son. This happened before the time of his mission. Haritha, Zeid's father, was much grieved by the loss of his son, and went in search of him, till at last he found him with Mohammed. Zeid, on being asked whether he would return with his father or remain where he was, preferred his new home, and so stayed with Mohammed till his prophetic mission, when he believed in him, became a Moslem, and prayed with him.'

Though made a free man by manumission, Zeid always belonged to Mohammed's family, and, since his adoption, was called his 'son.' This position kept him in complete dependence on Mohammed, whose wishes he dared not disregard. Zeid was a dexterous archer, and later on made himself very useful to Mohammed, being frequently intrusted with the command of an army. But how slavishly dependent he remained on his adoptive father, even after the migration to Medina, is made glaringly manifest by the scandalous affair about his wife Zeinab.

One day Mohammed unexpectedly called at Zeid's dwelling to see him on some business. He found him absent, but surprised his wife Zeinab in a state of undress, not calculated for a visitor. The prophet was so smitten with her white delicate skin and beauty, that he could not refrain from showing his feelings. The indiscretion was a grave one. From that time her conduct to her own husband became changed, and gave him cause for complaint. He at last found it best to divorce her, so as no longer to be in the way of her new relation to his old benefactor. Mohammed married her forthwith, and in his cruel selfishness thus far presumed on Zeid's good-nature and subordinate position as to make him go in person to ask her hand for him, in order that he might appear to the world a willingly consenting party and not a most deeply injured husband.

But though Mohammed, by this heartless trick, screened himself from the wrong inflicted on the husband, the im-

morality perpetrated against the adopted son and his wife still remained. The Arabs were scandalised by such conduct of a supposed prophet towards his adopted son and his daughter-in-law. Aisha boldly charged him with serious misconduct. Mohammed, who degraded religion into a stepping-stone to worldly empire, was, of course, not too scrupulous to extricate himself from this awkward personal difficulty by a pretended revelation. Heaven inspired him to declare that all this had happened by Divine appointment, to make known to the world the benign purpose that thenceforth it should not be a sin for a man to marry the divorced wife of an adopted son! As if the world could be much benefited by having conferred upon it so questionable a liberty. At the same time, Zeid was forbidden to call himself any longer 'Ibn Mohammed,' and had to revert to the original 'Ibn Haritha.'

Now of how little value must Zeid's early testimony to Mohammed's prophetic mission appear, if we find him, at a riper age, quietly submitting to all these extravagances, without being staggered in his profession of Islam and in his allegiance to its prophet?

Abu Bekr is mentioned next in order. He is the first convert, not, strictly speaking, belonging to Mohammed's own household. But he was his best friend, and, since Mohammed lived in Khadija's house, his close neighbour. 'Abu Bekr,' the appellation by which he is invariably mentioned, means 'father of the virgin.' He was thus designated, because his daughter Aisha was the only one of Mohammed's wives whom he married as a virgin. He can therefore have borne this name only since that marriage. Ibn Hisham says of him: 'His proper name was Abd Allah (?) and he was surnamed Atik (=aged, noble), on account of his beautiful, noble face. He was a kind, amiable man, whom every one liked. He was the most learned of the Koreish, and best acquainted with their genealogy, their weaknesses, and their excellences. He was a benevolent merchant, of good manners, and the people of his tribe frequently came to him to consult with him about their own affairs, because he was experienced in commerce and other matters, and his conduct pleased every one. He invited to Islam those who trusted him and who

sought his society. Mohammed, as I have learned, is reported to have said, "I have not called any one to Islam who had not first his doubts, hesitation, and gainsaying, except Abu Bekr, who showed no objection and no hesitation." '

If Abu Bekr is here represented as already fully prepared for the adoption of Islam, the explanatory cause was no doubt this, that he now had likewise joined the Hanifite fraternity, who, for some time, had relinquished idol-worship in favour of Deism. Such an assumption is quite natural, because of his intimate connection with Khadija's family where Hanifdom had so strong a footing. The new doctrine of Islam, that Mohammed was its heaven-sent apostle, presented no serious difficulty to the affectionate regard in which Abu Bekr held his visionary friend. Their friendship had long been so close that it could not but favour a gradual approximation of thoughts and ideas ; and Abu Bekr's superiority of judgment and forethought necessarily must have had a great influence on his impressible friend and on the religion offered by him to his heathen countrymen. These two men were, from the first, joined in Islam, and treated it as their common cause and as the highest object of their aspirations, with which all their personal and private interests became inseparably interwoven.

Nothing can be more certain than that Islam is not the product of Mohammed alone, but that he was materially influenced and assisted in its concoction by others, notably by Abu Bekr and Omar, besides sundry renegade Christians and Jews whom he used as channels of imformation. How dependent Mohammed ordinarily was on his friends Abu Bekr and Omar, is well illustrated by the following statement of Ali: 'The prophet always said, "I, Abu Bekr, and Omar went to, or came from, such and such a place; I, Abu Bekr, and Omar have done such and such a thing." ' There is also a tradition, mentioned by Sprenger, according to which Mohammed declared: 'Every prophet has two heavenly and two earthly Viziers: my heavenly Viziers are Gabriel and Michael, and my earthly Viziers Abu Bekr and Omar.' As Omar's courage and strength, so Abu Bekr's knowledge and wealth, were made subservient to Islam, and had no small share in its rise and progress.

It is recorded of Abu Bekr that he possessed a fortune of 40,000 dirhams, but that he so liberally devoted it to the promotion of the new religion that, at the time of the Hegira, it had dwindled down to 5,000 dirhams. By his early proselytising efforts, Othman, Zobeir, Abd Errahman, Saad, and Talha embraced Islam, some of whom were mere lads, and all were related either to Mohammed's or to Abu Bekr's family. At a time, therefore, when Mohammed himself could only boast of three male converts (viz., Ali, Zeid, and Abu Bekr), Abu Bekr had succeeded in gaining no less than five. Ibn Ishak says concerning these early converts: 'These eight men preceded all the rest in Islam. They prayed, believed in Mohammed, and accepted his revelation as Divine.'

(3.) *A further Increase in the Number of Converts emboldens Mohammed, but, at the same time, arouses Persecution.*

After enumerating these eight precursors of the Moslem converts, Ibn Ishak gives a list of the names of 44 persons—viz., 35 men and 9 women—who gradually followed their example by likewise embracing Islam. At first Mohammed and his converts provoked no opposition or persecution; that is, so long as they cautiously and timidly abstained from coming forward with the claims of their new religion. It is expressly stated that, at that time, the people did not keep aloof from the prophet or refute him. But as soon as they opposed others, they were opposed in return. Ibn Ishak, who tells us that Mohammed concealed his faith for three years after he had received the supposed mission from heaven, also informs us that the prophet, whilst enjoying the protection of his influential family, quietly and one by one, gained upwards of forty adherents whose religious devotion naturally still further encouraged him and strengthened his position. It is significant that only *after* this, the historian assures us, 'Mohammed obeyed the command of God, and suffered himself to be detained by nothing in revealing his faith.'

This frankness in opposing a new religion to the old, and the one Allah to the idols, slow as it had been in coming, at once led to a change in the conduct of the general public

towards the prophet and his small party of followers. Ibn Ishak distinctly notices the change and its cause in these words: 'When Mohammed came openly forward with his religion among the people, as God had commanded him, they did not keep aloof from him or gainsay him, until he spoke of their gods and reviled them. Then they thought it worth their while to deny him, and they resolved to oppose and persecute him; except those whom God kept by Islam, but they were few in number and despised. Mohammed, however, was pitied by his uncle Abu Talib, who protected him and interfered on his behalf.' The change, as affecting the converts, is thus set forth: 'When the companions of Mohammed wanted to pray, they went to ravines and concealed their praying from the people. One day, when Saad, with other companions, was praying in one of the ravines of Mecca, there appeared several idol-worshippers, who censured them, and, by annoyances, provoked them to fight. Saad, on that occasion, struck one of the idol-worshippers with the jaw-bone of an ass, and wounded him. This was the *first*[1] *blood* spilt in Islam.'

From these records it appears that the earliest Moslems, for several years, hid their faith from their countrymen, to avoid being laughed at or annoyed, but that they did not scruple to have recourse to violence and bloodshed, as soon as they considered their number strong enough to warrant such a step. In like manner Mohammed himself, from fear of man, did not at once, after having laid claim to a prophetic mission, openly profess his faith or venture to speak publicly against idolatry, but only summoned courage enough to do so when he had gained a number of trusty adherents and made sure of his uncle Abu Talib's protection. Thus it becomes patent how very early Mohammed made 'flesh his arm,' by relying on his kinsman for protection and on the number of his followers for support.

[1] In calling this the 'first' blood shed in Islam, Ibn Ishak evidently thinks of the profuse bloodshed by which it was followed, down to his own days. But how much more significative must the expression appear to us now, when we remember the countless streams of blood poured out in the cause of Islam, during all the subsequent centuries! What a contrast between Christ Who founded His religion by the shedding of His own blood, and Mohammed who established Islam by shedding the blood of others!

But this courage, based on such a foundation, and tardily as as it came, was yet sufficient to stir into activity the much dreaded hostility of his countrymen. They called him bad names, such as 'liar, sorcerer, poet, soothsayer, demoniac.' Ill-disposed neighbours, some of them near relatives, threw unclean things before his door, to annoy him. Even at the public sanctuary, which he continued to visit, he was assailed with cutting words, so that on one occasion he turned round in anger, and said to his persecutors sharply, 'Hear, ye congregation of the Koreish, I come to you with *slaughter!*' This was a threat which he could not carry into effect till many years later. But some of the Koreishites seem to have taken the hint seriously, so that, when he came to the Kaaba on the following day, they surrounded him, and one of them seized him by the front of his cloak. Abu Bekr had to come to his rescue, and, delivering him from their hands, said to them, weeping: 'Will you kill a man who says, "Allah is my Lord"?' Ibn Ishak, on the information 'of a scholar,' reports that 'The worst which happened to Mohammed from the Koreish was, that, one day when he went out, there was no man, either free or slave, who, on passing him, did not call him a liar and insult him.'

But besides these petty annoyances and private persecutions, more serious and formal steps were taken to get rid of the unwelcome prophet and his vexatious denunciations. Ibn Ishak specifies three distinct deputations from amongst the leading men of the city, for the purpose of inducing Abu Talib to withdraw his protection from the troublesome nephew, so that they might silence him by force, without thereby incurring the vengeance of his family. The charges they brought against him were, that he blasphemed their gods, reviled their faith, seduced their youths, and condemned their fathers. Abu Talib is represented as having, on each occasion, declined their demand with dignified firmness, and continued his protection as before. But after one of these deputations had departed, Abu Talib called Mohammed to communicate to him the charges which had been brought forward, and gravely added, 'Spare both me and thyself; and do not burden me with more than I can bear.' Mohammed believed that his uncle, not feeling strong enough to protect

him any longer, had already made up his mind actually to withdraw his protection and to surrender him to his adversaries. Yet we are informed that far from yielding, he plainly told his uncle he would never give up his cause; and, bursting into tears, rose up to go away. Abu Talib, moved by seeing his nephew in such a plight, called him back and said, 'Go on, speak what thou wilt: by Allah, I shall in no case surrender thee to them.' Still, it appears, that Mohammed was not altogether free from anxiety, as to the precariousness and danger of his position.

(4.) *Mohammed finds Safety from Persecution by removing to the house of Arkam; and his believers, by emigrating to Abyssinia.*

It was most probably under these circumstances, about five or six years before the Hegira, that Mohammed quitted his own residence, where he had been surrounded by unfriendly and vexatious neighbours, to live at some distance on Mount Safa, in the house of one of his well-to-do followers, Arkam by name. This change of habitation, by which he placed himself under the protection of Arkam and his clan, reflected, according to Arab notions, on the honour of his own family, to which he clung, and whose protection he had hitherto enjoyed. Therefore he remained in this place of safety no longer than was found quite necessary. Still it appears that he had to continue his stay on Mount Safa for a term lasting about two years. In Arkam's house Mohammed was indeed sufficiently safe for his own person, and even found the opportunity of proselytising with some success; but he had no power to shield his more dependent followers, especially the slaves, from the persecution to which they were exposed. Ibn Ishak thus continues his narrative: 'The Koreish showed themselves hostile to those who believed in Mohammed, each clan rising up against the weak Moslems who were in their midst. These were shut up, beaten with stripes, had to suffer hunger and thirst, and were exposed to the sun, so that many of them relinquished their faith, to escape from ill-treatment, whilst others were strengthened by God to persevere.'

When Mohammed saw the persecution of his defenceless followers, whom he was powerless to protect, and who could find no other influential men under whose auspices they might place themselves, he said to them: 'Had you not better emigrate to Abyssinia? There reigns a prince who tolerates no injustice. It is a land of honesty,[1] where you can remain until God delivers you from the present condition.' A small number of his followers acted on his advice without delay; and others did so, from time to time, during the following years, down to the Hegira, so that eventually all the emigrants in Abyssinia were computed to amount to no less than 83 men. This emigration to Abyssinia was greatly facilitated by the close commercial relations which existed with that country. Besides, the Abyssinians being professed Christians, they doubtless felt all the more disposed to treat the fugitives kindly. These were at present needy suppliants, not the haughty adversaries of a later period; and their Deism could still be expected to prove a stepping-stone to the religion of Christ. Such hope was actually realised in the case of several of the emigrants, who joined the Church in Abyssinia and died there as Christians.

It is a remarkable circumstance that Mohammed, who, by setting up a rival religion, practically tried to supplant Christianity, had to apply to a Christian country for the protection of his early converts; and that the Mohammedan historians dwell with complacency on the kind hospitality of the Abyssinian king to the refugees and on his laudable firmness in refusing their extradition, when demanded by a formal embassy from the idolatrous Koreishites of Mecca. But Mohammed soon forgot these strong obligations under which Christianity had placed him; and in his later dealings with the Christians, he did not extend to them the same magnanimous treatment which they had shown to his early followers in their distress.

[1] This important admission deserves to be well pondered by those advocates of Mohammed who try to excuse him for his rejection of the Christian religion by assuming that its professors, in his days, were of so low a morality that they could inspire him only with feelings of contempt. We are here informed, on the contrary, that Mohammed looked upon Christian Abyssinia as 'a land of honesty, where no injustice was tolerated.'

(5.) *Mohammed, by sacrificing principles, enters into a Compromise with the Koreish.*

As by all their hostile measures the authorities of Mecca did not succeed in stopping the evil at its source, and could not effectually silence Mohammed, they tried to accomplish their object—for the Arabs are a cunning people—by inducing him to accept a compromise which was to put an end to the existing dissension. With this view, one of the leading men of the Koreish, Otba by name, was deputed to him, and addressed him thus: 'Thou knowest, my cousin, that thou occupiest a high rank in our tribe, and that thou hast brought before us a grave matter by which thou hast divided the community. Thou hast called us fools, hast blasphemed our gods, reviled our religion, and charged our departed fathers with unbelief. Now, listen to me whilst I submit to thee proposals, which, after reflecting upon them, thou mayest deem acceptable.' Then Mohammed was offered 'money enough to make him the richest man, honour like that of an Elder or even a Prince, physicians to heal him if he considered himself troubled by evil spirits'—all this on the condition that he would openly recognise their local deities, or at least some of them, as mediators and intercessors with Allah, the Creator and Preserver. The Koreish, in their turn, were ready to acknowledge and worship Allah.

Mohammed was not at once prepared to accept the proposition, but promised to see what God would reveal to him on the subject. After this interview, Otba counselled his friends to leave Mohammed alone, shrewdly assigning for his reason, 'If the Bedouins fight him, you will get rid of him by others; if he conquers them, his dominion will also become your dominion, his power your power, and you will be made the happiest men through him.' This advice of Otba to the Koreish was no doubt suggested, in substance, by the interview he had with the prophet, and throws light on the kind of subjects discussed between them. Viewed thus, it incidentally reveals that Mohammed's plans of conquest by no means sprang from his altered circumstances in Medina, but were harboured from the first, and never lost sight of, even amidst his gloomiest prospects in Mecca. He

wished to reduce the Arab tribes under one rule: and it was with this object in view that he strove so hard to become the highest authority of his own tribe, and to obtain a solid centre for his power in his native town. Accordingly we are told that he was now most desirous to receive a fresh revelation which might lead to a reconciliation with the people and a recognition of his claims.

Deeply occupied with these hopes and wishes, he embraced an opportunity, when the leading men of Mecca were assembled round the temple, to openly accept the proposed compromise. He rehearsed before them what was to be regarded as the Divine revelation which he had promised, and it contained the words: 'Do you see the Lat and the Ozza and the Manah, as the third of them? They are exalted Gharaniks and, verily, their intercession can be expected.' The Meccans were much pleased with this recognition of their idols, and in token of their acceptance of the concession, there and then prostrated themselves together with him and his remaining partisans as a public act of united worship. It was felt a relief by the whole town that a reconciliation had been effected and openly manifested in so unequivocal a manner.

But this result was obtained by a sacrifice of principles on the part of the new prophet. He had sustained a moral defeat, and allowed his adversaries to gain a victory. Such weakness could not much recommend him to the leadership of Arabia, nor raise his prophetic character in the estimation of his keen-eyed countrymen. He could not be long in discovering that, with regard to his ulterior design, the compromise into which he had been led was not a gain but a decided loss. Those of the Hanifite fraternity, whose Deistic convictions were clearer and purer than his own, could not approve of the compromise, and that portion of his followers who had fled to Abyssinia could not fail to become still more decidedly opposed to any recognition of idol-worship, by their sojourn in a Christian land. Mohammed awoke to the consciousness that he had made a great mistake, and that it was necessary to extricate himself from his unsatisfactory position as best he might. For he saw no chance of becoming the dictator of Mecca and of Arabia, except in a prophet's

garb; and he found that no one would seriously accept him as a prophet, whilst he was paying homage to idols.

So he gave out that the words as far as 'Do you see the Lat and the Ozza and the Manah, as the third of them?' were a correct repetition of Gabriel's dictate; but that then the Devil, aware of his strong desire to conciliate the Meccans, had put on his tongue the false declaration: 'They are exalted Gharaniks, and, verily, their intercession can be expected.' These compromising words were therefore cancelled, and their place supplied by harmless ones, as they still stand in the 53d Sura. Mohammed is reported not to have become aware of the mischievous character and Satanic origin of the words he had uttered, till the angel Gabriel came and pointed it out to him. What a sorry picture is here presented of a prophet who pretends to speak the words of God, whilst he is uttering the inspirations of the Evil One, and needs an angel to point out to him so gross a mistake! Who can feel any confidence in the utterances of a man who is driven to make so humiliating a confession!

(6.) *Mohammed's withdrawal from the compromise fans afresh the flame of ridicule and Persecution.*

The effect of Mohammed's palpable error and his clumsy way of extricating himself from it, could not but be an increased contempt of his prophetic pretensions on the part of his astute fellow-townsmen. No wonder they now cruelly mocked him with proposals such as these: 'Thou knowest we have great lack of water in our narrow valley: pray, therefore, to thy Lord who has sent thee, that He may enlarge our land by moving the mountains further back; and that He may water it with rivers, like Syria and Irak. Or, if thou wilt not do this for us, provide at least for thyself. Ask God to send one of His angels to remove our objections by declaring thee true; or solicit Him to send thee gardens, palaces, and treasures of gold and silver, so that thou mayest no longer have to go to market to buy victuals, like any one of us. Then we shall know thy privilege and rank with God, and whether, as thou affirmest, thou really art a messenger of God. Surely thy Lord knows that we

are sitting with thee here and making certain requests to thee: why does He not come and tell thee how to refute us, or what He will do if we refuse to listen to thee? We have heard that a man in Yemama, called Rahman, is thy teacher; but, by Allah, we shall never believe in Rahman. We have now done what behoved us, and we shall no longer tolerate thee with thy machinations, till we have destroyed thee or thou hast destroyed us.' Thus Mohammed's prophetic claims were ridiculed, his pretended revelations openly attributed to some human source, and he was given to understand that still stronger repressive measures should now be adopted against him and his party.

We are informed that 'he went away dejected because his hope in the conversion of his fellow-tribesmen was disappointed, and he saw that they were further and further withdrawing from him.' The wonder is that, after this more than dubious instance of their prophet's reliableness, any of his adherents should remain; and if the faith of intelligent men like Abu Bekr did not become effectually disabused by such glaring inconsistencies, we may assume either that they had been consenting parties to the transaction, or that what they expected of Mohammed was not so much the revelation of God's pure truth, as rather the realisation of political and national aims, such as later on were actually achieved.

The sad compromise had lasted long enough to admit of the despatch of a messenger to Abyssinia to recall the refugees. But when they returned, the expected reconciliation and amity had come to nothing, and the old persecution was still raging as fiercely as ever. Hence only those of them ventured to remain who found influential men in Mecca under whose protection they could place themselves, whilst the rest went back to their Abyssinian asylum.

(7.) *The two important Conversions of Hamza and Omar take place, notwithstanding the prevailing persecution.*

A short time before the prophet's notorious lapse which has just occupied our attention, *Hamza*, one of his uncles, espoused his cause; and this instance of a conversion, if so it may be called, well illustrates how personal or tribal con-

siderations sometimes entirely outweighed religious interests in those who joined him and his party.

One day as Hamza, still an idolater, was returning from the chase, he was met by a woman who told him how rudely his nephew had just been reproached by Abu Jahl, when passing him on Mount Safa. This communication so touched the uncle's honour and family pride, that he forthwith took the nephew's part, as narrated by Ibn Ishak in these words: 'Hamza, since God was about to bless him with His grace, was filled with wrath, and resolved to attack Abu Jahl at once, if he should still happen to be near the Kaaba. Then taking the way to the Kaaba, and finding him sitting with others, he went straight up to him, and gave him a severe blow with his bow, saying, "Wilt thou also dare to revile him, if I confess his faith and make his words my own? Return the blow if thou hast the courage!" Abu Jahl did not retaliate, and said to some Makhzumites who were ready to take his part, "Leave him alone; for, by Allah, I have badly reviled his nephew." From that moment Hamza remained a Moslem, following Mohammed's teaching in every thing; and the Koreish perceived that in Hamza's protection Mohammed had acquired a strong support, so that they desisted from many a vexation which they had hitherto been giving him.'

Hamza possessed a powerful frame, and is described as one of the strongest men among the Koreish. The prowess which he afterwards displayed in Mohammed's wars earned for him the distinction of being surnamed by him, 'The Lion of God.' Now a man who so obviously embraced Mohammed's cause from pity and a sense of family honour rather than from religious conviction, would naturally exercise his influence in favour of the unprincipled compromise which was brought about soon after, and was to have stilled for ever the bitter strife. Thus it is quite possible that Hamza's so-called conversion may have had something to do with Mohammed's notorious compromise, which reflects so unfavourably upon the prophet, and had to be given up again as soon as it was found that it did not effect the results which were looked for from it.

Mohammed was still living in the house of his Makhzumite

friend Arkam, and under the shadow of his protection, when he acquired another convert of equal importance, in the person of *Omar Ibn ul Khattab*, whose influence on the fate of Islam was of a most decided character. He, like Abu Bekr, gave Mohammed one of his daughters for a wife, succeeded him in the capacity of Calif, to extend the power of Islam by victorious armies, and had no small share in its formation from the time he became a convert. It is recorded of him that he declared: 'God agreed with me in three things.' These are specified to be: the adding of the so-called place of Abraham to the temple proper; the introduction of the practice of veiling the women; and the quelling of a mutiny of the prophet's wives, by the threat that they might have to make place for others more submissive. The agreement in point of fact consisted in this, that the pretended revelations on these points were made at Omar's suggestion. It was quite natural that the trenchant, strong, and impetuous mind of the highly esteemed disciple should leave its marked impress on the weaker and far more pliable mind of the visionary teacher.

Omar was closely related to the reforming party; for he was first cousin to Zeid, the distinguished Hanifite leader, and his sister was married to Seid, the surviving son of Zeid. He probably had views and plans of his own, as to who might be best fitted for the fuller development and chief direction of the Hanifite movement. Perhaps doubts of this nature had hitherto kept him back from joining Mohammed as a subordinate. That Omar had already previously exercised an independent activity on behalf of religion, may be gathered from a public declaration made at a later period in Kufa by his brother-in-law, Seid, who said: 'There was a time when Omar strengthened me and my wife in our faith, even before he had himself joined Islam.'

Mohammedan tradition gives several contradictory accounts of Omar's conversion, all with a tendency to show that it was owing to the striking beauty of a portion of the Koran which he accidentally heard, and by which his enmity to the new prophet was suddenly turned into friendship and devotion.[1] But the question of personal protection, the

[1] See Book II., chap. I. sec. 21, footnote.

growing strength of the Moslem party by the accession of valiant men like Hamza, and perhaps even concern for the fate of Deism, so dear to every Hanifite, which had been endangered by the recent compromise with idolatry, may have been factors in Omar's decision more cogent than the beauty of the Koran, though this also may have operated in favour of the step.

Omar was then twenty-six years old, of unusual bodily strength, and so tall that in a crowd he towered above all the rest. He could use the left hand as easily as the right, and his natural impetuosity was reflected by his rapid walk and long steps. Such a man could not but be a most valuable acquisition to a cause so fundamentally allied to the principle of physical force, as Islam. Mohammed's dreamy speculation and relative weakness found its needed complement in the trenchant determination and rude vigour of a man of action like Omar. If Mohammed was the mouth of Islam, and Abu Bekr its calculating head, Omar proved its strong arm and heavy fist.

Mohammed so fully appreciated this mighty arm of flesh, that he soon quitted Arkam's house and Makhzumite protection, to rely again on his own family and his few, but increasing and fearless, followers. One of the latter, Zohaib by name, made the following declaration: 'After Omar's conversion we confessed and preached Islam openly. We ventured to sit round the Kaaba, and to perform the circumambulation of the black stone. We no longer submitted to rough treatment, and as much as possible returned blow for blow.'

Omar himself, whose family either would or could not sufficiently protect him, had taken the precaution, notwithstanding his own strength, of placing himself under the protection of the influential Lahmite Az Ibn Wail, who, when the people surrounded his house with hostile intentions, calling out, 'Omar has turned Sabi,' put an end to the uproar by saying, 'What matters it if Omar has turned Sabi? I am his protector.' Having secured so effectual a protection, and being fully conscious of his own personal strength, Omar appears to have somewhat ostentatiously displayed his religious profession. According to Ibn Ishak's narrative, he purposely went to Jemil, who was reputed as being the man

best versed in the ancient traditions of the Koreish, to inform him boldly that he had embraced the faith of Mohammed. When Jemil thereupon exposed him before an assembly of people at the temple, saying, 'The son of El Khattab has apostatised,' Omar called out aloud, 'He tells a falsehood. I have turned Moslem, and confess that there is no God besides Allah, and that Mohammed is His minister and ambassador.'

(8.) *After these Conversions, Persecution bursts out more fiercely, and Mohammed, with his entire family, is put under a ban.*

The accession of two such bold and powerful men as Hamza and Omar to the cause of Mohammed, showed the aristocracy of Mecca that the new movement was not to be despised, and that the division it had produced in their community really threatened to become serious. In consequence, they resorted to a far more drastic measure, by placing Mohammed and his entire clan, as far as it openly espoused his cause or joined in his defence, under a regular social ban. Ibn Ishak narrates: 'When the Koreish saw that Mohammed's companions had found rest and shelter in Abyssinia, that Omar was converted and Hamza openly took his part, and that Islam gradually spread amongst the clans, they resolved to join in pledging themselves, by a written document, thenceforth not to contract any more marriages or have any sort of commercial dealings with the Beni Hashim and Mottaleb; and this document was to be suspended within the Kaaba to enhance its binding force. Thus they lived two or three years in great trouble, because it was only by stealth that their friends amongst the Koreish could take any provisions to them.'

The clan of Hashim and Mottaleb to which Mohammed belonged inhabited a confined, ravine-like quarter of the town, called *Shib;* and to this quarter all their scattered members who did not repudiate their family obligations to Mohammed, together with any other partisans, had now to withdraw, for the sake of greater personal safety and mutual protection. Being prevented from joining the mercantile caravans of the town and from trading as before, they

naturally had to suffer great privation and hardship in their social isolation, though it appears that they were not closely blockaded or forbidden to move about singly.

It is likely that at this juncture any Moslems who had not previously emigrated or could find effectual protection in Mecca, went to participate in the shelter which a number of their fellow-believers were already enjoying in Abyssinia. For it is recorded that even Abu Bekr decided on emigrating, and had actually left the town with that view, when he was brought back again by one of the leading men who met him on the way and compassionately took him under his protection.

Mohammed himself could remain, protected by his family, though burning with feelings of resentment at the contumely to which he was exposed whenever he showed his face. We read: 'When the family of Hashim and Mottaleb, together with his uncle, prevented the Koreish from using violence against him, these latter maligned and ridiculed him; whereupon there appeared revelations in the Koran against the Koreish and all those who signalised themselves by their hostility to Mohammed.' Against one of his uncles and his wife who persevered in rejecting the upstart prophet these words were revealed, 'May Abu Lahab's hands wither and himself perish! Of no avail shall be to him the wealth he has acquired. He shall be burned in a flaming fire and his wife shall have a rope tied round her neck!' Many instances are given by the biographers of persons openly contradicting and exposing Mohammed. Amongst others it is reported that when he recited passages of the Koran to assemblies of Koreishites, El Nadhr used to object, 'Mohammed's recitations are not better than mine: they are only copied from ancient books like my own.'

It appears that under these circumstances Mohammed moderated himself and that his preaching assumed a less aggressive form. Abu Jahl had said to him, 'Cease blaspheming our gods, or else we will blaspheme the God whom thou worshippest;' and we are told that, in consequence, 'Mohammed desisted from blaspheming their gods and only called upon them to believe in Allah.' This moderation on the part of Mohammed, and the inconvenience caused by the state of things to the community at large,

seems to have gradually led to a relaxation, and ultimately to have brought about the formal discontinuation of the social ban. A growing party of sympathisers ventured to propose in a public assembly the tearing up of the ban-document, suspended in the Kaaba. The biographers do not omit tracing in the event a special Divine interposition, by informing us that when the document was fetched, it was found to have been completely obliterated by worms, and that the hand of the man who originally wrote it had afterwards withered away.

(9.) *Mohammed, bereft by death of Khadija and Abu Talib, finds Mecca increasingly unsympathetic and at last fixedly hostile.*

The ban was indeed removed, but it had been sufficiently severe and protracted to show how determined was the opposition of the majority of the Meccans to the would-be prophet, and how little chance he had of ever being voluntarily recognised by them as their supreme teacher and ruler. About this time a great loss befell him which still further darkened his prospects in Mecca. In one year death deprived him of his uncle Abu Talib and his wife Khadija. The place of the former was ill supplied by another of his uncles, Abu Lahab; and we have already seen (p. 79) that, in compensation for the latter, he with great haste engaged himself to two ladies at once, namely, the widow Sewda, and the extremely youthful maiden Aisha. Ibn Ishak says, concerning his loss, 'This was a great misfortune to him; for Khadija had been his faithful support in Islam with whom he always found reassurance; and Abu Talib had been his staunch defender and protector against his fellow-tribesmen. They died three years before the Flight to Medina. After Abu Talib's death the Koreishites ill-treated Mohammed in a way they would never have ventured to do during his lifetime. One of the fools went so far as to strew dust on his head. When this had happened and he went to his house, with the dust still on his head, one of his daughters washed his head, weeping. He said to her, "Weep not, my daughter, God will protect thy father;" and he added, "Whilst Abu

Talib was alive, the Koreish could not do to me anything so disagreeable."'

Five very influential men are mentioned by name as being his worst revilers. When the offensive and contemptuous words of one of them reached Mohammed, he is reported to have prayed, 'O God, make him blind, and deprive him of his son!' And when they hardened themselves in their wickedness and continued to mock him, God revealed the verse, 'Proclaim aloud what is enjoined upon thee. Turn away from the idolaters. We shall protect thee against the mockers.' No wonder, then, that all these five mockers met with a condign retribution at the hand of God, according to the following story narrated by Ibn Ishak, and evidently invented to illustrate the effects of a prophet's vindictive prayer and of God's promise to protect him against the mockers. 'Yezid Ibn Ruman has told me on the authority of Urwa or some other learned man, that once Gabriel came to Mohammed, whilst those mockers were circumambulating the temple. Mohammed arose and placed himself at his side. When El Aswad Ibn El Mottaleb passed by, the angel cast a green leaf in his face, and he became blind. Then came El Aswad Ibn Abd Yaghut, when the angel pointed at his body, and he was overtaken by dropsy, of which he died. Then came El Welid, when Gabriel pointed at the scar of an old wound on his heel, and the wound re-opened, so that he died of it. After him El Az passed by, and Gabriel pointed at the sole of his foot; and it happened soon after that the ass on which he was riding lay down on a thorny place and a thorn pierced the sole of his foot, so that he died of it. Lastly, when El Harith passed by, Gabriel pointed at his head, and it began to suppurate, till he died.'

But notwithstanding all these retributive judgments of a later date, the experienced bereavement left Mohammed in a very dejected condition, so that we are informed his uncle Abu Lahab, on hearing of his grief, went to him with the comforting assurance, 'Go about and do what thou wilt, as during the life of my brother Abu Talib. I swear by the goddess Lat, that no harm shall happen to thee as long as I live.' But Abu Lahab proved no Abu Talib. Not long after he had given this inspiriting promise, he changed his

mind and again declared himself his nephew's enemy, on the professed ground that when asked about the present state of his late father, Abdu-l-Mottaleb, Mohammed had pronounced him to be in hell, an answer by which he gave great offence to Abu Lahab and all the Koreish.

The position of Mohammed as one protected by his family at great inconvenience was very delicate, and imposed on him the obligation of refraining from steps disapproved of by his protectors. For although it was a matter of honour for the whole clan to guard his life and personal safety so long as he was recognised as one of themselves; yet in case he should give them grave cause of offence, they might withdraw their countenance from him and openly repudiate his claim to their protection. The unbelieving Koreish had long been making great efforts to induce his family thus to abandon him to their vengeance. This danger had now become more acute and Mohammed did not conceal it from himself. Abu Talib having been under deep obligation to him for acts of kindness, such as the adoption of one of his many children, allowed him great freedom of action, so long as the responsibility for his safety rested mainly with him. But after his death no leading member of the family was disposed to undertake the serious charge of making himself answerable for the good conduct of one who had already given so much trouble. Abu Lahab indeed came forward from a sense of duty and honour; but we have already seen how gladly he availed himself of the first chance of withdrawing again from the responsibility he had undertaken. The necessity was now forced upon Mohammed of acting with very great caution and of leaving unavenged the many petty annoyances to which he was still exposed. Thus his life in Mecca became more and more intolerable, and his prospects of gaining over the Meccans to his views, gloomy in the extreme.

(10.) *Definitively rejected by Mecca, Mohammed addresses himself to other Arab Communities; but meets with no better reception.*

Not minded, like Jesus Christ and His apostles, to trust implicitly and solely in God, Mohammed now cast about

whether he might not find that worldly protection, that fleshly arm of human help, in one of the neighbouring towns, or amongst the roaming Bedouin tribes, which was refused him by his fellow-citizens in Mecca. The first attempt of this kind he made in Taif, the nearest town of importance, in whose neighbourhood many of the Meccan grandees kept gardens. The close intercourse thus fostered between the two towns afforded him an opportunity of which he availed himself. He went in company with his liberated slave Zeid, and addressing himself to the leading men of the Thakifites, requested them, as Ibn Ishak tells us, 'to aid and protect him against his own tribe, hoping that they would receive his revelation.' But they turned from his proposals in derision, and did not even heed his expressed request, at least to keep secret the interview which he had with them. Instead of promising protection or encouraging his pretensions to a heavenly mission, they stirred up the mob to drive him away with ignominy. A hostile crowd pursued him with missiles, so that he was wounded in his legs, and Zeid, who endeavoured to protect him with his own body, received a severe injury in his head.

The attempt to obtain in Taif what had been denied him in Mecca signally failed ; and the biographers, always partial to their hero, endeavour to compensate for the humiliating disappointment, by treating us to the story that when Mohammed, on his way back to Mecca, performed his evening prayers at Nakhla, a number of demons who were just coming from Nissibin, stopped to listen to him. What they heard induced them to embrace Islam, which henceforth they spread amongst their fellow-demons.

After his ignominious failure in Taif to find partisans and protectors against the hostile Koreish, Mohammed did not venture to re-enter Mecca, but halted at Mount Hira for the purpose of first securing the protection of some mighty man. His trust in God evidently did not raise him above the fear of man. In two cases his application for protection was coldly declined on some slight excuse ; but finally he succeeded in obtaining the consent of Motim Ibn Adi. Accordingly Motim, with his armed retainers, awaited Mohammed and Zeid at the Kaaba, and on their arrival

called out, 'Hear, ye Koreishites, I am protecting Mohammed: take care not to offend him.'

Thus protected, Mohammed could, for his own person, live quietly in Mecca; but it had become abundantly clear that the bulk of his fellow-townsmen had fully made up their minds to treat his arrogant pretensions with sovereign disdain. Ibn Ishak says, 'When Mohammed had returned to Mecca, the people gainsaid him more than before and kept aloof from his faith, except a few weak ones who believed in him.' There being, therefore, no hope left him of gaining over so important a city as Mecca, or even Taif, he employed all his efforts to obtain a foothold amongst any of the Arab tribes who visited the Kaaba during the annual festival. According to Ibn Ishak, 'he showed himself to the Kabiles on the days of the feast, exhorted them to believe in God, whose prophet he was, and requested them to acknowledge and protect him as such, so that he might expound to them God's revelation; and in the same way he also presented himself to individual persons whom he knew to possess great influence.' Evidently his motto was not, 'The poor have the Gospel preached unto them;' but he cared for men of influence and power, for the adhesion of whole tribes, to secure his own protection and the establishment of a worldly dominion.

The following narrative in which Ibn Ishak communicates the result of these efforts, shows that Mohammed's designs were looked through, and that the Kabiles had no wish to risk their necks for his aggrandisement and the domination of his party. 'Mohammed visited the Beni Kinda in their encampment, whose chief was Muleih, and requested them to believe in Allah whose prophet he was: but they turned away from him. He also went to the camp of a branch of the Kalbites, inviting them to believe in Allah and in himself; but neither did they hearken to him. In like manner he visited the Beni Hanifa, exhorting them to accept Islam; but no Arab ever gave him a ruder answer than they did. He also wanted to convert the Beni Amir, on which occasion one of them, Beihara by name, said to him, "By Allah, if I took this man from the Koreish, I could, with him, stir up all the Arabs into rebellion. Now, O Mohammed, if

we pay allegiance to thee, and God gives thee the victory over thy adversaries, shall we receive the dominion after thee?" Mohammed answered, "Dominion belongs to God: He gives it to whomsoever He pleases." To this Beihara replied, "Shall we expose our necks to the Arabs for thee, and, if God makes thee victorious, leave the dominion in the hands of others? We will have nothing to do with thee." Thus they also turned away from him.' Surely we need no clearer proof than this, that Mohammed's plans of conquest were not engendered by his favourable circumstances in Medina; but that they formed a chief feature of his aspirations already in Mecca, by means of which he sought to attract the Arabs. But the latter were clear-sighted enough to perceive that their desired conversion was but to furnish him with the means of establishing his own dominion, and for such a purpose they did not wish to risk their lives.

Mohammed's failure in Mecca was complete, and all the Kabiles he tried were too wary to cast in their lot with his. All the means at his disposal as the unarmed Prophet of Mecca—his personal virtues, his eloquence, his high social position, his family connection with the keepers of the Kaaba, his deistic teaching, the prospects of political domination and worldly gain which he held out with undisguised plainness—availed for him only to procure a small number of partisans amongst interested persons. The many means in his favour proved wholly inadequate to convince the intelligence of Mecca, or even the bulk of the common population, that he was a messenger of God whose words had to be believed and his behests obeyed.

(II.) *Mohammed succeeds in gaining a number of Partisans amongst the People of Medina.*

To all appearance the Meccan Prophet and his Islam would have been nipped in the bud, had not Mecca's old rival, the city of *Yathreb*, snatched at the chance of supremacy now offering, and opened its gates to the desperate suppliants. Yathreb, or *Medina*, i.e. 'the city,' as it was named by the Mohammedans for becoming the first home of their politico-religious organisation, was not, as we have

already learned, a stranger to Mohammed. His great-grandmother and his grandfather were natives of that town. His father died and was buried there. When he was six years of age, his mother paid a visit to the place, and took him with her to form the acquaintance of his distant relatives and to see his father's grave. The sickly mother never returned to Mecca, but died on her homeward journey. An interest in the orphan child and his fate must, therefore, have survived in Medina, and when the tidings reached it that he professed himself God's Prophet to the Arab nation, this could not but form a subject for frequent lively conversations in that city.

Mohammed tenaciously clung to his own tribe, the Koreish, and would infinitely have preferred his native Mecca; but when all hopes from that quarter had vanished and he was driven to look abroad for safety and shelter, what was more natural for him than to turn his hopes and enthusiasm to the other town with which he was likewise connected by such strong links? And what could offer more attraction to the ancient jealousy of the Yathrebites, than an accession of strength from the Meccans themselves, including such men of mark as Abu Bekr, Hamza, Omar, Othman, together with the much-talked-of new prophet? Moreover, the strong Jewish colony in Yathreb, with their ancient Monotheism, must have in a sense prepared the way for the reception of a religious reformer. Without Yathreb, Mohammed would in all probability have died as a derided enthusiast, and his name been utterly forgotten. By opening herself as a refuge to him and his partisans, Medina became the real birthplace of Islam, the cradle of its political power, and the centre of its conquests throughout Arabia. It fully deserves its name as 'the city,' and its early converts that of 'the assistants or helpers' of Islam.

The biographers duly appreciate the nature and importance of the transfer of incipient Islam from Mecca to Medina, and give a detailed account of the manner in which it was brought about. It is highly instructive as showing the predominantly political and secular character of the Mohammedan movement, already at this period. For now

it still appeared in its best and purest form, as the natural outcome of its gradual development amidst the restrictions and persecutions of Mecca, and was not yet affected by the sunshine of worldly prosperity and power.

Ibn Ishak narrates 'the beginning of Islam amongst the assistants' in these words: 'When God wished to make His faith victorious, to glorify His Prophet and to fulfil His promise to him, Mohammed, at the time of the pilgrim festival, went as usual to the Kabiles to present himself to them as prophet, and on the eminence he met a party of Khazrajites by whom God intended something good. He asked them, "Who are you?" They answered, "We are Khazrajites." Then Mohammed inquired, "Are you friends of the Jews?" and they said "Yes." He then invited them to sit down with him, propounded to them the doctrine of Islam, and read out portions from the Koran. It belongs to God's works that the Jews, those men of Scripture and science, who lived amongst the idolatrous Khazrajites and were oppressed by them, often said in their brawls, "The time is nigh when a prophet will arise: we shall follow him and with his help destroy you, like Ad and Iram." Now, therefore, when Mohammed exhorted these people to believe in God, they said to each other, "Know, that this is the prophet with whom the Jews have threatened us: let us anticipate them." So it came to pass that they listened to Mohammed, believed in him, and accepted Islam. They also said to Mohammed, "We belong to a people amongst whom there is much ill-will and enmity; perhaps God will unite them through thee. We will invite them to the faith which we now possess; and if God unites them around thee, there will then be no more powerful man than thou." After this, they returned to their home as believers. They were six in number; and when they had reached Medina, they talked with their fellow-tribesmen about Mohammed and invited them to Islam, so that soon the Prophet of God was spoken of in every house.'

Thus, in the course of the year, the movement began to spread in Medina, and we are told that when the festival came round again, *twelve Ansars*, or 'Assistants,' were amongst the pilgrims to Mecca. They arranged a meeting

with Mohammed, which is known as 'the first meeting on the eminence,' and it was on the same occasion that they also took an oath of allegiance to him, 'after the manner of women,' that is, they did not yet engage to *fight* for Islam, but only to give up idolatry, stealing, fornication, and the killing of infants, and to obey Mohammed in all that is good. When they returned to Medina, Mohammed sent with them *Mosab*, for the express purpose of spreading the knowledge of Islam and the Koran amongst their countrymen; and it is in consequence of this, that he became generally known as 'the reading-master of Medina.' Asad, in whose house he lived, pointed out to him *Saad*, the lord of his people, saying, 'If he follows thee, not two of his clan will remain behind.' As soon as Saad was gained over, he said to his clan, 'I vow not to speak a word either with your men or your women, till you believe in God and His Prophet.' So it came to pass that, after a time, not a man or a woman of the clan remained who had not embraced Islam. Although these conversions, at the mere dictate of a chief, must have been very unspiritual and superficial, yet they were perfectly consistent with the external nature of Islam, and fully served the purpose of its Prophet.

(12.) *The Spread of Islam amongst the People of Medina prepares the way for Mohammed and his whole Party to emigrate to that City.*

At the pilgrimage festival of the following year, Mosab, who had been most successful in his missionary operations, returned to Mecca in the company of a caravan of pilgrims. On their arrival he lost no time in arranging another formal meeting, known as 'the second meeting on the eminence,' between Mohammed and those of his fellow-pilgrims who were converts to Islam. *Kaab*, one of the leading men present at the meeting, gives the following account of it: 'We slept till a third part of the night was over. Then we left the caravan and crept silently to the ravine near the eminence. We were seventy-three men and two women. When we had waited a while, Mohammed arrived, accompanied by his uncle Abbas, who, though still a heathen, yet

wished to be present, in order to secure a sure covenant for his nephew. After taking their seat, Abbas first took the word, saying, "Ye know, O ye Khazrajites—as then all the Arabs of Medina were called, inclusive of the Awsites—that Mohammed is one of us. We have hitherto protected him against those of the people who share my opinion respecting him. Though he now lives in power amongst his people and enjoys the shelter of his home, yet he wishes to go and unite himself with you. Now if you are sure that you can fulfil what you promise him, and that you will protect him against his enemies; then accept the burden with which you wish to load yourselves. But if you think that you might deceive and betray him, then leave him here; for in his own home he is strong and protected." We returned this answer, "We have heard thy words, and Mohammed has only to declare what is to be our obligation with regard to him and to God." Then Mohammed made a speech to us, invited us to Allah, recited the Koran, awakened in us a love to Islam, and concluded by saying, "Now, swear that you will preserve me from everything from which you preserve your own wives and children." *El Bara,* seizing his hand, replied, "Yea, by Him who hath sent thee a prophet with truth, we shall protect thee as our bodies: receive our allegiance, O Apostle of God! By Allah! we are the sons of war and men of arms which we, the valiant, have inherited from the valiant." While he thus spake, another interposed, saying, "O Apostle of God, there are ties between us and others—he meant the Jews—which now we shall have to tear asunder; but if we do this, and God gives thee victory, wilt thou then leave us again and return to thy own home?" Mohammed made answer in this wise: "Your blood is my blood; what you shed, I also shed; you belong to me and I belong to you; I declare war to whom you declare war, and make peace with whom you make peace."'

What a light this covenant throws on Mohammed as a prophet and on the nature and bearings of the religion he undertook to establish! That this whole movement was essentially of a secular and political kind into which religion merely entered as an element, is abundantly evident from

the fact that the actual contractor on Mohammed's side was his uncle Abbas, who positively repudiated his nephew's religious pretensions, but was naturally eager to rid his family of so troublesome a client, without dishonour, by assisting to secure for him the protection of a distant town. The stipulations entered into, the promises given between Mohammed and the Khazrajites of Medina, only reveal what kind of relationship he had all along striven to establish, though unsuccessfully, with the Koreishites of Mecca. It was plainly a civil and political compact, defensive and offensive, with express reference to the contingencies of war, bloodshed, and conquest, but based on a profession of Deism and the recognition of Mohammed as its prophet, or highest authority in all religious and secular matters. His own prerogatives and personal protection always constituted a prominent feature of his scheme. But he had to advance step by step. On the first pilgrimage his sympathisers from Medina had only to avow the fealty of women; but on the second, when further progress had been made, so that their number exceeded seventy, they had to promise the fealty of men and of warriors.

Consequently the view propounded in this work is fully justified that, although indeed the ulterior design of worldly gain and military conquest is less apparent in Mohammed's earlier period, this was not the case because the design did not exist, but because the suitable time for its prominent manifestation had not yet arrived. The calculating prophet could not help seeing that a premature resort to arms would infallibly have led to a complete frustration of all his plans. As soon as he could command about a hundred men able to fight, and before he had actually set out to place himself at their head in Medina, he received the commission from God, as Ibn Ishak tells us, to make war and to resist by force of arms all those who molested him or his followers. Hitherto Mohammed had tried hard, but tried in vain, to accomplish his first step amongst the Koreish and other tribes, that of inducing them to accept him as the prophet of Deism. Had he succeeded in this, the next step would have followed as naturally and necessarily in their case, as it now did in that of the more confiding people of Medina. The

political form and military development obtained by Islam in Medina were not something foreign to the minds and aspirations of its originators in Mecca, but something which, by the force of circumstances, had to be left to the future, until it should be sufficiently grounded in its initiatory stage as a deistic form of Arabian Heathenism. The politico-religious compact between Mohammed and the Khazrajites which we have just considered, embodies at once the growing development of the principles of Islam in its Meccan period and the foundation for its national and foreign conquests of the period on which it was now about to enter. The inward character of both these periods is perfectly homogeneous, and the transition from the one to the other natural, and designedly brought about by Mohammed and his coadjutors.

Despite all precaution the nightly rendezvous and its object had transpired in Mecca. Kaab continues his narrative thus: 'On the following morning the leading men of the Koreish came to us and said, "We have heard that you intend to take away Mohammed and to swear to him *that you will make war against us.*" Then several unbelievers from our tribe arose and declared with an oath that this was not so, and that they knew nothing about it. They were speaking the truth; for they did not know what had happened. But we who knew looked at each other.' Kaab also mentions an incident which is quite characteristic of the disposition and hopes of those early converts to Islam. Before the Koreish left, Kaab said, in their hearing, to a leading man of his own party, 'Why dost thou not also wear sandals as these Koreish do?' Then one of the Koreish took off his sandals and threw them to Kaab, requesting him to put them on. Kaab did so; and on being advised by his own party to throw them back, replied, 'By Allah! I will not give them back to him, for this is an omen; and in fulfilment of it *I shall one day take his goods from him.*' The suspicions of the Koreish were not removed by this interview, and on the Yathrebite pilgrims returning home, the Koreish pursued them for some distance.

When the people of Mecca had ascertained beyond a doubt that Mohammed had gained over a considerable party in the city of Medina and allied himself with them, they

perceived that there really existed grave cause to dread a movement which was depriving them of a number of powerful fellow-citizens to augment the jealousy and antagonism of a formidable rival city. The movement now really constituted a political danger of no small magnitude. The Meccans, therefore, renewed their persecutions, and at the same time sought to retain by force those who showed a disposition to emigrate to Medina. The latter had to use great circumspection and to evade their adversaries' vigilance by leaving in small groups and by taking different directions. Ibn Ishak says: 'When Mohammed had received the permission to make war, and when the tribe of "assistants" had sworn to accept Islam and to aid him and his followers, he commanded his companions, both those who had already emigrated and those who had remained with him in Mecca, to remove to Medina and there to join their brethren, "the assistants," saying to them, "God has given you brethren and a sure dwelling-place." They now left in groups, but Mohammed himself still remained in Mecca, waiting for permission from God likewise to emigrate to Medina. Besides those who were detained by force and those who were made to apostatise, only Ali and Abu Bekr remained with him in Mecca. The latter frequently asked for permission to follow the other emigrants; but Mohammed said to him, "Do not hasten, perhaps God will give thee a companion." Abu Bekr hoped that this companion would be Mohammed himself.'

The account of Mohammed's own emigration or 'Flight' to Medina is thus given by Ibn Ishak, according to several contemporary authorities whom he mentions by name, and, as every one will observe, is not without a strongly mythical element. 'When the Koreish saw that Mohammed had gained companions and adherents outside their own tribe, in another town to which his friends emigrated, and where they found a refuge and protection, they feared Mohammed might also join them and then *resolve on war* against themselves. They, therefore, assembled in their council-house to deliberate what steps to take against Mohammed, whom they now dreaded. The devil also came, in the form of an old man, wearing a threadbare garment, and stood at the

door of the council-house. On the Koreish asking him who he was, he said, "I am an old man from Nejd, who has heard what you have arranged and who has come to listen to your deliberations, and perhaps to give a useful counsel." They said, "All right," and admitted him to the assembly of the Koreishite nobles. Several proposals being made how to deal with Mohammed, he pointed out their objectionableness, on the ground of not being effective enough, till at last Abu Jahl took the word, saying, "My proposal is, that we select from every clan a powerful suitable youth of good family, and provide them with sharp swords, to fall on him as one man and to slay him; then we shall have rest and his blood will be on all the clans, so that the sons of Abd Eddar, unable to make war against an entire people, will be content to accept the price of atonement which we shall willingly pay." Thereupon the old man from Nejd said, "This man's proposal is the only good one;" and the assembly, indorsing the opinion, dispersed.

'Now when the third part of the night was over, the Koreish gathered before Mohammed's door and waited till he went to sleep, so that they might fall upon him. As soon as Mohammed perceived this, he said to Ali, "Do thou sleep on my bed and wrap thyself up in my green cloak of Hadramaut—the same in which he himself used to sleep,—they will not hurt thee." Whilst the Koreish were before Mohammed's door, Abu Jahl, who was amongst them, said, "Mohammed believes that, if you follow him, *you will become the masters of the Arabs and the Persians;* that, after death, you will rise again and receive gardens like those on the river Jordan; but that if you do not follow him, he will slay you; and on being raised again after death, you will have to burn in hell." Then Mohammed came out, cast a handful of earth on their heads, and said to Abu Jahl, "Yes, indeed, I have spoken thus; and thou wilt be one of the latter." God had deprived them of their sight, every one of them, so that they could not see him. Then came some one who was not of their party and asked them for whom they were waiting. They answered, "For Mohammed." He continued, "May God put you to shame! he came out long ago, cast earth upon your heads and went his way. Do you

not see what is upon you?" They felt their heads, and found them covered with earth. Then they entered the house; and seeing Ali on the bed, wrapt in Mohammed's cloak, they said, "By Allah, Mohammed sleeps, wrapt in his cloak;" and they remained of that opinion till the morning. At length, when Ali rose from the bed, they said, "After all, the man who accosted us has spoken the truth."

'Abu Bekr, who was a rich man, had, as soon as Mohammed gave him the hint not to hasten with his departure, bought two camels which he fed in his own house, so as to have them ready for this occasion. Therefore Mohammed went to Abu Bekr; and they both left the house through an opening at its back part. They first went to a cave of the Mount Thaur, below the city. Abu Bekr considerately entered the cave before Mohammed, to see whether there was no wild beast or serpent in it. They remained concealed there for three days, because the Koreish, as soon as they missed Mohammed, had offered a hundred camels to any one who should bring him back. Abu Bekr's son, Abd Allah, mixed with the Koreish, to hear what they were saying about Mohammed and his father, and in the evening he reported to them what he had heard. His shepherd remained with the other shepherds of Mecca; but in the evening he took his sheep to the cave to provide them with milk and meat; and in the morning, when the son left, the shepherd followed him with his flock, to avert suspicion.

'After three days, they sent for the two camels, together with the man they had hired for the journey, who also brought with him a third camel, for his own use. Asma, Abu Bekr's daughter, brought provisions for their journey; and having forgotten the rope with which to fasten them, she took her girdle from her body and tied them on with it. Then Abu Bekr led forth the better of the two camels for Mohammed to mount. But the Prophet said, "I ride on no camel which does not belong to me." Abu Bekr replied, "It belongs to thee; for thou art to me as father and mother." Mohammed rejoined, "No; but for how much didst thou buy it?" and having been told the price, he said, "I buy it for this price." Then they mounted, Abu Bekr allowing his freed slave Amir to sit behind him on the same

camel, so as to attend on them during the journey; and they started forthwith. To avoid capture, the guide whom they had hired did not take the usual route, but one of his own choosing, and thus brought them safely to the place of their destination.

'They arrived in the neighbourhood of the city, on a Monday, the 13th day of the month Rabia-l-ewwel (A.D. 622), when it was already very hot, the sun standing nearly in mid-heaven. He had been anxiously awaited by his people in Medina; and one of them narrates the event of his coming thus: "When we had heard that Mohammed had left Mecca, and we could expect his arrival, we daily went out, after morning prayer, to the stony field, waiting for him, till we found no more shadow. Then we returned, for the days were hot. Thus we also acted on the day of his actual coming; and we had already returned home, when he arrived. It was a Jew who discerned him first; and as he had noticed how we had been waiting for him, he called out in a loud voice, 'O ye sons of Keilah, your fortune has come.' We went out and found Mohammed in the shade of a date-tree, together with Abu Bekr."' Thus far Ibn Ishak's narrative.

The emigration of Mohammed and his partisans to Medina, which in Arabic is called *Hetchra*, i.e. a 'Flight,' because it had to be accomplished by stealth, amounts in itself to a virtual proof of his utter failure to convince the people of Mecca that he was a prophet sent by God. He had persevered for ten or thirteen years in trying to persuade his countrymen, but met only with determined opposition and contemptuous slight. His flight to Medina openly set the seal to his complete fiasco in Mecca. The Koreish were acute enough to look through his professions and to perceive that their realisation would lead to an intolerable civil despotism, exercised by him in the name of religion. But they, having been accustomed to bear rule themselves, showed no inclination to become the pedestal for Mohammed's elevation. Of all the well-to-do men in Mecca, only a very few joined him; and they, probably, entertained the hope that, by their influence on him, they might secure for themselves a full share in his contemplated power, should he ever be able, with their assistance, to establish it.

The state of affairs in Medina offered a much more favourable prospect, and presented a far greater chance of success. There the Jews had already awakened the expectation of a heaven-commissioned Messiah, destined to become a universal Monarch, and had popularised the idea that the profession of religion may be turned into a means of secular power and military conquest. Whereas in Mecca, Mohammed was merely a distrusted reformer of religion, not yet able to stretch out his hands after earthly dominion, and even trying in vain to obtain the recognition of his deistic teaching: in Medina he could set out, from the first, as the acknowledged head of a popular party which expected to be made dominant by his help, and therefore encouraged rather than checked, his ulterior political aspirations. Such aims as these required no repentance of sin, no regeneration by the Holy Spirit, but merely implicit obedience, daring courage, and physical force. It was in Medina that Islam found the ground prepared for it freely and fully to develop its true nature, and to attain to that completeness and maturity from which it had been hopelessly debarred in Mecca. The historical fact stands out in bold relief that Mohammed's failure in Mecca was properly that of the Prophet, and his triumph in Medina that of the Chieftain and Conqueror.

II.—MOHAMMED'S COMPLETE SUCCESS IN SECURING RECOGNITION AS A PROPHET, AND IN RENDERING ISLAM THE DOMINANT POWER OF ARABIA, OR, HIS MEDINAN PERIOD, COMPRISING THE LAST TEN YEARS OF HIS LIFE.

(1.) *Mohammed settles in Medina, and seeks to unite around him the different sections of the population, as a first step in the realisation of his plan.*

When on a Friday in June (or, according to other accounts, in September) A.D. 622, Mohammed, after warily resting for several days in one of the suburbs, held his public entrance into the city of Medina, he was welcomed by a considerable number of adherents who came forth, well armed, to meet him.

The population generally was indeed willing to let him come amongst them, but it was by no means agreed on his claims as a divinely commissioned apostle and prophet. Especially the most powerful tribe of the city, the Awsites, amongst whom Christianity seems already to have gained an entrance, were very incredulous on that point. This did not prevent him from entering Medina with some degree of ostentation; and it would seem that he already looked forward in imagination to the time of the realisation of his far-reaching plan.

With prudent forethought, and masterly appreciation of Arab proclivities, he, from the first day of his arrival, managed to secure for himself that independence of position and freedom of action which he deemed indispensable for the success he afterwards achieved. Had he chosen openly to accept the exclusive hospitality of any one clan, and formally placed himself under its special protection, his own liberty would have been restricted, and he would have excited jealousies in so clannish a town as Medina, which might have fatally interfered with the accomplishment of his ambitious designs. But he cautiously evaded this danger. When, on entering the city, the chief men of the Beni Salem invited him to take up his quarters with them, saying, 'We are numerous, and well able to protect thee;' and when the heads of several other clans, amongst them that of his great-grandmother Salma, urged the same request on similar grounds, he oracularly informed them that the camel on which he was mounted had received Divine direction to halt on the spot where it was ordained his head-quarters should be. The camel proceeded till it reached a large neglected and seemingly ownerless place, partly fenced in, where it stopped and knelt down, as a sign for the rider to dismount, stretching out its neck upon the ground, and uttering the well-known sounds of relief common to its kind. In this manner Mohammed had reached his destination, not by his own human choice, but by a Divine decree, manifested through the action of a brute.

The place happened to be situated in the quarter of the Beni Najjar, of which clan the Beni Adi, that is, the family of Mohammed's great-grandmother, formed part; and

it belonged to two orphan children whose guardian, Asad Ibn Zorara, the chief of the Beni Najjar, was one of the first six converts of Medina. He had erected some sort of sheltered enclosure upon it for Moslem worship, when Mohammed was still in Mecca. Now he hastened to offer it to his spiritual chief, as the most suitable spot for his headquarters; and Mohammed requested Abu Bekr to pay him its value of ten dinars, in compensation for the rights of the two orphans.

The acquired site was cleared without delay, in preparation for building upon it a substantial mosque and several private dwellings, to meet the Prophet's requirements. As all the converts helped together, it did not take many months before the buildings were finished. Till then, Mohammed lived close by, in the house of Abu Eyub, one of his converts, who felt honoured by having him for his guest.

Mohammed needed no house specially for himself, because the mosque served both as a place of religious worship and as an office for business transactions. When he desired retirement, he withdrew to the apartment of one of his wives, each of whom had a little cottage to herself. At first only two such private dwellings had to be erected: one joining the mosque, for Aisha, his favourite spouse, then only nine or ten years of age; and one by its side for Sewda, whom he had married as a widow a few weeks after his first wife's death. Afterwards more cottages were added, as the inmates of the Prophet's harem multiplied.

The mosque with its surroundings was the proper centre of Islam, the court and official residence of its founder. Thence proceeded the military and political orders, the pretended Divine revelations and inspirations which transformed all Arabia into one commonwealth, and laid the foundation for the world-wide empire of Islam. The Prophet's pretence about the supernatural guidance of his camel had marvellously succeeded. Though a refugee and guest, he, without wounding the jealous sensitiveness of Yathrebite clanship, had at the outset secured for himself, in the very midst of a tribe to which he was related by descent, a position of relative independence, a home of his

own, a material centre for his new religion round which all the converts might cluster, as their common headquarters, to whatever family, or clan, or tribe, they might otherwise belong. But with all this, the artifice cannot be ethically justified. It throws a prejudicial light on the man; and the ease with which he had already accustomed himself in Mecca to handle the sacred subject of Divine revelation, to his own advantage, bodes ill for his future conduct in the same line, when his power will have increased, and his perplexities become more pressing.

The Arab population of Medina was mainly composed of two great tribes, the Awsites and the Khazrajites, the former more powerful than the latter, and each joined by Jewish confederates who for long had been settled amongst them. The Awsites had allied themselves with the two Israelitish clans the Beni Nadhir and the Beni Koreiza; and the Khazrajites with the Beni Keinoka. The jealousy between the two Arab tribes sometimes led to sanguinary encounters which were shared by their Jewish allies. In their most recent battle, that of Buath, where many leading men were slain, the victory had remained with the Awsites. This naturally all the more disposed the defeated Khazrajites to welcome the addition of strength offering in the Moslem party from Mecca. It is true, a small number of Awsites also embraced Islam; but the great majority of Mohammed's adherents as yet belonged to the Khazrajites, who included the Beni Najjar. Thus the ancient jealousy between these leading tribes was only moderated a little, but by no means wholly removed. Under these circumstances Mohammed could not but see, from the very outset, that his great aim must be to bring these two tribes more closely together and to neutralise their old antipathies, by placing before them attractive objects for their common aspiration, and by imposing on them a supreme authority which both would have to respect equally.

Living no longer far off, but in their very midst, on property he had acquired by the supposed intervention of a miraculous agency, the Prophet could now personally press his wishes upon them by all his powers of persuasion. What wonder, that the number of his followers from both sides

daily increased, and that, ere long, entire families and clans were amongst his declared partisans? The Meccan disciples who had not previously emigrated to Medina or who had fled elsewhere for protection, now also speedily joined their master in his place of safety. They were hospitably received by the converts of the city which had freely opened its gates to Islam. There were thus two main bodies of professed believers, the natives and the immigrants; and these had first of all to be welded into one homogeneous whole, to form the attracting nucleus round which all the still isolated and hostile elements might gradually gather. By their means Mohammed hoped soon to unite all Medina under his leadership and to confer upon it the distinction which Mecca had so contemptuously rejected, that of becoming the powerful centre for extending the triumph of Islam throughout all Arabia. This plainly was the object he aimed at; and the following pages will show us that, by the means, fair and foul, which he employed, in concert with his chief friends, he also carried out his plan with astonishing success.

Union of all in the bonds of Islam, and, what was its indispensable correlative, submission of all to the Prophet, as the highest authority—this was the great principle which had now to be practically carried out in Medina, in order to heal its divisions and to provide it with the needed supreme authority. In doing so, Mohammed made use of the means at his disposal with a dexterity and efficacy which testify to his eminent talents as a ruler of men.

The refugees from Mecca, on whose fidelity he could naturally rely most, were now no longer to be regarded as strangers, dependent on the charity of their new fellow-believers, but formally united with them, as if they had always belonged to one and the same tribe, or even as if they were all members of one family, brothers of a common parent. To this end Mohammed arranged *a feast of fraternisation between his fellow-refugees and the Medinan converts*, whereby the former, at that time amounting to about fifty, were one by one united with selected individuals of the latter, in the bonds of a brotherhood so close and complete that, in case of death, they were even to inherit from each other, to the exclusion of their natural heirs.

This *new brotherhood*, besides promoting general concord and tribal fusion, evidently favoured the refugees, who, as the poorer party, were the chief gainers by it. They much needed such an encouragement and such a material attraction to their new home. For they not only felt the ordinary privations of strangers and refugees, but they also found the damper and colder climate of Medina, especially during the winter months, injurious to their health. All of them were more or less prostrated by the prevailing intermittent fevers, so that they pined for the healthy air of their native home, and Mohammed found it necessary to pray, 'O God, give us so much love for Medina as we have for Mecca; yea, even more!' The refugees being his main stay, he felt that if they deserted him, all his plans might be frustrated. He certainly could not have done more at this time to reconcile them to their adopted country, despite its relative insalubrity, than what he accomplished by this institution of fraternity. For it at once secured them against destitution and provided them with the solace and comforts of an actual home. Notwithstanding the delicate stipulation concerning inheritance, this communistic brotherhood remained in force till after the battle of Bedr, when a new and wider vista opened before them to material wealth and earthly pleasure.

Another measure, no less worldly wise and equally directed to the promotion of union, Mohammed soon found it possible to adopt, in order to strengthen the foundation on which he might safely rear the vast superstructure he was contemplating. This measure, much more comprehensive than the one just mentioned, consisted of a kind of *constitution for all his followers*, or *a formal pact of solidarity, a written treaty, defensive and offensive*, which he established between the converts from the Koreish and those from the city of Medina, and which he also extended to the Jewish tribes who, without embracing Islam, might join them for warlike purposes.

In this document it is declared that the believers form one compact community, distinct from all other men, and that in any doubts or dissensions which may arise, they will submit to the decision of God and His Prophet. They are not to leave any heavily burdened one amongst themselves, be he

such through the required payment of blood-money or of the price of redemption from bondage, without affording him the needed assistance. No believer may kill a fellow-believer to avenge the blood of an unbeliever, nor may he assist an unbeliever against a believer. God's protection is one, even for the lowest, and the believers are to protect each other against all other men. Whoever kills a believer shall likewise be killed, except if the nearest relative can be otherwise satisfied: all the Mussulmans shall rise against the murderer. Those of the Jews who follow the believers shall receive assistance and equal rights. They shall not be wronged and their enemies shall not be helped against them. In all war-expeditions which they join, the horsemen shall charge in turn. One shall avenge the other, if blood has been shed in the holy war. The Jews contribute to the war-expenses equally with the believers. The Jews retain their religion, the Moslems theirs. None of the Jews shall take the field without the permission of Mohammed; but they shall not be hindered from avenging bodily injuries. The Jews have to defray their expenses, the Moslems theirs; but they are bound to help each other against any one who attacks one of the parties of this pact. To both parties Medina shall be sacred and inviolable. Persons taken under protection shall enjoy the same privileges as their protectors. No protection shall be given to the unbelieving Koreish or their confederates; and all must combine to repel any one who threatens Medina. For the conclusion of peace the consent of both parties is required, except when the believers are engaged in a religious war. Both he who takes the field and he who remains at home shall be secure in Medina, with the exception of the wrong-doers and the guilty; for God protects the loyal and the pious, and Mohammed is God's ambassador.

By bringing about such a compact as this, Mohammed, it is plain, created a firmly united and solid power which he could employ, later on, with the certainty of a machine. He established himself as the sovereign director not only of the religious, but also of the civil, political, and military affairs of his followers. The Jews he desired to make use of as valuable auxiliaries in war, and he so highly estimated the hoped-for accession of strength that, to secure it, he unhesita-

tingly guaranteed to them the free exercise of their religion and dealt with them on the footing of religious equality.[1] This he could do all the more readily, as the Jews were Monotheists like himself, and he hoped either to draw them over to Islam, by considerately meeting them half-way, or, at least, to obtain from them the open acknowledgment, so much coveted by him, of his prophetic mission, if not to themselves, yet to the idolatrous Arabs.

Had Mohammed's own conviction of his Divine mission been surer and freer from doubt, he would probably have cared less for what the Jews thought about him; and had he been more concerned for men's salvation than for worldly domination, he need not have brought such heavy pressure to bear upon the Arabs of Medina that some preferred emigration, whilst many others, wholly unconvinced, feigned belief in him from sheer dread, and were consequently looked upon, even by himself, as mere hypocrites. But his actual conduct shows

[1] The curious fact may here be noticed that the Arabic verb from which the word 'Mohammed' is formed, and the Hebrew verb from which the word 'Juda or Jew' is derived, are identical in meaning, both signifying 'to praise' (see Gen. xxix. 35). It is also, to say the least, doubtful whether Mohammed bore this name from his childhood, or whether he was not then known by another, perhaps one taken from some idol, in accordance with an extensive practice. If so, he must have wished to drop it since he came publicly forward as the apostle of a rigid Monotheism. Was it perhaps about this time, when he took such great pains to make himself agreeable to the Jews, that he adopted in its stead the new name which was at the same time Arabic in form and Jewish in meaning? However this may be, the singular and significative fact remains that, as Islam might aptly be designated 'Judaism in an Arabic guise,' so also the name of Mohammed ('praised') is an Arabic reproduction of the Hebrew word 'Jew,' only with this telling difference that in 'Jew' the intended object of the 'praise' is God; and in 'Mohammed' it is the Prophet's own person. If the name 'Mohammed' has been intentionally adopted by the Arabian Prophet, in order to apply the meaning of the Hebrew 'Juda' to himself, this would not be an isolated instance of the kind; for we are expressly informed in vol. i. p. 693 of the *Mirat el Kainat*, that he also gave to his grandsons the names of 'Hasan, Hosein, and Mohassen,' on the ground that these names had the same meaning in Arabic which 'Shabbar, Shobeir, and Moshabber,' the (imaginary) names of the sons of Aaron, brother of Moses, had in Hebrew. As we are here told that Mohammed sought to establish a connecting link between himself and Aaron and Moses by giving to his grandsons Arabic names whose meaning he derived from Hebrew, the supposition is plainly not outside the bounds of probability, that he may also have wished to figure as the true 'Juda,' and the heir of the great promises attached to him, by appropriating to himself this Hebrew name in a suitable Arabic form. (Compare also the note on p. 81.)

that Divine truth and pure religion were not the all-absorbing subject with him, and that he looked beyond them to something else, which made him both apprehensive and oppressive.

It is interesting, in this respect, to notice what Ibn Ishak narrates in connection with the death of Asad Ibn Zorara, also named Abu Umama. We must gather from the narrative that his death greatly alarmed Mohammed, on account of the effect he dreaded it might have on the opinion of the Jews concerning himself; and also that then already, only a few months after his arrival in Medina, when the mosque was not yet finished, unconvinced Arabs had cause hypocritically to simulate faith. The passage referred to, reports the following complaint from Mohammed's own mouth: 'Abu Umama's death is unfortunate in regard to the Jews and the hypocrites amongst the Arabs; for they will now say, if I were a Prophet, my companion would not have died, and they will believe that I can obtain nothing from God, either for myself or for my companions.'

But the death of his helpful friend led to a still more telling manifestation of the importance attached by Mohammed to worldly influence, and of the eagerness with which he snatched at secular power, as soon as his observant eye discovered the slightest chance. Ibn Ishak further states: 'When Abu Umama had died, the Beni Najjar, whose chief he was, assembled before Mohammed and requested him to appoint for them a successor who might attend to their affairs, as he had done while alive. Mohammed answered them thus: "You are my maternal uncles, I belong to you, and I myself will be your chief."' Ibn Ishak palliates this step of his Prophet by saying, 'Mohammed acted thus, because he did not wish to place one of them above the other.' But the impartial reader cannot help perceiving that Mohammed, by considerately refusing to raise one of the Beni Najjar above the other, only raised himself above them all, and reduced them all equally to the position of subjects. The Beni Najjar could not decline their prophet's interested proposal, and in course of time counted it a special privilege to have had him for their peculiar chief.

Mohammed's eager haste thus to thrust himself into

positions of worldly influence and supremacy, contrasts strongly with the single-eyed and resolute determination of the Lord Jesus Christ in withdrawing Himself from the Jews, when He observed their resolve to make Him their king, and their readiness to resort even to force, in order to effect this purpose (John vi. 15).

(2.) *Mohammed, by establishing Islam as the paramount power of Medina, displaces the previous Polytheism and forces the dissenting Arabs either to emigrate, or to simulate submission. In this sense he shows himself anti-Pagan.*

Mohammed had now attained to the position of civil chief both amongst the Beni Najjar and amongst the refugees who had followed him from Mecca. He thus had at his disposal no inconsiderable amount of secular influence and power. This greatly aided him in gaining converts to his creed and in rapidly extending his authority as a prophet throughout the town. He now could take steps to consolidate Islam, and to establish it, with all its obligations, as a regular public institution, in the place of the hitherto prevailing religion.

Ibn Ishak continues his history in these significant words: 'When Mohammed had found a safe abode in Medina, when his friends, the refugees, had united around him, and when the concerns of his helpers (*i.e.* his converts from Medina) had been arranged, then Islam became firmly established. Public prayers were performed, fasts and poor-rates were instituted, penal laws were executed, things lawful and unlawful were determined, and Islam gained strength amongst the tribe of the helpers, both as regards faith and as regards the sure provision for its professors.' The new religion, not many months after its importation, had practically become the chief power in Medina, which not only swayed its avowed adherents in every relation of life, but was also strongly pressing on that portion of the population which wished to keep aloof from it.

Besides the enactments mentioned by Ibn Ishak in this passage, another decided onward step in the public assertion

of Islam was the introduction of the loud call to prayer from some elevated spot. In Mecca, as a matter of course, and also for some time in Medina, there was no public summons to prayer, and the intending worshippers simply came at certain times, without being specially called. But now, when the new religion claimed for itself the rank of a public institution, it naturally also adopted a public mode of invitation to its formal services.

We are told that for a time Mohammed wavered in his choice. He at first thought of using a trumpet, in imitation of the Jews; but he afterwards relinquished that idea in favour of the ringing of a bell, as was the custom with the Christians; and we learn that a bell was actually procured for the purpose. Eventually neither the method of the Jews nor that of the Christians was adopted; and Mohammed struck out a path of his own. It is reported that several believers had visions in which the loud call was recommended. Ibn Hisham says, 'Omar was already on the point of purchasing two beams for the scaffold of a bell, when he had a vision in which he was commanded not to introduce a bell, but to invite to prayer by a loud call. Omar went to Mohammed to apprise him of his vision. But Mohammed, having received the same direction by revelation, met him with the declaration, "Revelation has anticipated thee;" and Omar had hardly returned home, when Bilal was already shouting out the call to prayer.'

Thus Islam, so deficient in originality generally, avoided the appearance of dependence on either Judaism or Christianity, in this trifling particular. But after we have seen the Arab Prophet guided to his new quarters in Medina by an inspired camel, it can no longer surprise us to find his choice of the mode of announcing the time for public worship decided by a special revelation from heaven. Religion and revelation are evidently at this Prophet's beck and call for any purpose he chooses.

As soon as Islam had become the professed religion of the majority of the Arabs in Medina, it asserted its claim to supreme authority and exclusive domination with such unbending persistency against all those citizens who still kept aloof from it, that their position became increasingly

untenable. In consequence, their number rapidly dwindled down, and in a short time Medina had become a town in which Islam reigned paramount, the capital and stronghold of its apostle. As such, the city could not continue to afford even to Jewish Monotheism the shelter of a home, notwithstanding the formal treaty in which the Prophet had declared it to be safe and inviolable for all the confederates, and had guaranteed to the Jews the free exercise of their religion. But as for the Arab inhabitants who sided with Christianity, or remained wedded to Polytheism, they had no choice left them but either to emigrate, or outwardly to accept the inevitable.

Of the former—that is, of those who had courage and character enough rather to forsake their native home than to submit to the rule of a prophet whom they deemed unworthy of faith—was Abu Amir, who enjoyed great respect and influence amongst the Awsites, to whose tribe he belonged. Ibn Ishak says of him, 'In the time of Heathenism he led the life of an anchorite, wore a rough garment and was called a monk.' He, therefore, appears to have been a believer in some kind of Christianity, and Wakidi simply calls him a 'Christian.' In all probability he was not alone amongst the Awsites in giving preference to Christianity; and this may have been the chief reason why this powerful tribe was so slow in acknowledging Mohammed. Even at the battle of Bedr there were amongst those who fought under Mohammed's banner and shared in the booty, only 61 Awsites, whilst the smaller tribe of Khazraj was represented by no less than 170 individuals. Abu Amir had a personal interview with Mohammed, in which he frankly charged him with 'adulterating' the Faith of Abraham, which he pretended to revive. But he had to give way before the new prophet, whose views already enjoyed the support of those in whose hand was the preponderating secular power. Ibn Ishak continues: 'Abu Amir remained an unbeliever, separated himself from his tribe, which embraced Islam, and went to Mecca with ten other men.' These ten do not seem to represent the entire number of those who found Medina too hot for themselves. For at the battle of Ohod, which was opened by an attack of archers headed by Abu Amir,

he is reported to have been accompanied by 'sixty' of his fellow-tribesmen. He remained with the Koreish, to whose victory at Ohod he had materially contributed, till Mecca was conquered by Mohammed, when he fled to Taif; and, on this town also succumbing to Islam, he retired into Syria, where he died.

Of those Arabs who did not quit Medina but outwardly submitted to the dominant new faith, there seems to have been a still larger number. They were as unconvinced of Mohammed's Divine mission as Abu Amir and his fellow-emigrants, and still remained as fondly attached to Polytheism as they had ever been. To whatever tribe they belonged, they grouped round Abd Allah Ibn Obei, a Khazrajite of the highest rank and influence. His disbelief in Mohammed is ascribed by Ibn Ishak to mere jealousy. He says, 'The tribe of Abd Allah Ibn Obei had already prepared the jewels for a crown, in order to make him their king, when God brought His ambassador to them. Now, as soon as Abd Allah saw that his people turned to Islam, he was disappointed and understood that Mohammed had deprived him of the *dominion*. But perceiving that his tribe would not be kept back from Islam, he yielded to the force of circumstances, by also professing it, though continuing in his ill-will and hypocrisy.' This is but another of the early instances, which render it manifest that what Mohammed aspired after and seized upon, was not merely the religious authority of a prophet, but also the influence and power of a secular ruler. Those who disbelieved or opposed him had to dread both the spiritual and temporal sword, which he claimed equal authority to wield. Hence the feigned submission and unmistakable hypocrisy of great numbers,—till, later on, they were reconciled by worldly gain and the spoils of war. Ibn Ishak says of this class, 'Many Awsites and Khazrajites clung to idolatry, according to the faith of their fathers, and, like these, disbelieved in the resurrection. They, to save themselves from *death* (!), were compelled to accept Islam, at least in appearance, which had been embraced by their entire people. But they were *hypocrites* and inwardly inclined towards the Jews, who rejected Islam and called Mohammed a liar.'

Thus it is manifest that Mohammed, as soon as he possibly could, employed violence and force in stopping the spread of Christianity, and in seeking to replace the ancient Heathenism by his newly manufactured Islam. The Christians had to emigrate, and those who differed from him, by adhering to the traditional idolatry, had to fear for their life, and simulated faith in the new order of things, from sheer fear of death. Though to all who look below the surface and judge by the high standard of 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' it cannot but be abundantly patent that the religious standpoint occupied by this singular prophet was essentially of a heathen character, opposed to the 'worship in spirit and in truth,' and that he knew only of an external relation to the Deity; yet it will also be readily admitted that he stoutly opposed the outward forms of Paganism, the honour paid to idols of wood and stone, and that he went so far in his iconoclastic zeal as to place before the unfortunate idolaters the trenchant alternative of 'Death or Islam!' In this way, and to this extent, he amply merited the praise which has always been claimed for him, that the object for which he laboured and fought was *anti-Pagan*. But it must never be forgotten that this anti-Paganism was such more in form than in substance. False views, underlying Heathenism, were retained in a modified form. A man so consciously and honestly striving to give full weight to whatever may be urged in favour of Islam and its author, as Professor Dr. L. Krehl, one of Mohammed's most recent biographers, has yet to confess that 'under the apparently Islamic and Monotheistic surface, Heathenism long continued to live on in Arabia and even to-day is not yet fully eradicated.' (See p. 325 of *Das Leben des Muhammed*, dargestellt von Ludolf Krehl.)

(3.) *Mohammed at first accommodates himself to the Jews, in the hope of gaining them over to Islam; but, failing in this, deliberately turns against them and shows himself decidedly anti-Jewish.*

It was unfortunate for the Jews that the unconvinced Arabs betrayed a tendency rather to side with *them* than

with the Moslems, and that they often justified their own disbelief in Mohammed by theirs. Such a combination might become dangerous, might even prove subversive to the very foundation of Islam, and therefore could not be viewed with indifference by the new ruling power of Medina. It helped to bring on a crisis in the position of the Jews, which had already become shaken by other causes. Mohammed's relations and dealings with the Jews, which now begin to claim our attention, form an important chapter in his history, and cast a dark shadow on his character. This is all the more remarkable, as he had set his eyes upon them from the time when he first formed the idea of removing to Medina, and had reckoned on their sympathy and support in asserting himself as a prophet.

The Arabs, being heathens, and possessing no religious literature, were accustomed, from olden times, to look up to the Jews and Christians as 'the people of the book,' the depositaries of Divine revelations. Mohammed shared this view; and as he professed that his new religion was nothing else than the ancient 'Faith of Abraham,' he felt naturally called upon to trace a connection between it and those previous religions which likewise regarded Abraham as 'the father of the faithful.' He maintained that Islam, with the religion of the Jews and Christians in its primitive purity, had but one common source: Divine revelation of 'the Book,' preserved in heaven. In return for this admission he expected of the Jews and Christians that they would admit the same heavenly origin for his religion which they claimed for their own. Already in his conversation with the leading Khazrajites, before he left Mecca, he had referred to the Jews; and from the beginning of his residence in Medina he made it a special aim to conciliate the Beni Israel, and to obtain from them the acknowledgment that he was a divinely chosen prophet, at least for the Arabs, and equal in rank with the heaven-sent prophets of former times. He even affirmed that his coming had been foretold in the Law and the Gospel. We have already seen that in the document embodying his first constitution for Medina, he treated the Jews as valuable confederates, whom he guaranteed in the free exercise of their religion. As they, in worshipping God, turned their

faces towards Jerusalem, he, with his followers, also imitated them by adopting the same Kibla or direction for saying their prayers. Likewise, finding that the Jews observed their Feast of Atonement on the tenth day of the month, by sacrifices and a rigorous fast, he further ordained the slaying of rams as a Korban, and enjoined on his community a strict fast on that day, retaining for it even its Jewish name *Ashura i.e.* 'the tenth.'

This accommodation to the Jews and their religion, though betokening a certain dependence and want of originality, yet in some small degree seems to have had the effect of smoothing the path for the Jews to pass from their old to the new religion. Ibn Ishak mentions by name Abd Allah Ibn Salam and Mukheirik as two learned Rabbis who became converts to Islam, through recognising in Mohammed the traits of the prophet they were expecting. The former went over to the prophet with his whole family, and the latter, not merely a learned Rabbi, but also a landed proprietor extremely rich in palm-trees, bequeathed all his wealth to Mohammed, fell fighting on the Moslem side in the battle of Ohod, and is said to have been called by Mohammed 'the best of the Jews.' These Jewish Rabbis, who, in becoming converts to Islam, were no doubt accompanied by a number of less noted followers, formed a most useful acquisition for Mohammed Being acquainted with the ancient Scriptures, they could furnish him with much information which he lacked, and even direct him to passages which, by a plausible misinterpretation, he might insist upon as prophecies referring to himself. It was fair to expect of him that he should possess a full acquaintance with the previous revelations, since he averred that he was receiving the whole text of God's Book, of which portions only had been revealed to the prophets of old. How helpful, therefore, for obtaining the needed information, must he have found the renegade Jews and Christians who joined his cause, and thus made his interests their own! On such authorities as these he in fact relied, in pretending that he was the prophet whose coming had long been foretold in the ancient Scriptures.

But whatever confidence he and his uninstructed followers may have put in such support, the great body of the

Jews were of a very different opinion. They indeed were aware that the advent of a remarkable prophet was foretold in their Holy Book, but they also knew that he was to spring from the Beni Israel, the house of David, not from the Koreish or any other Arab tribe. The Jews were unquestionably right in their view of the ancient prophecies, and on this very account formed all the more formidable an impediment in the way of the prophet. They were a standing protest against his pretensions. It thus became evident that Islam could as little remain in harmony and amity with the disbelieving Jews, as with the disbelieving Arabs. The Jews were given to understand that they must either believe in the prophet, or take the consequences of unbelief. The prophet's right was established by his might. To resist him was a crime deserving punishment. Ibn Ishak says: 'Under these circumstances the Rabbis of the Jews became Mohammed's enemies. They were filled with envy and wrath, because God had chosen His ambassador from amongst the Arabs.' But the Moslem historian, in thus attributing the disbelief of the Jews to mere jealousy of race, overlooks the fact that the disbelieving Arabs of Mecca and Medina had no such motive for their want of faith, and that Mohammed had himself provoked and almost necessitated the opposition of the Jews, by claiming, without any justification, that he was the subject of prophecies in their Holy Scriptures. At all events it is perfectly clear that the cause of the rupture between Mohammed and the Jews was his claim to be the Great Prophet promised in their Scriptures, and their stout denial of this pretension.

Thenceforth Mohammed's policy assumed a decidedly anti-Jewish character. Regretting the civil concessions and religious accommodation by which he had hitherto vainly tried to bring over the Jews to Islam, he now began to retrace his previous steps, and to make the Jewish unbelievers feel that his aims and claims could not be contravened with impunity. The pressure he brought to bear on them had a similar effect to that produced amongst the Arabs. A number of Jews, always keen to discover means of worldly advantages, simulated submission to the new prophet and his religion, merely to evade the dangers resulting from an open anta-

gonism. There was now a class of Jewish hypocrites, just as there was one amongst the Arabs. Ibn Ishak enumerates a long list of 'Jewish Rabbis who sought shelter in Islam and accepted it only in appearance, whilst they were hypocrites at heart.' They were sharp enough to perceive Mohammed's failings and the groundlessness of his pretensions. They sought to undermine his religion in secret, whilst they accommodated themselves to it in public. Ibn Ishak says: 'These hypocrites attended the mosque and listened to the conversations of the Moslems, but afterwards they mocked at them and ridiculed their faith;' and again: 'Some of them said to one another, "Come, let us believe Mohammed's revelations in the morning and deny them in the evening, in order to confuse them in their religion: perhaps they will then do as we do, and renounce their religion altogether."' But less forbearance was shown to these Jewish than to the Arab hypocrites. We read: 'On one occasion several of them came to the mosque, spoke to each other in an undertone, and kept close together. When Mohammed saw this, he ordered that they should be ejected from the mosque by force.' This order was promptly executed, and we are graphically informed how one was seized by the leg, another by the collar, a third by the beard; how they were struck in the face, knocked down, violently thrust out and angrily told 'not to come near again to the mosque of God's Apostle.' Thus was raillery treated in Medina, which had often been borne with such apparent meekness and gentleness in Mecca.

The entire body of the Jews was now accused of unbelief, jealousy, and dishonesty, for disbelieving in Mohammed and for refusing to regard him as that Great Prophet with whose expected advent they had formerly threatened their Arab enemies. Revelations were issued against them, holding out condign punishment for their enmity, envy, and unbelief, many of them being embodied in the second Surah of the Koran. The Moslems were enjoined to sever the close ties of friendship which had hitherto united many of them with the Jews, through their being neighbours or allies. They were asked: 'Will you love them, though they, on account of your believing the entire Scripture, do not love you?' Nay, Mohammed, only seventeen months after his arrival in

Medina, took the decided step of changing his Kibla from Jerusalem to the temple of Mecca, and thus purposely widened the breach between him and the Jews.

As soon as this was done, a number of the latter went to Mohammed, saying: 'What has caused thee to give up thy former Kibla, though thou still professest to be in the faith of Abraham? Return to thy former Kibla, and we will follow thee.' But the narrator adds that, by this, they only intended to lead him away from his faith. Mohammed proved himself equal to the occasion, by giving forth this revelation: 'The fools say, "What has turned him from his former Kibla?" Answer, "To God belong the east and the west; He leads in the right way whomsoever He will. So we have made you (*sc.* the Arabs) the centre of the nations, that you should bear witness to men, and the ambassador should bear witness to you. We appointed the former Kibla only for the purpose of seeing who should follow the ambassador and who turn away from him. As for Abraham, he was neither a Jew nor a Christian, nor an idolater, but one turning from what is evil and resigning himself to God. Nearest to Abraham are those who follow him and this prophet and those who believe."'

The Jews remained unconvinced. They declined to follow him in the direction of the idol shrine of Mecca, saying: 'We remain in that in which we have found our fathers, who were better and more learned than we are.' They were not disposed to recognise the Arab nation as the religious centre of the world, but held fast to their settled belief, which they had already expressed to the renegade Abd Allah, by telling him: 'Prophetship does not belong to the Arabs: thy master is a mere secular chief.'

This being their conviction, the Jews sought to expose Mohammed's disqualification as a prophet, by perplexing him with knotty questions, and demanding of him supernatural signs, just as the Koreishites had previously puzzled him in Mecca. He was to give them information about 'Alexander the two horned,' to tell them what punishment God intended for adulterers, or to let them hear God speak with him, as He spoke with Moses, and the like. Ibn Hisham narrates one of their interviews and its consequences in the following words: 'A number of Jews came to Mohammed and said,

"God has created the world; but who has created God?" This put Mohammed in so violent a rage that he turned quite pale, and, from zeal for God, seized them by the head. Then came Gabriel to quiet him, saying: "Restrain thyself, O Mohammed!" and conveyed to him this answer to their question about God: "Say, God is one, God is strong. He never begets nor is begotten, and nothing is like unto Him." When Mohammed read out this communication to them, they said: "Describe to us the form of God and His arm." Thereupon Mohammed's anger grew still more violent, and he seized them a second time. But Gabriel returned, and quieting him as before, brought this reply to their request: "They have no correct notion about God's power. On the day of the resurrection He taketh the whole earth with one hand; and the heavens, rolled up, lie in the other. Praised be the Lord and exalted above their idolatry."'

They also, in the hope of injuring Mohammed's cause, tried to rekindle the ancient jealousies between the Arab tribes of Medina, by reminding them of their former bloody conflicts; and they sought to rouse their self-interest, by exhortations like this: 'Waste not your wealth: you might fall into poverty. Be not in such a hurry to part with your money, without knowing for what purpose.' Of the Jews who had apostatised to the new faith, they spoke thus: 'Only the worst of us follow Mohammed and believe in him. Did they belong to the better class of us, they would not apostatise from the religion of their fathers, to embrace another.'

Thus Mohammed's temporary coquetting with the Jews, by which he hoped to gain them over in a body to his cause and to purchase their united testimony to his being the Great Prophet foretold in their sacred books, proved a complete failure, and terminated in a mutual alienation of a deeply hostile character. Thenceforth the Jews were determinately anti-Mohammedan and Mohammed intensely anti-Jewish. But such a state of things, amongst the population of a single city, could not last long without leading to open war, to a conflict of life and death, in which the prophet took the initiative, and from which the strongest and most unscrupulous party came forth victorious. This will form the subject of a subsequent paragraph.

(4.) *Mohammed, unsuccessful in his efforts to convert the Christians by way of theological disputation, seeks to degrade their religion and reduces them to a state of vassalage. He shows himself positively anti-Christian.*

Mohammed, in his endeavour to make Islam the paramount power of Arabia, could not afford to be more tolerant to Christianity than to Judaism, although the former did not confront him in Medina with such compact force and political organisation, as the latter. We have already seen (cp. p. 126) that the monk Abu Amir and his ten or sixty fellow-Christians, the representatives of the slender beginning of Christianity in Medina, could not maintain themselves against his growing and overbearing power, but were compelled to quit their home and seek for security, free from molestation, in the more liberal heathen city of Mecca. At a somewhat later period, when Mohammed's victorious warriors extended his dominion through the length and breadth of the country, they, in an interior district of Najran, came in contact with Christianity, as the openly professed religion of whole communities. These also, despite Mohammed's professed regard for the Christians and the Gospel, had to yield their independence and to acknowledge the supreme power of Islam, by submitting to the payment of an annual tribute.

Ibn Ishak gives us an account of the deputation which the Christians of Najran felt themselves necessitated by the march of events to despatch to Mohammed, in order to regulate their position with regard to what was then rapidly becoming the dominant power of all Arabia. The deputation consisted of sixty individuals, of whom fourteen were leading men and three the religious and civil chiefs who mainly conducted the negotiations. They are described as 'Christians according to the Emperor's faith,' that is, as belonging to the orthodox Catholic Church, in contradistinction to the semi-Christian sects of the Arians and others. The Mohammedan historian informs us that the leading man amongst them, Abu Haritha, their bishop and the director of their schools, had studied much, and was highly esteemed as a learned theologian. The Christian kings of the Greeks, hearing of his pious zeal and great learning, showed their

veneration by sending him goods and servants, building churches for him, and loading him with favours. But even such high distinction and patronage could not save the Christian deputation from being humiliated by the authorities of Islam. When they presented themselves before Mohammed, they were clothed in fine raiment, lined with silk; and the prophet, observing this, refused to speak with them till they had first stript themselves of their fine robes (probably the gifts of Christian princes), and put on the monastic dress instead. So plainly they were given to understand, at the outset, that they must not presume to carry their heads high, or pretend to a position of equality, before the Mussulmans and their prophet.

Ibn Ishak, in the following words, summarises the exposition of their faith, which they gave on that occasion: 'Like all the Christians they said, "Jesus is God, the Son of God, and the third of three." They proved His being *God*, from His having raised the dead, healed the sick, revealed the hidden, made the form of a bird out of clay, and converted it into a real bird by breathing into it. They proved His being the *Son of God*, from no father being known of Him, and from His having spoken already in the cradle, which no other child of man had done before Him. They proved further that He is *the third of three*, namely, God, Christ, and Mary, because it is said, "*We* have created, *we* have decreed;" whereas if God were one, it would have to be said, *I* have created, *I* have decreed."'

This summary is obviously not one of diplomatic exactness, but was made from a Mohammedan point of view, so as to admit of an easy and triumphant refutation in the Koran. For no Bishop of the orthodox Catholic Church and distinguished theologian, of those days, could possibly have represented the Holy Trinity to consist of God, Christ, and Mary, after the whole Eastern world had been resounding for centuries with the profound and searching controversies and the sharply defined dogmas respecting that fundamental subject of the Christian Faith. But how could it be expected that the founder of a rival religion should fairly examine and duly weigh the arguments in favour of Christianity, which, if accepted, would have left no room whatever for

the very existence of Islam? Instead of wishing to be enlightened on the all-important subject of Christianity, Mohammed's one desire plainly was, to show its insufficiency and imperfection, so as to enhance the superior claims of his own rival system.

The result of his controversy with the Najranite Christians and their learned Bishop, as communicated by Ibn Ishak, fully confirms this view. He says: 'When the priests had thus spoken with Mohammed, he called upon them to become Moslems. They replied, "We are Moslems" (*i.e.* resigned and surrendered to God). He repeated his request, and they answered, "We have long been Moslems." Then Mohammed said: "You lie: if you were Moslems, you would not affirm that God has a Son, would not worship the cross, nor eat swine's flesh." Thereupon they asked: "Who, then, was Christ's Father?" Mohammed remained silent, giving no answer at all. Then, in order to refute these words, God revealed the Sura El Amran (the third), up to beyond its eightieth verse.' In the Koran Mohammed had his own way and found it easy, without being staggered by opposing argumentation, to enunciate the nullity of the Christian doctrines, or rather what he represented as such; and to declare that 'the true religion before God is Islam' (Sura iii. 17), or 'the Faith of Abraham, who was neither a Jew, nor a Christian, but a Hanif and a Moslem' (Sura iii. 60). Mohammed also made a proposal, to settle the question of superiority between Christianity and Islam, by a mutual invocation of God's wrath upon the party in the wrong (Sura iii. 54); and, in doing so, he may have been looking not only to God's retributive judgment, but equally to his own material power for preventing or producing the intended effects of such invocation. No wonder the Christians declined the proposed strange method of solving doctrinal problems.

As the views and arguments of the Najranite Christians had to give way before Mohammed's religious dictatorship, so also their civil rights and national independence had to succumb to the overbearing power of the political despot. The Christian commissioners were sent back to their country in the company of Abu Obeida, who had to go with them

in the capacity of judge and political controller. A treaty also was imposed on them, in which Mohammed claimed the right to all their land produce and even to their persons, whom he might use as slaves. But he magnanimously waived the full application of that right, and promised them protection for their life, land, property, and faith, under the following humiliating conditions. The Najranites had to pay an annual tribute consisting of 2000 hollas or suits of clothes, each of the value of one ounce of gold. They had to provide Mohammed's commissaries, sent to their country, with food and other necessaries for twenty days, free from all charge. In case of a war or encampment in Yemen, they were to furnish thirty suits of armour, thirty horses, and thirty camels. They were not allowed to lend money on interest; and if any Moslem took one of their daughters for a wife, he should have to pay to the family one half only of the usual compensation. Thus Mohammed made it patent to all that, in his eyes, Christianity was inferior to Islam, and that the relation between the Christians and the Mussulmans was to be that between subjects and their masters.[1]

Though Mohammed loved to represent his new religion as nothing more than the ancient 'Faith of Abraham:' yet, as he also emphatically declared it to be the only one now desired and sanctioned by God, and to differ essentially from the faith of the then living Jews and Christians, he could not consistently wish to countenance Judaism and Christianity in any way, but had to oppose them both, and to seek to supplant the one as well as the other. When he speaks of the Law and the Gospel as Divine revelations, it is not with the view of recommending them to his people, but rather for the purpose of extolling his own Koran, as the last and complete edition of God's Book, of which they were only subservient precursors. Even if he claims for himself to be the subject of prophecies in the Old and New Testament, it is only to enhance his own prestige as a prophet and to draw Jews and Christians over to his side; and not to uphold the eternal validity of the Law and the Gospel, as marking essential

[1] For further instances of Mohammed's application of his anti-Christian measures, see the close of Paragraph 17 in the present Section.

steps in the revelation of God's entire truth for the salvation of man.

In fact, it appears that Mohammed himself had not the faintest idea of the development and organic growth of Divine Revelation, from its elementary beginning in the days of Adam, till its perfect maturity in the Person of the God-man Christ Jesus. Else, how could he have supposed that the religion of Abraham, as such, could simply be brought back again, after thousands of years, to re-occupy the place which it had filled before, and to set aside the Law and the Gospel which meanwhile had formed God's way for man? All God's plans being marked with infinite wisdom and carried out with unerring consistency, no truly thoughtful man can regard it agreeable to the supreme wisdom and perfection of God, first to reveal the religion of Abraham, then to replace it for ever so long by the Law and the Gospel, and at last to send it back again by the Archangel Gabriel to a prophet in Arabia, thus, as it were, altering and correcting His previous measures.

When Mohammed hazarded the assertion in the Koran that the Law and the Gospel contained prophecies about his own coming (see Sura vii. 155-156 and lxi. 6; ii. 141), it was no doubt from a sense of the propriety, in which every thinking person must share, that, to be recognised as the last and greatest of all the prophets, and as the mediator of the final and perfect covenant, such prophecies ought really to have existed, as witnesses to his exalted character. In order to discover them, if possible, he must have been fain to avail himself of the renegade Jews and Christians who, having made his interests their own, would readily show him passages in the Scriptures which, taken out of their context and apart from their obvious import, might be misinterpreted as referring to his own person. But all honest Jews and Christians could not for a moment remain doubtful as to the utter baselessness and futility of such interpretation. For the former knew full well that the great Prophet and King, promised them in their Holy Books, must be an Israelite of the house of David, not a Koreishite Arab; and the latter found it unequivocally explained in the Gospel itself, that the coming Paraclete, instead of being the Arabian prophet,

was no human being at all, but the Holy Spirit—the Spirit of Truth.

It is plain that neither the personal character of Mohammed, nor the prophecies he wrongly invoked in his behalf, could ever have produced amongst his countrymen a general opinion in his favour, strong enough to make his religion dominant in Arabia. This result was only accomplished by an arm of flesh, by a warfare which was not spiritual but carnal; and history leaves no doubt that the halo of victory and triumph with which Islam figures on its pages, is owing mainly, if not solely, to the fact that it was the religion of the sword.

(5.) *Mohammed engages in a number of warlike expeditions against the Koreish, for the purposes of revenge and plunder, which culminate in the victorious battle at Bedr.*

We have now, in following the example of the Mohammedan biographers, to turn to those incessant marauding expeditions, wars, and conquests by which Mohammed's biography, after the Hegira, appears less that of a prophet than of a warrior. As an unscrupulous conqueror, he sheds men's blood and coolly seizes the property of those weaker than himself. With regard to the earlier of those warlike expeditions, it was especially clear that their direct and main object was by no means the propagation of Islam, though this also followed, as a necessary consequence, wherever Mohammed could gain a footing for his power. The aim with which the martial enterprises against the Koreish were undertaken in such quick succession, for the space of about a year, was rather the double one of plundering Meccan caravans, with whose booty Mohammed and his fellow-fugitives might supply the wants of their poverty, and of avenging themselves for the hostility of Mecca, which had forced them from home, to seek a place of refuge abroad.

Mohammedan historians themselves are not quite agreed as to the exact order in which these first martial attempts of the Moslems took place; but they inform us that in some of them Mohammed personally took the lead, whilst for others he appointed a commander who acted under his instruction

and in his name. Ibn Ishak states that the Meccan refugees had hardly recovered from the attacks of fever which befell them in the unaccustomed climate of Medina, when Mohammed 'prepared for war against his enemies, the Arab idolaters, according to the command of God.'

Scarcely twelve months after his arrival in Medina, he started on his first war expedition, that to *Waddan* and *Abwa*. He was in search of the Koreish, but returned home without having encountered them. The only thing he accomplished was the conclusion of a treaty of peace with the Beni Dhamra, by which he detached them from the Koreishites, their former allies. In a second expedition against the same enemy, he reached as far as *Bowat*, and returned, as Ibn Ishak informs us, 'without having met with anything untoward.' The third enterprise he undertook with nearly 200 followers and 30 camels, against a rich caravan proceeding from Mecca to Syria, under the leadership of Abu Sofyan. He hoped to intercept the caravan at *Osheira*, in the plain of *Yembo;* but on arriving there, he found that it had already safely passed on towards Syria. This same caravan was again pursued, but with no better success, during its return journey the following spring; when, however, the pursuers were fortunate enough to defeat, in the celebrated battle of Bedr, the Meccan army, sent forth for its protection. Mohammed remained a month in Osheira, and utilised his time by concluding a treaty of amity with the Beni Modlij and that branch of the Beni Dhamra living under their protection. Then he returned to Medina, without meeting an enemy. After his return from Osheira, he remained not quite ten nights in Medina, before he marched forth again. This time it was in pursuit of Kurz Ibn Jabir, who had made a raid on Medinan territory and carried away some flocks. Kurz belonged to the Fihri tribe, which was allied with the Koreish, and Mohammed pursued him as far the valley of Safwan, near *Bedr* (wherefore this expedition is called 'the first of Bedr'), but without being able to overtake him. These four expeditions, all of them unsuccessful, the prophet had headed in person.

The earliest of the expeditions against the Koreish which Mohammed despatched under the command of one of his

companions, is that under *Obeida Ibn El Harith.* His was the first banner reared by the prophet's hand. He was sent with 60 or 80 horsemen from amongst the emigrants against the unbelievers, without being joined by a single individual from amongst 'the Helpers.' They went as far as the water of Hejaz, below Tanijat el Murat, where they came upon a Koreishite caravan, already encamped and, therefore, in a position not so easily attacked. No conflict took place: only Saad Ibn Abu Wakkas shot an arrow against them, reputed to be the first arrow shot in behalf of Islam. Then the Moslems retired, and were joined by two men from the caravan, who are represented as being already secret believers in Mohammed.

Soon after this failure, the prophet sent his uncle *Hamza* with 30 mounted emigrants, again unaccompanied by any of the Helpers, against a caravan of 300 mounted Meccans, headed by Abu Jahl and returning from Syria. Hamza came upon them near the shore of the Red Sea, on the territory of the Beni Johaina, from whom, by way of precaution, they had engaged a guard, under their chief Mejdi. Now as the Beni Johaina had a treaty with Medina, Mejdi placed himself between the two parties, and induced them to separate, without coming to blows. Ibn Ishak appends a remark to his account of the affair which is worth communicating, as throwing some light on the manner in which Mohammedan historians used their materials. It is to this effect: 'Some affirm Hamza's banner to have been the first reared by Mohammed, and that the expedition of Hamza and that of Abu Obeida took place contemporaneously, so that they became confounded. It is also asserted that Hamza mentioned himself, in a poem, as the first who received a banner from Mohammed. Now if he really said so, it must be true, as, of course, he only spoke the truth. God knows how it was. Still, we have learned from scholars that it was Obeida who received the first banner.'

Another marauding party was despatched, under *Saad Ibn Abu Wakkas*, to lie in wait for a Meccan caravan near Kharrar, and to seize the right moment for surprising it. This party was very small, consisting of twenty emigrants, according to Wakidi, or only of eight, according to Ibn

Ishak. As the caravan had already passed the day before they reached Kharrar, 'they returned without having seen an enemy.'

Seven expeditions had now been undertaken, four headed by Mohammed himself and three by his trusted lieutenants: but all had signally failed. Not one of them had inflicted any perceptible damage on the Koreish, or returned home laden with spoil. Such want of success ill comported with the pretence that these marauding expeditions were all organised by God's chosen ambassador and with a special Divine sanction. In order to ensure success, and thereby to justify his assumed position before the eyes of his followers, Mohammed resolved on a very bold and hazardous step. He organised a raid against the Koreish for the very month which had been kept sacred from ancient times by all the Arabs.

This season of universal peace, during which all wars had to cease and enemies met each other like friends, was the middle month of the lunar year, called in consequence *Rejeb el Arab*, *i.e.* 'the honoured (month) of the Arabs.' Mohammed knew that the Koreish, relying on the sacredness of this ancient usage, would not suspect any danger, and suffer their caravans to depart without special guards. But he was also equally aware that he could not depend on the general approval of his intended violation of a popular custom, even amongst his own followers. His cousin Abu Obeida declined the honour he offered him of heading the expedition. He then fixed his choice on Abd Allah Ibn Jahsh and nominated him for the occasion as the 'Commander of the Faithful' (*Emir el Mumenin*), a title afterwards retained by the Califs. Sealed orders were put into his hands, with the injunction not to open them till he had advanced two days on his march. Abd Allah had with him only twelve, or, according to Ibn Ishak's account, only eight emigrants, mounted on six camels. On breaking the seal of his instructions at the time appointed, he read as follows: 'Go in the name and with the blessing of God to *Nakhla* (a place between Mecca and Taif), and there lie in wait for the Koreishite caravans. Compel none of thy men to come with thee; but carry out my o with those who follow thee voluntarily.' All his companio

agreed to go on with him; and only two afterwards remained behind, because they were detained, as we are told, by a search for their camel, which had happened to go astray.

When the party had reached Nakhla, and was lying in ambush, a small caravan of the Koreish, headed by Amr Ibn el Hadhrami, was passing by, carring dried grapes, leather, and other goods. In order to remove their suspicion, one of the Moslems had his head shaven, thus giving his party the appearance of pilgrims to the sacred shrine, of whom nothing was to be feared. It being the last day of Rejeb, the Moslems thus deliberated in their council: 'If we let the caravan alone this night, it will enter the sacred territory and be safe there; but if we attack them now, we shall commit murder in the sacred month.' At first they felt afraid and hesitated; but soon they took courage and 'decided to kill as many of the caravan as they could and to seize upon the goods.' In the attack which ensued, the leader of the caravan was shot dead with an arrow, two of his men made prisoners, the rest dispersed, and the spoil taken in triumph to Medina. Abd Allah apportioned a fifth of the booty to the prophet who had sent him, and only retained four-fifths for himself and party: this at a time when such a distribution had not yet been enacted as a Moslem law.

This violation of the sacred month was having a very unfavourable effect amongst the people; and Mohammed noticing this, became afraid, and at first disavowed the action of his emissaries. In consequence, these showed great discouragement, feeling sure that in what they had done they had but carried out their instructions. The prophet observing this, and rightly gauging the true character of the people of Medina, discovered a ready means of extricating himself from this novel difficulty. God had to come to his aid, favouring him with the following revelation: 'They question thee about the lawfulness of war in the holy month. Say, a war in the holy month is a serious matter; but obstructing the way of God and unbelief, and debarring from the sacred place of worship and expelling its people therefrom, is still more serious before God. Tempting to apostasy is more serious than murder' (Sura ii. 214). Ibn Ishak thus interprets this verse: 'If *you* make war in the holy month, *they*

kept you from the way of God, are unbelievers and debar you from the holy temple, having chased you from it, you who are its guardians. This is more serious before God than the death of some men whom ye killed.' The effect of this opportune revelation he makes known in the following words: 'After God had delivered the believers from their fear, by this revelation, Mohammed took his share of the spoil and of the prisoners. When the Koreish sent to Mohammed to redeem the two prisoners, he said, "I shall not give them up until my two companions, Saad and Otba, about whom we are concerned, come back: if you kill them, we shall also kill your prisoners." As soon as Saad and Otba had returned, Mohammed accepted the redemption-money and set the two prisoners free. One of them turning a good Mussulman remained with him; and the other returned to Mecca and died there an unbeliever.' Ibn Hisham observes that the said two men were the first prisoners taken by the Moslems, the spoil of Nakhla their first booty, and Amr el Hadhrami the first man killed by them.

Nice first-fruits these, which ushered in so abundant a harvest! As with a beast of prey, when it has once tasted blood, so also with the Moslems, this first success only stimulated their desire for further acts of violence, unchecked and unabashed by the stinging reproach of the Koreish: 'Mohammed and his companions have desecrated the holy month by shedding blood, seizing goods, and making captives in it.'

The opportunity of making a decided step onward in the path of bloodshed and plunder, now fairly entered upon, had not long to be waited for. The large caravan, consisting of a thousand camels, laden with costly merchandise and guarded by only two or three score of men, which Mohammed had in vain tried to intercept at Osheira, on its way to Syria, was now returning home under the leadership of Abu Sofyan. This presented an opportunity far too attractive for the Prophet, not to make a fresh attempt at securing so rich a booty. As soon as the information reached him that Abu Sofyan was approaching, he called 'the believers' together, and said to them, 'There comes a caravan of the Koreish laden with goods; march out to meet them, perhaps God will give them to you for a prey.' They considered the prospect

too inviting not to seize it with alacrity. Not merely 'the believers,' but also some of the heathens responded to the call, thus proving that the motives which gathered men around the Arab Prophet were not of a purely religious, but also of a very worldly nature. So eager were even the heathens to participate in the affair, that several of them, there and then, professed Islam, rather than lose so splendid an opportunity of making booty. Mohammed gathered a larger army on this occasion than had ever before served under his banner. For though his direct object was only to overmatch and plunder the caravan, he could not be sure whether he might not have to encounter armed troops, sent out for its protection. His army consisted of more than 300 men, namely all the refugees from Mecca, 83 in number, 61 Awsites and 170 Khazrajites, as specified by Ibn Ishak.

Mohammed, always keen-eyed to discover advantages in his favour, decided to attack Abu Sofyan at *Bedr*, where the caravan route approached Medina to about a couple of days' march, and where a number of wells furnished a rich supply of fresh water. Thither he despatched two spies to collect information for him, about the movements of the caravan. When the Moslems had reached the neighbourhood of Safra, Mohammed inquired after the names of the tribes living there, and on being told that one was called Beni Nar (='the sons of fire'), and another Beni Hurak (='the sons of burning'), he, superstitious as he was, considered the names of evil omen, and would not remain amongst them, but passed on to the valley of Zafiran where he encamped. Here he received the important tidings that the Koreish had despatched a body of troops from Mecca to protect their caravan. The latter could therefore no longer be looked forward to as an easy prey, but the prospect arose before him of a serious fight, a sanguinary battle. Hence Mohammed, before advancing further, had to make sure whether, under these altered circumstances, he could still rely on the fidelity of all his followers. For it must be remembered that the men of Medina had as yet only given him the pledge of protecting him in their own home, but not outside their territory or in a war of aggression. He therefore asked them to say whether they were ready to stand by him in the

present enterprise. Several high-flown speeches were made, in which all protested their firm allegiance, and promised Mohammed that not one would remain behind, even should he lead them against the enemy the very next day. He was rejoiced by these assurances of his troops, and told them, in return, that God had shown him that the enemies whom they were going to meet should be few, and that either the caravan or the army should be delivered into their hands, adding, 'By Allah! I already see them, in spirit, lying stretched out before me.' But as the enemies, instead of being few, turned out to be twice the number of the Moslems, Mohammed, later on, sought to justify his statement, by letting himself be thus addressed in a verse of the Koran: 'God showed them to thee in thy sleep as few; for if He had shown them to thee as many, you would certainly have become faint-hearted and would have disputed about the matter: but from this God kept you, for He knows what is in the heart' (S. viii. 45).

After having assured himself of the fidelity of his entire army, Mohammed quitted Zafiran to move nearer to Bedr. On the way he was met by his two spies, who told him that they had proceeded as far as the wells where they overheard the conversation of two damsels. The one said to the other, 'When the caravan arrives to-morrow, or the day after, I shall work for it, and then be able to repay thee my debt.' From this information Mohammed could conclude that he had full time to prepare his attack upon the caravan, without any haste. But wary Abu Sofyan, travelling with all speed, already arrived that same evening at the wells; and having ascertained that two riders on camels from Medina had been there, he at once perceived the necessity of trying to avoid a possible surprise from Mohammed and his party. Accordingly he did not encamp there, much as his beasts required rest, but continued his journey with the least possible delay. Travelling all night, he succeeded in putting a safe distance between himself and his would-be plunderers. He was also aware that troops from Mecca were on their way for his protection; for, rightly gauging his danger, he, at the proper time, had urgently demanded such succour by a special messenger. Therefore the faster he marched, the sooner he could hope to meet with his protectors. But, after all, he

owed his safe escape to his own watchful circumspection, by which he again eluded Mohammed, and could now dispense with the help from Mecca which he had taken the precaution to request. As soon as Abu Sofyan had succeeded a second time in outwitting Mohammed, by placing his caravan beyond the reach of pursuit, he despatched a messenger to Abu Jahl, the commander of the Meccan troops, to apprise him of his safety and to advise his return home without advancing any further to meet him.

Well would it have been for Abu Jahl had he taken this advice from one who was evidently his superior in tact and prudence. Several of the chiefs who served under him, acted on Abu Sofyan's counsel and returned home with their men, consisting of several hundred. But the main army from which they separated, was still over 600 strong. Abu Jahl, as Ibn Ishak informs us, resolved on a different course, saying, 'We will not return, but proceed to Bedr to attend the annual feast and market there. We will stay three days, slay animals, feed the people, regale them with wine, and amuse ourselves with singing-girls. The Arabs, seeing our expedition and our concord, will highly esteem us for all future times: therefore let us march on!' This boastful speech of the commander is well calculated to prepare us for the ignominious overthrow of his army, a few days later, though double the number of the Moslems. Evidently the Meccan army was not guided by the wisest and ablest hands. They marched forward in the direction of a daring enemy, without a thought of fighting, bent only on feasting and pleasure, and desirous of profitably bartering the supply of leather and other goods they carried with them. When they arrived at Bedr, they found Mohammed and his determined followers already in possession of the wells.

What a different material these Moslems presented for the ensuing conflict! A horseman sent forth from the Koreish to reconnoitre them, gave the following description on his return: 'They are about 300 men, with no reserve. But know, O ye Koreish, that temptation brings destruction; for the camels of Medina carry sudden death with them. These are men who have no other protection or refuge but their sword. Surely, none of them will fall without having

first killed one of your number.' The army of Mecca had been looking forward to a kind of military promenade: that of Medina was terribly in earnest and ready to fight with the courage of despair. They felt that their very existence was at stake. A defeat of Mohammed was likely to prove crushing, and to lead to the dissolution of his whole party.

The conflict itself was commenced by the daring Moslems who forcibly prevented the Koreish from helping themselves to water, or approaching the wells which they were occupying. According to Arab fashion, the day of battle was mostly occupied with a series of single combats, in which several of the Meccan champions were killed by Hamza, Ali, and Obeida. Gradually the two armies drew nearer to each other. Mohammed had commanded his men not to attack till he gave the signal. Only in case the enemy should approach too near, they were to drive him back by a discharge of arrows. Having first ordered the line of battle himself, the Prophet retired to a hut prepared for him. Here a fleet camel was kept ready on which he might make his escape, in case of need. He anxiously prayed for Divine help, saying, 'O God, if this army perishes to-day, thou wilt be worshipped no more.' On the general charge being made, he incited his men to fight bravely, promising them that every one who, from love to God, persevered in battle till he was slain, should enter paradise without fail. Ibn Ishak gives us some instances, showing what effect such teaching had on his credulous followers. One *Omeir*, who was just eating some dates, called out, 'Then there lies nothing between me and paradise, but death at the hand of these people;' and, casting away his dates, he seized his sword and fought till he was killed. Another, *Awf* by name, asked Mohammed whereby man could cause joy to God. On being answered, 'By casting himself upon the enemy without any arms of defence,' he laid aside his armour, grasped his sword, and likewise fought till he was slain.

Against such fanatical heroism the Meccan army, which had come to Bedr not for risking, but for enjoying, life, had little chance of success. They cowardly turned their back

as soon as the united body of Moslems made a determined onslaught. Thus the disgraceful rout becomes fully explicable, without having recourse to hosts of interfering angels, or attributing any efficacy to Mohammed's superstitious act of casting handfuls of sand against the enemy. Ibn Ishak seriously narrates: 'A reliable man told me on the authority of several persons, that Ibn Abbas said, "On the day of Bedr the angels wore white turbans and took part in the fight, whereas in other battles they were only present to increase the number, without fighting themselves,"' and again: 'Mohammed took up a handful of sand, and, turning towards the Koreish, flung it against them, saying, "May God confound their sight!" Then he commanded his people to press upon the enemy, whose defeat was decided. God killed many of the nobles; and others He allowed to be made prisoners.' The slain enemies were ruthlessly cast into one of the wells and covered over with earth. The battle had not been very bloody: it cost the lives of little over a dozen from amongst the Moslems; and the Koreish had seventy, or, according to another account, only forty-nine, men killed—mostly cut down, it would appear, after the rout had commenced. About the same number were made prisoners.

The result of the battle proved of immense advantage to the Moslem cause. The spoil, though not so rich as it would have been if the caravan itself had been captured, was yet very considerable, and greatly relieved the pressing poverty in Medina. It consisted of 10 horses, 150 camels, valuable arms, beautiful robes, and a great quantity of leather, besides the captives, for whose ransom large sums were demanded. After Mohammed had taken the fifth part for his own portion, and given sundry prizes for special acts of bravery, the remainder was divided into 313 portions, each of the value of about two camels, and distributed by lot amongst the warriors. Othman, Mohammed's son-in-law, also received his share, though he had not joined the army, but remained at home to attend on his dying wife.

The life of the Meccans taken captive was in jeopardy for a while. Such was the fanaticism of many of the Mussulmans, Omar foremost amongst them, that they wished to

massacre them all forthwith. But, at the end, calmer counsels prevailed, especially by Abu Bekr's influence; and it was agreed upon to allow the captives to be ransomed at a high price, thus consulting at the same time the claims of humanity and the dictates of mercantile self-interest. Only a few of the prisoners who had made themselves specially obnoxious to Mohammed, in Mecca, fell as victims of revenge, being massacred in cold blood, before the victors reached Medina. One of them, just before being killed, asked the vindictive Prophet, 'Who is to be the guardian of my little children?' and received the heartless answer from his lips, 'Hell-fire.' The remaining captives were treated kindly, for Mohammed still felt his family ties connecting him with the Koreish. In consequence, several of them consented to embrace Islam and were set free without a ransom, whilst the rest were allowed to return to Mecca after their ransom had been paid. But, as already intimated, sterner measures would have been so consonant to the fanaticism of early Islam, that even Mohammed soon felt, or perhaps feigned, regret at his temporary leniency. For Omar is reported by a tradition derived from himself, to have visited the Prophet on the following day and to have found him weeping. On asking him the reason of his tears, he received this answer, 'I weep because we have consented to accept a ransom: and verily the punishment which will overtake me for it is nearer than this tree'—he pointing to a tree close by. Mohammed and his victorious party returned to Medina in triumph, where they were welcomed with joyous acclamation.

This signal success was regarded as a sign of Divine approval, and raised the Prophet mightily in the eyes of the whole population. Not only in Medina and Mecca, but also amongst the Bedouin tribes, the victory made a great impression. It was now plain that Mohammed represented a military force not to be despised, and that he had already become a formidable power in the country. Not two years had elapsed since he had come to his new home as a refugee, and already he had inflicted a humiliating defeat on the great rival city of Mecca and made Medina renowned far and wide. No wonder that the battle of

Bedr should be sung by numberless bards, and that the very names of the combatants engaged in it should have been carefully preserved by the Mohammedan historians.

(6.) *The Meccans, under a sense of their disgraceful defeat at Bedr, stir up their Confederates against Mohammed, and avenge themselves by the decided Victory at Ohud.*

The battle of Bedr, which had taken place early in spring 624 A.D., inaugurated a period of bitter warfare between the two rival communities of Mecca and Medina, in which, for three years, the former took the offensive and the latter defended itself with more or less success. Then, for three years longer, Mohammed indeed refrained from open attack, but indirectly worked against the Koreish, by steadily pursuing a policy of conquest elsewhere, and stealthily concluding treaties of amity with sundry Bedouin tribes, up to the very confines of the Meccan territory. He was evidently much impressed with the power of his great adversary, and perhaps also not a little influenced by the kinship subsisting between the refugees and leading Meccan families, and by a lingering regard for his native city with its cherished sanctuary. His slow and prudent tactics proved eminently successful. At the end of the six years under consideration, the coveted prize fell into his lap, like a ripe fruit. Proud Mecca, after a bare semblance of resistance, tamely submitted to its wily adversary, and became a Moslem city in the year 630 A.D.

It may also be mentioned in this place, though the subject will be more fully treated further on, that the first half of this sexennial period, or the three years' defensive warfare against Mecca, was at the same time marked by active aggression and exterminating persecution against the three Jewish tribes of Medina. They persistently rejected Mohammed's prophetic claims, and were therefore looked upon by him as disguised enemies, or, at best, as doubtful allies. He therefore determined to get rid of them by any means, so as to free the seat of his power from all appearance of religious discord and from every possible danger of political treachery. Thus relieved of anxieties

about home affairs, he could hope to direct his attention with safety to the extension of his conquests in Arabia and to deal a successful blow against Mecca. The three Jewish tribes of Medina fell victims to this policy, in rapid succession, and only a year after he had got rid of them, Mohammed consummated his anti-Jewish plans by the unprovoked and cruel conquest of the flourishing colony of Khaibar, A.D. 628. The rich spoil taken from the Jews greatly increased his means for effectually operating against the Arabs.

The defeat of Bedr was keenly felt as a vexatious surprise and galling humiliation by the over-confident Koreish. They mourned their dead in silence, abstaining from the usual lamentations, 'lest Mohammed and his companions should hear of it and maliciously rejoice in their misfortune.' They also purposely avoided all appearance of haste, in treating for the release of their prisoners of war, 'lest Mohammed and his companions should demand too high a ransom.' It was no easy matter to stir this cautious city of traders into measures of a magnitude sufficient to ensure the overthrow of their formidable enemy and to vindicate their own tarnished honour. But Abu Sofyan—who had already, on several occasions, shown his superiority over Mohammed, as a strategist—possessed confidence in himself, and did not allow the Moslems to believe that Mecca was cowed and afraid of meditating retaliation. Ibn Hisham narrates that when Abu Sofyan arrived at Mecca, simultaneously with the fugitives from Bedr, he made a vow, not to wash his head with water until he had made a warlike demonstration against Mohammed. After a delay of only a few weeks, he started with 200, or, according to another account, with only 40 horsemen, marched warily along the pathless highlands and reached the neighbourhood of Medina unobserved. During the night he went alone to the house of a chief of the Beni Nadhir, at some distance from the town, received refreshments and information, and, having rejoined his party, set fire to some huts and date-plantations, belonging to Medina, and killed several of its people. So rapidly did he execute this feat, that Mohammed was again signally

out-marshalled. As soon as the latter had received tidings of the mischief done, he hotly pursued the party some distance, but failed to overtake them. It seems that the Koreish, in order to facilitate their retreat, had thrown away sacks of crushed wheat, called *sawik*, which they were carrying with them for food, and that the Moslems picked them up, on their way back. This is the reason why the expedition became known by the name of that of *Sawik*.

During the same year, 624 A.D., Mohammed had to undertake three more expeditions, likewise on a small scale, to avert dangers, threatening him from the side of the confederates of Mecca. Two powerful Bedouin tribes, the Beni Ghatafan and the Beni Soleim, occupied the extensive highlands to the east of Medina, but were allied to the Koreish of Mecca, and consequently participated in the hostile feelings against the rising Moslem power of Medina. The *Beni Soleim* first concentrated their fighting men near *El Kadr*, one of their water wells, and Mohammed no sooner heard of it than he suspected that the measure was directed against himself. He started with a body of 200 men, but, on arriving at El Kadr, learnt that the enemy had received tidings of his approach and withdrawn. The Moslems could only seize 500 camels, with which they had to content themselves for their spoil. Mohammed had not returned long, when he received intelligence of a similar concentration of troops by the *Beni Ghatafan*. On this occasion he set out with more than double the previous number of warriors. But on reaching *Amarr*, he found the place deserted, the Bedouins having retired, with their families and flocks, to the mountain fastnesses, where he could not venture to attack them. This time he had to return empty-handed. In the autumn, information reached him that the Beni Soleim were again assembling. He set out with 300 followers and advanced as far as the mines of *Bahran*, near *Foro;* but the enemy once more eluded him by a timely retreat.

Perhaps it was to compensate himself for all this unsuccessful trouble, that Mohammed now reverted to his former tactics of waylaying and pillaging Meccan caravans. It must have been during his last return journey, or soon after, that

he despatched his adopted son Zeid with a hundred chosen men, for that purpose. The season for the departure of the great caravan from Mecca to Syria had come round. But the affair of Bedr having closed the usual route alongside the Red Sea coast to the merchants of Mecca, they had now to make a long detour eastward, in the direction of the Persian Gulf, hoping thus to avoid the Moslem marauders. Mohammed knew this and was not minded to leave the new route undisturbed. He had ascertained that the caravan was going to pass by *Karada;* and thither Zeid was ordered to direct his march. He was more successful than his master. For whilst all Mohammed's efforts to seize and plunder Meccan caravans had hitherto failed, Zeid arrived in good time. The Koreish not suspecting any danger in this direction, had sent no extra guard with their caravan, though one of great value, chiefly in precious metals. The men in charge of the caravan seeing no chance of resisting such an armed force, took to flight, without striking a blow, and the whole rich booty fell into Zeid's hands. The value was so great that each warrior received a thousand dirhems for his portion and Mohammed's fifth amounted to 20,000 or, according to others, 25,000 dirhems. This was the first Meccan caravan falling as a prize into the hands of the Moslems; and it was a most costly one. No wonder that Zeid's fame as a successful leader was at once established, and that in the following wars he was often intrusted with the supreme command.

The blow thus inflicted by Zeid upon Mecca was not restricted to the loss of an entire caravan, though this was a very serious disaster by itself. What the Koreish must have felt still more acutely was the conviction, thus forced upon them, that as their western, so also their eastern, route to Syria, was actually at the mercy of their Moslem adversaries; and that, in fact, their very existence was threatened, which to a great extent depended on their trade and the safety of the roads for their mercantile expeditions. Seeing that they were now hemmed in, and that their most vital interests were at stake, they could no longer postpone a supreme military effort. The trading interests themselves, though as a rule opposed to war, now loudly demanded the punishment of the daring Moslem marauders, by an immediate attack upon their terri-

tory. Already a year ago, after the disaster of Bedr, the grandees of Mecca had agreed that the bulk of the profit accruing from the caravan which Abu Sofyan's clever management had brought back in safety, should be devoted to war preparations against Medina, and Abu Sofyan himself is reported to have contributed the large sum of 40 ounces of gold. But nothing decisive was done, till now it had become plain that either trade must cease, or Medina be severely chastised. By enlisting the neighbouring Bedouin tribes, Mecca raised an army of 3000 men, amongst them 700 clad in armour, with 3000 camels and 200 horses. The chief command of these troops was deservedly intrusted to the dexterous hand of Abu Sofyan, and they reached the neighbourhood of Medina early in spring 625. They laid waste the barley fields; but found that the rural population, with their implements and cattle, had taken shelter in the city. For Mohammed had been informed of their approach, and there may be some truth in the tradition that his uncle Abbas, looking to future contingencies, was already acting a double part, and had sent timely warning to his nephew of the war preparations going on in Mecca.

Mohammed, advised by men of experience like Abd Allah Ibn Obei, at first wished to act on the defensive, by letting his men protect the town and placing the women and children on the tops of the houses, supplied with stones and other missiles, to be used against an attacking foe. But the younger and more daring men did not wish to remain quiet whilst their fields were being devastated by the enemy. They were afraid their Bedouin neighbours might interpret it as cowardice and afterwards likewise venture to attack them. Moreover, they alluded to the supernatural aid so repeatedly promised by their prophet. Mohammed yielded to these representations, and adopted the plan of quitting the town and meeting the enemy in the open field. Events proved this change to have been an unwise one; and had the Koreish shown more pluck during the battle, and made a sudden rush on the city, it might have led to a catastrophe.

Mohammed relied on the daring courage of his followers, though they amounted to only one thousand. Seeing the Jewish confederates join his army in a disorderly crowd, he

bade them stop behind. He evidently no longer entertained any confidence in the fidelity of the Jews, and already meditated getting rid of them altogether. When he had advanced three miles from the city, to the foot of the rugged mountain of *Ohod*, he found himself face to face with the enemy. Abd Allah Ibn Obei was now struck still more forcibly with the great mistake made by Mohammed in rejecting his counsel; and he avenged himself by at once returning to Medina with 300 partisans from the Beni Salama and Beni Haritha. Thereby the Moslem army became indeed reduced to 700 combatants, of whom 100 were clad in armour, but they were all the more firmly united by a common sense of their extreme danger. Their rear was protected by the mountain, on a spur of which Mohammed had placed himself with fifty well-trained archers, to ward off the hostile cavalry.

The battle began, as usual, with a series of single combats in which several of the Koreishite champions were killed by Moslem heroes. Abu Amir, the Christian monk, began the attack. He led a company of from fifty to sixty, or, according to other accounts, of only fifteen, like-minded compatriots who had all been forced to leave their home in Medina and seek an asylum in the rival city. They opened the battle by a vigorous discharge of arrows and stones, but met with so stubborn a resistance that they had to retreat. The Moslem warriors now made a desperate onslaught, sword in hand, and, according to the account of their own historians, completely put the Meccans to flight and sent their women, who had been brought to stimulate them with their music, clambering up the mountains, screaming with terror. But considering the very small number of the slain, it would rather seem that this flight was a mere feint, for entrapping the Moslems into the ditches which had previously been dug for this very purpose. The Moslems, in the joy of their supposed victory, had no sooner begun what always had an irresistible attraction for them, namely, to plunder the enemy's camp, when the clever cavalry leader Khalid, who had been carefully watching the enemy's movements, swept round with his horsemen and took the Moslems in the rear. By this manœuvre he caused such consternation amongst

the enemies that some were killed by their own party, and their main army with difficulty managed to retreat to the mountain of Ohod, to re-form under its shelter.

This cavalry charge had proved most destructive to the Moslems. Their slain amounted to 70 or 75, amongst whom was Mohammed's valiant uncle Hamza and three other refugees. The victory was decidedly on the side of the Meccans, who lost altogether only 22 men killed. Mohammed's own life had for a while been in danger. He was hit by a stone, bruising his lip and depriving him of a tooth. A blow from a sword drove two helmet-rings into his flesh; and he fell into one of the ditches from which he could not extricate himself alone, being weighed down by a double armour with which he had guarded himself against the dangers of the day. His enemies already believed that their triumph had been crowned with his death; but his cry, 'Who will sacrifice himself for us?' was heard in time to bring friends to his rescue, and he was soon taken to a place of safety, on the mount, where his defeated army had likewise found shelter. The two armies remained for a time at speaking distance and reproached each other in Arab fashion: but the revenge taken was considered sufficient for the present, and they parted with the mutual threat, 'Next year we shall meet again at Bedr.' Abu Sofyan, it is true, showed a disposition to complete his work forthwith, by utterly crushing the defeated enemy; but he could not persuade the cautious moderation of his fellow-citizens. They were afraid of goading the enemy into a resistance of despair and advised the return home, content with having thus far repaid the debt of Bedr.

Some time after the enemy had departed, Mohammed followed in the same direction with his whole army, as far as Hamra, where they remained several days, in order to produce the appearance of not being cowed, but able to pursue an enemy retreating before them. However, the defeat was undeniable, and threatened the prestige of the militant prophet, whilst in Medina the loss of so many brave men was deeply felt. The lamentations by the women, for their loved dead, were so loud and heart-rending that they had to be checked by a special order. Mohammed was not

at a loss for words of comfort and explanation. According to Ibn Hisham he declared concerning his uncle Hamza, whose dead body had been found shockingly mutilated, 'Gabriel has paid me a visit to bring me the glad tidings that Hamza is amongst the inmates of the seven heavens, and that there is an inscription to this effect: "Hamza, Abdu-l-Mottaleb's son, the lion of God and of His apostle."' According to Ibn Ishak he affirmed, that all those who had been slain in the path of God would rise on the day of the resurrection, with their wounds shining red and emitting a blood of musk-like aroma. The same authority also assures us that, amongst the revelations concerning the affair of Ohod, the single Sura El Amran contains sixty verses in which Mohammed's measures are justified and the blame of defeat is laid on the greed and disobedience of his followers. But in spite of all these extenuations, the awkward fact remains that the Prophet rejected the good advice of a man whom he had supplanted, in favour of other counsels, which led to a great disaster.

(7.) *In consequence of his defeat at Ohod, Mohammed has to meet several hostile demonstrations of Bedouin tribes, and afterwards a protracted siege of Medina by a formidable Meccan army.*

The sham pursuit of the retreating Meccans by Mohammed deceived no one; and the undeniable defeat he had sustained, encouraged the keen-eyed Bedouin tribes to sundry hostile movements, against which he had to defend himself by warlike enterprises of a less important character. These occupied a great part of the two years which intervened between the battle of Ohod and the formidable but fruitless siege of Medina, by another Meccan army, again under the command of Abu Sofyan.

The first who attempted to turn the calamity of Ohod to their own advantage, were the *Beni Asad* of *Faid*, in the *Nejd*. Their chief *Toleiha*, trusting in his horsemen and fleet camels, prepared a raid on Medinan territory, with the view of carrying away a portion of its flocks. But Mohammed received early information of the plan, and at once despatched

150 chosen men under Abu Salma, at whose unexpected approach the Bedouins hastily dispersed, leaving a numerous herd of camels in their hands. Abu Salma had received a wound at the battle of Ohod which now re-opened, in consequence of this fresh exposure, and six months later caused his death. His wife, Om Salma, had only been a widow four months, when the Prophet put an end to her widowhood by adding her to the number of his own wives.

A similar danger of invasion also threatened from the *Beni Lihyan*, near *Taif*, which the unscrupulous Prophet averted, by sending one of his fanatical tools to assassinate their chief. The assassin first insinuated himself into the confidence of the chief, and one night, when he was alone with him, treacherously murdered him by cutting off his head. This dastardly act earned for him a commendation from his master and an honourable reward in the shape of Mohammed's own staff.

The Bedouins were not slow to repay such treachery in the same coin, and with interest. Instigated by the Lihyanites, a caravan of the *Beni Adhl* and *Kari* applied to the Prophet for teachers, pretending that their tribe was inclining towards Islam. Mohammed unsuspectingly sent six or eight of his followers with them; but having reached the well of Raji in the Hejaz, the teachers were suddenly pounced upon and slain. Still more serious was the case when a chief of the powerful *Beni Amir* of *Nejd*, who, on a visit to Mohammed was pressed to embrace Islam, declined this for his own person, but said that if teachers were sent to his tribe, they would probably become converts. The Prophet was again taken in. He sent forty, or by some accounts even seventy, Moslems who had learned to read. But when they reached the well of Maūna, belonging to the Beni Soleim, they were surrounded and put to death. Mohammed was so indignant at this cruel perfidy, that for some weeks he, after morning prayer, invoked a solemn malediction on the heads of the guilty and their entire tribe.

According to the mutual engagement after the battle of Ohod, the Meccans and the Moslems were to meet again in hostile array, at the fair of *Bedr*, in spring 626. But the former, though making a great show of preparation, did not

keep their word, on account of a severe drought which rendered it inadvisable to march with a large body of camels. They only proceeded a day's journey to Majanna, where they attended the fair and then returned. Mohammed, who probably received secret information of this, had therefore a good opportunity of re-establishing his prestige. He duly appeared at Bedr, with 1500 followers, the largest number he had as yet commanded. They had brought with them a rich supply of goods for the fair, and, as no enemy showed himself, they did a good business, realising 100 per cent. or, according to others, 200 per cent. profit.

Abu Sofyan was not remiss in collecting means for another stroke; but for the present the advantage rested with Mohammed. He was prepared, when soon after he learned that the *Beni Ghatafan* were collecting troops against him. He started with 400 or 800 men, and on reaching the mountains of *Rika*, found the Bedouin camp in so formidable a position that he did not venture on an attack. The two armies were so near each other that, at the usual time of prayer, the Moslems alternated their service, one portion praying, and the other facing the enemy in battle-array. This mode of worship, in war, was thenceforth denominated 'the service of danger.' Mohammed was contented with this demonstration of religious discipline and courage, and soon withdrew, carrying with him a number of captured women. This whole enterprise occupied only a fortnight.

The next expedition, that against *Duma*, took up double that time. Duma lay fifteen days' march in a directly northern line from Medina, not far from the borders of Syria; and its annual fair was frequented by many merchants and Bedouins. Mohammed's attempt in this direction was not occasioned so much by a threatening danger, as rather by the hope of plunder and the wish thus to make some impression on Syria and the Roman empire. He was accompanied by 1000 men, travelling at night and resting concealed by day. He did not attack the town of Duma itself, but, on having reached the oasis in which it was situated, he sent out corps in different directions to seize as many camels as they could. With many of the latter, but

only a single prisoner, he returned to Medina. On the way he made friendship with Oyeina, chief of the powerful Beni Fezara, whom he permitted to pasture his flocks at a day's journey from the town.

The great danger for Mohammed came from the south, from the direction of Mecca. Abu Sofyan was very active and tried to enlist on his side all the Bedouin tribes of the neighbourhood. Mohammed received information that on the north-west of Mecca, near the coast of the Red Sea, the *Beni Mostalik* were gathering with hostile intentions, under their chief Harith Ibn Dhirar. To overthrow them would be a discouragement to other confederates of the Koreish, and, at the same time, clear the way in the direction of Mecca. Mohammed was well supported by every class in Medina and started with a large army and thirty horses. Against such a force the Mostaliks deemed resistance useless. They killed only one enemy, whilst ten of their own number were slain. The whole tribe, 200 families, with all their goods, including 2000 camels, fell into the hands of the victors. The chief's daughter *Jowairia*, was so beautiful and attractive that Aisha, as Ibn Ishak tells us, hated her from the moment she first set eyes on her. She augured right. Mohammed could not resist those charms, and, without delay, procured her liberty and added her to the number of his wives. In honour of the occasion the whole tribe was liberated, as now joined to the Prophet by the ties of kindred. It was good policy to attach to himself, by this liberal treatment, a Bedouin tribe living so near Mecca, and on the usual caravan road to Syria.

An incident, happening before he left the territory of the Beni Mostalik, showed that his position in Medina was not yet altogether free from internal danger. Amidst the bustle round the well of Moreisi an altercation, resulting in blows, arose between a native of Medina and a refugee, during which each of them called on his own party for assistance. The excitement grew hot on both sides, and Abd Allah Ibn Obei gave vent to the threat, 'I look upon these low Koreish in the light of the ancient saying, "Fatten a dog and it will eat thee up: but, by Allah! when we return to Medina, the strong shall cast out the low."' As soon as

Mohammed heard of this, he ordered the camp to be struck, and marched his troops for a day and a night, without halting, to make them forget the quarrel. Peace was restored, and even Abd Allah, who soon saw cause to regret his outspokenness and to fear for his life, was spared. One of his friends said to Mohammed, concerning him, 'He himself is the low and thou the strong; if thou wilt, thou canst cast him out. But pity him; for when God brought thee to us, his people were already preparing the pearls for crowning him, and he believes that thou hast robbed him of his empire.' It appeared more prudent, at the time, to be conciliatory to such a man, than to drive him into the open arms of the Koreish enemies who still aimed at crushing the entire Moslem power.

Another unpleasant affair resulted to Mohammed from this expedition against the Mostaliks. On the homeward journey of the army, Aisha remained behind at the last halting-place before Medina and next morning arrived alone, mounted on a camel, which was led by a young man named Safwan. She affirmed that, whilst walking about in search of a precious necklace which she had dropped, the army departed and unwittingly left her behind, whereupon Safwan, who had been accidentally delayed by some business, observed her, and safely conducted her home. But the general talk was, that the adventure implied a conjugal misconduct on her part. This was all the more natural, on account of the recent addition to the objects of her rivalry in the person of the beautiful Jowairia. Mohammed seems to have at first shared the general opinion and let his youthful wife feel that he suspected her. She became ill and received permission to return home, in order to be cared for by her mother. Repudiation seemed impending and Ali hinted to his father-in-law that there was no lack of women to supply her place, a suggestion which may account for the ill-feeling ever afterwards shown by Aisha to Ali. But it was not politic to wound his oldest and best friend Abu Bekr by disgracing his daughter. Her tears and attractions, after a few weeks' estrangement, softened the Prophet's heart. The slanderers were silenced by being publicly flogged; and he paid his injured wife a visit in the house of her parents. Whilst there,

he had one of those singular revelations which were but expressions of the thoughts and bent of his own mind. He exclaimed, 'Good news for thee, Aisha! God has revealed thy innocence.' Aisha herself was surprised, and when narrating the story in after life, modestly confessed, 'I considered myself too mean and insignificant to hope that on my account God would reveal what thenceforth had to be read in the mosques and recited at prayers, as part of the Koran.'

About the same time, the scandalous affair also took place between Mohammed and Zeinab, his adopted son Zeid's wife, which is already recorded (p. 82-3). That conduct, marked by such loose morality and such thinly disguised deception, did not at once prove ruinous to Mohammed's assumed character as a prophet and his general influence, plainly shows the indiscriminating credulity of his followers and the ascendency he had already gained in Medina, by the support of a compact body of warriors and the secret terrorism of his system of government. A fresh stroke was now about to be aimed at him from Mecca, more threatening than any previous one; but he dexterously parried it, and the storm only served him to strike the roots of his power more deeply and widely.

Abu Sofyan, especially since the Moslems had appeared in great force at Bedr and he been obliged to break his engagement of meeting them there, had been very busy preparing for a decisive blow against Medina. He collected money from house to house, accepting no contribution under one ounce of gold and bringing all possible pressure to bear upon the people, so that soon a considerable sum was at his disposal. Thus it had become possible to raise a great army and to secure the co-operation of many Bedouin tribes. Sufferers from Mohammedan oppression, such as Abd Allah Ibn Obei and sundry Jews, especially from the lately expatriated Nadhir tribe, zealously assisted in promoting these objects, hoping the complete destruction of the Moslem cause might thus be brought about. Ibn Ishak narrates that the Koreish said to these Jews, 'You are the men who possess the ancient Scripture and know what we contend about with Mohammed; now tell us which religion

is the best, ours or his?' They, incensed by his unjustifiable religious pretensions, and smarting under the recent effects of his political violence, unscrupulously replied, 'Your religion is the better of the two, and you are nearer the truth than he.' Wily Abu Sofyan gladly accepted any assistance in promotion of his plan, and Mecca resounded with the din of preparations for war. Even if the Moslem historians exaggerate in estimating the hostile army at 10,000 strong, its number was no doubt a formidable one. Mecca alone raised 4000 men, including 300 horse and 1500 camels; the Bedouins of the Beni Soleim, Ghatafan, Fezara, Asad, Ashja, and Morra, joined with several thousands more. The chief command naturally was in the hands of Abu Sofyan; but the chieftains of the different tribes retained much independence, a circumstance which did not enhance the efficiency of the army. It was in spring 627 that these hosts began to move northwards, in the direction of Medina.

Mohammed had received full information of what was going on in Mecca, and prepared to ward off the threatening blow. At the battle of Ohod he had acted contrary to the wise counsel of his rival Abd Allah Ibn Obei, by marching forth to meet the enemy, and suffered defeat by so doing; now he benefited by past experience and kept his men close to the town, leaving the attack to the enemy. It was evidently a wise disposition, to assign to his army, which was by far the smaller of the two, consisting of only 3000 men, the less onerous task of acting strictly on the defensive. The town, with its houses built of stone and closely joining each other, was comparatively easy of defence, and this advantage was heightened at the suggestion of Salman, a Persian resident, by the formation of a deep ditch, lining an open space on which the army could be collected, secure against any sudden surprise from the enemy's cavalry. As soon as the confederate army had reached the neighbourhood, Mohammed and his warriors took up their position in the wide open space, bordered by the city on one side and by the newly made ditch and rampart on the other. The city had thus been converted into a sort of fortified camp, which was quite a new thing in Arab warfare. The confederates taunted the Moslems with the innovation, as an intended substitute for

personal valour; but the ditch and dike proved an effectual barrier to their cavalry and largely contributed to their ignominious failure. Another great advantage on the side of the besieged was this, that they had been able to collect all the produce of the field within the city, so that there was plenty of food for man and beast, whilst the enemy found the whole neighbourhood bare and had to send foraging parties to a great distance. The ditch and rampart keeping the two armies apart, there could not be the single combats so usual in Arab warfare. But it was easy for the confederates, from their superiority of numbers, to keep the city in perpetual alarm, by incessant and constantly changing attacks on different parts of the city, compelling the defenders to divide into several corps, so as to be speedily at hand on every point which might be threatened. These sudden attacks were generally made and repulsed by means of shooting arrows and throwing stones. They were rather harassing than sanguinary.

After these resultless alarms had been kept up for some time, a little band of four daring horsemen succeeded in crossing the ditch, at a spot where it was narrow, and thus broke the novel spell of the fortifications, for a moment. But instead of immediately securing the ground they had gained and seeking to facilitate the crossing over of the army after them, they recklessly advanced, and one of them, the aged Amr, who wished to avenge a wound he had received at Bedr, loudly challenged any of the Moslems to single combat. The Moslems were not slow in occupying the weak point of the ditch; and one of them, the heroic Ali, took up the challenge to the duel. After a brief combat, Amr was killed, and lay stretched upon the ground 'like the trunk of a tree.' Then his three companions sought safety in a swift retreat, but only two of them succeeded, and the third, unable to clear the ditch, was cut down there by a pursuer. In the night the dangerous part of the ditch was widened and deepened, under the direction of Salman the Persian, and for some days longer the hostile armies remained face to face, and exchanged showers of arrows across the ditch which kept them asunder. These arrows did little harm, and we can form an idea of the very unbloody character of the

blustering Arab wars of those days, and especially of the absence of martial qualities amongst the allied forces of Meccan traders and greedy Bedouins, when we are told that, during this close siege of several weeks, the Moslems had only five men killed, and the entire loss of the confederates amounted to three, inclusive of the two heroes who dared to beard the Moslem lions in their den behind the ditch.

Both sides evinced a greater partiality for cunning and secret machinations, than for self-sacrificing heroism. Mohammed was ready to buy off the powerful Beni Ghatafan and to induce them to desert the Meccans, by the offer of the third part of Medina's date harvest. He had already made progress in his secret negotiations with their chiefs, one of whom, Oyeina, was under obligation to him for a former act of kindness, during a season of drought; but the plan had to be relinquished, because the leading men of Medina were reluctant to part with their dates. Abu Sofyan, on his part, made underhand efforts to induce the Beni Koreiza, the only Jewish tribe still remaining in Medina, to play falsely to Mohammed by raising the banner of revolt in the city itself and openly embracing the cause of the besiegers. But the Jews considered such a step fraught with too great a peril; for Moslem soldiers were constantly patrolling the streets, and the Jews were well enough acquainted with Arab fidelity to apprehend that they might be deserted and left to Moslem vengeance, in case the confederate cause did not triumph. All these intrigues from both sides did not lead to any practical result, and, as spies were freely employed, only served to increase distrust against the suspected parties and to lessen the disposition to risk a decisive engagement.

When the siege had lasted for two or three weeks, Medina was still intact behind its dike and effectually guarded by its untiring defenders; but the hosts of besieging Bedouins were sorely pressed by want of provisions for the men and fodder for their numerous camels. The hardships of the Meccan army were increasing, and no gain accrued to compensate for them. At last a violent tempest, with cold wind and pouring rain, swept over the district, so that the tents were blown down, the cooking-pots upset, and the fires extinguished. According to Ibn Ishak, one of Mohammed's

spies returned from the hostile camp, reporting that he had heard Abu Sofyan making this address to his people, 'We cannot remain here any longer. Cattle and camels are dying. The Beni Koreiza have deserted us and we have heard evil tidings of them. The wind troubles us, so that, as you see, no pot and no tent remains standing and no fire burns. Up! I remain here no longer.' To depict Abu Sofyan's haste, the Mohammedan historian says, 'He mounted his camel and urged it on by blows, even before it was untied.' The Bedouins were but too glad to repack their camels and march in front of the soldiers. The whole army left in good order, having its rear protected by the cavalry.

Mohammed also was greatly relieved by the turn events had taken. Not to have been defeated in combat, not to have his stronghold wrested from him by force, despite the number and formidable appearance of the enemy opposed to him, could not but raise his prestige almost as much as if he had gained an actual victory. But he did not think it prudent, this time, to quit the shelter of his rampart, and risk an encounter with the retreating enemy's cavalry by another pretence at pursuit, as he had done at the close of the Ohod affair. He now saw a nearer and an easier road to the promotion of his prestige and power. The Jews of Medina were to be entirely crushed, and thus every vestige of danger, threatening his capital through their neutrality or hostility, removed for ever. Accordingly, the final consummation of his anti-Jewish policy will now have to occupy our attention for a while.

(8.) *Mohammed's anti-Jewish policy leads to the heartless overthrow of the Jewish tribes of Medina and the unjust conquest of Khaibar with other Jewish communities.*

We have already traced the growth of the complete rupture which took place between Mohammed and the Jews, owing to their determined refusal to recognise in him the promised Messiah, the long-expected prophet of God (p.131-4); and we have also surveyed his equally antagonistic position towards Christianity and the Christians (p. 135-9). Now we can give a consecutive account of the arbitrary measures

which he adopted against the Jews, as soon as he dared to do so, and which he persistently carried through to the bitter end, by his heartless massacre of the Beni Koreiza and by his no less brutal conquest of the Jewish colony at Khaibar. We therefore now turn back a couple of years, to about the time of the battle of Bedr, and take up the thread of our narrative where we then left it.

The three Jewish tribes who lived in Medina formed a very important portion of the population of that place. They were distinguished for their learning, their industry, and even their warlike ability. Had they combined, they could have presented a formidable front to Mohammed which he would not have found easy to break through. But being disunited, and even, at times, fighting against each other, as allies of mutually opposed Arab factions, they were doomed to succumb.

The first to fall as victims of Mohammed's vengeance, were some individuals of the Jewish persuasion who had made themselves obnoxious above others, by attacking him in verse. He managed to produce an impression amongst the people that he would like to be rid of them. The hint was readily taken up by persons anxious to ingratiate themselves in the Prophet's favour. The gifted woman *Asma* and the hoary poet *Abu Afak* were both murdered in their sleep: the former while slumbering on her bed, with an infant in her arms ; the latter whilst lying, for coolness' sake, in an open verandah. No one dared to molest the assassin of either of these victims ; for it was no secret that the foul deeds had been approved of by the Prophet, and that he had treated the perpetrators with marked favour.

Finding that the public thus quietly accepted and tacitly indorsed the murder of individual Jews, Mohammed considered the way open for taking another and a more decisive step towards the execution of his anti-Jewish projects. An entire Jewish tribe was now to be got rid off, and this despite the defensive and offensive treaty-engagements which existed between Mohammed and the Jews, since the early part of his residence in Medina.

In selecting the tribe which was to fall as the first victim of his avarice and cruelty, the calculating Prophet showed

his usual shrewd appreciation of circumstances. Two of the Jewish tribes of Medina, the Beni Nadhir and the Beni Koreiza, had long been the allies of the powerful Awsites, amongst whom Islam had as yet made slower and smaller progress; but the third, the *Beni Keinoka*, who had been the ancient allies of the less powerful Khazrajites, in whose midst the profession of Islam had become general, were now left isolated, because the brotherhood of the new religion had superseded the former bonds of amity and alliance. They could therefore be attacked with comparatively little risk, inasmuch as their Arab allies had either become staunch Moslems, or at least outwardly conformed to the new order of things; and their removal appeared all the more desirable, because, as artisans, they occupied a convenient and central part of the city. Hence the Beni Keinoka were fixed upon by the astute Prophet as the first victims of a policy which aimed at the entire removal of the Jews, in order to make room for himself and his followers.

He did not delay the execution of this selfish purpose longer than was necessary, but entered upon it as soon as his victory at Bedr enabled him to do so. Ibn Hisham narrates, 'When God had visited the Koreish on the battle-day of Bedr, Mohammed returned to Medina and assembling the Jews on the bazar of the Beni Keinoka, said to them, "O ye Jews, believe in Islam, ere God visit you like the Koreish." But they answered, "Be not deceived by thy imagination. Thou hast indeed slain some Koreishites who were without experience and knowledge of war; but, by God! if thou make war with us, thou wilt find that we are men the like of whom thou hast not yet encountered"'—a boast which they soon after flagrantly belied. Mohammed was not the man to be turned aside from his plans by vain boasts or empty threats.

The actual outbreak of hostilities had not long to be waited for, and Mohammedan historians narrate it in this way. A Moslem woman went to the market of the Beni Keinoka to sell milk, and sat down in front of a goldsmith's shop. Being veiled, the Jewish shopkeeper annoyed her in a manner which caused her to blush and to weep. This was witnessed by a Mussulman, who forthwith slew the offending

goldsmith ; and he, in his turn, was slain by the Jews. The Moslems, indignant at this, now called all their brethren to arms : and thus the war began. If this story, told by Moslem biographers to explain the cause of the conflict, was well founded on fact—which is improbable, because at the time to which it refers the injunction to veil had not yet been given,—it could only account for the outbreak of hostilities at this particular moment. Its real cause lay much deeper, and must surely have led to war, sooner or later, without any such accidental occurrence, which, moreover, could have been so easily settled by gentler means than war and expatriation. Mohammed, only too glad to avail himself of any plausible pretext for commencing open hostilities, summoned his followers to arms and surrounded the quarter of the Beni Keinoka. This was all the more easy, because, being artisans, mostly gold and silver smiths, they lived close together within the city and were not scattered on plantations like the other Jews.

The beleaguered Jews defended their fortified houses for a fortnight ; but being deserted, in this hour of need, by their former allies, the Khazrajites, in whose cause they had often shed their blood, and expecting no help from the two other Jewish tribes, against whom they had often fought on the side of Arabs ; they thought it better to surrender, than further irritate their implacable foe. Obada, one of the leading Khazrajites, went to Mohammed and formally renounced his obligations towards his former allies, handing them over to the Prophet's discretion. Abd Allah Ibn Obei, whose attachment to Islam was not so strong, indeed sympathised with his former confederates, but dared not openly join their ranks. The only thing he ventured to do was, to insist strongly on having their lives spared. When they had surrendered, and were already being bound, in preparation for execution, he went to Mohammed to induce him not to slay them. Ibn Ishak thus describes the scene : 'Mohammed at first turned away from him, and when Abd Allah held him by the armour, to stop him, he called out, "Let me go!" and became so enraged that his face turned quite dark. But Abd Allah swore, saying, "I will not let thee go till thou relentest towards my clients : they are 700

warriors, including 300 clad in armour, who have often protected me against the red and against the black: them thou mayest not cut off in one morning; for, by Allah! I apprehend a change of fortune." Thereupon Mohammed said, "Well, I will grant them to thee."' Thus it is seen that it required all the importunities of Abd Allah, who was looked upon by Mohammed as a hypocrite, to keep the sanctimonious Prophet from crowning his violence against the Keinokas by massacring them in cold blood. Their lives were spared, but their houses and goods, including their arms and suits of armour, were seized as prey, and they themselves, with women and children, expelled the country. Obada was commissioned by Mohammed to superintend and expedite their departure. They went first to Wadi el Kora where the Jewish inhabitants assisted them, and then proceeded further, to settle in Syria.

A beginning had now been made by Mohammed to carry out his plan of pushing the Jews out of the way, so as to establish himself in their stead, and to increase his power with their spoil. After the expulsion of the Keinoka, he at once cast his longing eyes on the rich palm-plantations of the *Beni Nadhir*, but a short distance from the city. They boasted of a sacerdotal descent, and lived together by themselves in a comely suburb, fortified by a number of strong towers. One of their more influential Rabbis was *Kab Ibn Ashraf* who had looked favourably upon Mohammed, till he changed the Kibla from Jerusalem to Mecca. Then he became his decided opponent, attacking him and his religion in verse, and working against him in various ways. He was to fall first as a victim to Mohammed's vindictiveness. The Prophet despatched four men, amongst them Kab's own foster-brother, to assassinate him, and sanctioned beforehand any lie or stratagem which they might see fit to employ, so as to lure him aside. It was dark when they arrived at his house, and he was already in bed; but they cunningly prevailed upon him to come out to them, and when they had him alone in the dark, they foully murdered him. Mohammed remained up, to await their return; and when they showed him Kab's head, he commended their deed, and praised Allah. But on the

following morning, when the assassination had become generally known, the Jews, as Ibn Ishak informs us, were struck with terror, and none of them regarded his life safe any longer.

The blow intended for the whole Nadhir tribe did not delay many months. One day Mohammed, with a considerable suite, including Abu Bekr, Omar, and Ali, appeared amongst the Beni Nadhir, for the ostensible purpose of asking them to contribute their share towards the blood-money which had to be paid to a confederate tribe, because some of their men had been wrongfully slain by a Moslem. The Beni Nadhir received the party with marked respect, promised ready compliance with their request, and hospitably invited them to a repast. On account of the heat, they were sitting in the open air, Mohammed leaning his back against the wall of a house. After a while, he suddenly rose and walked away, without saying a word. He was expected to return directly; but as he delayed, his friends looked after him, and found that he had returned to the city. They followed him; and he told them that the cause of his sudden departure was an intimation he had received from heaven, that one of the Jews was going to ascend the roof of the house, beneath which they were sitting, to throw down a stone upon him. Unlikely as it is that the Jews meditated such a step under such circumstances, it is quite possible that the dastardly assassination of Kab now weighed on Mohammed's conscience, and engendered in him the fear which he expressed in language, adapted to his prophetic character. Judging others by himself, he could not but dread vengeance, from the hand of those who had suffered from his treachery and violence.

The preconceived plan, which the story about the intended stone-throwing had to justify, was now at once carried out. Mohammed collected his followers, and marched with them against the Beni Nadhir, who barricaded themselves in their houses and towers. When they showed no signs of surrender, after a siege of six days, but still valiantly defended themselves with arrows and stones, Mohammed had recourse to a barbarous measure, contrary to the Arab usages of war, and expressly forbidden

by the Law of Moses (Deut. xx. 19). He gave orders to cut down and burn the trees of their fine palm-fields, their chief wealth, so as to drive them to despair, and to force them to yield. They gave vent to their indignation, by calling out, 'Oh Mohammed! didst thou not forbid to cause devastation, and blame him who does it? How canst thou let these date-trees be cut down and burnt?' But seeing him determined to destroy the future means of their livelihood, and having no longer any hope of military succour from Arab sympathisers and former allies, not even from their fellow Jews, the Beni Koreiza, they at last, after a siege of two or three weeks, capitulated.

Through the intercession of old friends amongst the professed Moslems, their lives were spared, and they were allowed a camel-load of their substance, with the exception of arms and suits of armour; but their emigration from the country, within a few days, was rigidly insisted upon. According to some tradition, each three men were only allowed one camel and one sword; and in several instances the camel's load had to be completed by the ornamented door-posts of their houses. They are reported to have left with their wives, and children, and substance, amidst the sounds of music, some singing songs, others playing cymbals and flutes. If this is true, they must have been strongly impressed with the peril, in which they had been, of losing not only their possessions, but also their lives, and of having their wives and children reduced to a state of abject slavery. A portion of them joined their brethren in Khaibar, and the rest, with greater prudence and foresight, went on to Syria. Only two of the number consented to save their property, by embracing Islam.

The spoil falling into the hands of the Moslems was considerable; and as there had been no regular fighting, Mohammed claimed the right of freely disposing of it. He saw his opportunity for compensating his fellow-refugees from Mecca, by making them rich landowners in Medina. The whole booty was distributed amongst them, and only two of the Moslem natives, who were poor, also received a share. This happened in summer 625. Mohammed's high-handed disposal of the spoil, the barbarous destruction of

date-trees, and his whole conduct towards the Beni Nadhir, naturally caused much unpleasant talk amongst the disaffected. But he knew how to silence every objection. A revelation from heaven justified him in every particular, and can still be read in the 59th Sura of the Koran.

Two years later, as we have already seen, the great army of Meccans and Bedouins laid siege to Medina, and threatened to involve it in a catastrophe. Fugitives of the Beni Nadhir, smarting under a sense of their wrongs, helped to incite the Koreish to this vast effort of revenge; and, during the siege, attempts were made to induce the *Beni Koreiza*, the only Jewish tribe still left in Medina, openly to break with Mohammed, and to join the side of the besiegers. Though it does not appear that those attempts convinced the cautious foresight of the Jews, and proved successful with them, yet they sufficed to show Mohammed that the continuance of a Jewish tribe in Medina might, under certain circumstances, endanger the town. Accustomed, as he already was, to regard as right whatever seemed to advance his interests, he did not scruple to make this last remaining tribe of Jews a holocaust to his selfishness. The cruel project was to be carried out forthwith; and the Jews were to be taken by surprise.

But the Mussulman historians, as is their wont, represent that the sanguinary measure was only taken in obedience to a direct injunction from heaven. Ibn Ishak's narrative is this: 'On the following morning, after the withdrawal of the confederate army from Medina, Mohammed, with the faithful, left the rampart and returned into the city to lay down their arms. But about noon the angel Gabriel, wearing a turban of silk, and mounted on a mule, in trappings of damask, came to Mohammed and asked him, "Hast thou already laid down thy arms?" He answered "Yes." Gabriel continued, "But the angels have not yet laid down their arms; and I am come to summon the people to war; for God commands thee to march against the Beni Koreiza, and I myself am going thither to shake their towers." Mohammed at once ordered a proclamation to be made that no man was to say the afternoon prayer anywhere but in the Koreiza quarter. He sent Ali with a

flag in advance against the Beni Koreiza, and the people gathered around him in haste.'

The quarter of the Jews was now closely invested; but they bravely defended themselves, for twenty-five days, from their towers and barricaded houses. When it had become evident that Mohammed would not raise the siege, before he had obtained his object, one of their number proposed to them, either to acknowledge the Arab Prophet, or, by a desperate effort, to break through the circle of besiegers. But his proposal was rejected, and he then indignantly upbraided them with never having formed any serious resolution since their birth. They preferred to treat with Mohammed; and, at their request, he sent to them as delegate one of the Awsites, their former confederates. On their asking him whether he would advise them to surrender to Mohammed, he told them they had better do so; but, at the same time, he put his hand to his throat, signifying that they must be prepared to have their throats cut. He was touched by the women and children pressing round him, weeping and trembling; but he had no authority to offer them better terms than unconditional surrender. They longed to escape from the privations of the siege, and with the example of the Beni Keinoka and Nadhir fresh in their minds, whose lives, though likewise threatened, had yet been spared, they capitulated, trusting in the Prophet's clemency.

But he had now his hands freer than formerly and could afford to disappoint their hope. In the night of the surrender, four Jews embraced Islam and thus saved their life and liberty; and in the morning, the Awsites approached Mohammed to intercede for the lives of the rest, saying, 'These Jews are *our* confederates; and thou knowest how thou didst formerly deal with those who were confederates of the Beni Khazraj.' This placed him in a dilemma: he wished to kill the Jews and yet not to offend the Awsites. His cunning was equal to the occasion: he discovered a way of extricating himself from his dilemma. A prominent man of the Awsites, Saad Ibn Moadz by name, had been wounded during the siege and lay in the mosque, without hope of recovery. With him Mohammed had a conversation and then addressed the Awsites thus, 'Are you content, if I appoint one of

your own tribe as arbiter in the matter?' and as soon as they had replied in the affirmative, he added, 'Saad Ibn Moadz is the man I appoint.' Saad being too ill to walk, a leathern bolster was laid on a donkey for him, and he was thus conveyed before Mohammed and the assembled people. On the way he was exhorted by humane persons to be lenient to his former confederates whose destiny had now been placed in his hands; but he answered, 'It is now time that I should do nothing blameworthy in the sight of God.' He was received with an unusual demonstration of respect, by Mohammed's special order; and having first taken the formal promise that his decision should be accepted as final, he said, 'My judgment is, that the men should be killed, their goods divided, and their wives and children treated as captives.' The Prophet, relieved by this utterance, indorsed it on the spot, by saying, 'Thy judgment agrees with that of God above the seven heavens.'

He was now free to indulge his feelings of revenge against the Jews. They were to pay dearly for persevering in the denial of his pretensions to a prophetic mission. The women and children were torn from their husbands, brothers, and fathers; the men, all manacled, were penned up for the night in a large shed, and Mohammed ordered long ditches to be dug in the market-place. On the following morning the butchery began under the Prophet's own eyes and lasted till night. The manacled Jews were led forth in small batches, made to sit down on the brink of the ditch, and after being cruelly put to death, hurled into it as their common grave. According to the Mohammedan historians, 600 to 700 or 800 to 900 Jews were thus massacred in cold blood. Their lands, houses, and chattels were distributed among the conquerors, and the women and children appropriated as slaves. In dividing the booty, Mohammed assigned three portions to each horseman, one for himself and two for his horse, in order thus to encourage his followers to possess themselves of horses, which proved so invaluable to them in their future campaigns, especially when they undertook to invade the Roman empire and Persia. The spoil was so great that the Prophet's fifth alone included two hundred women and children. He selected the beautiful widow

Raihana for his own harem, and the rest he bartered away to Bedouins for horses and arms. By such means as these, a man who called himself an ambassador of God solved his difficulties, and smoothed the way to wealth and power for himself and his followers.

Seeing that Mohammed himself did not scruple to own and sell his fellow-men as slaves, how can we wonder that slavery has always been a recognised institution throughout the Mohammedan world? It is but natural, that the religion of such a prophet should be as tolerant and favourable to the continuance of slavery, as the religion of Jesus Christ tends surely, though perhaps slowly, to bring about the cessation of this degraded condition of humanity.[1]

Medina was now clear of the Jews: two of the tribes had been banished, the third massacred, and those individuals who still remained, conformed, at least outwardly, to the new order of things and professed Islam. Mohammed had completely triumphed and all his rivals were humbled to the dust. The Jews were relatively weak, forming mere colonies of strangers in a land not originally their own, and the alliances they had formed with native Arabs could, therefore, be disregarded by the latter with comparatively little risk. This, Mohammed and his friends were shrewd enough to perceive and to turn to their own advantage. They succeeded in getting rid of the three Jewish tribes, one by one, without having to encounter armed forces of confederates, hastening to their assistance.

Thereby they became emboldened to extend their anti-Jewish policy still further and to aim at subjugating all other Jews of Arabia to their power, so that, thus strengthened,

[1] The celebrated philosopher Hegel beautifully recognises the superior excellency of Christianity in this respect, by saying in his *Logic*, p. 322, 'The question has been raised as to the cause of the fact that slavery has disappeared from modern Europe, and, in answering it, sometimes one circumstance has been mentioned, sometimes another. The true cause why there are no longer any slaves in Christian Europe is not to be looked for in anything but in the very principle of Christianity itself. The Christian religion is the religion of absolute liberty; and it is only for the Christian that man as such possesses worth in his infiniteness and universality. What is lacking in the slave is the acknowledgment of his personality; but the principle of personality is universality. The master regards his slave not as a person, but an impersonal thing. The slave is not counted as a self, but the master is his self.'

their ulterior object of uniting all Arabia under the banner of Islam might be all the more easily accomplished. The massacre of the Beni Koreiza took place A.D. 627, and in the spring, or, according to others, the autumn, of the year 628, the Moslem army marched against the Jewish colonies situated four or five days' journey to the north of Medina, the richest and most flourishing of which was that of *Khaibar*, with its extensive and fertile plantations of far-famed date-palms. This expedition was to deal the finishing stroke against Jewish independence and Jewish nationality in Arabia.

But some time before it was actually carried out, the inhabitants of Khaibar were horrified by one of the dastardly assassinations to which Mohammed did not scruple to stoop, for the purposes of revenge. The victim selected this time was *Sallam*, a leading man of the Beni Nadhir who, after the expulsion of the tribe from Medina, had settled in Khaibar and enjoyed great influence there. He was accused of having had a hand in stirring up the Meccans to the war in which they laid siege to Medina. Mohammed never had any difficulty in finding amongst his followers willing tools for executing such secret missions. Ibn Ishak mentions it as one of the Divine favours to Mohammed, that 'the two tribes of the Awsites and Khazrajites were as jealous about his head as two male camels.' Accordingly, as the former had assassinated Kab Ibn Ashraf, the latter aspired after an equal distinction and asked the Prophet's permission, which was gladly given, to do away with Sallam. Five Khazrajites, one of whom Mahommed had appointed chief for the occasion, reached Khaibar after dark, and, professing to have come for the purpose of buying corn, were admitted to Sallam's upper apartment, where he was already lying on his bed. But as soon as they had him thus in their power, they fell upon him with their daggers and massacred the defenceless man, without the slightest shame or compunction. By the time the startled Jews came to see what had happened, the assassins had decamped and were on the way to their master, to receive his thanks.

Mohammed, with a considerable army of followers, intended to celebrate the pilgrimage festival of the year 628, at

the shrine of Mecca. But on approaching the sacred territory, they were debarred from entering it by a formidable Meccan army. The only concession they could obtain was a long armistice, and the promise that next year they might attend the festival for three days, but unarmed. It was to compensate his followers for this disappointment, that the Prophet promised them the conquest and spoils of Khaibar. They slaughtered their sacrifices at *Hodeibia,* outside the sacred confines, and returned to Medina to prepare for the promised expedition the spoils of which should only be shared by those who had taken part in the disappointed pilgrimage.

To take the Jews by surprise, the Moslem army managed to arrive near Khaibar during the night. Early in the morning, when the people went forth to their field-work, they met the enemy and hasted back with the cry of alarm, 'Mohammed and his army are upon us.' The Jews hastily withdrew into their fortified houses or towers, and defended themselves, as well as they could, against an over-matching enemy. They had made an alliance with the Ghatafan Bedouins, to secure their help in such an emergency; but the selfish Bedouins did not wish to run any serious risk for the sake of the Jews, and contented themselves with a harmless demonstration. Ibn Ishak thus narrates their movements: 'When the Ghatafan heard that Mohammed was encamped before Khaibar, they gathered together, in order to assist the Jews against him. But when they passed through the narrow valley where their families and goods were collected, they heard a noise behind them, and, thinking the enemy was about to attack them in the rear, they turned back to remain with their families and substance, and did not molest Mohammed in his war against Khaibar.'

Thus coolly deserted by their Arab confederates, the Jews were doomed. All their strongholds, one after another, were besieged and taken. To strike terror into them and lame their resistance, Mohammed mercilessly put to the sword all armed Jews who fell into his hands. Nine hundred Jews were thus killed, whilst on the Moslem side scarcely a score were slain. The actual fighting, therefore, does not appear to have been of a very sanguinary character, and the resistance of the Jews, who soon saw the hopelessness of

their cause, was easily overcome. In the usual single combats, which were not wanting, some of the Jews fought valiantly, but still were overpowered by their antagonists. Ali had his shield struck from his hand, and then seized a house-door with which to defend himself. The last two strongholds, in which many of the escaped defenders of towers already surrendered, had sought refuge, resisted the besiegers for ten days, and at last capitulated to save their lives and some of their substance, whilst all their arms, treasures, and landed possessions, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

When this news reached the Jews of *Fadak*, some distance to the north of Khaibar, they sent a deputation to Mohammed, begging him similarly to spare their blood and allow them to depart unmolested, in return for which favour they would leave in his hands all their possessions. Also the Jewish colony of *Taima*, still further to the north in the direction of Syria, were induced to despatch a deputation and sue for peace, offering to accept the same conditions. Mohammed granted their request and also admitted the Jews of *Wadi el Kora*, a short distance south-west of Khaibar, to the like favours.

Thus Mohammed put an end to the independence of all the Jewish communities in Arabia and substituted his own authority over the extensive districts formerly owned by them. He had at first used every effort to gain them over to his cause. They would have been a most important accession to his fighting strength; and their acceptance of him as a prophet would, he believed, have had a great effect upon the Arabs, in leading them to regard him in the same light. But when he found they would not voluntarily own his claim, he determined that they should be made to serve his cause against their will. They were now separately attacked and conquered, tribe by tribe, till they were either swept away or reduced to a state of bondage and disposed of at the will and for the benefit of the conquerors. Refusing to become the willing abettors of the Prophet, they were used as stepping-stones in the onward march of the Potentate. Not by the spiritual weapon of truth, but by the carnal means of violence, and intrigue, not by seeking to follow the example

of God, 'the Merciful, the Compassionate,' but as a sanguinary warrior, Mohammed made his cause triumphant.

The booty taken from these industrious and thrifty Jewish communities was very great. The treasure of the Beni Nadhir alone, which had been removed from Medina merely to fall into the Moslems' hands in Khaibar, contained a single set of jewels, often hired out at weddings, which was estimated at a value of 10,000 dinars in gold. All the moveable property was treated as lawful spoil, of which one-fifth was appropriated by Mohammed and the remaining four-fifths divided amongst his warriors. The latter also obtained one half of the lands of Khaibar, whilst Mohammed claimed the other half; and, on the plea that Fadak, Tamai, and Wadi el Kora, were not taken by actual fighting, but had freely surrendered, the modest prophet demanded the entire spoil of those places for himself, to be disposed of as he pleased.

It was first intended to send all the Jews who had capitulated out of the country. But as then there would not have remained cultivators enough for the lands they left behind, their proposal to be allowed to continue in the occupation of the ground was accepted, on the condition of their yielding up half the produce to the Moslems. This formal arrangement remained in force till the Calif Omar arbitrarily set it aside, by removing the Jews to lands in Syria, in order that, as it already had been Mohammed's wish, there should only exist one religion throughout all Arabia.

Some episodes of this campaign are recorded which likewise show up Mohammed in the light of a common, rather unscrupulous, conqueror, and as glaringly wanting in the characteristics of the true, heavenly-minded prophet. Among the women made captive in one of the first Khaibar strongholds taken, was *Safia* (=Sophie), daughter of the chief of the Beni Nadhir, and hence probably known to Mohammed by sight. Her husband, Kinana, was accused by Mohammed of concealing part of his treasure, and was cruelly tortured to death. Safia and some other females, on being taken to Mohammed, passed their newly slain husbands and relatives on the way, and naturally burst into a paroxysm of grief. The Prophet, seeing them in this state, said, 'Take these

demons away from me;' but he detained Safia, casting his mantle over her, thus marking her as destined for his own harem.

According to the rules of his religion, such captives may not be married till at the expiration of three months; but this Prophet's carnal passions were so strong that he could not brook the delay, and he actually made her his wife, almost within sight of the place where her husband and friends had been slaughtered only a few days before. Abu Eyub, with drawn sword, unbidden, circumambulated the tent where they spent the first night together; and when Mohammed, in the morning, asked him for the reason of his solicitude, he replied, 'I felt anxious for thee on account of this woman, whose father, husband, and relatives thou hast caused to be slain, and who herself has been an unbeliever till quite lately.' Mohammed's cruel outrage of the feelings of a woman whose nearest relatives he had just put to death, casts so unfavourable a light upon his character, that, to screen him, his biographers tell a story, obviously invented for the purpose, which represents Safia as a willingly consenting party. According to this story, Mohammed observed a blue mark on her eye, and inquiring after the cause, she told him that having communicated to her late husband one of her dreams, to the effect that she had seen the moon fall into her lap, he gave her a blow in the face which left the blue mark on her eye, saying, 'Thou wishest to have Mohammed for thy husband, the king of the Hejaz.'

Another Jewish woman, *Zeinab* by name, whose husband and male relatives had likewise been killed, nearly succeeded in avenging herself on Mohammed by poisoning him. She roasted a lamb for his party, and having first ascertained that he had a predilection for the shoulder, rubbed more poison into that part than the rest. The biographers say, that he only took a mouthful and threw it out again without swallowing it, exclaiming, 'This shoulder tells me that it is poisoned.' But this is again an obvious invention of pious Mussulmans, for the purpose of investing their prophet with that supernatural knowledge which they thought he ought to have possessed. The actual fact seems to have been, that Mohammed really did eat some of the poisoned shoulder,

and suffered from its evil effects; but that his friend *Bishr*, to whom he handed some of it, being less cautious, ate a larger quantity and died in consequence. This can be gathered from an incident recorded to have happened during Mohammed's last illness. Bishr's mother (or, according to other accounts, sister) visited the Prophet on his deathbed and condoled with him in his illness, observing that it was supposed to be pleurisy, whereupon he replied, 'No, the Lord would not permit that illness, which is from Satan, to befall His apostle: but I feel now the artery of my heart bursting, in consequence of the morsel which I ate with thy son (or brother) Bishr, in Khaibar.' The early tendency amongst the Mussulmans to attribute to Mohammed traits which they thought ought to have distinguished him as prophet, is also apparent from the remark which Ibn Ishak adds to this recital, viz., 'The Moslems may infer from this, that God also permitted him to die a *martyr*, after having honoured him with the office of prophet.'

Ibn Ishak favours us with another story, which is a sad illustration of the want of truthfulness in early Islam, and shows how unscrupulously Mohammed himself authorised the circulation of untruths. We are told that, as soon as Khaibar was conquered, *Hajaj Ibn Ilāt*, one of his followers, asked permission of Mohammed to leave the army and go to Mecca, in order to collect some debts which were owing to him there. Having obtained the permission asked for, he added, 'But I shall have to tell lies.' Mohammed not only abstained from expressing any displeasure, but he approvingly replied, 'Say what thou wilt.'

Hajaj narrates that, thus authorised, he told the first party of Meccans whom he met, and who asked for news about Khaibar, 'that storehouse of the Hejaz,' whither, according to their information, 'that corrupter had gone,' the following story, fabricated by him for the occasion. 'I have joyous news for you: he has been completely defeated and his companions are slain. Mohammed himself has been taken prisoner by the Jews; but they do not intend to kill him themselves, wishing that this should be done in the midst of Mecca, whither they are now bringing him, so that the Meccans may avenge their brethren whom he has slain.' This good

news was at once proclaimed throughout the city. Hajaj adds, 'I requested them to aid me in collecting my debts, so that I might hasten back to Khaibar and buy of the booty, taken from Mohammed and his companions, before the arrival of other merchants; and they used great pressure in forthwith collecting my debts.' But having speedily settled his business, he went to Abbas, Mohammed's uncle, and taking a promise that he would not publish before the end of three days (when he hoped to be beyond the reach of pursuit) what he had to confide to him, made this startling communication, 'By Allah! when I left thy nephew, he was marrying the daughter of the chief (he meant Safia); he has conquered Khaibar and taken as spoil all it contained, so that it now belongs to him and his companions.'

(9.) *Mohammed extends his policy of conquest, subjugation, and plunder, to a number of Bedouin tribes, and injures Mecca whenever he can.*

Mohammed's success in effectually resisting the siege of Medina by the numerous army of the Koreish and their confederates, and in completely overcoming and dispossessing the three Jewish tribes who had owned such valuable property in the home of his adoption, greatly increased his prestige and power. His rapid onward march in the path of conquest, since that time, can really not be wondered at. We have just seen that a year after those events he was able to consummate his anti-Jewish aspirations, by subjugating Khaibar and all the different colonies of Jews, as far north as Fadak and Tamai. Now it behoves us to trace his exploits and successes amongst the native Arabs.

Only a few weeks after the massacre of the Beni Koreiza, Mohammed sent a body of troops under the command of Ibn Maslama southward, against the *Korta* Bedouins, a branch of the Hawazins. Concealing themselves by day, and marching only by night, they surprised the Bedouins before the dawn of morning. A number of these were killed in the confusion of the sudden attack and the remainder put to a precipitate flight. The Moslems possessed

themselves of their flocks, and returned to Medina with the booty of 1500 camels and 3000 sheep.

In the summer of the same year, the Prophet himself headed a select army to take revenge on the *Beni Lihyan*, near the sea-coast to the north-west of Mecca, for the share they had had in massacring some Moslem emissaries, not long after the battle of Ohod. These being first invited to come and teach the new religion, were treacherously attacked in their sleep at the station of Raji, as already mentioned (p. 160). Though Mohammed tried to take the Lihyanites off their guard, by starting in an opposite direction, they had obtained timely information of his approach, to enable them to withdraw to the heights of the Hejaz mountains where they were beyond his reach. Thus finding his plan of vengeance frustrated, he contented himself with a harmless demonstration against the *Koreish*, by advancing on the way to Mecca as far as *Osfan*, accompanied by 200 mounted followers, and then returned to Medina, with the sole satisfaction of having shown a bold front to his enemies.

But the Bedouins were not behind him in boldness, where there was a prospect of plunder. Ibn Ishak tells us that Mohammed had only slept a few nights at home, after his return from the Beni Lihyan, when, early one morning, a cry of alarm was raised, because the Fezara chief *Oyeina*, with a score of Ghatafan horsemen, had suddenly shown himself near Medina and driven away Mohammed's valuable she-camels, killing their keeper and carrying off his wife. Mohammed at once despatched some horsemen to hang on their rear, he himself following with several hundred warriors. They pursued them as far as *Zu Karad*, and succeeded in killing a few and retaking some of the camels, whilst the rest retreated unscathed. Mohammed had to slaughter some of his own camels to provide food for his men, who, in the hurry of starting, had been unable to bring the necessary provisions with them.

The camel-keeper's widow afterwards escaped from her captors, on one of the camels they had carried away. Mohammed showed in her case that he did not humour the pious emotions of his followers, if they ran counter to his own interests. When she told him that she had vowed to

sacrifice the camel, if it became the means of her escape, he smiled and, as Ibn Ishak informs us, said to her, 'Thou badly recompensest the animal, by wishing to slay it, after God had lifted thee upon it and made it the means of thy safety. A vow displeasing to God is not binding. Thou canst not sacrifice what thou dost not possess, for this camel belongs to me. Therefore, go thou home, with God's blessing.'

In this same year, 627, several more plundering expeditions were undertaken, not by Mohammed himself, but by his lieutenants at his request. Thus *Okasha*, with forty horsemen, was sent to attack the *Beni Asad* and brought back 200 captured camels. *Ibn Maslama*, with only ten companions, had to march against the *Beni Ghatafan*, whose flocks were encroaching on the Moslem pasture-lands near *Zu Kassa;* but instead of taking booty, his men were slain, he himself wounded, and when troops were sent in pursuit, they found the Bedouins gone. *Zeid Ibn Haritha* was despatched against the *Beni Soleim* from whom he took flocks and prisoners, including Mohammed's wet-nurse, Halima, and her husband, both of whom were naturally set at liberty on reaching Medina. Zeid also attacked the *Beni Talab*, of whom he seized forty camels, and a Meccan caravan which he surprised at *Iss* and robbed of its treasure of silver. On this same occasion he took a number of captives, amongst whom was Abu-l-As, Mohammed's son-in-law, who was set free in Medina and there embraced the religion of his father-in-law. Soon after, Zeid started with a trading caravan for Syria, but on reaching the neighbourhood of Wadi el Kora was plundered and wounded by the *Beni Fezara*. As soon as he had recovered from his wounds, at the beginning of the following year, he took his revenge, by attacking them with several hundred men. He seized the aged wife of one of their chiefs and ordered her to be torn asunder, by having a camel tied to each of her legs.

That such inhuman punishments were quite in keeping with the spirit of Islam, appears from one which the Prophet himself inflicted on some offenders about the same time. A small number of poor and sickly Bedouins, of the Orain and Okla families, professed their faith in the Prophet and then

obtained permission to stay on the pasture of his she-camels and drink their milk, for the benefit of their health. But as soon as they had recovered, they decamped with fifteen milk-camels and slew the keeper who tried to prevent them. Mohammed sent twenty fleet horsemen in their pursuit who easily captured them. When they were brought back to Medina, he had their eyes put out, their hands and feet cut off, and their bodies impaled, till death delivered them from their miseries (compare also Sura v. 39). It argues no tender feelings of humanity, to inflict such terrible punishments for these offences; and they are little creditable to a prophet claiming to supersede Jesus Christ, though they may not have been unusual amongst the Arabs in those days. So also we have to discriminate between the two cases, when we are informed that both Abu Sofyan and Mohammed despatched assassins, each with the object—fortunately unattained by either side—of ridding himself of his adversary: for, in the one case, the intended assassination was prompted by a person who claimed to be God's chosen prophet, and in the other, by a man of the world who put forth no such claim.

(10.) *Mohammed shows his veneration for the Kaaba by arranging a pompous Pilgrimage to it; but the Koreish prevent his caravan of pilgrims from approaching nearer than Hodeibia, where he succeeds in concluding an armistice with them.*

Meanwhile, in spring A.D. 628, the time of the annual festival at the shrine of Mecca was coming round, and Mohammed resolved to attend it, with a great number of his followers. This was the first attempt of the kind since his flight to Medina, six years previously. To please the Jews, he, for two years, as we have already learned, disregarded the Kaaba and took the temple of Jerusalem for his Kibla. But now, since the power of the Jews in Medina was completely broken, he was free to humour and conciliate the Arabs, by an ostentatious participation in the annual pilgrimage. Thus he afforded them a proof that he was not hostile to their renowned national sanctuary, as they might—not

without apparent good reason—have supposed; but that he rather allowed it a central position in the deistic religion of which he claimed to be the prophet. It must be owned that, in a man whose supreme object of aspiration was not Divine truth, but worldly influence and power, the intended step argued a wise and clever appreciation of circumstances, and was justified by its substantial and prospective, though not formal and immediate, success. Mohammed could reasonably hope that his show of power, thus far, had made a sufficient impression upon the Koreish, not to insist on excluding him, by force, from a visit to the sacred territory, professedly undertaken only for purposes of devotion.

It is true, this hope was not at once completely fulfilled; but his present attempt secured for him a guarantee of its realisation a year later; and the wisdom of the step was shown by an immediate rapid increase of accessions to his cause, amongst the Arabs generally. He took with him seventy camels, marked for sacrifice, and donned the pilgrim's garb, to let it be seen that he did not intend war, but came merely to do honour to the Meccan temple. Still, he wished to be prepared for any eventuality, by inviting the Arabs and Bedouins within reach, to swell his train. He thus succeeded in raising the number of his followers altogether to about 1400 men, more or less armed.

When the company had reached Osfan, they heard that the Meccans were preparing to oppose them by force and that Khalid had already set out with the cavalry. On receiving this information, Mohammed said, 'Woe to the Koreish, who are already nearly ruined by war! What harm would it have done them, had they let me fight out the matter with the Arabs? For had I succumbed, their wish would have been fulfilled; and had God made me victorious, they could either have embraced Islam in a body, or fought against me with their whole strength.' This declaration, reported by Ibn Ishak, shows how naturally it came to Mohammed to assume, that men in general were prepared to subordinate religion to politics, and that, if he could but show them great military success, they would readily join his banner and accept his religion into the bargain. Thus

he furnishes us with a glimpse of what was the current of his own thoughts: politics and power seem to be the great motors, religion the indispensable, but still subordinate, adjunct. Mohammed, anxious to avoid a hostile encounter with the Koreishite force, took his way over rocks and through ravines where cavalry could not easily follow, to the plain of *Hodeibia* in the Nakhla valley, and there encamped, close to the border of the sacred territory.

From this position a sudden rush upon the city of Mecca might perhaps have been effected with success, and according to one account Mohammed actually made the proposal, and was only kept from attempting it by Abu Bekr's wise and moderating counsel. But, according to another account, he openly declared, 'There is no favour whereby the Koreish may this day request me to prove my love of kindred towards them, that I will not grant;' and he even ascribed the peaceful lying down of his weary camel to Divine agency, saying, 'He who once prevented the elephant from entering Mecca, has also now stopped my camel.'

The propinquity of Hodeibia to the city rendered negotiation by means of messengers easy. It was therefore speedily entered upon and actively carried on. Mohammed protested against the injustice of excluding him from the sanctuary, urging that he had no hostile intentions, but was actuated merely by motives of devotion. The Meccans, on their part, were afraid that, by letting him come in, they might assume the appearance of yielding to force and being swayed by a dread of his power. They said, 'Even if he does not come for war, yet shall he not force us to let him enter; the Arabs shall never taunt us with his having done so.' After much discussion and mutual protestation, a formal agreement was arrived at, by which the Meccans saved appearances and the Moslems secured substantial advantages. Such an issue is scarcely to be wondered at, if we bear in mind that, in consequence of Mohammed's rapid advance in wealth and power, he had already gained many secret sympathisers in Mecca, both amongst his relatives and others, so that Ibn Ishak could report, 'The Beni Khoza, as well believers as unbelievers, were Moham-

med's secret partisans and communicated to him whatever happened in Mecça.'

According to the stipulations of the treaty entered upon, there was to be a cessation of war for ten years, during which term neither party might commit any act of hostility, robbery, or theft, against the other. Both parties should be perfectly free to form alliances with whomsoever they pleased; but in the case of fugitives whose extradition is demanded, only the Moslems, not the Meccans, should be bound to surrender them. On the present occasion Mohammed and his followers should not be allowed to cross the sacred precincts, but in the following year, the Koreish were to vacate the city for three days, in favour of the Moslems, who might then enter, unarmed and with their swords sheathed, as mere pilgrims. Mohammed certainly acted with prudence in accepting these conditions and thus averting a sanguinary conflict under unfavourable circumstances, though, by doing so, he caused disappointment to his more bellicose followers, notably Omar, who expected to enter Mecca triumphantly, according to a dream which the Prophet had previously had to that effect. But even they were soon compensated for the present disappointment by the far easier conquest of the Jewish colonies in Khaibar and elsewhere, as we have already seen (p. 179-181).

The important advantages which Mohammed secured by his treaty with the Koreish are thus referred to by Ibn Ishak: 'No greater victory had as yet been obtained for Islam. Hitherto there had been war everywhere. But after this treaty of peace, when war had ceased and people met in security, then they entered into conversation, and every intelligent person with whom the merits of Islam were discussed, embraced it, so that, within the two following years, as many or more people joined it as had done so since it first began. This is proved by the fact that Mohammed went to Hodeibia with only 1400 followers, according to Jabir's account, whereas, two years later, he marched out for the conquest of Mecca with an army 10,000 strong.'

(II.) *Mohammed, making good use of his armistice with the Koreish, seeks to extend his influence abroad, by sending messengers to neighbouring Potentates, summoning them to embrace Islam.*

It surely was no small triumph for Mohammed to conclude, on even terms, a formal treaty with proud Mecca, and thus to see himself recognised as the sovereign head of a rival commonwealth, entitled to form alliances and extend his power, as he might see fit. The state of long and bitter warfare between the two rival powers was now succeeded by one of tranquillity and peace, secured by a solemn treaty. The Beni Khoza, who lived in the immediate neighbourhood of Mecca, and had hitherto been united with the Koreish, though of late secretly favourable to Mohammed, forthwith availed themselves of the treaty-stipulation, by entering into an open league with him, even before he started on his return journey.

There can also be no doubt, that the circumspect prophet made good use of his proximity to the city and of the constant passing to and fro of messengers, amongst them his own son-in-law Othman, for seeking to convert influential men, by various promises, from open enemies into secret friends. The Meccans, especially those of them who were near relatives, shrewdly calculating the chances of the future in genuine Arab fashion, were now much more open to influences of this kind than formerly. It is certainly remarkable that, within a few weeks of the apparently unsuccessful pilgrimage, he despatched a messenger with rich presents to the king of Abyssinia, in order to woo the widowed daughter of his old adversary Abu Sofyan, the most prominent man of Mecca; and that she at once consented to return with the messenger and swell the number of the Prophet's wives. This points to a probability that he had found means to act even on the feelings of Abu Sofyan and secretly to inspire him with more benevolent sentiments.

From underhand inquiries Mohammed ascertained with satisfaction, that the general current of opinion was beginning to take a turn in his favour. This could not but

greatly raise his expectations as regards the future. He was so fully cognisant of the military weakness of the trading city in which he had grown up and which he had now again observed from the close proximity of Hodeibia, and he had so high an appreciation of his own strength, as the chief commander of a devoted army of tried warriors who looked upon his orders as Divine injunctions, that, to his sanguine mind, the time already seemed near, when the two greatest cities of Arabia would own him as their head, and he be acknowledged as the virtual dictator of the entire Arab nation. Once beholding, with the eager eye of hopeful anticipation, all Arabia united under his more than Imperial sceptre, it was not too great a step for him to go still further, by casting his longing eyes beyond the borders of the Arabian Peninsula, and to indulge the hope of one day imposing his religion and his dominion upon the rulers and people of the surrounding countries, in every direction.

The Mohammedan biographers agree in recording that, immediately after his return home from Hodeibia, their prophet addressed formal letters, stamped with a seal specially made for the occasion, to a number of neighbouring potentates. He boldly summoned them to embrace Islam, and thus to accept him as their virtual suzerain whose utterances were to be regarded as the law paramount. These letters were forwarded to their respective destinations by special messengers. The whole ceremony appears to have been intended as a parallel to the mission given by Jesus Christ to His twelve apostles, to 'go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every nation.' But it is clear that, by seeking to substitute and enforce a universal dominion of the Koran, in place of the universal destiny of the Gospel, which was already in course of realisation, the Arab Prophet only gave an historical expression to the essentially anti-Christian character both of himself and of his new religion.

Ibn Ishak's account of the transaction is in these words: 'One day, after his return from Hodeibia, Mohammed came to his companions and said, "O ye people! God has sent me to you with grace and to avert evil from you; therefore do not resist me, as the apostles resisted Jesus, the Son of

Mary." The companions asked, "How did they resist Him?" Mohammed answered, "He called them to the same thing to which I now call you, but only those whom He sent to a near place were content and did well, whilst those whom He sent to a distance were displeased and raised difficulties, whereupon Jesus laid the matter before God, and on the following morning all those who had raised difficulties spoke the language of the people to whom they were sent." Amongst the apostles and their successors whom Jesus sent forth, were Peter and Paul, which latter belonged to the successors and not to the apostles. These two were sent to Rome, but Andrew and Matthew into the land where people eat each other; Thomas eastward into the land of Babel; Philip to Carthagena, that is, Africa; John to Ephesus, the land of the sleepers in the cave; James to Jerusalem, the city of the Holy Temple; Ibn Talma (=Bartholomew) to Arabia, the land of Hejaz; Simon to the land of the Berbers; and Jehuda, who had not belonged to the apostles, was put in Judas' place.' Ibn Ishak also mentions the names of nine different messengers who had to carry Mohammed's letters to the following potentates: (1) to the Emperor of the Greeks; (2) to Chosroes, the king of Persia; (3) to Najashi, the prince of Abyssinia; (4) to Mokawkas, the prince of Alexandria; (5) to Jeifar and Iyaz, the princes of Oman; (6) to Thumama and Hawza, the princes of Yemama; (7) to Munzir, the prince of Bahrein; (8) to El Harith, the prince of the border districts of Syria; and (9) to the Himyarite Harith Ibn Abd Kulal, the prince of Yemen.

These letters may have made some impression on those recipients who lived near enough to see cause for apprehending that the Prophet might follow them up with measures of violence, such as he had already employed against the Jews and others. But what the biographers tell about the effects they produced on the Emperor Heraclius and the king of Abyssinia, who are represented as becoming fully convinced of Mohammed's Divine mission, and as only kept back from giving public effect to this conviction, by the dread of their Christian subjects, is plainly a gratuitous invention. Thus the Moslem historians seek to magnify the influence of their

prophet; but this only shows us what great need there exists for a wise discrimination, in making use of the Mohammedan biographies as sources of history. Probably Mohammed himself did not seriously expect that his letters and embassies would produce the effect which was their professed object. He may have imagined that the potentates whom he dared to address with such an air of authority, might, by silently ignoring or contemptuously rejecting his summonses, afford him a sufficiently plausible justification for the invasion of their countries by hostile armies, which he already contemplated.

In sending to Abyssinia, he had the additional object of increasing his harem. For he aspired after the hand of Om Habiba, Abu Sofyan's daughter, who lived there as a widow, since her husband's death. The messenger who took the letter to Abyssinia was commissioned to bring her back with him. There also returned with him fifty other emigrants who now wished to join the victorious prophet, though perhaps some of them had not previously been professors of Islam, but stayed in Abyssinia for purposes of trade. They reached Mohammed when the conquest of Khaibar was barely accomplished, and he admitted them to a share in the rich spoil, as a token of welcome.

It is narrated that the governor of Alexandria, after having ascertained the Prophet's fancies, and probably in consideration of presents received from him, accompanied his answer with the gift of a white mule and two beautiful slave girls. One of the latter, a baptized Christian, Mary by name, became so great a favourite with the Prophet that she was envied by his other spouses. She gave birth to Ibrahim, the only son he ever had, but who died in infancy.

As regards his expectation of ultimately conquering Persia and the eastern empire of Rome, it was not so chimerical as it may at first appear; for he well knew the strength of his compact and daily increasing army of followers, and he was fully acquainted with the devastating wars by which, for a long time, those two neighbouring countries had been weakening each other, and preparing the way for the invasion and conquest of them both. The Emperor Heraclius was on his way to Jerusalem, to render thanks to God for his recent victories

over the Persians, when Mohammed's letter reached him. But far from showing any sign of a disposition to accede to the summons it contained, Heraclius stationed a large body of troops in the districts of the empire bordering on Arabia, to guard against any possible trouble from that quarter.

(12.) *Mohammed, with* 2000 *followers, visits the Pilgrim Festival, according to treaty-right, and, after despatching marauding expeditions to various parts, including one to Muta, finds a pretext for breaking the armistice and easily conquers Mecca with an imposing army of* 10,000 *men.*

Mohammed, having once risen to the comtemplation of early conquests in foreign parts, naturally redoubled his efforts first to consolidate and still further to extend his power within Arabia itself. The conquest of Khaibar which had greatly added to his sinews of war, was speedily followed by a series of smaller expeditions, despatched to different parts, under sundry chosen leaders. Thus we read of one, under *Omar*, against a Bedouin tribe to the south-east of Mecca, on the road to Sana and Najran; of one, under *Abu Bekr*, against the *Kilabites* in the Nejd; of another, under *Bashir*, against the *Morrites*, near Fadak; again of one, under *Ghalib*, against the *Owalites* at Mafaa, to the north-east of Medina; and finally of one, again under *Bashir*, against the *Ghatafanites*, in the neighbourhood of Khaibar.

But the crowning object of Mohammed's aspirations, for the present, was, to obtain possession of *Mecca* where, in consequence of his rapidly expanding power, the number of his secret partisans was daily increasing. Therefore, in spring 629, he gladly availed himself of the treaty-right, which he had acquired the year before, by visiting, with his followers, the national shrine from which they had been debarred for seven years. The occasion could be turned to account for strengthening the footing already obtained there, though the Meccans would, during the visit, haughtily retire from the city to its environs.

That the ostentatious observance of this prudent stipulation did not prove an insuperable barrier to mutual intercourse,

appears clearly from the fact that, though the Moslems were not permitted to extend their visit beyond the three days agreed upon, yet this short time afforded Mohammed opportunity enough to engage himself to another Meccan lady, Meimuna, the younger sister of his uncle Abbas' wife. He even proposed to celebrate the wedding there, and to regale the Meccans by a sumptuous wedding repast, which would, of course, have been a splendid opportunity for further lessening their remaining antipathy; but his proposal was looked through by the wary Koreish. Being not yet prepared, as a body, to humour him, they firmly insisted on his departure at the close of the stipulated three days, and his new bride had to follow after him, to be married during the return journey.

It was obvious to all that, even in this hurried pilgrimage, the Prophet's sole wish was not to give himself up to devout worship at the Kaaba, but that he, at the same time, pursued other and very different objects. He had come with 2000 followers, a sufficient force to make an impression on the city, though they were bound to deposit their arms outside the sacred territory, and to enter with only a sheathed sword on their side. They were left entirely unmolested, whilst they performed their devotion; and it must, of course, have been a secret satisfaction to the Meccans to see the Moslems, the reputed foes of all idolatry, pay such high honour to the national sanctuary, still full of idols. According to Ibn Ishak, many Meccans had remained in the city, and were standing in rows, 'to see what Mohammed and his companions would do;' and he describes the scene thus: 'When Mohammed entered the temple, he cast his garb on the left shoulder, so that his right arm appeared, and said, "May God be gracious to the man whom He shows them to-day in his strength!" Then he embraced the pillar and came out leaping, his companions leaping after him, till he was hid from them by the temple. After this, he embraced the pillar towards Yemen, and the Black Stone. Thus he made three circumambulations, leaping; and then marched again slowly.'

By publicly paying so much honour to the ancient temple of idolatry and its proud guardian city; by at the same time strengthening old ties of friendship and forming new ones,

amongst the citizens of Mecca; and by his quiet demonstration of power, at the head of such an army of devoted followers,—Mohammed decidedly advanced his cause during this pilgrimage, and effectually smoothed the way for his almost unopposed seizure of the city, a year later. Nothing shows more the success of these measures, and the attraction already possessed by Islam for military talent, than the fact that, almost immediately after this pilgrimage, the two great cavalry generals of Mecca, Khalid Ibn Walid and Amr Ibn As, who had taken a distinguished part against the Moslems at the battle of Ohod and the siege of Medina, openly went over to Mohammed, and took service under his banner in the rival city. Others followed their example, and many more became convinced of his ultimate triumph, and prepared to join him on the first occasion.

Not quite a year elapsed between this first successful pilgrimage to Mecca and the conquest of the city, with the sacred territory in which it was situated; and this short interval was again crowded with exploits of the usual marauding and military character. Only a few weeks after the pilgrimage, a small expedition, of not more than fifty warriors, was sent against the *Beni Soleim*, at some distance to the east of Medina. But having already been attacked once before, they were now on their guard, and so effectually resisted their invaders, that most of these were slain, and their leader fled back to Mohammed, wounded. To avert an attack in greater force, which they had now to dread, several of their chief men thought it best to treat with Mohammed, and to conciliate him, by promising him their conversion to Islam. These matters were so speedily settled, that, nine months later, we find 1000 Soleimites marching under his banner to the conquest of Mecca.

Another party of Moslems was sent against a section of the *Beni Leith.* Having arrived in their neighbourhood, they concealed themselves till night had set in; and when the Bedouins were fast asleep, they rushed upon their flocks and drove them away in great haste. Though hotly pursued, they effected their escape, being aided by a swollen brook.

To avenge the defeat inflicted on Bashir, 200 warriors were despatched against the *Beni Morra*, near Fadak, with

the injunction to kill all the enemies who might fall into their hands. Still, Mohammed afterwards rebuked them for having killed a man, who had professed himself a Moslem, at the time, though, in self-justification, they expressed their opinion that he had made that profession merely from the fear of death.

A small body of only twenty-four chosen Moslems was sent to attack a camp of the Beni Amir, a section of the hostile *Hawazin*. They were so successful, despite their small number, that each one's share in the booty amounted to fifteen camels. About the same time, fifteen men proceeded to *Zat Atlah*, north of Wadi el Kora and not far from Syria, where they were all slain by a party of Bedouins whom they had requested to embrace Islam, with the exception of a single one who returned to Medina, badly wounded. Mohammed would at once have sent a strong body of troops to punish them, had he not been informed that the victorious Bedouins could not be found, having quitted that locality.

But in the autumn of 629 he sent an army of revenge, 3000 strong, still further northward, for the bold purpose of invading the southern parts of the Roman empire. The Mohammedan historians affirm that one of the messengers, who was the bearer of a letter in which the Emperor Heraclius was summoned to embrace Islam, had, on his return journey, been slain amongst the Ghassanide tribe, in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. This death had to be avenged and, at the same time, a way was to be opened, if possible, to the much coveted riches of the north. The army was placed under the command of Zeid Ibn Haritha, who, as originally coming from Syria, may have had some acquaintance with those parts. When leaving, Mohammed told them that he expected to see them come back 'laden with spoil.' But though, a few years later, the overwhelming hosts of Moslem horsemen bore down everything before them, on this first occasion, notwithstanding all their bravery and daring, the comparative smallness of their number invited a signal defeat. It is probably a great exaggeration, when we are told that Zeid found himself opposed by an army of 100,000 Christian warriors, and that,

at some distance, another 100,000 of Imperial troops were in reserve; but of his being vastly outnumbered there can be no doubt.

The first battle on Roman ground took place at *Muta*, at the south-east end of the Dead Sea, the country of the ancient Moabites. In coming upon the enemy, the Moslems first retired to a favourable position and there awaited the attack in close lines. Their leaders dismounted, and Jafar, Ali's brother, is reported to have hamstringed his horse with his own hands, in token that he had discarded every thought of fleeing. The banner was held by Zeid, and as he was soon struck down, Jafar took it up after him, but met with the same fate. Then Abd Allah Ibn Rawaha seized it, and having both his hands cut off, pressed it to his body with the stumps of his arms, till he likewise fell. The Moslems were beaten and put to flight. They lost their bravest men, and would have suffered still more severely, had not the celebrated Khalid, though but a recent convert, taken the command, and with great dexterity somewhat restored the fight, so as to secure an orderly retreat.

The defeated army was coldly received by the people of Medina, who called them runaways; but Mohammed, who had been the first to make known the disaster, as soon as the news had reached him, defended them and expressed the conviction that they would resume the conflict in the future and amply make up for their late repulse. He much felt the loss of the slain who had so bravely defended themselves, and showed kindness to their bereaved families; but, to be able to avenge their death, it was plain that he would first have greatly to increase the number of his army. For the present he could only despatch a few hundred chosen men, under Amr Ibn As, the future conqueror of Egypt, who, by rapid night-marches, surprised and scattered the tribes on the Syrian border, and thus restored the Mussulman prestige in those quarters which had been dangerously shaken by the reverse of Muta.

Effectually to cope with the Roman power in the north, it was clearly necessary first to give greater strength and wider dimensions to the new Arab empire at home. This object was accomplished by *the conquest of Mecca*, whereby

that primitive barrier to Islam was converted into its lasting bulwark, and the way opened for the Arab tribes throughout the Peninsula to join Mohammed's cause in rapid succession. According to the agreement of Hodeibia, the peace between Medina and Mecca was to last for ten years. But two years had not yet fully elapsed, when a pretext conveniently offered itself to the Prophet for breaking it.

The Khozaite Bedouins, near Mecca, who, as has been already noticed (p. 192), had allied themselves with Mohammed, were attacked by the Beni Bekr, allies of the Koreish, because of some existing blood-feud, and lost a score of men in the encounter. They applied to Mohammed for assistance and accused the Koreish, against whom their alliance with the Prophet was mainly directed, of having abetted the Beni Bekr in the late fight. He now felt strong enough to deal a decisive blow against the city which had persecuted him, and therefore welcomed such an opportunity for reaching his goal. He promised the help which the Khozaites demanded, and at once made preparations for a war-expedition, on a larger scale than any previous one. Abu Sofyan went to Medina in person, to confer with the Prophet, who was now his son-in-law, and to smooth over matters, but, as might be anticipated, without success.

In January 630 we find Mohammed on the march against Mecca with an army of 10,000 men, all of them professed believers and including many Bedouins. We are not told, but can form our own surmises, whether Abu Sofyan's late diplomatic mission had resulted in a secret understanding with his son-in-law, to facilitate his taking the coveted city. In any case, we must allow due weight to the fact that in Medina he was the guest of his daughter, Om Habiba, one of the Prophet's wives. Thus it came to pass that the Moslem army, on its arrival, found the sacred city so little guarded and so little on the alert, that its approach was not known till it encamped at Marr el Zahran, close by, and its ten thousand watch-fires startled the deluded city from its false security. Mohammed's uncle, Abbas, is represented as having set out, at this very time, to emigrate to the city of his nephew; but he conveniently met him on the way, marching with his army, and therefore came back in his company.

Abu Sofyan also sallied forth, to ascertain what the thousands of watch-fires meant; and he most opportunely fell in with Abbas, who, on his own mule, took him at once into the presence of the Prophet. Here he became so deeply impressed with the irresistible power of the Moslems, especially when he saw the mail-clad *élite* of their army, that his religious scruples vanished in a moment, and he then and there made profession of his faith in Islam and its apostle.

Mohammed was mightily pleased with the submission of this his old antagonist and new father-in-law, and, to give an open expression to his feelings of gratitude, sent him back to the city, with the message of peace that all the inhabitants who would take refuge in Abu Sofyan's house, or in the sanctuary, or would quietly remain in-doors, might consider themselves safe. The people readily accepted Abu Sofyan's advice to abstain from every attempt at resisting the overwhelming forces of the conqueror. Mohammed, on his part, issued orders that no harm should be done to any, except those who might offer armed resistance. In four columns, from four different sides, the Moslem army made its triumphant entrance into the city, without encountering any opposition. Only the column commanded by Khalid was opposed by a small body of patriots. They killed two of the invaders, but were easily put to flight, with a loss on their side of twelve men, according to one account, of twenty-eight, according to another account.

Mohammed's *coup de main* had proved a complete success: the whole city lay prostrate at his feet, and the former objections to his prophetic claim had vanished as by magic. He could afford to be magnanimous: the city was spared, the kinship with the Koreish upheld and honoured, and a general amnesty proclaimed. From the amnesty, only ten persons, amongst them four women, were excluded, because they had personally insulted the Prophet or ridiculed his religion; but even most of these were finally spared, through their suing for pardon and making profession of Islam.

Mohammed lost no time in visiting the temple, riding round it seven times and saluting its Black Stone, as a public act of religious worship. He, indeed, ordered the idols which

it contained to be destroyed, and had the painted images on its walls whitewashed over; but the Kaaba itself was retained as the local centre of Islam and as the Kibla for all its worshippers. By this local feature impressed upon it, Mohammedanism must always appear stamped with a mark of inferiority, as compared to the sublime spirituality of the Christian religion, which it aims to supersede. Ibn Ishak records that, on the day after the conquest, Mohammed made the following public address to his assembled followers: 'O ye people! God has sanctified Mecca on the day He created heaven and earth; and it will remain sacred until the day of the resurrection. It is not lawful for any believer to shed blood in it, or fell a tree: it was not lawful for any one before me, nor will it be lawful for any one after me. It was only made lawful for me, in this hour, because of God's wrath against its inhabitants; and it has now been sanctified again, as before. Let those present make this known to the absent.'

So marked was now the Prophet's esteem and partiality for his native city, with its time-honoured temple, that his followers from Medina gave expression to their fear lest he should relinquish their town and remain here altogether. He had to appease them by pledging his word that he would never forsake them, but with them would live and with them die.

(13.) *After the conquest of Mecca, Mohammed's power rapidly increases, and he gains the important battle of Honein, which yields him an immense booty and leads to the capitulation of the rich town of Taif.*

The conquest of Mecca could not but enhance Mohammed's prestige and greatly promote the extension of his power and of his religion. Eight years ago he had to quit the town as a persecuted enthusiast and a despised outcast: now he had returned to it in triumph at the head of a vast army, before which every opposition had to cease. Two years ago it was permitted him, as a favour, to remain for three days with his followers, restricted to acts of devotion at its shrine: now the whole sacred territory was in his

possession, and his will the law paramount, to which the proudest of the Koreish had to bow in humble submission. The national sanctuary, which had hitherto repudiated him, was now converted into an institution which reflected and recommended to the multitudes of annually arriving pilgrims the religion he taught. At his command, the Kaaba was purged of its idols. He, by a sovereign disposition, confirmed to Othman the office of keeping its key, and to Abbas the privilege of providing the pilgrims with water. Before departing from the city, he appointed a governor to rule in his stead, and to lead the people in their public worship. He forbade idolatry in Mecca and despatched Khalid and others, at the head of armed soldiers, to destroy the idols of the land and to invite their worshippers to the adoption of Islam.

No wonder, the profession of the new faith spread most rapidly. With it, the military power which it implies, as an integral part, advanced apace. This found a striking illustration at this juncture. Mohammed had only remained a fortnight in Mecca, after its conquest, when he had to march out against the hostile camp which the Hawazin Bedouins had formed near Honein. Yet, during this short period, his army had gained an accession of no less than 2000 men from the conquered Meccans. For whereas he had arrived with an army 10,000 strong, we are informed that he could face the new danger at the head of 12,000 armed followers. This was very fortunate for him, because the enemy he had to encounter was of the same numerical strength.

The *Hawazins*, together with the confederate town of *Taif*, had perceived the imminent danger which threatened their own independence, from the moment that Mohammed had added Mecca to his dominion. They resolved to ward off, if possible, a similar fate from themselves; and their chief sought to stimulate them to a desperate resistance, by ordering all their women and children, as well as their treasures, to be removed to the camp. In consequence of this, Mohammed's forces suffered a check in their first onslaught, and his levy of new converts betrayed a strong tendency to bolt; but the tried and mailed portion of his army soon restored

the fight and obtained an easy victory over the undisciplined Bedouins, scattering them in all directions. A rich spoil fell into the hands of the conquerors, namely, 6000 captive women and children, 24,000 camels, over 40,000 sheep, and 4000 ounces of silver. The fifth part of this booty was claimed by the Prophet, as his share, and enabled him to reconcile the Koreish to the new order of things, by the bestowal of bountiful presents.

How munificently he treated the aristocracy of Mecca, whose conversion to Islam had so long formed a chief object of his desire, is seen from the fact that to Abu Sofyan alone he gave 40 ounces of silver and 100 camels, and an equal amount to his two sons Yazid and Moawia. This lavish liberality to the Meccans, whom he thus wished to bind to himself by the tie of self-interest, roused afresh the jealousy of his friends from Medina, so that he had to pacify them in these touching words, 'Are you sad on account of the earthly things which I have given to these people, in order to attach them to Islam, whilst I have full confidence in your faith? Can you not be content, if others return home with sheep and camels, but yourselves with the apostle of God?' The Hawazins also, with true Bedouin shrewdness, came forward to benefit by the Prophet's liberality to converts: they hastily made up their minds to profess Islam, and, in return, had their 6000 captives restored to them. Thus the result of the battle of Honein considerably added to the strength of the Moslem power. But this was not all; it materially helped to open the gates of the important town of Taif.

The *Thakifites*, or inhabitants of *Taif*, who had fought valiantly by the side of the Hawazins, as is known by their loss of 70 men killed, entrenched themselves after the defeat they had shared, behind the walls of their city. Mohammed besieged them for several weeks, with his whole army; but he encountered a most determinate resistance and could not break it, even by seeking to entice their slaves to desert with a promise of emancipation, or by adopting the barbarous measure of cutting down the vines in their renowned vineyards. Having lost quite a number of his followers in the attack, he thought it prudent to raise the siege and trust to easier means for their reduction. *Malik*, the commander-

in-chief at the battle of Honein, who on his defeat had taken refuge in Taif, was induced by promises and presents to quit his asylum and, after turning Mussulman, to place himself at the head of the recently converted Hawazins. He was enjoined to harass the population of Taif in every possible way, till they should be ready to submit. This method proved successful. The Thakifites, tired of the incessant warfare, and despairing of ultimate success against the rapidly increasing power of their enemy, sent a deputation to the Prophet, offering to accept his rule and his religion, in return for the protection of their persons and their possessions: a proposal he had confidently anticipated and with which he gladly complied.

(14.) *Mohammed starts with a military expedition against the Roman empire; but only reaches as far as Tabuk, whence he despatches some troops against Duma and then returns.*

The deputations from numerous Arab tribes, anxious to secure treaties of amity, by surrendering their liberty and faith—as we shall see in the next paragraph—had already commenced to arrive, when the ostentatious march to and from *Tabuk* was carried out. This was nothing less than a military enterprise, on a large scale, against the Christian empire of *Rome*, from which it became afresh manifest what bold and vast designs Mohammed entertained, whilst trying to melt the disunited Arab tribes into one compact nation. Two years had already passed since his despatch of special ambassadors to neighbouring rulers, amongst them the Emperor Heraclius, summoning them to submit to Islam. But the subsequent military expedition under Zeid, intended to be helpful in giving effect to that summons, only showed how much more difficult it was to make headway against the Emperor of Rome, than to subdue undisciplined Bedouin tribes; for Zeid, as we have seen, instead of conquering, was completely routed at Muta, and, with many of his companions, remained slain on the battle-field. Mohammed could not allow himself thus to be turned from his great object, an attack on the Roman empire, but kept it steadfastly in view, and placed it prominently before the eyes of the Moslem community,

determined to carry it out as soon as circumstances presented a fair chance of success. The Emperor Heraclius had likewise been shown by the affair of Muta what serious danger was menacing his empire from the south. It was, therefore, natural for him to keep considerable bodies of troops near the southern borders, ready to meet the Mussulman hordes, in the not unlikely event of a renewed incursion.

Mohammed, though probably not unaware of this, yet was resolved, by planning a war-expedition on the largest scale, to try the attempt afresh, of forcing open the southern gate of the Roman empire, strongly guarded though it was. The contemplated enterprise was indeed one of no common magnitude and difficulty; but his followers and allies had now swelled into an immense multitude, and so he lost no time in publicly making known his intention and ordering the extensive preparations requisite. Ibn Ishak says, 'When Mohammed undertook a war, he usually concealed his true object, by feigning another; but, in the case of the Tabuk expedition, he mentioned it at once, because of the great distance, the difficulty of the season, and the strength of the enemy to be encountered. In order that they might make the necessary preparation, he told them openly that they were to prepare for *an expedition against the Romans.*' He intended to raise a vast army with which he might overwhelm the Emperor's forces; and, if all the Bedouin tribes who were already brought under his suzerainty, had responded to his call and joined his standard, he might have commanded an armed host of a hundred thousand followers.

But the recently and superficially converted Bedouins showed no great disposition to be pitted against the Roman legions who had so gallantly defeated the flower of the Moslem warriors at Muta; and even in Medina itself, many searched for excuses to justify them in stopping at home. Some pretended that the heat of the season was too great for them; others, that the fruits of their gardens had to be gathered in; and some even, that they were afraid the beautiful Roman women might prove too great a temptation for them. To the latter Mohammed answered, that the temptation to desert the Prophet was worse than the temptation of the Roman women. The whole party known as 'hypocrites,'

or those who had turned Moslems against their will, from the mere force of circumstances, were thoroughly averse to the hazardous expedition, and anxious to escape from its hardships and dangers. Some of them are said to have been assembling outside the city in the house of Suweilim, a Jew; and when Mohammed heard of it, he sent a number of trusty followers and had the house burned over their heads. The other 'dissemblers and doubters' in Medina made the requisite preparations for the war, but formed a distinct camp under their leader Abd Allah Ibn Obei; and Ibn Ishak observes that the number of the dissemblers was supposed to have been not inferior to that of the sincere Moslems. It must have been no small disappointment to Mohammed to find that, at the decisive moment, when he issued the order to march, a very considerable body of men, with their leader, made excuses and stopped behind, so that, to prevent them from doing mischief during his absence, he had to request Ali, that formidable champion, likewise to remain in Medina.

But even the main army, gathered from so many tribes, was not free from 'hypocrites'; and Ibn Ishak informs us that some, with the intent of disheartening others, expressed their apprehensions, during the march, in words such as these, 'Do you suppose that a war against the Romans is the same thing as a war against the Arabs? To us it seems as if we were already bound with ropes, like captives.' Mohammed had also urged on the believers the duty of contributing money and beasts of burden to 'the cause of God,' as he was pleased to call this war-expedition. Many of the rich responded liberally, and Othman alone is said to have contributed a thousand gold pieces; but others were behindhand even in this, and the Prophet is reported to have said, concerning some of them, a section of the Aslamites, 'What hindered these people, if stopping behind themselves, from at least lending their camels to those who gladly march in the path of God?'

The army which Mohammed succeeded in collecting did not come up to the standard desired by him, as regards number and equipment. Ibn Ishak gives no particulars on these points; but later historians represent it as consisting

of 30,000 men, with 10,000 horses and 12,000 camels. If this is not an exaggeration, the force was still such as to cause surprise that Mohammed attempted no more with it than he actually did. He had summoned the people to a war against the Romans; but he arrested his northward march at *Tabuk*, little more than half the distance to Muta, where, the year before, Zeid had first met the Roman troops, and where he, no doubt, would also have found them, had he still had the courage to engage them in battle. But he had evidently given up his original intention and come to the conclusion that his safer and more prudent course was, to avoid a hostile encounter with the Romans. The multitude of his converts, about the hollowness of whose conversion he ought never to have entertained any illusion, sadly disappointed his expectation: the army was far less numerous than he had hoped it would be, and yet abounded in doubtful elements. Besides, he could not conceal from himself that the 'hypocrites' staying at home, constituted a most serious danger, especially if he were to meet with a reverse similar to Zeid's. Mohammed was always more distinguished for prudent calculation than for manly courage. He evidently shrank from attempting, with his not inconsiderable army, what a year ago he had expected Zeid to accomplish with a much smaller force.

At Tabuk he mounted an eminence, and, turning to the north, said, 'This is Syria;' then, turning to the south, said, 'This is Yemen,' as if content to leave the confines between Rome and Arabia undisturbed, for the moment. Ibn Ishak sums up the whole exploit in these few words, 'Mohammed remained about ten nights in Tabuk, and did not go beyond it. Then he returned to Medina.' His plan of invading and conquering Syria was postponed, under existing circumstances, but by no means relinquished. A year later, another army was equipped for the same purpose; and then Mohammed found it practicable to devolve the responsibilities and risks of commandership upon younger shoulders. The present much trumpeted expedition against the Romans dwindled down to a mere armed demonstration, to impress the border tribes with the stirring activity and

power of the Moslems, and to smooth the way for a future successful invasion of the empire.

Some practical consequences of an immediate character, resulting from the expedition to Tabuk, were a treaty with Yohanna, the ruler of a small Christian principality at Aila, or Akaba, on the Red Sea, who went to Tabuk and agreed to pay a capitulation tax, in return for the promise of friendship and protection; as also similar treaties, concluded with the petty Jewish communities of Makna, Jarba, and Azruh, in adjoining localities. Of greater importance was the despatch of Khalid from Tabuk, with a force of 420 chosen horsemen, against the oasis of *Duma*, where Okaidir, a Christian prince, ruled. He was taken prisoner, with his suite, whilst out hunting wild cows, and had to surrender his town and fortress, with all its arms, 400 mail-suits, and 2800 camels, to the hands of the exacting captor. He was brought to Medina, where he was induced to accept the conquering prophet's religion, in return for a treaty of amity, confirming him in the government of Duma.

On his return home from what proved to be the last expedition which he commanded in person, Mohammed showed his displeasure to 'the hypocrites' who had abstained from accompanying him. They were compelled to make a humble apology, and the mosque, which they had erected near Medina, and where they used to assemble together, was utterly demolished and levelled with the ground. Several men from amongst the professed Moslems who were not suspected of hypocrisy, and had yet remained at home, were put under a sort of ban, all the believers being prohibited from speaking to them, or having any dealings with them, for many weeks. Thus it becomes apparent that, even during the Prophet's lifetime, his followers were induced to keep and act together, more by fear and self-interest, than by purely religious and conscientious motives.

(15.) *The Arab power of resistance being broken by the rapid extension of Mohammed's triumphs, so many tribes are induced by fear and self-interest to send special Deputies to Medina, offering their submission to Islam, that the 9th year after the Flight is styled 'The Year of the Deputations.'*

When once Mecca, with its temple and sacred territory, had passed into Mohammed's possession, and the far-famed Koreish were enlisted under his banner, the most powerful influence existing in Arabia, from being exercised against him, as heretofore, was turned in his favour and contributed most effectually to the rapid extension of his dominion over the whole land. The national sanctuary of the Kaaba was now the local centre of Islam, and the annual pilgrimage to it, from every quarter, could not, therefore, but enhance the fame and power of its Prophet. The triumphant and ever-increasing hosts, whom he guided by his sovereign will, no longer met in Arabia with any truly formidable obstacle to their incessant advance. On the contrary, Arab tribes, from far and near, acutely appreciating the new situation, sent deputations, of their own accord, to arrange terms of friendship with the irresistible prophet and to share in the manifest advantages of belonging to the politico-religious organisation of his followers. So it came to pass that, before his death, all Arabia was virtually under his sway, and he could collect his hosts of emulating warriors, with the reasonable hope of proving a match for the weakened forces of the long-contending empires of Rome and Persia. After the battle of Honein, the advance of Islam to universal domination in Arabia had, in reality, become either a mere military promenade, or an easy triumph of diplomatic negotiation over parties, who clearly saw it to be their worldly interest to embrace the offered religion.

About two years before Mohammed's death, deputations began to be sent from every part of Arabia, offering submission and the profession of Islam. They soon became so frequent that the 9th year of the Hegira, from spring 630 to spring 631, is distinguished by Mohammedan historians as '*The Year of the Deputations.*' Ibn Ishak, in a passage

of his work, honestly tells us what, in his opinion, led up to so decisive a result, and unconsciously admits that it was not religious conviction, but political calculation and fear, which moved these tribes, one after another, to proffer their submission to the redoubtable prophet and accept the faith he pressed upon them with so much zeal. He says, 'When Mohammed had conquered Mecca, and come back from Tabuk, and when the Thakifites had been converted and taken the oath of allegiance, then deputations arrived from all parts of Arabia. For the Arabs had waited to see what turn matters would take between Mohammed and the Koreish, because the latter were the guides and directors of the people, the lords of the sacred temple, and the declared descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham. This was well known to the chief men of the Arabs, as also that it had been the Koreish who first gainsaid Mohammed and kindled war against him. As soon, therefore, as Mecca was conquered, and the Koreish had submitted to him, being humbled by Islam, the Arabs, understanding that they themselves had not the power to oppose Mohammed and make war against him, professed the faith of Allah.'

It is undeniable that the vaunted Deputations, recorded in honour of the attractive nature of Islam, mainly resulted from fear and from the secular pressure brought to bear on the different Arab tribes. Moslem bands of daring horsemen, under leaders like the irresistible Khalid, scoured the country in every direction, so that all the tribes who had not yet bowed to the new authority were in constant danger of sudden attacks, and could not lie down to sleep, without the harassing consciousness that prowling Moslems might pounce upon them during the darkness of the night, dealing death to the men, and carrying away the women, children, and flocks. Moreover, at the pilgrimage-festival in the 9th year of the Hegira, the existing covenant, that no one should be prevented from visiting the temple or be molested during the holy month, was formally annulled, as regards non-Moslems; and the believers received the injunction, 'When the holy months, granted for a respite, are over, then slay the idolaters where you find them, or take them captive, or shut them up, and lie in wait for them on every road; but if they

believe, say the prayers, and give the alms to the poor, then let them go free.' Mohammed, who but a few years ago had himself been excluded from the temple, and pleaded the common right of all to visit it, naturally did not care to give so unexpected and intolerant a message in person, to the collected heathen pilgrims, but preferred to stay at home and convey the declaration by deputy. Abu Bekr, who this year headed the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca, was already far advanced on the way, when Ali was sent after him, with the direction to accompany him to the holy city, and there publicly to proclaim the unwelcome message.

The disbelieving Arabs now could not help seeing that if they continued any longer in their old religion, they would thenceforth be excluded from their national sanctuary and have to bear the active hostility of the united and irresistible Moslem power. The only alternative before them was, either to embrace the offered new religion, with all its concomitant advantages, or to accept a mortal contest, with the certain prospect of defeat and galling subjugation. The choice could, therefore, not appear difficult to them. So, in like manner, the isolated Christian and Jewish communities, still surviving in distant parts of the land, could only avoid an exterminating war, by accepting Islam, or submitting to a vexatious capitation tax and other humiliating conditions. Individual conversions, mostly from interested motives, had been of frequent occurrence among many tribes; and the fanaticism of these neophytes, who fancied they possessed a Divine sanction for breaking all the ties of kindred, honour, and duty towards those of another faith, had caused a widespread distrust, a radical unsettlement of the notions of right and wrong, of honour and shame, hitherto prevailing in Arab society. Ancient bonds and bases being thus entirely dissolved, the need of a new stay and reuniting power was all the more generally felt; and such a centralising authority was now offering, or rather obtruding, itself in victorious Islam and its iron laws. What wonder, then, that during the last few years of Mohammed's life, deputations from the shrewd, keen-sighted Arabs all over the Peninsula, should crowd to Medina, as anxious to strike a profitable bargain with the compatriot prophet, as he was willing to

recognise their natural claim to his jurisdiction? The tendency towards Islam now assumed the form of a national movement, swaying the current of public opinion; and the cause which long had been the source of heart-burnings, violence, and bloodshed, was now rapidly becoming the strongest bond of union, the universally acknowledged authority amongst the countless tribes and clans of the Arab nation.

The Moslem historians delight in enumerating the different deputations, consisting of a few individuals, or of tens, or of hundreds, flocking to Medina, to profess faith in their prophet and submission to his laws. They arrived from every quarter: from the confines of Syria; from the provinces of Bahrein and Oman, on the Persian Gulf; from Mahra and Hadramaut, on the shores of the Indian Ocean; from Yemen in the south-west; from the widespread area of the central districts; and, in fact, from every part where the power of Islam had not as yet been established.

These deputations from distant tribes were generally presented to Mohammed in the mosque, after the public service, with the view of favourably impressing them; and, in their reception, he strove to fascinate and attach them by much affability and kindness, never forgetting to supply them with rich presents at their departure. He often granted special privileges of a worldly nature to those who solicited them, and showed an inclination to render the new order of things as little irksome as possible, provided always, that his authority as a prophet was accepted, idol-worship abolished, and the tithes and taxes regularly paid. Sometimes he despatched armed parties to destroy idols and shrines; and to the Thakifites he conceded, as a special favour, that their idol should be destroyed, not by their own hands, but by men whom he would send for the express purpose. Chiefs, as a rule, were continued in office, if they readily submitted to Islam; and to induce them to do so, the Prophet did not hesitate to unroll before their minds pictures of a most attractive worldly character. According to Ibn Hisham, the Tay-chief *Adi*, a professed Christian, took flight, when Moslem hordes seized his land, but afterwards was persuaded to visit Mohammed, who addressed him in these words:

'Perhaps thou declinest our Faith, because its professors are so poor; but, by Allah! the time is not distant when money will become so abundant that people will be wanted to receive it. Or art thou frightened by the great number of their enemies and their own fewness; but, by Allah! thou wilt soon hear that a woman can travel safely on a camel from Kadesia to visit the holy temple. Or dost thou refuse our Faith because empire and dominion are with others; but, by Allah! thou wilt soon hear that the white castles of Babylon have been taken by conquest.' Whether this conversation took place exactly as recorded by Ibn Hisham, or not, the fact, that Mohammed had already given a tangible form to his plan of conquering the northern countries, quite justifies him in not considering its substance improbable or unhistorical. He also narrates that Adi used to say in later times, 'Two of these prophecies are already fulfilled: I have seen that the white castles of Babylon have been taken, and that a woman can, without fear, perform her pilgrimage to this temple, riding from Kadesia on a camel; and the third, I hope, will also soon come to pass: such abundance of money that none will any more care to take it.'

(16.) *The superficiality of the Conversions and Compacts, effected by those Deputations, is illustrated by the instances of two Arab Tribes and of two Rival Prophets.*

That Mohammed, in seeking to make converts, gave so much prominence to purely secular considerations, argues ill for the spirituality of his own character, and throws light on the unsatisfactory nature of the conversions he aimed at, which plainly consisted of a mere outward change, or a substitution of one sort of religious forms and formulas, in the place of others. Heart-religion was of little moment to him, if only he obtained the profession of the mouth and submission to his legal enactments. Hence the conversions to Islam could be so rapid and so general.

What Ibn Ishak reports of the *Beni Saad* is very instructive, in this respect. They sent Dhimam Ibn Thalaba as their deputy, to bring about an arrangement with the Prophet. On arriving in Medina, he found him sitting in the mosque,

surrounded by his companions. He therefore tied his camel to the door of the mosque, and, being admitted to Mohammed's presence, addressed him thus, 'I adjure thee to tell me, whether God did really send thee to us as His ambassador and forbid the worship of idols, and whether He commanded thee to enjoin five daily prayers, alms, fasts, the pilgrimage, and other ordinances?' On Mohammed answering these questions in the affirmative, he forthwith exclaimed, 'I confess that there is no God but Allah and that Mohammed is His ambassador, whose precepts I shall obey, neither adding thereto, nor taking therefrom.' Then, untying his camel, he remounted and hastily travelled back to his tribe. On arriving, his first word to them was, 'The idols *Lat* and *Ozza* have been put to shame.' They called out, 'Keep silence, Dhimam! be afraid of leprosy, elephantiasis, and madness!' He answered, 'Woe to you: they can neither harm nor help.' Having added some further account of his visit, the effect was truly magic, and the historian describes it in these words, 'By Allah! before it had become evening, all the men and women in the whole camp were converted to Islam.'

Sometimes, when deputations, suing for treaties of submission, did not come forward as fast as Mohammed expected, he used means to bring them about, quite characteristic of his peculiar method. When the Christians of Najran, as recorded above (p. 138), had already secured a treaty for themselves, the *Beni Harith*, a heathen tribe of Najranites, were still sullenly holding back. Mohammed, apprehending that this might lead to unpleasant consequences, by unsettling others, despatched his daring cavalry commander Khalid, with a body of chosen troops, to either convert or conquer them. Khalid was instructed not to fight them till he had first, for three days, invited them to Islam and they had refused. Accordingly he sent forth his horsemen in every direction, calling out to the people, 'O ye Beni Harith, believe in Islam, and you shall be spared.' The invitation of these martial missionaries had the desired result. All the people turned Moslems; and the cavalry commander, as far as his own knowledge went, instructed them in the doctrine and usages of Islam. On writing to the Prophet whether he was to continue his teaching still longer, he was

directed to return home and to bring with him a deputation from those new converts, to solicit and receive a formal treaty. This was accordingly done; and when the deputies, on their arrival in Medina, wished to show some independence, and calmly reiterated that they were men who, after being beaten, returned to the attack, Mohammed cowed them by the declaration, 'If Khalid had not written to me that you did embrace Islam, without going to war, I should now lay your heads before your feet.' It is evident, therefore, that the treaties of amity, concluded with the deputations of so many different tribes, proceeding as they did from a sense of fear and worldly interest, were often of a very hollow character, and glaringly failed in establishing a state of mutual confidence and cordial agreement.

Sometimes they did no more than momentarily conceal and gloss over a still-continuing and deep-seated disagreement, which at any moment might break out into an open rupture. The treaty effected with the *Beni Hanifa* of Yemama was of this nature. Their deputation to Medina included *Abu Thumama*, who, in Mohammedan documents, figures only by the opprobrious appellative of '*Moseilama*' (*i.e.* 'the diminutive Moslem'). He claimed to be Mohammed's equal, entitled to share with him the authority over Arabia, and eventually to succeed him. Mohammed, as was his wont, received him in the mosque, sitting amongst his companions; and though we are assured that, in reply to the rival's demands, he, holding a dry palm-branch in his hand, declared to him, 'Even if thou wert to demand this branch only, I should not give it thee'; yet the subsequent pact seems to have resulted from concessions on both sides. Tradition affirms that Moseilama received presents, like his fellow-deputies, but that, on returning to Yemama, he apostatised, like an enemy of God, and began to speak to his people in rhyme, imitating the Koran. After a time, he despatched two messengers to Mohammed, to hand to him the following letter: 'From Moseilama,[1] the Apostle of God, to

[1] The reader will observe that the Mohammedan historian makes the rival prophet call himself by the nickname with which the Moslems invariably stigmatise him. This can hardly be in accordance with the terms actually employed in the letter.

Mohammed, the Apostle of God. Peace to thee. Then know, that I am thy equal in dominion: half of the land belongs to us and half to the Koreish, though they are evil-doers.' Having read the letter, Mohammed asked the messengers, 'And what is your opinion?' They replied, 'We speak as he does.' Thereupon Mohammed said to the messengers, 'If ambassadors were not inviolable, I should have your heads cut off;' and he sent them back to Moseilama with the following letter: 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! From Mohammed, the Apostle of God, to Moseilama, the liar. Peace to him who follows the guidance. Then know, the earth belongs to God, He gives it to the servant He pleases. The pious shall have a good end.' Notwithstanding this epistolary antagonism between the two rival prophets, the compact with the Beni Hanifa seems to have been silently admitted as still in force, inasmuch as we are not told of any open hostility or actual fighting between the two parties, till after Mohammed's death, when we find Moseilama a leading figure amongst those who made a desperate, though finally unavailing, effort to throw off and break the yoke of Mussulman domination.

If Moseilama of Yemama in the Nejd contented himself during Mohammed's lifetime with a war of correspondence, and a mere theoretical assertion of equal claims, another rival prophet who made his appearance further south, in Yemen, openly unfurled the banner of revolt, four months before Mohammed's death, and for a short time drew the whole southern portion of Arabia after him. This was *Ayhala Ibn Kab*, of the Beni Madhij, who is only known amongst the Mussulmans by the nickname of '*El Aswad*' (*i.e.* 'the Black'). He also had for a time professed Islam. But when Mohammed made sundry arbitrary changes in the governorships of the south, substituting men of his own choice, often strangers, to the native chiefs whom he had at first confirmed in their office, and when he directed the tithes to be forwarded to Medina, instead of having them spent where they were raised, Aswad availed himself of the general discontent caused thereby, drove the Moslem tax-gatherers out of Najran, and in a few weeks made himself master of the fortified

town of *Sana*, whose governor, appointed by Mohammed, fell in its defence. Aswad, to make his triumph more telling, forthwith espoused the governor's widow. This proved his ruin. For she was actuated more by thoughts of revenge for her former, than by feelings of affection for her present, husband. Mohammed, through his unscrupulous agents, who were amply furnished with means, found the way to Aswad's generals and to Aswad's wife. She herself placed a lamp to direct the assassins to her husband's sleeping apartment, where they foully murdered him. This is stated to have happened only one day before Mohammed himself breathed his last in Medina.

Mohammed must have felt the rivalry and hostility of Moseilama and El Aswad all the more deeply, as they are both reported to have, for a time, made profession of Islam. Ibn Ishak records a tradition according to which he said one morning, 'To-night I dreamt that I saw two golden rings upon my arm; but, being displeased with them, I blew upon them, and they flew away. I interpret this of the two liars, the lords of Yemen and of Yemama.' With a reference to the same inconvenient rivals, he is also reported to have said on another occasion, 'The hour of the resurrection will not come before thirty Antichrists will have risen up, pretending to be prophets.' But who can help seeing that his rivals, and any impartial persons, could with equal justice regard Mohammed himself as one of the thirty? If he treated as false prophets those who put forth claims similar to his own, in what character must he appear, if it is considered that he claimed to be equal with Christ, yea, even superior to all the previous prophets, as being their 'seal'? Moseilama and Aswad only wished to restrict his dominion within certain limits and to prevent his encroachment upon other parts of Arabia; but he aimed at subjugating the Christian world, as is seen from the summonses he sent to the Christian rulers, and from the humiliating capitation tax he imposed on the Arab communities who made their retention of Christianity a stipulation in the treaties to which they had to submit. By his own practice he has justified being himself called an Antichrist.

In connection with 'The Year of Deputations,' two in-

stances are mentioned by which *the anti-Christian character of his aims* becomes particularly apparent. When the deputies of the *Beni Sohaim*, connected with the Beni Hanifa, returned to their home, the Prophet, besides having imposed a treaty upon them, also gave them a leather bag full of water, wherewith he had made his ablution, adding this injunction, 'Having arrived in your country, demolish your church; then sprinkle the place with this water and build a mosque upon it.' And the *Beni Taghlib*, who sent a deputation of sixteen men, had to accept a treaty which, in addition to the usual burdensome stipulations, contained also a clause to the effect that, though they themselves might remain Christians, their children were no longer to be baptized, or brought up in the doctrines of Christianity.

These treaties, though Mohammed judiciously strove to make their conditions, at the first, as little galling as his vast and autocratic ulterior designs permitted, could not but be felt irksome and oppressive by tribes who hitherto were wont to manage their own affairs independently and without being interfered with by other tribes. The national movement in favour of Islam, which manifested itself by the arrival of a multitude of pliable deputies from every quarter, was spontaneous rather in appearance, than in reality. As a rule, these deputations were brought about by solicitations, very peremptory in tone, and by the application of more or less of direct and indirect pressure. Left to their own free choice, the tribes would have far preferred their ancient independence, with its relative weakness, to their union under the iron yoke of Islam, with its concomitant increase of power. Therefore Mohammed's great national work was not of a very sound and solid quality, as we can see from the fact that it threatened altogether to crumble to pieces, the moment he closed his eyes in death. But for the present, and in appearance, Mohammed's plan had proved completely successful; and the prophet of Medina, by means of the formidable military power which he had called into existence, ruled with the sovereign authority of an autocrat, over all the multitudinous tribes of Arabia.

Arrived at this pinnacle, he could afresh revert to his long-cherished idea, by preparing another serious attempt to invade

and conquer the Roman empire. But first of all he gave a grand spectacle to all Arabia, by exhibiting before their eyes the vastness of his success, in replacing the ancient religion of the whole nation by the victorious institution of Islam.

(17.) *Mohammed celebrates the Complete Triumph of Islam over Arabia, by attending the Reformed Pilgrim-Festival of the year* 632, *with a company of* 114,000 *Moslem followers.*

Meanwhile the season for the annual festival of the pilgrimage to Mecca had come round again, which appears to have always been celebrated in spring, about March; and Mohammed resolved to give it this time a character of unprecedented grandeur. It was at the Festival of the previous year that he had caused a proclamation to be published by his son-in-law Ali to the effect that then, for the last time, Pagans were admitted to share in the ceremony; but that thenceforth the privilege should be open to professed Moslems only. Thus this ancient festival of Arabian heathenism was at one stroke converted into an exclusively Mussulman institution, for all future times; and, as such, it was also a token and proof of the public recognition of Islam as the national religion, for the whole of Arabia. Mohammed determined, formally to usher in this new era of the complete national triumph of the religion whose prophet he was, by arranging a pilgrimage for the spring 632, on the grandest scale, and by joining it in person, with his entire household. To make known his intention, he sent out messengers in all directions. The professors of the new religion responded to the call in vast numbers. It is recorded by some Mohammedan historians that the Prophet's retinue on this occasion consisted of 114,000 persons; by others, of 124,000; and again by others, that the multitude of pilgrims, accompanying him, was so immense that none, save God, could know their number. Ali was at this time commanding a body of troops in Najran, and therefore took Mecca on his march back, arriving early enough to have a share in the sacrifices at Mina. No special mention is made of the Prophet's concubines; but all his surviving married wives,

nine in number, he took with him, having them comfortably seated in litters, on the backs of camels. Starting from Medina five days before the beginning of the month of pilgrimage, the caravan reached the sacred territory in very good time; and Mohammed made his entrance into Mecca from the same gate by which he had entered it, as its conqueror, little more than two years before.

During the following days he went through the accustomed ceremonies, as they had to be performed in the sundry traditional spots of the sacred locality, only making slight alterations here and there, and omitting throughout whatever had been a direct homage to idols. On the tenth day of the month, the high day and climax of the entire festival, the offering of animal sacrifices took place at Mina. Whoever had brought animals for that purpose, slew them, and divided amongst the people the flesh he did not require for his own use. So abundant was the flesh, that it could not be consumed at once, but had to be cut in slices and dried in the sun, for future use. Mohammed alone had brought with him 100 camels, intended for sacrifice. Of them he slaughtered 63 himself, by cutting their throat with his own hand. This number, as the historian observes, corresponded to that of the years of his age. The remaining 37 camels he assigned to the hand of his son-in-law, Ali, to be sacrificed by him. The three days spent at Mina, when the sacrificing was over, were a time of feasting, merriment, and barter; and Mohammed is reported to have proceeded every evening to a certain spot in the valley, for the purpose of casting a number of little stones at the devil, in compliance with a superstitious custom of ancient date.

All the festival observances being finished, Mohammed and the rest of the pilgrims had their heads shaved; and it is mentioned that he distributed his hair amongst his friends for mementoes. His famous cavalry general, Khalid, received, at his special request, some hairs from his forehead, which he fixed to his skull-cap, as a talisman; and we are told that, in consequence, he was always victorious in his attacks on the enemy. After being shaved, Mohammed had himself anointed by his favourite wife, the youthful Aisha, with an ointment largely consisting of musk. The time for

observing the pilgrimage festival was now changed, and fixed, for the future, to be always the last month of the lunar year. Thus it happened ever since that, in the course of thirty-three years, it makes a complete circle through all the solar months. Ibn Ishak concludes his account of this celebrated festival in the following words, 'By thus performing the pilgrimage, Mohammed showed its usages to the people and instructed them in the Divine precepts respecting it, as also concerning the halting-places, the stone-casting, the circumambulation of the temple, and the things allowed and forbidden during the pilgrimage. Hence this is called the "*Pilgrimage of Instruction*," and also, on account of its being the last performed by Mohammed, the "*Farewell Pilgrimage*."'

This ostentatious visit to the sanctuary of his native city, which was now entirely under his control, and from which every one who rejected his pretensions to sovereign authority in civil and religious matters, was rigidly excluded, shows Mohammed at the height of his success and in the plenitude of his power. Surrounded by a vast army of followers, from all parts of Arabia, he reformed the national sanctuary at his will, and reconstituted it as the local centre of his new religion and the annual rendezvous of its votaries. This reformed, that is, purely Mussulman, pilgrimage, whose first celebration by its author proved also his last and his final *farewell*, was in fact the initiation of a lasting institution of *welcome* to all future Moslem generations, from every quarter of the globe. Hither they were to direct their steps, once a year, as obedient, humble pilgrims, and hence they were to carry back to their homes a deeper sense of mutual brotherhood, a livelier appreciation of the common faith and the common interests, and a more fanatical zeal to make their cause triumphant throughout the world, by every means in their power. Mohammed's farewell pilgrimage was the crowning of his successes, the zenith of his power. He had triumphed over every obstacle and rendered his cause undeniably victorious. But he had achieved his triumph by force, by fear, and by fraud. Therefore the proud edifice he left behind him to the world, was lacking in solidity, and contained within itself the germs of inevitable decay. These, however, could not fully develop till after his death.

(18.) *Mohammed seeks to tighten his grasp on Arabia by the despatch of Collectors or Residents to its different provinces, and then directs his earnest attention to a fresh attack upon the Roman empire, by collecting an army to invade Syria.*

Returned from his pilgrimage, and conscious of the great power which he wielded, and with which the immense multitude of pilgrims had just strongly impressed him, Mohammed speedily reverted to his grand idea of conquering Syria and began active preparations for making another vigorous attempt in that direction. He had reached Medina before the end of March 632; but finding that Badzan, the chief of Yemên, whom he had confirmed in his post after making his submission, had just died, his attention necessarily had first to be directed to affairs in the south. He permitted Shahr, Badzan's son, to succeed his father at Sana; but ordained that the highest political power should pass into the hands of Mohajir, whom he had sent thither from Medina as collector of the taxes. Similar collectors of taxes and political agents had, for some time past, been sent forth from Medina, to promote the interests of Islam, by replenishing the Prophet's treasury and by controlling the action of the native chiefs. Ibn Ishak furnishes us with the following list of such collectors or residents: *Mohajir* to Sana, *Ziyad* to Hadramaut, *Adi* to the Beni Asad and Tay, *Malik* to the Beni Hanzala, *Ala* to Bahrein, *Ali* to Najran.

What the biographers say about this last-mentioned mission requires some elucidation. Ali was sent at the head of a body of troops to that portion of Najran which had already made its submission, in order to 'collect the alms and the capitation-tax.' This mission seems to have taken place in the summer of the year 631. Some time after he had left, Khalid was despatched with more troops to second him, and received the instruction, 'If you meet, then Ali is to have the chief command.' We do not read that they met, but Khalid remained in Najran and brought the still refractory Beni Harith to terms. Their deputies accompanied him to Medina, to make their submission to

the Prophet in person, according to superior orders, and Ibn Ishak remarks that they returned to their own country 'not quite four months before Mohammed's death,' that is, about a month before the farewell pilgrimage. Ali appears to have marched further south than Khalid, to the remoter parts of Yemen, but to have returned to Medina about the same time as he did. Now as Ibn Hisham states that Ali, at this period, undertook *two* expeditions to Yemen, he can only have remained a very short time at head-quarters, and must have started again soon after, with a fresh body of troops. In all probability the object of this second mission was, to keep order and quiet in the province, whilst the collector, who had been sent in company with the returning Najranite deputies, was entering upon his unpopular office. It must have been at the close of this second expedition, that he rejoined Mohammed, during the farewell visit to Mecca in March 632, as already mentioned. His own actual collectorship can only have lasted a very short time.

The great number of men who were responding to Mohammed's pressing invitation to swell the bulk of his followers, on his ostentatious pilgrimage to Mecca, naturally caused, by their departure from home, an almost complete disappearance of the more decided and trusted supporters of Islam. Ali also, with his army, departing soon after, to join the pilgrim-throngs at Mecca, still further denuded the south of the guardians of public tranquillity. This was seized upon by those who had only from sheer necessity submitted to the new order of things, as the opportune moment for casting off the hated yoke of Mussulman domination. The rival prophet, El Aswad, as we have already seen, forthwith placed himself at the head of the discontented, and, for the brief space of two or three months, held up the banner of independence in the south. The patriots of Najran received him with open arms, and Mohammed's delegate had to flee for his life. As Mohammed had hitherto pursued the political aim of 'Arabia for the Arabians,' so El Aswad, in adapting the same principle to his own circumstances, insisted on the project of 'The South for the Southerners,' and treated Moham-

med's collectors and plenipotentiaries as odious intruders. In a letter addressed to Moadz, Mohammed's political Resident in southern Yemen, El Aswad used the bold language: 'Give back to us, ye intruders, the land which you have seized, and restore to us in full what you have taken from us.'

These occurrences wore a sufficiently threatening aspect to engage Mohammed's serious attention, when their report reached him after his return from the farewell pilgrimage. For a few weeks they kept his settled designs upon Syria in the background. But to get rid of a dangerous adversary and rival, this fighting prophet possessed such great means, and had such little scruple in using them, that the rising of Aswad did not cause him great alarm, or turn him aside from his northern scheme. We have already seen that Sana, the capital of Yemen, which was the scene of Aswad's great triumph, also shortly after witnessed his assassination. Mohammed had not found it necessary to despatch a great army to the south: he accomplished his object in a simpler way, by applying a golden key to those in whom his rival trusted.

As soon as Mohammed had made arrangements to restore his supremacy in the south, by such easy means, he felt again at liberty to direct his whole attention to the renewal of attacks on the Roman empire, which he still contemplated as the consummation of his long-cherished and far-reaching plans. United Arabia, under his leadership, was not only to remain free from foreign domination and invasions, but it could aspire after subjugating foreign nations and supplying its wants from their riches. Towards the end of May, A.D. 632, two months after his last visit to Mecca, Mohammed issued orders to the people that the fighting men were to assemble, prepared to start on *a war expedition against the Romans.*

His own career was now rapidly drawing to a close, and the enterprise he thus commenced, but did not live to accomplish, fittingly crowns his life, and afresh reveals to us the ambitious goal to which it had long been directed. Mohammed began his activity as a prophet, by trying to make himself the supreme authority in heathen Mecca;

he spent the last ten years of his life as autocratic Ruler of Medina, whence he gradually extended his power over the whole of Arabia; and when death was already hovering over him, to snatch him for its prey, we find him absorbed in preparations for a renewed attempt to wrest dominion from the hands of the Christian Emperor of Rome.

In this last military enterprise it was not his intention to take the command of his army in person. His late experience with the expedition to Tabuk let it appear preferable for him to devolve the hardships and great responsibilities of such a campaign on younger shoulders. On the day following his call to arms, Mohammed sent for *Osama*, the son of his emancipated slave and constant friend Zeid, who had lost his life in the first invasion of Syria, which he commanded, and addressed him thus: 'Osama, I appoint thee Commander-in-Chief of the army. March against the infidels of the country where thy father has been killed. Set fire to their goods and dwellings. March rapidly, so as to arrive before tidings of thy approach reach them. If the Most High give thee victory, do not long delay in the country, but return hither. Take guides and spies with thee, and send on archers in front.' Is it not remarkable and characteristic of this martial prophet that his course was cut short in the midst of the bustle of preparations for such a war, and that he died with these orders for slaughter, fire, and devastation, as it were, still on his lips?

In confiding to youthful Osama so responsible a post, the acute prophet was not only guided by feelings of gratitude for his late heroic friend, but also by the shrewd calculation that a young man who burned with the desire to avenge his father's death, and gallantly to win his spurs as a successful commander, would carry out most faithfully and fully the sanguinary instructions given him. Three days after Osama's appointment, Mohammed was seized with a violent attack of illness, an acute form of remittent fever, which was not of rare occurrence in Medina. On the following day, when the malady was steadily settling on his system, he fixed the army's standard with his own hands and presented it to Osama, saying: 'Enter thou on the holy war, in the name of God, and in behalf of the religion of God, and fight every one

who disbelieves in Allah.' Osama, thus accredited and instructed, took up his quarters outside the city, in a place called *Jorf*, about three miles distant, where the army was to gather round him, and to get into a state of readiness for starting.

But as Osama was still very young for so important a post, only about twenty years old, and as experienced elderly men, such as Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman, etc., had to serve in the army, murmurs against the appointment soon became loud, and it was said: 'He has appointed this youth over the most noble refugees and helpers!' When this reached the Prophet's ears, he became very angry, we are told, and although fever and headache had already a strong hold on him, yet he left his room to ascend the pulpit in the mosque close by, and, with a cloth tied round his head, freely vented his mind to the people, saying: 'What word is this which has reached me from some of you, concerning my appointment of Osama as commander of the army? If you now object to his appointment, you also blamed that of his father Zeid, in the late expedition to Muta. But I swear by God that Zeid was a man worthy of the commandership, and that his son Osama is likewise worthy of it. Zeid was most dear to me, and his son also is one of those I love. Both of them are worthy the esteem of all good persons. Therefore, accept my appointment of him with pleasure, and fulfil your duties respecting it.'

Returned to his own room, the fever naturally became aggravated. Yet he still urged the departure of the army upon those of its leading men who, before leaving, paid him their farewell visit. But Osama was regularly informed about the progress and alarming character of the sickness, by his mother, who attended on the Prophet. He therefore delayed his departure under these critical circumstances. So it happened that he did not actually start till some time after Mohammed's death, when Abu Bekr, the first Calif, insisted on the despatch of the army, exactly as the Prophet had appointed it. The expedition retained the character, probably intended for it from the first, of being a mere sudden incursion to strike terror into the population of Syria, and as the precursor of a speedily succeeding permanent conquest.

(19.) *Mohammed is arrested in his career of conquests and sensuality, by the unsparing hand of Death.*

In the midst of the preparations for this unprovoked aggression upon the Christian empire of Rome, Mohammed was struck down by the interposing hand of death. The course of unrestrained sensuality, in which, for years, he had been indulging,[1] had a natural tendency to undermine his constitution and to ruin his nervous system—not of the strongest from the first—so that he had no stamina left to resist the ravages of disease. We cannot wonder that despite the exhilarating air he breathed, especially during his frequent war-expeditions, the oil of his lamp of life was consumed so soon. The fever which at last fastened upon him, exhausted his vital powers and caused death in less than a fortnight.

His illness began in the chamber of his wife Meimuna, whose turn it was to have him stay with her that day. From her he went to his favourite wife Aisha. She relates that, suffering herself also from headache, she called out, 'Oh, my head!' He said to her, 'Thy headache will pass away easily; but mine is one whose cure is difficult.'[2] So he went back to Meimuna's room; and as his symptoms grew worse, all his wives gathered there to see him. He asked them several times in whose apartment he was to be on the day following; and they, perceiving his desire to be with Aisha, consented with one accord to his remaining in Aisha's chamber for the rest of his illness, promising to come and attend upon him as occasion might require. Accordingly he removed from Meimuna's to Aisha's apartment; and the fever had already so much told upon him, that he could not walk the short distance without assistance. The malady progressed rapidly, and, with it, the distress he felt. He could not lie quiet; but, turning from one side to the other, restlessly threw himself about in his bed. So great was his impatience and disquiet, that Aisha felt called upon to rebuke him, saying, 'O Apostle of God, if one of us had been ill and shown so much distress and restlessness, thou surely wouldest have been angry with us.' He replied, 'O Aisha, my illness is exceedingly severe; and verily the Most High

[1] Compare Book II. Chap. II. Sec. ii. 4. [2] Compare also pp. 79, 80.

sends the severest troubles to the true believers; but He does so only with the intent of raising them to a higher degree and wiping out their sins, even if that trouble should merely be a thorn in their foot.'

Many visitors called to inquire after the health of their prophet. Amongst them was the mother (or, according to some account, sister) of Bishr. She relates that, finding him in a very hot paroxysm of intermittent fever, she thus expressed her surprise, 'O Apostle of God, I have never seen such fever as thine in any one else.' He answered, 'Therefore my reward also will be double that of others; but tell me, O mother of Bishr, what the people say about my illness.' On her replying, 'They say, the Prophet is suffering from pleurisy.' He said to her, 'It is not in accord with the goodness of the Most High to inflict that illness on His Prophet. The illness of which thou speakest is caused by Satan, and he has no power over me. My illness is the effect of that poisoned meat which I ate, together with thy son, in Khaibar. Many times have I suffered from it; but now I feel as if the artery of life was being cut through.' The historian, recording this interview, observes that in all probability God's purpose with regard to this poisoned meat was, that the Prophet might thus share in the dignity of *martyrdom.*

Remedies were indeed applied, as was sure to be done in the case of a sick husband, surrounded by so many anxious wives: but they failed in subduing the violence of the fever. Aisha remembered that, with the view of assuaging pain in himself and in others, her husband had sometimes uttered certain words of incantation, whilst stroking the affected parts with his hand. She, therefore, repeated the same words, and took his hand to draw it over his body. But he soon withdrew it from her, saying, 'Formerly such incantation did me good; but now it is of no use.' His fever rose so high that the burning heat of his body could be felt through the bedclothes. He had the sensation of a fire raging within his veins; and this suggested to him the application of a more drastic remedy which, however, only afforded him relief for the moment. He ordered that seven water-skins, never before used, should be filled from seven different wells and simultaneously poured over him. Accordingly they placed

him in a bathing-tub, belonging to his wife Hafza, Omar's daughter, and poured the water over him, as he had directed. But he soon made signs with his hands for them to desist; and the fever yielded as little to this sevenfold mixture of water, as to incantation. His strength decreased fast, and fainting fits supervened. During one of these, his wives dropped some medicine into his mouth, such as was used in Abyssinia against pleurisy. When he ascertained this, on recovering consciousness, he was so vexed with them that, sick as he was, he insisted on their all partaking of the same medicine, for a punishment. Every one of them had to swallow some of the objectionable drug in his presence; and it is expressly remarked that even Meimuna had to submit to the ordeal, although she was fasting at the time.

On the Thursday preceding his death, when his weakness was already very great and his mind clouded, he asked for writing materials, to make a last will, probably urged to do so by some interested person of his surroundings. As he left no son, and there were several parties looking forward to the privilege of succession, this caused quite a scene and unseemly quarrel in the very sick-room of the Prophet, several of the persons interested dreading lest he should bar their chance. Some were for complying with the sick Prophet's request; others loudly opposed it, on the ground of it causing him too great an effort, or, as being the dictate of a delirious mind, under the effect of a burning fever. So boisterous became the altercation, that the patient expressed his displeasure and relinquished his wish in anger. Yet we are told that, in this last illness, he bequeathed to his followers the legacy of three verbal injunctions. The *first* was, that they should drive all non-Moslems out of the country, so as to have only one religion in Arabia; the *second*, that they were to continue his practice of giving presents to Arab communities offering to embrace Islam; but the *third* is mysteriously withheld by the biographers, and may possibly have had reference to a successor, which it was deemed prudent to keep secret. Only so much he is reported to have said on this subject, that it was his wish the Califate should remain in the hands of the Koreish.

He also still found it necessary to exhort the Refugees

from Mecca and the Helpers from Medina to recognise each other's merits, and to exercise mutual forbearance and kindness. In the early part of his illness he freely conversed with visitors, and at the public prayers occupied his usual place in the mosque, to which he had a private entrance, by a door from Aisha's apartment; but for the last few days he was too weak to rise, and Abu Bekr, his father-in-law and old friend, officiated for him as Imam, by taking the lead in conducting public worship. On one occasion Abu Bekr was late and Omar took his place as Imam; but no sooner did Mohammed hear his voice, than he called through the window, opening into the mosque from Aisha's room, and ordered him to desist and to give way to Abu Bekr.

The Mohammedan biographers, in their account of their prophet's death-bed, as in fact of his life in general, make mention of many extraordinary circumstances, calculated to throw a supernatural halo around him, as, *e.g.* that, for the last three days, God daily sent Gabriel to inquire after his health; that, on the third day, Gabriel was accompanied by the angel Ismael, who was at the head of 70,000 or 100,000 angels, each one of whom again headed a like number of other angels; that the angel of death obediently waited outside the room, till the sick man gave him permission to enter; that the keeper of hell was ordered to extinguish the infernal flames, whilst Mohammed was passing by, on his way to heaven; that the houris of Paradise were requested to adorn themselves, and the angelic hosts received command to form in lines, in honour of the Prophet's advent to the celestial realms, etc. But no sober-minded person can for a moment doubt that these stories are wholly without foundation in fact, and are nothing but the gratuitous invention of friends and partisans, according to whose heated imagination the close of their prophet's life ought to have been thus marvellously distinguished.

In reality, Mohammed's death-agonies seem rather to have been unusually severe, than otherwise. We are informed that he alternately grew red and pale; that sometimes he pulled back his right, sometimes his left, hand; that large drops of perspiration, like pearls, fell from his cheeks; and that Aisha declared: 'Since I have seen his Excellency

yield up his soul with so much difficulty, I have no longer wished for an easy death: for if an easy death were best, God would certainly have chosen it for His Prophet.'

The circumstances of Mohammed's death were in keeping with his life: he was surrounded by a circle of nine surviving wives, to whom another was just about to be added (but who only received his matrimonial promise together with the tidings of his death); he expired in the apartment of his favourite Aisha, with his head reposing on her bosom, 'between her lungs and her neck'; and whilst he lay on his death-bed, his army was collecting at a small distance from Medina, for the purpose of carrying death and devastation into the Roman empire.

Who can help being struck with the contrast of all this to the close of the earthly life of Christ, who died upon the cross, and prayed for His tormentors: 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' Mohammed strove to supersede Christ: but how long the distance between them, how great the difference between their respective life and death! Christ was 'a prophet mighty in deed and in word before God and all the people' (Luke xxiv. 18), and sealed His testimony with His blood; Mohammed was a worldly ruler in a prophet's garb who, to extend his tyrannical power and compass his selfish ends, did not shrink from employing cunning, assassination, and war. Can any one, with the least spiritual perception, remain a moment doubtful as to which of the two deserves our confidence in the paramount concerns of the soul and of eternity?

(20.) *Mohammed has scarcely closed his eyes, when Discord amongst his followers threatens to break up the whole fabric he had erected: but Abu Bekr manages to be chosen as the first Calif, and, as such, takes up the plans of his late friend.*

The Arabian Prophet, not more than sixty-three years old, had hardly breathed his last, about noon on Monday, June 8th, A.D. 632, when the politico-religious structure he had reared, threatened to crumble to pieces; and those who had helped him in fabricating it, had to resort to the same sinister means which he had used himself, in order to keep it

together. Directly after he had expired, an unpleasant scene occurred between Omar and Abu Bekr, which is graphically narrated by Ibn Ishak. He tells us that, before the death had become known to the people generally, Omar thus harangued the dense congregation, assembled in the mosque: 'Some hypocrites assert that Mohammed is dead: but, by Allah, Mohammed is not dead, he has only gone to his Lord, like Moses who remained away from his people for 40 days and yet returned, after he had already been reported dead. Surely the apostle of God will return like Moses, and cut off the hands and feet of those who reported him dead.' Whilst speaking in this way, Abu Bekr, who had just had ocular demonstration of his friend's death, entered the mosque, and called out to Omar: 'Gently, Omar! Listen to me!' But he took no notice of him and went on speaking as before. Abu Bekr seeing this, now also began to address the people, who soon turned away from Omar and listened to him. Abu Bekr said: 'O ye people, whoever of you worshipped Mohammed, let him know that he is dead; but whoever worshipped God, let him know that He lives and will never die.' Then he recited the following verse, now incorporated in the Koran as verse 138, or, according to another division, verse 144, of the third Surah. 'Mohammed is only an apostle, and other apostles have died before him. Now if he die or be killed, will ye turn on your heels? Who does so, will not harm God; but God rewards the grateful.' Ibn Ishak proceeds to remark: 'By Allah, it was as if the people had not known anything about the revelation of this verse, until Abu Bekr recited it on that day. Then the people received it of Abu Bekr, and still have it in their mouth.' This quite looks as if Abu Bekr had improvised the verse for the occasion; and if we combine this with the fact that he, directly after, took up and carried on the Prophet's plan, so exactly in the Prophet's way and in the Prophet's spirit, we shall probably not go far wrong by surmising that these are not the only instances where Abu Bekr contributed in giving shape and substance to Islam. But whoever may have been the real author of this verse, it proved very opportune in calming Omar and bringing him over to Abu Bekr's mode of thinking.

It was plainly necessary that these two influential men, as well as the rest of the refugees, should show a firm and united front, in the present critical moment. For already the 'helpers' of Medina were assembling in a court of the Beni Saida, in order to appoint a chief from amongst themselves, in the person of Saad Ibn Ubāda. Abu Bekr and Omar hastened to them, the same afternoon, to prevent the threatening mischief. Matters indeed looked very grave. Mohammed had not yet grown cold, and was still lying on the couch where he had died, when his followers were already on the verge of separating into two antagonistic parties, the helpers and the refugees, whilst Ali and his friends kept aloof from them both. The helpers, or natives of Medina, formulated their grievances thus: 'We are the helpers of Allah, the army of Islam: but you refugees have come upon us, in a body, to tear us away from our root, and to deprive us of our dominion.' Abu Bekr, speaking the mind of himself and his fellow-refugees, replied in a very conciliatory tone, and said: 'You helpers certainly deserve all the good which you claim for yourselves: but the Arabs will concede the right of sovereign dominion to none but the Koreish. These are the centre of the Arabs, both as regards descent and habitation. Therefore direct your choice to one of their number.'

The helpers now showed signs of readiness to come to a compromise, and their speaker, by boasting of their strength, hoped to succeed, at least, with a proposal of such a nature. He said in their name: 'I am the stem against which the camel rubs itself, the well-supported date-tree: let, therefore, one chief be chosen from amongst us, and one from amongst you, the Koreish.' Thereupon the noise became so great, and the voices grew so loud, that a violent collision and final rupture seemed imminent. But Omar, who doubtless acted in unison with Abu Bekr, and probably under his thoughtful inspiration, suddenly led the way to a peaceable solution, by saying to Abu Bekr: 'Stretch out thy hand!' Abu Bekr having done so, he seized it and instantly took the oath of allegiance to him. The refugees, all of whom seem to have followed Abu Bekr and Omar to the meeting, forthwith did the same; and their example drew even the helpers after

them, who likewise took his hand and pledged their troth. The intended chief, Saad Ibn Ubāda, thus deserted, could easily be disposed of. Omar proceeds with his narrative: 'We fell upon Saad, so that one of them said, "You are murdering him;" but I replied: "May God kill him!"'

This looks remarkably like a *coup de main*, such as are not uncommon in the sphere of worldly politics; and the Arabs were too keen-sighted not to have viewed it in this light. Ibn Ishak records that, towards the end of Omar's Califate, some talked to him of overruling the choice of a successor, in favour of a certain individual, in case it should become necessary, and that they justified their intention by saying: 'Verily, the oath of allegiance to Abu Bekr was nothing but a surprise, which was afterwards ratified.' The public reply which Omar made to this suggestion shows, that he could not altogether deny this character of Abu Bekr's appointment, and that he justified it merely on the ground of its inevitableness. He said: 'Let none be so blinded as to affirm that the allegiance to Abu Bekr was only a *coup de main* which succeeded. For though it was such, God thereby averted evil, and there was none amongst you before whom the people bowed more readily than before Abu Bekr.'

By these efforts to prevent an open rupture between the helpers and the refugees, and to unite the leading men of both parties in the election of Abu Bekr to the Califate, the whole afternoon and evening of Monday were taken up. The great work remaining to be done on Tuesday was, to consolidate and secure the success of the previous day, by laying it before the general assembly of the Moslems, and by having it publicly indorsed by the entire population of Medina. For a Calif, once chosen and obeyed by all Medina, would be the exponent of a strong centre of power, for upholding the Koran and the Mohammedan institutions throughout Arabia, where the Prophet's death might possibly unchain centrifugal forces, similar to those which had so soon manifested themselves in Medina. Accordingly, on Tuesday, when the way had been sufficiently prepared amongst the bulk of the inhabitants, Abu Bekr occupied Mohammed's place in the mosque, and Omar, rising up

before him, addressed the following oration to the assembly, as reported by Ibn Ishak: 'O ye people, I have yesterday spoken words to you which I had neither found in God's Book, neither had the Apostle of God commissioned me with them. It had only appeared to me that Mohammed would direct our affairs by his last word. But God has left His Book amongst you, which contains the directions of His apostle. If you hold this fast, God will direct you by it, as He directed him. Now God has united you around the best amongst you, around the "companion of the Apostle of God," who had been the only one with him in the cave. Therefore arise and take the oath of allegience to him!' To this exhortation the whole body of Moslems at once responded, by taking the oath proposed to them, and thus ratified the arrangement and oath of the previous day.

These State affairs, claiming precedence before even the Prophet's burial, furnish us with a fresh illustration of the predominance of the political and secular in the system of Islam. Notwithstanding the intense summer-heat, prevailing at the time, the Prophet's dead body was left unburied, contrary to the universal practice, from noon on Monday, all through Tuesday; and it was not till late at night, between Tuesday and Wednesday, that the pressure of State business permitted a grave being dug for him. This was done in a corner of Aisha's room, on the very spot where he had died, and there his more immediate friends, during the hours of midnight darkness, consigned his mortal remains to the keeping of mother earth. He still tenants the grave which then received him; and no resurrection has as yet testified to his pretended equality with Christ, Whom he ventured to call his brother-prophet. For a time, the tomb was only separated by a partition-wall from the rest of the apartment, which continued in Aisha's occupation; but later on, the whole area was added to the mosque, of which it still forms part, and where it is annually visited by crowds of Moslem pilgrims.

No sooner had the news of Mohammed's death reached the city of his birth, than most Meccans, as Ibn Ishak records, wanted to throw off the fetters of Islam, which, for some years, they had been obliged to bear. Attab, Moham-

med's representative, who presided at public worship, became so frightened by the mutinous manifestations, that he hid himself. Many of those whom the Prophet believed he had effectually conciliated by rich presents, now wholly forgot the largesses they had received. But Soheil Ibn Amr, one of those whose present from the booty of Taif amounted to 100 camels, summoned courage, and openly declared in the name of other partisans, 'The death of Mohammed will only have the effect of increasing the power of Islam; and we shall not hesitate to cut off the heads of those whom we may have cause to suspect.' This show of a bold front had the desired effect. The people were afraid of the consequences of actual mutiny and re-assumed a quiet attitude. Attab left his hiding-place and once more became the champion of Islam in Mecca.

It was not equally easy, in other places, to suppress the anti-Islamic aspirations after freedom, which were not long in manifesting themselves all over Arabia. Ibn Ishak refers to the gloomy state of things in the following words: 'By the death of Mohammed great misfortune overtook the Moslems. I have been informed that Aisha said: "When Mohammed died, the Arabs rebelled, Judaism and Christianity raised up their heads, and the Hypocrites showed themselves openly. The Moslems resembled a wet flock on a winter's night, because of the loss of their prophet, until God re-united them round Abu Bekr."'

But Abu Bekr, the Prophet's devoted friend from the first, whose calm reflection and open-handed liberality had been no strangers to the development and successes of Islam thus far, also proved the right man for the present emergency. He was fully imbued with the spirit of his late friend, thoroughly acquainted with his aims and plans, and, on being chosen for his successor or Calif, was found in every way qualified to maintain and extend the Islamic commonwealth, by the same means and tactics by which it had been founded. Despite the advice of some, to keep back the army intended for an attack upon Syria, or, at least, to replace its youthful commander by an older and more experienced man, Abu Bekr insisted on carrying out the prophet's wishes to the letter, and on doing so at once.

Osama crossed the borders of Syria; spread death and desolation before him, as he advanced; committed to the flames what he could not carry away; and after having avenged his father's death, and the disaster of Muta, by devastating that whole neighbourhood, he, with his army, returned to Medina in triumph, having carried out his movements with such rapidity that the whole expedition lasted only little more than a month.

This speedy return of the army was most opportune and necessary; for already the contagion of disaffection and opposition to the Moslem rule was openly showing itself far and wide amongst the Arab tribes; and the rival prophets, Toleiha and Moseilama, lost no time in availing themselves of the anti-Mohammedan movement. Abu Bekr and his friends saw clearly that boldness and physical force were indispensable, to maintain the cause established by wiliness and warfare. The Calif had already intimated the warlike nature of the policy he intended to pursue, when, in the public speech by which he acknowledged his election, whilst Mohammed was still lying unburied, he used these words: 'Never did a people desist from warring in the cause of God, without God delivering it over to shame; and never did a people commit flagrant acts, without God bringing misfortune upon it.' It was no easy matter to secure the domination of Islam by the force of arms. But what Mohammed had accomplished, with scantier resources, could assuredly also be done by his successor, with far ampler means.

The great advantage on Abu Bekr's side was, that his party was compact, being held together by a rigidly enforced discipline; that they were conscious of fighting for their very existence, defeat meaning ruin; and that, for a considerable time, warfare had been their regular employment, by which they had been converted into practised warriors, accustomed to act together with one common purpose, always ready for war, like a standing army, and having learnt to fight with the hope of victory, even against superior numbers. Abu Bekr felt all the confidence of superiority on these grounds, and was fully aware of the martial inferiority of his adversaries from corresponding disadvantages. Thus

the Calif could venture to divide the bulk of his military forces into smaller armies, and, placing them under efficient commanders, send them forth in every direction, wherever they were most needed at the moment. Resistance was borne down with great rapidity, by the united onslaught of these fierce and valiant corps of Mussulman warriors. The isolated Arab tribes were no match for the iron union of martial Islam.

Only, in the centre of the Peninsula, the rival prophet Moseilama had collected around him so powerful an army, that he could rout two Moslem corps which successively advanced against him. But when the able and daring Cavalry-General Khalid, who till then had been ruthlessly quelling the anti-Islamic rebellion further north, arrived on the field with a fresh army, flushed with a succession of victories, his impetuous valour and dexterous generalship soon prevailed; and the opposing army was completely overthrown with great slaughter, though not without severe losses to the Moslems themselves. By this crushing defeat of the Beni Hanifa in Yemama, in which Moseilama himself lost his life, being afterwards discovered under a heap of slain, the backbone of the general but disunited resistance to Mussulman rule was broken; and, before Abu Bekr had completed the first year of his Califate, all Arabia was compelled to acknowledge his sovereign authority.

With Arabia at his feet, the Calif had his hands free to resume the cherished plan of foreign conquests. This opening prospect of abundant plunder was, at the same time, also the best means for keeping together in one commonwealth the multitude of reluctant and inwardly disunited Arab tribes, by beckoning them to a common goal of self-interest, possessing irresistible attraction to the marauding instincts of the whole nation. What wonder, then, that already in the second year of Abu Bekr's Califate, we find the hungry and fanatical hosts of Arab warriors leaping the northern boundaries of their Peninsula and casting themselves, almost simultaneously, on the already much-weakened empires of Rome and Persia.

This is the manner in which Abu Bekr understood and carried out the duties bequeathed to him by the author of

Islam; and thus it came to pass, that the Mohammedan armies entered upon that furious march of conquest through the world, the track of which has been lurid for centuries with fire and blood. Now, as the saying is true, that the nature of a tree becomes known from the fruit it bears, so also we may be prepared, by what has hitherto passed in review before our eyes, to admit that the untold miseries and woes which the politico-religious amalgam of Islamism has, age after age, inflicted on mankind, as the pages of history testify, are really the outward and tangible manifestation of its true inward nature. As such they revert, in due proportion, to the prophet and author of the system, their indirect cause, and brand them both with the stigma of well-merited reprobation.

BOOK II.

Mohammed viewed in the Moonshine of Tradition.

THE object of the First Book was, to set forth Mohammed in his true historical character, as, from the materials and data transmitted to us, he can be conceived to have lived and acted, to have been influenced by his surroundings, and to have exercised an influence upon others. Our historical information concerning him being derived almost exclusively from his enthusiastic admirers and implicit believers, the picture with which they have furnished us is not the least likely to do injustice to the actual man. It might possibly have had to be drawn still more to his disadvantage, had the stream of Mohammed's history flowed from purer and less partial sources. It was a plain duty for the author, in availing himself of the material at our disposal, to make use of a due measure of critical discrimination, and to put the reader on his guard against the exaggerations of blindly uncritical narrators.

In this Second Book the author's duty is changed. He no longer aims at placing before the reader an image of the Arabian Prophet, as he actually lived in the body; but he wishes, by mere literal quotations from professed Mussulman writings, to illustrate how the glowing imagination and devout admiration of the Moslem believers have metamorphosed him, and enveloped the genuine natural original in the fictitious halo of a dazzling radiance and a supernatural glory.

There can be no doubt, that the first impulse to this transfiguration of the eminently earthly Prophet into the all, but in name, superhuman Apostle and transcendent Favourite of God, was given by Mohammed himself. What

we have seen of him in the First Book must have sufficiently convinced us that he was by no means given to the rationalistic method of seeking to explain supernatural things by natural causes; but that he was rather prone to raise himself in the estimation of others, by imparting a miraculous colouring to things perfectly natural. From the moment he affirmed himself to be equal, nay superior, to all the preceding prophets, as their chief and seal, he was almost compelled also to claim ascendency over them as the recipient of Divine favours. This he must have found very difficult, especially with regard to Jesus Christ; and it could not but draw him on to very hazardous assertions.

His partisans soon understood how he wished to be estimated by them, and that it was their interest to please him by responding to his wishes. Once having indorsed his pretension of being God's highest Apostle, they became naturally disposed to attribute to him what they fancied so transcendent a dignity should actually comprise. They reasoned thus, if they reasoned at all, 'Mohammed is the last and greatest of the prophets; and therefore it is but right and fitting that he should possess, in a superlative degree, those gifts and favours which distinguished former prophets.' In this way the true dimensions of their prophet's figure imperceptibly magnified themselves to them into gigantic proportions; more especially after his death, when they looked at him through the radiance of almost unexampled military glory and undreamt-of riches of spoil. The not unnatural admiration of his successes soon degenerated into a superstitious credulity, which accepted whatever was told about him, with all the greater avidity, the more extraordinary and fantastic it appeared. To the dazzled vision of devout Moslems, a story possessed the highest degree of probability, when it most tended to raise the founder of their triumphant religion far above any other messenger of God.

Hence we find that what is to correspond, in Mohammed, to the 'signs and wonders' of former prophets, notably of Jesus Christ, assumes such an offensively grotesque and utterly incredible character. What an immense contrast between the miracles of the Bible and the miracles of Moslem

Tradition! The Biblical wonders resemble beautiful flowers of Paradise, springing up from a purely ethical ground, where the ever-faithful God of Love pities the need of His children, hears their prayers, and helps them. The Mohammedan marvels look like unreal phantoms of the air, produced for the purpose of ostentatious display, and result from an unethical trifling with the supernatural. The miraculous works of Jesus Christ were deliverances from death, disease, and distress, with the only exception of the withering of a fruitless fig-tree, as the symbol of the punishment awaiting a favoured nation in which God looks in vain for the fruits of repentance and righteousness. But even this one exception, how favourably does it compare, on the ground of reasonableness and chaste propriety, with the date-tree which is said to have been caused by Mohammed's prayer to grow forth from a camel's hump, and instantaneously to bear fruit of which a whole assembly of men could eat, the dates being exceeding sweet to the palates of believers, but becoming stones in the mouths of unbelievers! or with the other tree which, in obedience to a message sent by Mohammed, swayed from side to side, as is reported, in tearing up its roots, and walked to his Excellency, greeting him with the salutation, 'Peace be on thee, O thou Apostle of God!'

Surely the extravagant descriptions of Mohammed's supposed 'excellencies' and 'miracles,' by which Mussulman devotees have sought to sustain his pretension to the highest rank amongst God's ambassadors, can only lower him in the estimation of truth-loving men, whose sense of religious propriety and spiritual decorum is not vitiated; and invest him, to their view, with the character of prophetic charlatanism and religious monstrosity. Reading an account of Mohammed's fictitious virtues and fantastic miracles, after perusing the Scriptural record of God's true prophets and their wondrous works of faith, is like turning from a sunny walk through life-teeming nature to the unrealities of a phantasmagoria.

The author is fully conscious that this is strong language concerning a character which the many millions of Moslems throughout the world regard with religious reverence and

superstitious devotion; but he confidently anticipates that it will be fully justified and deliberately indorsed by all his Christian readers who pay due attention to the subject. It can hardly be otherwise than that every one, whose judicial faculties have matured under the influence of Christian truth, should at once discover a repulsive and truly blasphemous caricature of the Divine beauty of the Son of Man, if he carefully peruses the following pages in which Mussulman pens have so hyperbolically described, and so excessively coloured, the physiognomy of the author of Islam.

The image now about to be unrolled is not that of the historical Mohammed, as he actually lived in the flesh, an Arab amongst the Arabs, but that of a *mythical* Mohammed, as he was portrayed by the vivid imagination of his uncritical admirers, on the ground of outlines drawn by himself. Stories which had come into circulation about the Prophet, with his ready connivance, were embellished on their passage by his admirers. What was known of the lives of previous prophets was exaggerated to suit the conception of the chief and seal of all the prophets, such as Mohammed claimed to be, and was most unscrupulously applied to him. He had to unite in himself the excellencies and virtues of all former prophets, and something more. His biographers looked at his person through this magnifying mirror. It is mainly this unnaturally magnified, this unhistorical, and fictitious Mohammed, who sways the hearts of the Moslems and keeps them from recognising in Jesus Christ the true Saviour of man, 'the Way, the Truth, and the Life,' in the full sense of the word. But this supernatural halo, this transcendent glory, with which he shines in the following pages, is not really his own. It is a borrowed lustre, just as the moonshine of the night is merely a dim reflection from the king of day. As the moon unconsciously bears witness to the glory of the sun, so also the so-called 'Light of Mohammed' involuntarily testifies to the primeval glory of Him who said, 'I am the Light of the world' (John ix. 5).

CHAPTER I.

THE BIOGRAPHIES OF MOHAMMED BY MOSLEM AUTHORS, ATTRIBUTING TO THEIR PROPHET AN EQUALITY WITH, OR EVEN A SUPERIORITY TO, THE PROPHET OF NAZARETH, APPEAR IN THE LIGHT OF A THINLY DISGUISED PLAGIARISM OF THE EVANGELICAL RECORDS, AND MOHAMMED HIMSELF AS AN OBVIOUS PARODY OF JESUS CHRIST.

REMARK: In the following numerous illustrations of the subject of this chapter, the method, uniformly observed, is: first (*a*) to point out the Christian Original, by the quotation of a few verses from the Bible; and then (*b*) to show the Mohammedan Imitation thereof, by a literal translation of ample portions from Moslem biographical works. The reader is requested to remember that what he is reading about Mohammed, in both the chapters of this Second Book, is merely a faithful translation of Mohammedan records, and not a statement of the author's own opinion, or an indorsement of those records. Only the headings of the first chapter and the footnotes of both, conveying the requisite explanations and elucidations, are by the author.

(I.) *Pre-existence is ascribed as first to Christ, so afterwards to Mohammed, and each of them is represented as the Cause or Medium of the existence of all other creatures.*

a. In the New Testament we are taught that Jesus Christ had *pre-existed*, before He came to live the life of man upon this earth; and that *all things received their being through Him.* St. John opens his Gospel thus, 'In the beginning

was the Word (=*Logos*), and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made' (John i. 1-3). St. Paul, in writing to the Colossians, refers to the same subject, Jesus Christ, in these words: 'Who is the firstborn of every creature: for by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him; and he is before all things, and by him all things consist' (Col. i. 15-17).

b. In Mohammed's biography, '*Rawzat ul Ahbab*,' we read as follows: 'The learned doctors of religion differ as to which thing was the first of the creatures. Some regard Reason (=*Logos*), others the Pen (=*kalam*, with which destiny was written), and, again, others the Light of Mohammed's prophetship, as the first created thing. Each of these views is supported by tradition. If all three views are true, they can best be thus reconciled, that absolutely the first creature is the Light of our Prophet; and that the priority of Reason and the Pen is only qualitative, *i.e.* Reason is the first created power, and the Pen the first created substance. But there are men of deep research who hold that these three expressions mean one and the same thing, which, being considered from different points of view, is called by different names; that is to say, this one and self-same thing is called Reason, because it knows itself and its origin, and comprehends all other things; Pen, because by its instrumentality the impresses of knowledge upon the Preserved Tablet and other works, were made; and *Light of Mohammed*,[1] because all perfections possible are but rays of this Light. In some books of history it is recorded that Ibn Abbas said: The first creature which God made was a Pen, whose length was 500 years, and its thickness 40 years. When God said to it,

[1] 'The Light of Mohammed' is apparently a counterfeit of the δόξα τοῦ Θεοῦ which, according to John xii. 41, is identical with the δόξα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, or the manifestation of the pre-existing λόγος (see John i. 14). This opinion also derives confirmation from the tradition that Mohammed said, in referring to the time when heavenly messengers purified his heart and body, 'They filled my heart with the *Shechina*.'

"Write!" it asked, "What shall I write, O my Lord?" The Most High answered, "Write those things which I have pre-determined for all creatures, till the day of the resurrection." The Pen at once carried out this Divine behest, writing first of all these words on the Preserved Tablet: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate: I am God, beside whom there is no God, except myself; and Mohammed is my Apostle. Whoever yields himself up to my decrees, submits patiently to my adversities, is thankful for my favours, and agrees with my judgment, him I write down as a just one, and him will I raise up, on the day of the resurrection, amongst the just." According to another account, the Pen, on being commanded to write down all the things that are, and are to be, first wrote on the foot of the Throne: "There is no God but Allah: Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah"—and then wrote down the drops that were to descend from the sky, the leaves that were to fall from the trees, the pieces of stone on the face of the earth, all the plants that were ever to grow, and all the nourishment that was to be obtained by every creature.

'There are several different accounts of the creation of the Light of Mohammed. The sum and substance of them, as God knows best, amounts to this: Many thousands of years before the Lord Most High created heaven and earth, the upper and the lower Throne, the Tablet and the Pen, Paradise and Hell, the Angels, Men, and Genii, and the other creatures, He created the Light of that Excellency's prophetship, and trained it in the arena of the world of holiness, sometimes commanding it to prostrate itself in adoration, at other times employing it in praising and ascribing holiness. In the abode of this Light God created curtains, in each of which He kept it for a long space of time, and caused it to offer a special hymn of praise. When, after the lapse of a very long time, it came forth from these curtains, it breathed out after the manner of a lover, and from its blessed breath God created the spirits of the Prophets and Saints, and the spirits of the Righteous, the Martyrs, and the other Believers, and the spirits of the Angels. God also divided that blessed breath into several parts, creating out of one of them the upper and the lower

Throne, the Tablet, the Pen, Paradise, Heaven and Earth, Sunlight and Moonlight, the Stars, the Vapours, the Winds and the Mountains. After this, He spread out the earth, and divided heaven and earth into seven stories, appointing each of them as the abode of one class of creatures; and caused day and night to appear. Then he commanded Gabriel to go and fetch a handful of pure earth from the burying-place of his Excellency the Prophet, and to mix it with that Light. Gabriel did as he was commanded, by mixing up that Light with the pure earth, and made it into a dough, with water from the highest fountain, giving that dough the shape of a white pearl. This white pearl he flung into the rivers of Paradise, and presented it to the earths and to the skies, to the seas and to the mountains, so that they should know and understand who he (the Prophet) was, before he was created.

'It is recorded that Meiseret ul Fejr narrated as follows: I asked his Excellency the Prophet, "When didst thou become a Prophet?" and he replied to me thus, "When God created the great Throne, and expanded the heavens and the earths, and placed the great Throne upon the shoulders of the angels who are the bearers of the throne, He, by means of the Pen, wrote on the foot of the Throne, 'There is no God but Allah: Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah, and the seal of the prophets;' and He wrote and impressed my name upon the gates of Paradise, upon the leaves of the trees of Paradise, and upon its cupolas and tents, though at that time Adam was still between body and spirit, that is to say, no spirit was as yet dwelling in his body. After that, the Almighty created Adam, the pure, fully; and placed that Light on his forehead, saying, "O Adam, this Light which I have placed on thy forehead is the Light of the noblest and best of thy offspring, and of the Prince of the Prophets who are to be sent."

'It is also recorded that, in order to preserve and honour that Light, a formal promise was taken from Adam, that his children should not convey that Light to pure wives, without previous purification; and that the angels became witnesses to this covenant; and that it was arranged that from every one of Adam's children, on whom that Light

may be placed, promise should be taken that he also was to preserve and honour that Light, and not to transfer and communicate it to any woman except to one duly married, and who is the fittest and best of her time. Then Adam had many children, until that Light was communicated to Eve and she bore Seth. Whenever Eve gave birth, she brought forth twins, a boy and a girl, till the turn came for Seth to be born, whom she brought forth alone, without a twin-sister, because of the honourable distinction of the Light of Mohammed. Though this is the more generally received account, there is also another, according to which Seth likewise was born with a twin-sister; but, according to both accounts, the Light of Mohammed was only transferred upon Seth. Afterwards that pure Light was conveyed, by proper covenants, pacts, and marriage, from the best of men to the purest of women, till it reached Abd Allah Ibn Mottaleb (Mohammed's father), and from him was conveyed to Amina Bent Wahb Ibn Abd Menāf (his mother), according to the generally received tradition, "I was conveyed from the best of fathers to the purest of mothers. But God knows best what is true."'

In the *Kitabi Ahwal el Kiāmat* we read the following singular account: 'It is recorded by tradition that God first created a Tree, with 4000 branches, and called it the Tree of Life. Then He created the *Light of Mohammed*, in a veil of white pearl, of the shape of a Peacock, and placed it upon that Tree, where it praised Him for 70,000 years. Then God created the Mirror of Shame and placed it before it; and when the Peacock looked into it, it beheld its own form most beautiful, and its figure most elegant, wherefore it blushed before God with a true shame, and prostrated itself five times in worship. This is the reason why God has imposed prostrations and five daily prayers upon Mohammed and his people. When God looked upon that Light it perspired, from a sense of shame, because of Him. Then God created from the perspiration of its head the angels; from the perspiration of its face the upper and the lower Throne, the Tablet, the Pen, Paradise, Hell, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Veil, and all that is in heaven; and of the perspiration of its breast He created the Prophets, the Apostles,

the Ulemas, the Martyrs, and the Righteous; from the perspiration of its back He created the Flourishing House and the Kaaba, the temple of Jerusalem, and the places of the houses of worship in the world; of the perspiration of its eyebrows He created the people of believing men and women, the Mussulmans of both sexes; of the perspiration of its ears He created the spirits of the Jews, the Christians, the Magi, and what is like them; of the perspiration of its legs He created the Earth, from the west to the east, and what is in it. After this, when the Light of Mohammed had praised God for 70,000 years, God created the Light of the prophets, out of the Light of Mohammed, and looked upon that Light and created their spirits; and they said, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the apostle of Allah." Then God created a Lamp of transparent red carnelian, and the figure of Mohammed, just as he afterwards was in this world, and put it on that Lamp, exactly in the form he had when he was saying his prayers.[1] Then the spirits went round the Light of Mohammed, praising and worshipping, for the space of 100,000 years. Then God commanded the spirits to look upon the form of Mohammed, and they all obeyed: and whoso saw his head became a Calif and a Sultan amongst men; whoso saw his forehead became a just commander; whoso saw his eyes became one who knows the Word of God by heart; whoso saw his eyebrows became a painter; whoso saw his ears became a listener and forward-comer; whoso saw his cheeks became virtuous and intelligent; whoso saw his nose became a doctor, physician, and apothecary; whoso saw his lips became a minister of state; whoso saw his mouth became one who keeps the fast; whoso saw his teeth became one of a beautiful countenance; whoso saw his tongue became an ambassador amongst men; whoso saw his throat became a preacher, a crier who calls to prayer, and a councillor;

[1] This notion of a fully-formed pre-existing Mohammed appears to be an imitation both of the *Logos* of the Gospel and the Kabbalistic *Adam kadmōn*, who is represented in the Kabbala as the first Divine manifestation, the source of all other forms and ideas. Altogether these Mussulman speculations have a remarkable affinity with the teaching of the Talmud, where we read: 'Seven things existed before the creation of the world, viz., the Law, the Temple, the Messiah, Paradise, Hell, Repentance, and the Throne of Glory.'

whoso saw his beard became a combatant for the religion of God; whoso saw his neck became a merchant; whoso saw both his arms became a spear-maker and a sword-manufacturer; whoso saw his right arm became a surgeon; whoso saw his left arm became an ignoramus; whoso saw the hollow of his right hand became a banker and an embroiderer; whoso saw the hollow of his left hand became a corn-measurer; whoso saw both his hands became liberal; whoso saw the back of his hollow hands became a miser; whoso saw the back of his right hand became a dyer; whoso saw the tips of his fingers became a writer; whoso saw the back of the fingers of his right hand became a tailor; whoso saw the back of the fingers of his left hand became a blacksmith; whoso saw his chest became learned, generous, and diligent; whoso saw his back became humble and obedient to the ordinances of the law; whoso saw his sides became a warrior; whoso saw his stomach became content and frugal; whoso saw his knees became a kneeler and worshipper; whoso saw his legs became a hunter; whoso saw the soles of his feet became a walker; whoso saw his shadow became a singer and player; whoso saw nothing became a Jew, a Christian, an infidel, and magician; and whoso not even looked at him became an infidel arrogating to himself divinity, such as Pharaoh and other similar infidels.

'Be it also known that God has created man after the form of the name of Mohammed (محمد), namely, the head round like the first *M* (م), the arms like the *h* (ح), the stomach like the medial *m* (ـمـ), and the legs like the *d* (د). Of the infidels, however, He creates none after this form, but changes them after the form of swine.'

(2.) *Mohammed's Genealogy is traced through Abraham to Adam, just as that of Jesus Christ.*

a. See Matt. i. 1-16, and Luke iii. 23-38.

b. The oldest extant biography of Mohammed, compiled by Mohammed Ibn Ishak, and edited by Abu Mohammed Abd el Malik Ibn Hisham, opens thus:—'This book contains the life of the Apostle of God: Mohammed was the

son of Abd Allah, son of Abdu-l-Mottaleb, son of Hashim, son of Abd Menāf, son of Kussei, son of Kilāb, son of Murra, son of Kaab, son of Luei, son of Ghalib, son of Fihr, son of Malik, son of Nadhr, son of Kinana, son of Khuzeima, son of Mudrika, son of Alya, son of Mudhar, son of Nizar, son of Maad, son of Adnan, son of Udd, son of Mukawwam, son of Nahor, son of Teira, son of Yarub, son of Yashyub, son of Nabit, son of Ishmael, son of Abraham, the Friend of God,[1] son of Tara, son of Nahor, son of Sarukh, son of Rau, son of Falih, son of Eiber, son of Shalih, son of Arphakhsad, son of Shem, son of Noah, son of Lamek, son of Metushalakh, son of Khanukh,—who, as is believed, was the prophet Idris, the first prophet, and the first who wrote with the reed,—son of Yared, son of Mahaleel, son of Kainanan, son of Yanish, son of Sheth, son of Adam, to whom may God be Gracious!'

(3.) *As the angel Gabriel announced the Conception of Jesus by the Virgin Mary, so he also announced that of Mohammed, and the latter to 'every place on the face of the earth.'*

a. 'The angel Gabriel was sent from God . . . to a virgin, . . . and said unto her, Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour with God. And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son,' etc. (Luke i. 26-38.)

b. In the *Rawzat* we read: 'The biographers have recorded that the Light of Mohammed was transferred from Abd Allah to Amina in the days of the pilgrimage, in the middle of the three days following the feast of sacrifices, which by one account was a Friday night. In that night God commanded the treasurer of Paradise to open the gates of Paradise, in honour of the Light of Mohammed, which then took its abode in Amina's body. The angels of heaven also rejoiced and were glad; and the angel Gabriel descended to the earth, bringing Mohammed's green standard with him,

[1] It will be observed that the genealogy from Abraham, Ishmael's father, up to Adam is identical with Luke iii. 34-38, with the only exception that the Cainan of ver. 36 is omitted, evidently from the reason that there is another Cainan in ver. 37.

and planting it upon the roof of the Kaaba; and he gave the glad tidings to every place on the face of the earth that the Light of Mohammed had taken up its abode in Amina, in order that the foremost of the creatures should come forth from her, and receive a mission to the foremost one of the nations.'

(4.) *As before the birth of Jesus, so also before that of Mohammed, an Angel announced* THE NAME *he was to receive.*

a. In Matt. i. 21, it is written: 'The angel of the Lord said unto Joseph, She (Mary) shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins.'

b. Ibn Hisham narrates: 'When Amina was pregnant with the Apostle of God, a spirit appeared to her, saying, Thou art bearing the Lord of this people; say at his birth: "I place him under the protection of the One that He may protect him against the envious;" and call his name "Mohammed."'

(5.) *The birth of both was distinguished by the glory of a heavenly Light, the appearance of Angels, and by signs on the earth and in the starry sphere.*

a. 'And Mary brought forth her first-born son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger. And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night. And, lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them; and they were sore afraid. And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. And this shall be a *sign* unto you; Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger. And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men' (Luke ii. 7-14). 'When Jesus was born in Beth-

lehem of Judæa, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his *star* in the east, and are come to worship him' (Matt. ii. 1, 2).

b. 'Abd ur Rahman Ibn Awf narrates that his mother, Shefa, declared as follows: I was Amina's midwife: in the night when labour-pains seized her, and Mohammed Mustapha fell into my hands, at his birth, a voice reached my ears from the unseen world, saying, "Thy Lord shew mercy unto thee!" and the face of the earth became so illuminated, from the east to the west, that I could see some of the palaces of Damascus by that light. Soon after that, darkness, fear, and trembling came upon me; and then there appeared a light on my right hand, and in that state I heard some one from the invisible world say, "Whither didst thou take him?" Another answered, "I have taken him westward to all the blessed and holy places, and I have presented him to Abraham, the Friend of God, who pressed him to his bosom, purified, and blessed him." It is also recorded that in the same night the Most High sent down a host of angels upon the earth, in order that they should guard Amina, and keep her from the eyes of the demons. Again, it is reported that Amina said: "In that night a flight of birds turned into my house, in such numbers as to fill the whole house. Their beaks were of emerald and their wings of ruby. The Most High took off the veil from my eyes, so that I saw the entire east and west of the earth; and I beheld how they planted three standards, one in the east, one in the west, and one on the flat roof of the Kaaba."'

Abdu-l-Mottaleb, after narrating marvellous things which he saw and heard in the Kaaba, continues thus: 'I was astonished and knew not what to say, and, putting my hand to my eyes, I said to myself, "Am I asleep or awake?" and I saw that I was awake. The same moment I arose and turned towards Amina's dwelling; and, when I came near her door, I found that house adorned with sundry lights and sweet-smelling scents. Knocking at the door, Amina answered with a feeble voice. I said, "Open the door quickly, or else my gall-bladder will burst." Amina opened the door with haste. I looked in her face; and when I did

not see a trace left of the Light of Mohammed, my strength left me, and I said, "O Amina, what has become of that Light?" She answered, "I have given birth to a son."'

'Sheikh Zarandi says, in his Book of Signs, that in the night of Mohammed's birth the courts of Chosroes parted asunder, and remained so till now, *i.e.* till A.H. 746 (=A.D. 1368). Their remaining so is one of the greatest facts; and the great and adorable God alone knows how long they will still be left.'

'It is reported that, in the night of the birth of that prince, the sea of Sawa overflowed the land; and that the Wady of Samawa, whose water had been stopped for a thousand years, began to be flooded with the waters of a great river, and the courts of Chosroes became shaking and trembling, and their fourteen towers fell to the earth. Chosroes seeing this, lamented and feared exceedingly; for he knew that these occurrences portended a national calamity. But, assuming an air of fortitude and courage, he kept his distress and trouble of mind concealed, for a while, from his people; and then made up his mind not to hide those occurrences any longer from his ministers of state and intimate friends. So he put on his crown, sat upon his throne, called a council, and when the *élite* of the people and his friends were assembled, there arrived a letter from his Persian empire. In this letter it was stated that the fires of the fire-temples of Persia, which for a thousand years had not been extinguished, but were continually burning, had gone out in a certain night, namely, in that in which also the towers of Chosroes' palaces had fallen down. This circumstance, therefore, still further increased Chosroes' grief and sorrow. A wise philosopher, also, the chief Judge, called the chief Fire-priest, said, "O Shah, I also have seen in a dream, on that night, that swift and indomitable camels were drawing Arab horses from the Tigris and were spreading over town and country." On hearing this from his chief Fire-priest, Chosroes said to him, "O chief Fire-priest, what is the interpretation of this dream? and what is to happen in the world?" The chief Fire-priest answered, 'A great event is to happen in the direction of Arabia."'

Ibn Ishak reports, 'Hassan Ibn Thabit said, "I was a

lad of seven or eight years, understanding quite well what I heard, when a Jew, on one of the buildings of Yathreb, called together an assembly of his fellow-Jews and said to them, To-night the star has arisen under which Mohammed is to be born. I asked Said, Hassan's grandson, how old his grandfather was when Mohammed came to Medina, and he answered, Sixty years. Now, as Mohammed was then fifty-three years of age, Hassan must have been seven years old when he heard those words."' (I. I. and I. H.)

Othman Ibn Abu-l-As narrates that Fatima, Abd Allah's daughter, said, 'I was with Amina, when the symptoms of her approaching confinement set in; and, on looking up to heaven, I saw the stars to such an extent incline towards the earth, that I thought they must fall down; or, according to another account, the stars were so near the earth that I thought they would fall upon my head.' (Rawzat.)

(6. *Though both were subjected to the rite of circumcision, yet there was a difference in favour of Mohammed.*

a. 'When eight days were accomplished for the circumcision of the child, his name was called Jesus' (Luke ii. 21).

b. 'The majority of the biographers and historians agree in this, that Mohammed was born circumcised and with his navel-string cut. The Ulemas say that the reason why he was born in this state is, that no creature should have anything to do with his perfect natural frame, by depriving his foreskin and navel of strength. Another reason is this, that he might not remain dishonoured, by uncircumcision, till he could be circumcised; and still another reason is, that not any man might see his natural parts. It is recorded, on the authority of Uns Ibn Malik, that the Prophet said, "I was born circumcised, and none has seen my nakedness." But some of the later historians have objected to this tradition, and declared that any traditionist who mentions it, without also making known its weakness, will have to answer for it on the day of the Resurrection. And some of the later biographers have affirmed that Gabriel circumcised him, at the same time when he purified his blessed heart in his childhood; and yet another saying is, that Abdu-l-Mottaleb circumcised him on the seventh day after his birth.' (Rawzat.)

(7.) *A Benediction is uttered on the breasts that gave them suck, but in the one case it came from the visible, and in the other, from the invisible, world.*

a. 'As Jesus spake those things, a certain woman of the company lifted up her voice, and said unto him, Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked' (Luke xi. 27).

b. 'Ibn Abbas states, all creatures, even birds, air, clouds, and winds contended for and contested the privilege of suckling the prophet; for, when some one from the unseen world had taken that Excellency away from his mother's sight and carried him about to all the places of the east and of the west, a Caller from the Compassionate was calling out thus, "O, all ye creatures, this infant is Mohammed Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abdu-l-Mottaleb: blessed are the breasts that give him milk, and blessed are the hands that bring him up, and blessed are the places where he dwells." Then all the creatures which heard this call, were seized with the desire of suckling him, and all of them, birds, clouds, winds, and others, claimed a prerogative and priority in the matter. Thereupon another call came from the unseen world, to this effect, "Stand ye back from this matter: in the beginning of eternity this blessed writing has been drawn up in the name of Halima Saadia, the daughter of Abu Zuweib." It is recorded that Halima narrated as follows: When the women of my people went to Mecca in search of a living, I joined them, with the same object. On arriving in the neighbourhood of Mecca, we heard a voice (*hatif*) from the unseen world, calling out thus, "Know and understand that the Most High has this year rendered it unlawful for the women to take girls, on account of that male child which has been born amongst the Koreish. That child is the sunshine of the day, and the moonshine of the night; and blessed are the paps that shall give it milk. O ye women of the Beni Saad tribe, walk quickly, make haste, that ye may obtain that child."' (R.)

(8.) *Not long after their birth, their Nature and Destiny are made known by special Revelation.*

a. 'The angel said unto the shepherds, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day, in the city of David, a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord' (Luke ii. 10, 11).—'Simeon took him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people;' etc. (Luke ii. 28-32).—'And Anna the prophetess coming that instant gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem' (Luke ii. 38).

b. 'Shefa Bint Awf says, After that, the person speaking from the unseen world called, "O Mohammed, the honour and glory of the world are promised to thee. Verily thou art he who holds firmly under the strongest protection every one that lays hold on the branches of the tree of thy religion, and peculiar people, and acts according to thy words, and will be known to belong to thy people, on the day of the Resurrection."—Amina heard another Caller call thus, "Verily in the seas his name is the Destroyer;[1] for he will destroy all idolatry, so as not to leave a particle of it on the face of the earth."—It is recorded that Abdu-l-Mottaleb said, I was that night in the Kaaba. At midnight I saw that the four side-walls of the Kaaba inclined toward the place of Abraham, and worshipped before it. Then they rose again and returned to their former places; and I heard a wonderful thing in them, namely, a voice calling out, "God is great! God is great! The Lord Mohammed, the chosen, has now cleansed me, my Lord, from the pollution of idols and from the

[1] The word in the Arabic original is *El Māhi*. This is an appellative specially applied as a proper name to Mohammed. It signifies 'the Destroyer, the Annihilator,' derived from the verb *mahw*, 'to wipe out, to cause to disappear, to annihilate, to destroy.' It is rather singular, and perhaps significant, that also in Rev. ix. 11 we read of a remarkable personage whose name is stated to be in the Hebrew tongue Abaddon and in the Greek Apollyon, both which words likewise signify 'The Destroyer.' The opposite to this is: 'The Preserver, the Saviour.'

uncleanness of the idolaters." And the idols which were about the Kaaba were broken in pieces, as an old rag is torn up; and the largest idol, named Hobal, lay prostrate, with his face upon the stones; and I heard a Caller call, "Mohammed is born of Amina."—Irvet Ibn Zobeir narrates, that a company of the Koreish had an idol in the idol-house, which they visited once a year, on a certain day, which they regarded as a festival, and on which they sacrificed camels and drank wine in their assemblies. When they arrived on one such occasion, they saw that the idol was undeniably fallen down upon his face. They lifted him up and replaced him, but in a moment they saw him fallen down again, head foremost. This happened twice; and when they had again strongly posted him in his place, they heard a voice proceeding from the hollow part of the idol, reciting these verses:

"Rejoicing because of the child,
And radiant with his light,
Are all the mountain-passes of the earth,
Both in the east and in the west;
And bowing down to him are all the idols,
And trembling are the hearts of all the kings,
Throughout the world, from fear."

This occurrence happened on the night of that Excellency's birth.

'Halima, Mohammed's wet-nurse, relates: When we were returning from Mecca, with our nurslings, to the tribe of the Beni Saad, all the women of the tribe wondered at the change that had come over my donkey, saying, "O Halima, is not the donkey on which thou ridest the same as that on which thou camest to Mecca? How strange, that the donkey which then could not walk straight, now cannot be overtaken by any other donkey. There must be something uncommon and mysterious in this donkey." Upon this I heard my donkey say, "Yes, for God's sake, there is something uncommon and mysterious in me whom God, the Nourisher, has quickened, and, when emaciated, has fattened. O ye tawny Beni Saad women, ye are ignorant of my state. Do ye know that he who is riding on me is the seal of the prophets, the Lord of the apostles, superior in nature to the former and the latter, and the loved one of both worlds?"

When I met a flock of sheep, on that journey, the sheep would come near me and say, "O Halima, knowest thou who thy nursling is? He is Mohammed, the Lord of heaven and earth, and the first of the sons of men."—The nursing being over and Halima about to take the child back to Mecca, she heard in the night an invisible Caller call, "The fountain of blessing and safety is departing from the Beni Saad tribe: O valley of Mecca, thy time is propitious, thy light, ray, life, beauty, paradise, and ornament is to come back to thee; and thou art always to remain preserved and protected by his blessing." ' (R.)

(9.) *Like Jesus, Mohammed also was presented, in his early infancy, to the Deity of the national Sanctuary.*

a. 'When the days of Mary's purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished, they brought Jesus to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord [in the temple]" (Luke ii. 22, 27).

b. Ibn Ishak narrates: 'When Mohammed was born, his mother sent for Abdu-l-Mottaleb, begging him to come and see the child. When he came, she told him what she had seen during the time of her pregnancy, what she had been told concerning him, and what name she was to give him. It is believed that Abdu-l-Mottaleb then took him, carried him to the Kaaba, thanked God for the gift, and then took him back again to his mother, and went to find a wet-nurse for him.'

(10.) *They both developed in their childhood under the special favour of God, and showed marks of an uncommon measure of Divine Grace.*

a. 'The child Jesus grew, and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom; and the grace of God was upon him' (Luke ii. 40).

b. 'Amina said, When Mohammed was born, he put his hands upon the earth, lifted up his face heavenwards, knelt upon his knees and moved his fingers, as if using the rosary. He also sucked his thumb, whereupon milk flowed from it. Afterwards he took a handful of earth, turned towards the

Kaaba and began to worship. And together with him a light came forth from me, by which I could see the houses of Bosra in Syria.

'Halima thus describes her first interview with her nursling: Abdu-l-Mottaleb took me to the house in which Amina, Mohammed's mother, was. I saw a beautiful and strong lady, from whose forehead, as it were, the new moon shone forth, and from whose visage brilliant stars were glittering. When Abdu-l-Mottaleb made known my state and name to Amina, she said, "Well and good, O Halima." Then she took me by the hand and brought me to the house in which Mohammed was. I saw Mohammed wrapt in white wool, which yielded a sweet fragrance, like musk; and he was sleeping, covered with green silk. When I uncovered his face and saw his fairness and beauty, I became enamoured. I put my hand upon his breast to awaken him. Then he smiled, and, on opening his eyes, a light beamed forth from them, reaching up to heaven. I took him up in my arms and pressed him to my bosom, to give him suck. When I put my right breast into his mouth, he sucked, but when I wanted to give him the left, he did not. Ibn Abbas remarks, "In this matter God inspired him with equity; for Halima's son was his partner, therefore, having regard to justice, he halved his wet-nurse's breasts with his foster-brother." Halima adds, After this I always nourished him from my right breast, and the left I gave to his foster-brother; and my own son did not wish for milk, except Mohammed had enough. When we returned to our tribe, the high and adorable God counted our beasts and flocks and possessions worthy of such countless blessings and unlimited favour that, in the same year, all our sheep had lambs and in their udders was abundance of milk; and the sheep of no one else in that tribe were blest like our own. Thereupon most other shepherds led their sheep to pasture with ours, and God bestowed a blessing on them also, so that as long as Mohammed remained with our tribe, there were not wanting to it prosperity and blessings.

'Halima further said: God imparted to the hearts of those who saw Mohammed such a love towards him that they could not contain themselves. That Excellency also did not

wet or soil his bed-linen like other infants. Every time I wanted to wash and clean his blessed mouth from the milk, I found it already washed and cleaned by some one from the unseen world. When he was uncovered he became angry, and did not cease crying till he was covered again. When that noble one had begun to walk, and saw other children playing, he moved away from them, and, forbidding them their play, would say, "We have not been created in order to play."—There are some accounts to the effect that Mohammed grew in a day as much as other children in a month; and in a month as much as other children in a year; so that when he was in his second year, he had already the strength of a young man.—Halima says, He did not cry, nor was naughty like other children; and never took up a thing with his left hand, but whatever he ate, he seized with his right hand; and when he had begun to speak, he always said "In the name of God," as often as he stretched out his hand after anything; and for fear of him I did not let my husband come near me for two full years. One day that noble one was on my lap, whilst some sheep were walking about; and one of them approached this noble one, made a low bow before him, kissed his hand and then walked away again; and every day a light, like the sun, came down, enveloped him, and then let him come forth from it again; and every day two white birds or two men in white clothes went in by his collar and disappeared.

'Halima's account of the angelic purification of his heart is as follows: One day Mohammed expressed a wish to accompany his foster-brothers, who were tending the sheep, so that he might likewise be usefully employed. I, therefore, next morning combed his blessed hair, put ointment to his eyes, dressed him and hung a necklace of Yemen beads round his neck to prevent the effects of the evil eye. According to one account, that Excellency at once tore this necklace from his neck, and threw it away, saying, "My guardian and keeper is with me." Then Mohammed took a stick in his hand and joyfully went away with his foster-brothers; and they were engaged in tending the sheep somewhere near our dwelling. About mid-day I saw my son running in, dripping with perspiration, and calling out,

"O mother, O father, help Mohammed!" I asked, "What has happened to him?" He answered, "When we were sitting together with Mohammed, we suddenly saw some one come, take him from the midst of us, carry him to the top of the mountain, throw him down and split open his body: what happened to him afterwards I do not know; but I do not expect him to be still alive." Then I and my husband ran thither, stupefied. When we reached him, we found him sitting on the mountain-top and looking up to heaven. Seeing us, he smiled. I kissed his head and his eyes, saying, "My soul be a sacrifice for thine. What has happened to thee?" He answered, "O mother, I was sitting with my brothers, when suddenly I saw three men appearing to me, and according to another account they were two men, dressed in white raiment, and they said that they were Gabriel and Michael, on both of whom be peace! In the hand of one of them there was a silver ewer, and in the other's hand a washing-basin of green emerald, filled with snow. They came, took me from the midst of my brothers, and carried me to the top of the mountain. One of them drew me kindly and gently to himself and split me open from my chest to my navel; and I saw him, but there was not any pain. Then he plunged his hand into my body, took out my intestines, and, after having washed them with snow-water in that washing-basin, put them back again to their place. Then the other said to him, 'Thou hast now done what thou hast been commanded: stand back, that I also may carry out what has been enjoined upon me.' Then he thrust his hand into my body, took out my heart, split it in half, removed the blood with which the dot of desire was polluted and threw it away, saying, 'This is the portion of Satan from thee, O thou loved one of God.' Then there was something in his hand which he had brought with him, and with which he filled my heart, after which he put it back to its place, and sealed it with a seal of light, whose charm and ease now remains in my limbs and joints. Then again another rose up and said, 'Stand back, both of you who have done what you have been commanded.' When they had stood back, he came, put his hand on the place where my chest was split, passing it on to the navel; and

that instant my wound closed and healed, whilst I was standing and looking on. After this they kissed me on my forehead, and said, 'O loved one, fear not: if thou knewest what good things are ready prepared for thee, thine eyes would brighten up.' Then they left me in this state, flew away, and entered mid-heaven. I saw them entering heaven, and if thou wishest, I will show thee where they entered." When I had brought him back to my dwelling, my husband, relatives, and acquaintances said, "Take him to a seer, that he may ascertain what is the matter with him." The true and honest of the tribe and people said, "Surely he is possessed: it is proper to take him to a seer."

'As regards this subject of the splitting of the heart, there is a difference in the accounts: according to one, it happened either during his first or second stay amongst the Beni Saad; according to another, it took place in his sixth year; and according to yet another, in his tenth year; and by trustworthy traditions it is affirmed that the splitting of his chest came to pass in the night of his ascension. If it please God, the truth resulting from these different accounts is this, that the splitting of the chest took place several times.' (R.)

(11.) *Both were lost in their childhood, but found again: the one by his mother's diligent search, the other by a supernatural revelation.*

a. 'When they found him not, they turned back again to Jerusalem, seeking him. And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions' (Luke ii. 45, 46).

b. 'Halima, in narrating how she took back Mohammed to his mother, relates as follows: When I reached Mecca, I set Mohammed down at the chief city gate, to go a little aside, as there was a crowd of people in the place. On my return directly after, I did not find him. I therefore asked the people where the boy was whom I had just put down there, and swore by the God of Abraham that I would cast myself down a mountain and kill myself, if I did not find him again.

Seeing no trace of him, I became disconsolate, and, putting my hands to my head, called out, "O Mohammed, O my boy!" A crowd of people gathered round me, men, women, and children, who also cried because of my grief. Suddenly I saw an old man approach me, saying, "Weep not and grieve not: I will lead thee to one who can let thee find him, if he please." Then that old man took me to the idol-house, walked seven times round the idol, kissed his head, and, after having lauded and praised him according to rule and precept, said, "O exalted Hobal, wilt thou be pleased to bring back Mohammed Ibn Abd Allah whose wet-nurse this woman is?" When the old man had uttered these words, I saw that Hobal and the other idols fell prostrate upon their faces, and out of their hollow part a voice proceeded, saying, "O old man, remain thou far from us, and do not mention Mohammed's name before us: the destruction of ourselves and the other idols and the idolaters is to be in his hand; and his God does not lose him, but keeps him by any means. Tell the idol-worshippers that our greatest sacrificer is to be Mohammed, that is, he is to kill us all, whilst they that follow him shall be safe." Halima then went and told Abdu-l-Mottaleb what had happened. He at once called the Koreish together; and with them, on horse-back, searched the high and low parts of Mecca, but without success. He therefore also went to the temple, and inquiring of the idols, heard in reply this Voice from the invisible world, "O ye men, grieve not; for Mohammed has a God who does not lose him." Abdu-l-Mottaleb again asked, "O Voice, where is Mohammed?" The Voice replied, "He is sitting under a tree in the Wady of Teham." Upon this, Abdu-l-Mottaleb started and found Mohammed in that valley, sitting under a tree and gathering leaves. Asking him who he was, the child answered, "I am Mohammed Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abdu-l-Mottaleb." Abdu-l-Mottaleb rejoined, "My soul be a sacrifice for thee. I am thy grandfather;" and taking him up on horseback, carried him home. Ibn Abbas observes that, in recognition of having found Moham-med, Abdu-l-Mottaleb gave away much gold and silver money, camels, and sheep, as alms, and also enriched and rejoiced Halima with a variety of gifts and favours.' (R.)

(12.) *Twelve years old, their special relation to God and uncommon destiny was made known during a journey; and then they were taken away from the place where their presence might prematurely have roused the hostility of the Jews.*

a. 'When Jesus was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem after the custom of the feast. And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem. . . . And his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that *I must be about my Father's business?* And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them. And he went down with them [away from the dangerous city], and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them: but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart' (Luke ii. 42-51).

b. 'The biographers and historians of Mohammed record, that when that noble one was twelve years, two months, and ten days old, he expressed the desire of accompanying Abu Talib on a mercantile journey to Bosra in Syria. Abu Talib had already laden his beasts, and was ready for the journey, without intending to take Mohammed with him, when that noble one addressed him thus, "O uncle, I have neither father nor mother: with whom wilt thou leave me? I will go with thee." Abu Talib willingly consenting, said, "By Allah, I shall go together with thee, and not separate from thee." Then, journeying in company with the Lord of the world, they reached a village called Kefer, six miles from Bosra. In that village the monk Bahira, who was a Christian scholar and divine of great asceticism and piety, had his monastery. He had acquired a knowledge of the nature and attributes of the Prophet from the Gospel and other heavenly books, and had long been expecting to see that prince in his monastery; for he had found in the heavenly books that he was to come at such a time, and in such a place, and that he was to alight under the shadow of a certain tree in a particular monastery. When the Koreishite caravan came with that noble one and encamped by the side of Bahira's monastery, he went

upon the roof, and saw a cloud overshadowing that caravan, moving when it moved, and resting when it rested. When Bahira observed this, he wondered, saying, "This can only be, if the Prophet is in this caravan; to all appearance he whom I have so long desired and expected is now there." Another account informs us that when the caravan came to a hilly and stony spot, Bahira heard the trees and stones of the monastery calling with a loud voice, "Peace be unto thee, O Apostle of God;" and, when the Prophet and his uncle alighted under a tree, the said cloud overshadowed it, and its branches multiplied, became green, young, and fresh, and bore fruit. When the monk saw these things, he knew for certain that the Prophet of the latter time was there; and he ordered his disciples and servants to prepare a dinner and lay the table for that caravan. The people of the caravan accepted his invitation; but after they had come, he still saw the cloud in its former place. He therefore inquired which of their number had been left behind; and, hearing it was the lad Mohammed, he at once caused him to be sent for; and when he came, the overshadowing cloud came with him.

'Another account is this, that when the caravan had encamped near the monastery, Bahira came and searched it, till he arrived where Abu Talib sat, and there saw the blessed beauty of Mohammed, the chosen one, whose blessed hand he took, saying, "This the Lord of both worlds. God has sent him out of compassion for both worlds." The old men of the Koreish said, "O Bahira, whence knowest thou that this one will be a prophet?" Bahira answered, that it was from those signs and tokens which he had witnessed; and he declared unto them all, that the noble form and proportioned figure of that prince had become known to him from the heavenly books, adding, "I know the prophetic seal to his being the prophet of the latter days; it is between his shoulder-blades, and is of the size of an apple." Then he returned to his convent, and prepared the dinner, as narrated before. After dinner, when the other chief men had left, Bahira said to Abu Talib, "What relationship is there between thee and this youth?" Abu Talib answered, "He is my son." Bahira, "It is impossible that his parents are still living." According to Ibn Ishak's account Bahira said, "He is not thy son: *this boy*

no longer needs a father." Abu Talib replied, "Thou hast rightly spoken; he is my nephew, but is to me like a son." After this, Bahira, for the purpose of trying that prince and making known his true state, turned to Mohammed, saying, "I adjure thee by Lat and Ozza!" to which the Prophet replied, "O Bahira, do not adjure me by Lat and Ozza, to whom I am a greater enemy than to anything else in the world." Bahira continued, "Then I adjure thee, by the Most High God, to tell me whether there is not a certain sign and mark of such a form and nature between thy shoulder-blades." That Excellency answered, "Yes, there is." Then Bahira jumped up, kissed that prince between his eyes, and said, "I testify that he is the Apostle of God in truth;" and it is said that he also kissed the feet of the Lord of the world. Another account adds that, on Bahira's entreaty, that prince took off his mantle from his blessed shoulders, so that Bahira could see the seal of prophetship between his two shoulder-blades, and he found it to be such as he had ascertained it from the heavenly books; and he kissed that place.

'It is recorded that some Jews, or, according to another account, some Greeks, amongst whom were three distinguished priests, came to kill that prince. They entered Bahira's convent that day, saying, "O Bahira, we have learned from the heavenly books that to-day Mohammed is to come with a caravan of the Koreish and to encamp near this monastery; we have come in order to kill him." But Bahira, instead of assisting them in their purpose, demonstrated to them by clear proofs that this youth was the Prophet of the latter time, and thus induced them to desist from their design. It is recorded that Bahira said to Abu Talib, "This youth is to be the Prophet of the latter days, and his law is to spread over the whole world, and his religion is to abrogate all other religions; if thou lovest this youth, beware, do not take him to Syria, for the Jews are his enemies; God forbid that they, recognising him, should do him any harm." Upon this, Abu Talib sold his merchandise with a good profit in Bosra, and returned to Mecca. But there is also another account, according to which Abu Talib sent the Prophet back to Mecca with another company, whilst he himself went to Syria, and there completed his mercantile transactions.' (R.)

(13.) *The appearance both of Jesus Christ and of Mohammed was expected amongst the Jews and others, having been foretold by prophets.*

a. 'When John had heard in the prison the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples, and said unto him, Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?' (Matt. xi. 2, 3.)

'Philip findeth Nathanael, and saith unto him, We have found him, of whom Moses in the Law, and the Prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph' (John i. 45).

b. 'The Jewish Rabbis and the Christian Priests, as well as the Diviners amongst the Arabs, had already been speaking of Mohammed before his public mission, when its time had drawn near: the former, in accordance with the testimony of their prophets, which they found in their books, concerning him and his time; and the latter, in accordance with the information, which evil spirits had brought them, of what they had overheard of the celestial conversations, before they were prevented from listening, by stars being hurled at them. Assim Ibn Amr narrated that men of his tribe assured him that, next to God's grace and guidance, they had been led to adopt Islam by what they had heard from the Jews, saying, "We were polytheists and idolaters, but they possessed a book and knowledge which we were without. We often had war with them and when we did them any harm, they would say, "The time is at hand when a prophet will be sent with whose help we shall destroy you, like Ad and Irem." Generally we paid no attention to this threat; but when God sent Mohammed, and he preached to us, we followed him; for then we understood that with which they had been threatening us; but we anticipated them, by believing in him, whilst they themselves remained unbelieving."—Salama Ibn Wakash, one of the warriors of Bedr, related, "Once, when I was still very young, a Jew who enjoyed their protection, came to the Beni Abd el Ashhal and spoke of the Resurrection, the Account, the Balance, Paradise, and Hell. When the idolaters asked him what sign he had in proof of this, he answered, A prophet is to arise from that land, pointing to Yemen and Mecca;

and on their inquiring further, When will this happen? he replied whilst pointing at me, the youngest among them, If this lad reaches his proper age, he may live to see it. And in fact, continued Salama, a day and a night did not pass, before God sent Mohammed into our midst and we believed in him, whereas he, from envy and stubbornness, remained unbelieving. When we said to him, Woe unto thee; didst not thou say so and so of him? he replied, Yes, I did, but this is not the right one." A sheikh of the Beni Koreiza gave this report: Some years before Islam, a certain Jew from Syria, Ibn el Haggaban by name, settled amongst us, who certainly was the most excellent non-Moslem I ever knew. Whenever there was a drought, he, at our request, went out with us to the field and offered up prayers for rain; and scarcely had he risen, before a cloud passed by and drenched us, a thing which happened very often. When his dying hour approached, he said, "O ye Jews, the reason why I have left a land of wine and corn, and come into a land of want and hunger, is this, that I have expected the appearance of a prophet whose time is at hand, and who is to emigrate to this country. I have been waiting for him, in order to follow him. Do not let others anticipate you by their believing in him, for, in accordance with his mission, the blood of his adversaries will be shed, their children made captives, and nothing can protect you against him." Afterwards, when God sent Mohammed, and he besieged the Beni Koreiza, those men, who then were still young, said, "O ye sons of Koreiza, by God, this is the prophet promised by Ibn el Haggaban." But they said, "No, he is not." Those men, however, took God for a witness that he was exactly such as he had been described; and they embraced Islam, and thus their blood, their goods, and their families were saved.' (Ibn Ishak.)

(14.) *Whilst they were honouring a Penitentiary Institution, by accommodating themselves to it, a Supernatural Occurrence and Voice inaugurated their own Public Mission.*

a. 'John did baptize in the wilderness, and preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins' (Mark i. 4).

'Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, to be baptized of him. And Jesus, when he was baptized,

went up straightway out of the water: and, lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God[1] descending like a dove, and lighting upon him: and lo a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" (Matt. iii. 13-17).

b. Ibn Ishak narrates: 'The Prophet used annually to spend a month on Mount Hira, for it was a custom amongst the Koreishites in their heathen state to look upon this as Tahannuth, *i.e.* 'penance.' During that time he fed the poor who visited him, and, when the month was over, he first went seven times round the Kaaba and then returned to his own house. In the year of his public mission he went there, as usual, in the month of Rhamadan, and, whilst there, Gabriel brought to him God's behest, in the night, in which God, from compassion to His servants, honoured him with his mission,' etc. (see pp. 58, 59).

The Rawzat refers to the same event in these words: 'When that Excellency was sitting in the cave of Hira, bending forward, Gabriel came behind him, and once more roused that Excellency's attention, saying, "Rise, O Mohammed: I am Gabriel." Rising up, that Excellency saw some one walking before him and the Lord of the world followed him. When that person went between the mountains of Safa and Merva, his feet were on the earth and his head was in the sky, and when he opened his wings, he took in the space between the east and the west. His feet were yellow, his wings green. He wore two necklaces of red ruby. His forehead was radiant and bright, his cheeks light-like, his teeth white, his hair had the colour of red coral, and between his two eyes were the words written, "There is no God but Allah: Mohammed is the apostle of Allah." When the Prophet saw that form and figure, he, afraid of his greatness and rank, said, "Who art thou? God have mercy on thee: verily I have never seen any one greater and more beautiful than thee." Gabriel replied, "I am the

[1] It is worthy of special notice that, according to Mohammedan theology, the word 'Holy Spirit,' which also occurs in the Koran, *e.g.* Sura ii. 81 (87), is only another name for 'the angel Gabriel.' According to Ibn Ishak, Mohammed himself answered the question put to him by the Jews, 'Who is the Spirit?' by saying, 'It is Gabriel who visits me.' This makes the imitation still more striking.

faithful Spirit[1] to all the prophets and sent ones: Read, O Mohammed." That prince answered, "What can I read who have never read?"[2] Then Gabriel took from under his wings a book, made of the silk of paradise, and embossed with pearls and rubies, held it to that prince's face, and said, "Read!" Mohammed replied, and was treated as before. Then Gabriel stamped with his foot on the earth, so that water gushed forth from it, in which he made an ablution, by rinsing his mouth, snuffing up water with his nostrils, and washing his face and feet. Having done this three times, and once rubbed his head, he also commanded that prince to make the ablution exactly in the same manner. When he had finished, Gabriel took a handful of water, and splashed it in that Excellency's face, and then placing himself before him, performed two prostrations of prayer, that Excellency following him. After this, Gabriel said to him, "O Mohammed, behold, thus are the prayers performed." Then Gabriel disappeared, and that Excellency returned home, trembling in mind, and calling out, "Cover me! cover me!" And they covered him, till his fear and terror had passed off.'

(15.) *Witness is borne to them, and their Divine Mission is made known to men, by another distinguished Servant of the true God, who soon afterwards is removed from this world.*[3]

a. 'John bare witness of him, and cried, saying, This was he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me: for he was before me. And of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace. For the

[1] See the previous foot-note.

[2] One is here reminded of the word, 'How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?' (John vii. 15.)

[3] This parallelism between the two precursors, John the Baptist and Waraka, is further sustained by the circumstance of kinship, for, as the mothers of John and Jesus were 'cousins' (Luke i. 36), so also Waraka was the 'cousin' of Mohammed's wife Khadija, and by the fact that as John's disciples, through their master's testimony, became *the first* believers in Jesus (John i. 35-42), so also Waraka's testimony convinced Khadija, who, as Ibn Hisham tells us, was '*the first* who believed in God, and His apostle, and His revelation.'

Law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. . . . Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world! . . . That he should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water. . . . I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him' (John i. 15-34; Matt. xiv. 1-12).

b. Waraka's connection with Mohammed is thus referred to in the Rawzat:[1] 'After Gabriel's first appearance to Mohammed on Mount Hira, that Excellency returned home, trembling in mind, and afterwards said to Khadija, "Verily, I fear for my life." Khadija replied, "Fear not; for God will not bring trouble upon thee;" and, after having thus comforted that Excellency, Khadija continued, "If thou wishest it, I will lay thy state before my cousin Waraka Ibn Nawfal, that we may see what he will say about it." This Waraka was a person who, even in the time of ignorance, had turned away from the religion of the Koreish, had become a Christian and professor of the Unity, knowing the Gospel well, which he had copied in Arabic, or, according to another account, in Hebrew, and at this time he had become very aged and blind. When she had received that prince's permission, Khadija went to Waraka, saying, "O my cousin, give me information about Gabriel." Waraka exclaimed, "Holy! holy!" or, according to another account, "Praiseworthy! praiseworthy!" and then went on saying, "O Khadija, who amongst the idolatrous people of this land knows anything about Gabriel, that faithful one between God and His prophets? and who mentions his name?" Khadija declared to him how that Excellency had said, "Gabriel has come down to me," and what state and condition he was in. Waraka replied, "If Gabriel has descended to this place, then God is to send to this land many favours and countless blessings. O Khadija, if thou hast spoken this word in truth, then know that the same excellent Law which came down to Moses and Jesus has also come down to Mohammed. When that person who came to him comes again, it is right that thou shouldest be present in that place, and when he has come, then uncover thy head and let thy hair be seen: if that person is from God

[1] Refer to p. 60.

he will not be able to see thy hair." Khadija says, I returned and told that Excellency Waraka's words, adding, "If that person comes again, let me know." Then, on Gabriel again appearing to that Excellency, he informed me of it. I set that prince on my right thigh, and said, "Dost thou see that person?" He answered, "I do." Then I uncovered my head, dishevelled my hair, and again asked, "Dost thou see that person?" He replied, "No, I do not: he is gone." Then I said, "Good news to thee: that person coming to thee, comes down from God, and is a good angel." When I went again to Waraka and told him the story, he said, "In truth, an excellent Law has come down to the earth." Waraka also composed some poetry on the subject, and said to Khadija, "Send Mohammed to me, that he may make known unto me his own state." The Prophet went to Waraka, whereupon Waraka said, "Rejoice, O Mohammed, again and again rejoice: I bear witness in truth that thou art that prophet whom Jesus has announced in the words: "After me an apostle is to be sent whose name is Ahmed,[1] and I testify that thou art Ahmed and God's apostle; and verily that Law which came down to Jesus has also come down to thee, and it will soon come to pass that thou shalt be commissioned to war and battle with the unbelievers.[2] If I shall be alive in those days I shall certainly assist thee;" and bending his head forward, he kissed that prince's forehead. Another account adds that Waraka said to that prince, "Would that I were still young and alive in those days, when thy people will drive thee out of this city." His Excellency asked, "O Waraka, will they then indeed drive me out?" Waraka answered, "Yes, they will do it: for no one ever has brought such a thing as thou, without his people having

[1] This is another of the prophet's proper names. Whilst 'Mohammed' means simply 'praised,' 'Ahmed' signifies 'most praised, or most praiseworthy.' It is an intensive form expressing an eminent or superlative degree of the radical verb *hamada*, 'to praise.' The words put into Waraka's mouth refer to the well-known passages in St. John's Gospel about the promised Spirit, the Comforter, and give the notorious Mohammedan mistranslation of the Greek Paraclete.

[2] This is very unlike John's 'Lamb of God,' and reminds one rather of 'the wrath of the Lamb' in Apoc. vi. 16.

been hostile to him, injuring, and persecuting him."[1] Not long after this, Waraka died, without reaching the time of the gathering of disciples.'[2]

(16.) *They and their public mission are the Object and End of all previous Prophecy, as ushering in the grand era of Fulfilment.*

a. 'Jesus began to say unto them, This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears' (Luke iv. 16-21).

'This that is written must yet be accomplished in me, . . . for the things concerning me have an end' (Luke xxii. 37).

'All this was done that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled' (Matt. xxvi. 56).

'And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself (Luke xxiv. 27).

'God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.' (Heb. i. 1, 2).

b. Ibn Ishak says, 'When Mohammed was forty years old, God sent him as a prophet, from compassion towards the world and all mankind. He had already before rendered it obligatory on every prophet whom He sent, to believe in Him, to declare Him to be true, to assist Him against His enemies, and also to announce this to all those who were going to believe in Him. Therefore it is written in the Koran: "When God made a firm covenant with the prophets, saying, I have brought you a Scripture and instruction, then also there comes an apostle to you, confirming what you had already: verily, ye are to believe in him and to assist him. Do you acknowledge this and do you recognise the burden of my covenant? They answered, We acknowledge it. Then God said, Bear witness, and I myself shall bear witness with you." In this way God took a promise

[1] Waraka here speaks from his own experience as a Hanifite and a Christian, and with the recollection of a Zeid and an Othman fresh in his mind. These words sound like a faint echo of the Baptist's 'Behold, the *Lamb* of God.'

[2] Here we may be reminded of the Baptist's word, 'He that hath the bride is the bridegroom. . . . He must increase, but I must decrease' (John iii. 29, 30).

from all the prophets, to declare Mohammed to be true, and to assist him against his enemies: and they proclaimed this to those who believed in them; and many of the professors 'of both the sacred books believed it.'

In the Rawzat we read: 'Sundry portentous events, which took place in the night of Mohammed's birth, having been brought to the knowledge of Chosroes, the king of Persia, he wrote a letter to Naeman Ibn Munzir, saying, "Send us a man who is able to answer questions which we may put to him." Then Naeman sent Abdu-l-Massiah, to whom Chosroes narrated what had taken place, and then asked him what was portended thereby. Abdu-l-Massiah replied, "The answer to this question is not with me, but with my friend Satih, who is now living in Syria." It is said that Satih was a diviner, of the tribe of the Beni Zeeb, who had no joints in his body, so that he could neither stand up nor sit down, but only, on being angered, he became swollen up, bloated, and sitting. In his limbs there were no bones at all, except that he had a skull and bones in the top of his fingers: he was, as it were, a flat surface (=sath) of flesh. When he had to be taken anywhere, he was rolled up and folded together like a cloth. His face was on his chest, and he had no neck. The historians say that Satih lived in a district of Syria, called Gabie. He was born in the days of Seil the Syrian, and, after quitting the country Marab, with the tribe of Azad, and wandering over the world, he had come with them to Gabie. Living till the birth of the Prophet, he must have been about 600 years old: but God knows it best. And it is said that when they wanted him to prophesy and to announce something unknown, they shook him, as the buttering-skin is shaken in making butter, and thus they caused him to move; then he spake and made unknown things known. It is recorded, on the authority of Heb Ibn Munhib, that they asked Satih, "Whence didst thou obtain the knowledge of prophecy?" Satih answered, "I have a friend amongst the demons (jin), who hears the news of heaven, and who told me many of the things which God had told Moses on Mount Sinai, and which I tell the people."

'Abdu-l-Massiah was ordered to resort to his friend in

Gabie and to fetch the answer to that question. Then Abdu-l-Massiah went to Satih; and on reaching him, found him in the agonies of death. When he saluted Satih and gave him the salutations and felicitations of Chosroes, there came no reply. Then Abdu-l-Massiah recited to him some verses which Chosroes had sent to Satih, and in which he had expressed the hope of receiving a favourable reply to his query. When Satih heard those verses, he raised his head, and said, "Abdu-l-Massiah has come to Satih upon a laggard camel, when Satih had already received the honour of entering the grave. O Abdu-l-Massiah, the king of the Assanides, *i.e.* Nushirvan, has sent thee to me, because his palaces have been distressed and shaken, and their towers fallen to the earth, and the fire-altars of the Persians have been extinguished, and the chief fire-priest has seen in his dream unruly camels, drawing after them Arab horses beyond the Tigris, to be spread over the land of Persia: in the time when the reading of the Koran is to come to pass, and when the Lord of the stick,[1] *i.e.* Mohammed, is to appear, and the Wady of Semawa shall flow with water, and the sea of Sawa shall overflow the land, and the fire of the fire-worshippers shall be extinguished,—in that time shall Babylon be no longer Persian, and Syria shall no longer belong to Satih, *i.e.* the Persians shall be driven out of the empire of Babylon, and Satih shall quit the world, so that the science of prophecy shall no longer remain in Syria; and according to the fourteen dilapidated towers of the palace of Chosroes there shall still be fourteen rulers from amongst his males and females, after which mighty and great things will come to pass and all that is to be will be."

'Satih had no sooner given utterance to these words than he collapsed, and expired. But Abdu-l-Massiah returned to Chosroes, and told him all he had heard from Satih. Chosroes was somewhat comforted, and said, "It will take a long time before the reigns of fourteen of our descendants can have passed away." But Chosroes had no knowledge of the Divine decrees. It is reported that ten of

[1] Mohammed is here called 'the Lord of the stick' to represent him as making free use of the stick, that is, as destined to administer severe chastisement and to execute unsparing judgment upon the evil-doers.

their kings passed away in four years; and the reigns of the four other kings were completed under Omar; and God granted the overthrow of Yezdejerd, who was the last king of Persia, by the hand of Saad Ibn Abi Wakaz. Yezdejerd escaped, and many times collected soldiers to war against the Mussulmans, till A.H. 31, under the Califate of Osman, he fled from the battle of Nehavend to Khorassan, where a miller killed him. But God knows best.

'The masters of biographical and historical science have stated that when Satih died, prophecy was taken away from the world.[1] This statement indicates that the original object of the existence of prophets and diviners was, as it were, to make known in Arabia the mission of Mohammed; and the expression in the traditions, "There is no more prophecy after the mission of the prophet," confirms this meaning. And the import of the word "prophet" in the tradition, "They believed in what came to the prophets and diviners, but they rejected in unbelief what was sent down upon Mohammed," shows, that whoever claims the gift of prophecy, after the prophetic mission of Mohammed, is a mere diviner, whereas he who disclaims it, has the reality of prophetic gift and is not a diviner. For whoever disclaims prophetic gifts after Mohammed's prophetic mission, is a true prophet, like Satih and Suwad, and to testify to what is true is not unbelief: but whoever lays claim to being a prophet, after God had taken away the prophetic gift from amongst men, when He made known the prophetic mission of Mohammed the chosen,—he is a liar and makes the prophet a liar; and whoever bears testimony in favour of such a liar, must certainly be counted an infidel."'[2] (R.)

[1] This statement is a complete parallel to the Lord's word: 'All the Prophets and the Law prophesied until John' (Matt. xi. 13). As John passed away with Christ's coming, so Satih with the appearance of Mohammed. Each was the last of the prophets, to make way for the era of fulfilment.

[2] The thoughtful reader cannot help seeing that the very same method of reasoning here employed by these learned 'masters of biographical and historical science' must lead the Christian thinker, from the standpoint of Christianity, to come to the inevitable conclusion that Mohammed, who claimed a prophetic mission after revelation had reached its climax and goal in *the Son*, who was the end of the Law and the prophets (Heb. i. 2; Luke xvi. 16), cannot have been a true prophet, sent by God, but must belong to the category referred to in Christ's word: 'Many *false* prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many' (Matt. xxiv. 11).

(17.) *After the commencement of their public ministry, both of them had to pass through the ordeal of a remarkable Satanic Temptation, which aimed at seducing them into a most important change of their mission, but without success.*[1]

a. In Matt. iv. 1-11 we read concerning Jesus Christ that 'He was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil,' and that He victoriously passed through the ordeal, without the least wavering in His resistance to the tempter, by meeting the first temptation with the word, 'It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God;' the second, with the declaration, 'It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God;' and the third, with the rebuke, 'Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.'

[1] Let the reader be expressly reminded that this heading (as are also other similar ones) is not in the least intended to convey the notion as if there was a *real* parallelism between the two cases. The parallelism results only from the Mohammedan invention of a story in excuse of an unethical action of Mohammed. In Christ's case we stand before a real, though unsuccessful, Satanic temptation, to lead Him astray from the Messianic course marked out for Him; in Mohammed's case, before an unprincipled compromise which he formally accepted, and from which he afterwards cunningly tried to extricate himself, by throwing the whole blame on the devil, and by representing himself as merely the innocent sufferer of his unsuccessful temptation. Sir W. Muir expressly asserts the possibility of a true and real parallel between the two cases, by saying, in his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 95, 'If we admit that our Saviour was at the commencement of His mission the subject of a direct and special temptation by the Evil One, we may safely assume that a similar combat possibly was waged, though with far other results, in the case of Mahomet.' This assertion not only needs the apology from which he boldly dispenses himself; but it is so gravely objectionable that no apology could make amends for it. From a Christian standpoint it is altogether inadmissible. For it presupposes the belief that, as Jesus had the Divine mission to be the prophet of Israel, so Mohammed had equally a Divine mission to become the prophet of the Arabs; and that the Evil One naturally felt the same interest in spoiling the one and the other of these Divine missions.

Sir W. Muir, in several places of his work, speaks of Mohammed as if he had fairly begun to be a true prophet, a kind of Messiah for Arabia; and that this Divine purpose was only frustrated by the moral delinquencies to which he yielded. But if Christ was sent by God as the true prophet and only Saviour of all mankind (which Sir William undoubtedly believes), how can Mohammed, as the founder of a non-Christian and anti-Christian religion, by any possibility

b. The Rawzat narrates Mohammed's notorious temptation and its result in the following manner: 'It is recorded that that Excellency's anxiety for the conversion of the Koreish to the faith was so great, that he desired the Most High might send a spirit to subdue the people's mind, and to incline their hearts to the Faith, and that he read to the polytheists revelations which from time to time came down from the One, in order that thus their hearts might be softened and themselves turned into Mussulmans. When the Sura "By the Star" (*i.e.* the 53d) came down, the Lord of the world went to the holy house of prayer and read that Sura in the assembly of the Koreish. In reading it out, he paused between the verses, to enable the people to take them in and remember them entirely. When he had reached the noble verse, "Do you see Lat, Ozza, and Manat, the third, besides?" then Satan found it possible to cause the stupefied ears of the polytheists to hear these words, "These

have likewise had a Divine mission from which it required a special Satanic temptation to turn him aside? Theoretical Monotheism is of itself not so certain a token of the presence of God's kingdom as to be intolerable to Satan. The Jews were strict monotheists, and yet they were so completely under the influence of the devil that Jesus could affirm, he was their father (John viii. 44). In fact, the devils themselves, as St. James teaches us (James ii. 19), are professed monotheists; but to no good, except to make them 'tremble.' Accordingly, Mohammed's iconoclastic advocacy of Monotheism cannot by any means be relied upon as a proof that even during the best period of his prophetic career, when some regard him as a true prophet, with a special Divine mission for the Arabs, he was anything but an instrument in the hand of the Powers of Darkness for raising up one of the most formidable obstacles to the coming of the Kingdom of God and the spreading of the Faith in Christ, as the Divine and only Saviour of man. The theological views, plainly underlying Sir W. Muir's valuable work on Mohammed, demand, if consistently carried to their logical conclusion, a rectification of the manner in which he has hitherto represented the outwardly purer period in the life of a fictitious prophet whose claims to replace Christ as a Divine Ambassador, from the very time they were first put forth, could not be anything but the outcome of deception. Not his immoralities constitute Mohammed a *false* prophet, but his claimed prophetship itself, his gratuitous assertion of a Divine mission to supersede Christ, as th last and greatest of all God's messengers. Therefore whatever appears to prove Mohammed a *prophet*, can, in the face of Christ, only prove him a *false* prophet. The kingdom of Darkness had obviously a far greater interest in *upholding* Mohammed's anti-Christian prophetship, than in demolishing it by an extraordinary Satanic temptation. The whole 'parallel,' discovered by Sir W. Muir, therefore reduces itself to this: that Christ's temptation was a fact and Mohammed's a fiction.

are the exalted Goddesses whose intercession may be hoped for." In hearing these words, the infidels were exceedingly delighted. After having read the whole Sura, his Excellency worshipped, and the polytheists also followed his example, by doing so. When the infidels rose up from that assembly, they said, "Mohammed has mentioned our Gods in the handsomest manner; and, although we know that the Most High God is the Lord of life and death, the Creator and Preserver, yet we also, at the same time, affirm that these our Deities are Intercessors with the highest God. In the present state of affairs, now that Mohammed has agreed with us in the matter, by declaring them to be 'those exalted Goddesses whose intercession may be hoped for,' we make peace with him and desist from persecuting him." The news of this peaceable arrangement spread abroad, and on reaching the fugitives in Abyssinia, they, on the strength of it, returned to their fatherland Mecca.

'It is recorded that Gabriel came and informed the prophet, upon whom be prayers and peace, of the words, "These exalted Goddesses," which Satan had suggested; and on that Excellency becoming exceedingly pained and sad, God, in order to comfort his blessed heart, sent him this verse, "We did not send any apostle or prophet before thee, but when he desired anything, Satan cast evil suggestions into his desires. But God cancels that which Satan suggests. Then God establishes His revealed verses; for God is knowing and wise." Then, on this verse reaching the ears of the infidels, they said, "Mohammed has repented of his declaration that there is room and a standing for our Deities, with God: therefore we also now withdraw from that peace." Thereupon they resumed their persecution.'[1]

[1] It is evident from the preceding account, that the Mohammedan narrators strove to screen Mohammed from having uttered the compromising words, and to represent the latter as a mere magical effect produced by Satan upon the ears of the listening polytheists. The design of screening Mohammed from the readiness shown by him to come to a compromise with idolaters, so damaging to his prophetic pretensions, is already apparent in the earliest biographers. For whilst Tabari in his first account of the affair says expressly, 'Satan put upon his tongue that of which his soul had been discoursing to him,' he altogether omits these words in his second version; and though Ibn Ishak had related the story in his biography, as is known by Tabari quoting it from that source, yet Ibn Hisham, in editing Ibn Ishak's work, eliminated the entire story, so that

(18.) *As Jesus Christ chose Twelve Apostles from amongst His disciples, so also Mohammed selected Twelve Apostles from his Moslem followers: but he not only from amongst men, but also from amongst spirits.*

a. 'When it was day, Jesus called unto him his disciples: and of them he chose twelve, whom also he named Apostles' (Luke vi. 13).

'These twelve Jesus sent forth, and commanded them, saying, As ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give' (Matt. x. 5-7).

b. 'When Mohammed returned from the Arab tribes whom he had invited to accept him for a prophet, but who in return had persecuted and ridiculed him, he, at a day's journey from Mecca, made the acquaintance of a number of spirits (jin) whom he converted to Islam; and a month

now it is no longer found in Ibn Ishak's biography. Sir W. Muir treats this subject well, in his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. pp. 149-160. He also gives the more unfavourable account, on Tabari and Wakidi's authority, of Gabriel's interference, in these words, 'Gabriel said, What is this that thou hast done? Thou hast repeated before the people words which I never gave unto thee. So Mohammed grieved sore and feared the Lord greatly; and he said, I have spoken of God that which He has not said.' The same author makes the following just remarks on the affair: 'Mohammed was not long in perceiving the inconsistency into which he had been betrayed. His only safety now lay in disowning the concession. The devil had deceived him. The words of compromise were no part of the Divine system received from God through His heavenly messenger. The lapse was thus remedied. The heretical verses spoken under delusion were cancelled, and others revealed in their stead denying the existence of female angels, such as Lat and Ozza, and denouncing idolatry with a sentence of irrevocable condemnation. But although Mohammed may have completely re-established his own convictions, there is little doubt that the concession to idolatry, followed by a recantation so sudden and so entire, seriously weakened his position with the people at large. They would not readily credit the excuse that words of error were cast by the devil into his mouth. Even supposing it to have been so, what faith could be placed in the revelations of a prophet liable to such influences?'. But the biographers, whose great object was to represent Mohammed as in no way inferior to Christ, were fain, as soon as they found what unpleasant use could be made of the passage, to extricate themselves from a serious difficulty by resorting to the stratagem of either suppressing the story altogether, or so modifying it that the devil did not put the objectionable words on the Prophet's tongue at all, but only caused them to be heard by the unhallowed ears of the people.

later he was visited by a vast host of spirits who likewise became Mussulmans. In that night his Excellency selected *twelve* from amongst the nobles of the *spirits*, to whom he taught the ordinances of the Law, and whom he commanded to teach the same unto others.' (R.)

'In the thirteenth year of Mohammed's prophetship, about three months before the Hegira, seventy-two of the people of Medina who had come to Mecca on the occasion of the pilgrimage, took the oath of submission and allegiance to him. Out of these he chose *twelve men*, whom he appointed as overseers over the rest; and he said on the occasion, "Let not those whom I did not choose to the office of overseer grieve or be vexed; for it is not I who have chosen them, but Gabriel has chosen and selected them for me;" and to those who were chosen and appointed as overseers, his Excellency said, "You are the sureties of the people over whom you are appointed as overseers, *just as the Apostles were Jesus' sureties*,[1] and I am the surety of my entire people."' (R.)

(19.) *In the exercise of their public ministry, they gathered Disciples around them and zealously preached the Faith, one Sermon on a Mount being specially noted; and they also made diligent use of the gathering of Great Multitudes, during the annual Festivals of the nation.*

a. 'From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. And Jesus, walking by the sea of Galilee, saw two brethren, . . . and he saith unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men. And they straightway left their nets, and followed him, etc. And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a

[1] This express reference to a Christian institution, as the pattern for its Mohammedan imitation, is of importance, as strongly supporting the idea underlying this whole chapter, namely, that there is in Islam an obvious tendency to represent Christianity as rendered no longer necessary, and therefore justly superseded and replaced by its own revelation and ordinances. Once the postulate being admitted, that Islam offers benefits and blessings as great or greater than those of Christianity, it follows, as a matter of course, that it is justified in asserting a position of equality and superiority, which must turn into one of direct antagonism whenever the assumed superseded religion presumes to maintain itself against its rival. Thus Islam proved itself *anti*-Christian in the double sense of the 'anti,' by first affecting a correspondence and equality of worth with regard to Christianity, and then assuming an attitude of open hostility.

mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him: and he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying, Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven,' etc. (Matt. iv. 17-20; v. vi. vii.)

'Now when Jesus was in Jerusalem at the passover, in the feast day, many believed in his name' (John ii. 23). 'After this there was a feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem,' etc. (John v. 1-47). 'Now about the midst of the feast (of tabernacles), Jesus went up into the temple, and taught' (John vii. 14-53).

b. 'The biographers and historians record that when that Excellency knew by clear proofs that he was a prophet, he preached Islam first of all to Khadija, and she believed in him without any hesitation. One day later, or, according to another account, at the close of that same day, Ali Ibn Abu Talib, who was being brought up by that Excellency, believed in him. After him, Zeid Ibn Haritha, who was a liberated slave of Khadija, came to the faith. After him, Abu Bekr, the faithful, became ennobled with the nobility of the faith, etc.

'It is recorded that at first Mohammed invited the people to Islam in a private, secret manner, and that they embraced the faith by ones or by twos. This state lasted for three years, till Gabriel came and brought down this verse, "O Mohammed, bring thou openly forward that with which thou art commissioned, and turn away from the idolaters." Then that Excellency tied the girdle of preaching round his loins, and openly called upon the people to embrace Islam, so that men and women believed in numbers; and Islam was much spoken of in Mecca.

'On receiving the command in the words of this verse, "Warn thy own tribe, thy relatives; and spread thy wing over the believers who follow thee," his Excellency went up to *mount Safa*, and called together all the different branches of the Koreish. On hearing his voice, they said, "Mohammed has gone up to Mount Safa and calls us." So all the heads of the Koreish were gathered to him, and even those who could not come themselves sent some representative in their stead. Being gathered round him, they said, "What is the matter with thee, O Mohammed, and what dost thou

want?" Then the Lord of the world addressed them, saying, "Redeem your souls from God: God is not enriched from you by anything. O ye sons of Abdu-l-Mottaleb, God is not enriched of you by anything. O Abbas, thou son of Abdu-l-Mottaleb, God is not enriched of thee by anything. O Safiya, thou aunt of the Apostle of God, God is not enriched of thee by anything. O Fatima, thou daughter of Mohammed, ask of me what thou wilt of the things which concern me: God is not enriched of thee by anything." After that he said, "If I told you that hostile soldiers were coming from the other side of the mountain, who would suddenly pounce upon you and wish to make you prisoners, would you believe me in giving you such information, or would you not?" They all answered, "We would believe thee: for thou art not known amongst us as a liar, and we have seen nothing in thee but what is true." His Excellency continued, "Then know and understand that I warn and threaten you with a severe punishment." That Excellency's uncle, Abu Lahab, replied, "What a pity, O Mohammed, that thou callest us together for such a purpose as this."' (Ibn Hisham, Part IV.)

'It is recorded that that prince presented himself to the people during the seasons of pilgrimage, and invited them to embrace Islam, saying, "O ye people, call out, There is no God but the true God."' (R.)

(20.) *In order to tempt and test them, difficult questions were submitted to them by their opponents, which they were able to solve.*

a. 'Then went the Pharisees, and took counsel how they might entangle him in his talk. . . . But Jesus perceived their wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? Show me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny. And he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? They say unto him, Caesar's. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's. When they heard these words, they marvelled, and left him, and went their way. The same day came to him the Sad-

ducees, which say that there is no resurrection, and asked him, saying,' etc. (Matt. xxii. 15-46).

b. 'El Nadhr was of the Satans of the Koreish, one of those who reviled and opposed Mohammed. Having visited Hira, he had there heard the history of the Persian kings, and of Rustem and of Isfendar. So when Mohammed warned his people of the Divine punishments which had befallen former nations, he would rise after him, and say, "I know more beautiful stories than Mohammed;" and having told them, he would ask, "Now, whereby are Mohammed's stories distinguished above mine?" He also once said, "I can reveal to you similar things to those which Allah reveals." When El Nadhr had spoken thus, the Koreish sent him with Okba Ibn Abi Mueit to the Jewish Rabbis of Medina, in order to tell them about Mohammed, and to ask them what they thought of him, because they had knowledge of the ancient books and knew more about prophets than themselves.[1] Having gone to Medina and delivered their errand, the Rabbis said, "Address three questions to him, which we will communicate to you: if he answers them, he is sent as a prophet; if not, he is a liar;[2] and you will know how to deal with him. First ask him concerning the men who went away in former times; for marvellous things are told about them. Secondly ask him concerning the wanderer who reached the remotest east and west of the earth. And lastly ask him concerning the Spirit, what it is." On their return to Mecca, El Nadhr and Okba communicated the result of their journey to the Koreish; and then went to Mohammed and proposed to him the three questions. Mohammed replied definitely, "To-morrow I shall give you the answer." But when fifteen nights had passed, without his having received a revelation on the subject, the Meccans assembled

[1] The reader will here notice the further parallelism, that not only were Jesus and Mohammed alike subjected to the test of hard questions, but also that in both cases the puzzling questions proceeded from the same Jewish source.

[2] According to another account communicated in A. Sprenger's *Leben und Lehre des Mohammed*, vol. ii. p. 231, the Rabbis said, 'In order to test him, submit to him three questions: if he answers them all three, he is not a prophet; but if he answers some and evades others, he is a prophet.' This would seem to show that Mohammed's definition of 'the Spirit' was regarded, even by some early Mohammedans, as not a solution, but a mere evasion of the difficulty.

together and said, "Mohammed has promised to give us an answer on the following day, and now fifteen nights have passed away, without his giving an explanation." Mohammed himself was sad, because of his non-reception of a revelation and because of the Meccans' talk against him. At last God sent Gabriel with the Sura of the Cave (*i.e.* the 18th), in which he is rebuked on account of his grief, and informed about the men who had gone away, and about the wanderer, and about the Spirit.[1] Mohammed said to Gabriel, "Thou hast been long in coming, so that I feared for the worst." Gabriel replied, "We can only come down to thee at the behest of God, thy Lord." In the said Sura the story of the men who had gone away is thus elucidated: "When the youths betook themselves to the cave, they said, O our Lord, grant us mercy from before thee, and order for us our affair aright. Then struck we upon their ear with deafness, in the cave, for many years. Then we awakened them that we might know which of the two parties could best reckon the space of their abiding. We will relate to thee their tale with truth. They were youths who had believed in their Lord, and we had increased them in guidance. And we had made them stout of heart, when they stood up and said, Our Lord is the Lord of the heavens and of the earth: we will call on no other God but Him. . . . And thou mightest have seen the sun, when it arose, passing on the right of their cave; and when it set, leave them on the left, while they were in its spacious chamber. . . . And thou wouldest have deemed awake, though they were sleeping: and we turned them to the right and to the left; and at the entrance lay their dog with outstretched paws. Hadst thou come suddenly upon them, thou wouldest surely have turned thy back on them in flight, and have been filled with fear of them. . . . Some say they were three, their dog the fourth; others say five, their dog the sixth, guessing at the secret; others say seven, and their dog the eighth. Say, my Lord best knoweth the number: none, save a few shall know them. . . . And

[1] In point of fact only the two first questions are answered in the 18th Sura (entitled 'the Cave'), whereas the third answer, concerning the Spirit, is found not in the 18th, but in the 15th Sura, so that either Ibn Hisham's account is inexact in this particular, or the verse defining 'the Spirit' originally formed part of Sura 18.

they tarried in their cave 300 years and 9 years over. Say, God best knows how long they tarried: with Him are the secrets of the heavens and of the earth." [1] The story of the wanderer who reached to the remotest east and west is thus explained: "They will ask thee about Dzu-l-Karnain.[2] Say, I will recite to you an account of him. We stablished his power upon the earth, and made for him a way to every thing, and a route which he followed until he reached the setting of the sun. He found that it set in a miry fount; and, hard by, he discovered a people. We said, O Dzu-l-Karnain, either chastise them or treat them generously. . . . Then followed he a route until he reached the rising of the sun. He found that it rose on a people to whom we had given no shelter from it. . . . Then followed he a route until he came between the two mountains between which he discovered a people who scarce understood a language. They said, "O Dzu-l-Karnain, verily Gog and Magog waste this land. Shall we then pay thee a tribute, so that thou mayest build a rampart between us and them?" . . . He said, "Bring me blocks of iron," until, on having filled the space between the mountain-sides, he said, "Ply your bellows," until, after having made it red with heat, he said, "Bring me molten brass that I may pour it all over it." And Gog and Magog[3] were not able to scale it, neither were they able to dig through it.

[1] The story of the men who had gone away or disappeared from amongst their fellow-men, is the well-known legend *De septem dormientibus apud urbem Ephesum*, according to which seven Christian youths, in order to escape the cruel persecution under the Emperor Dacius, entered a cave in Mount Kalion, near Ephesus, A.D. 251, and, falling asleep, remained there till the reign of Theodosius, when they were awakened by the accidental re-opening of the cave, A.D. 446; and after having been seen by the Emperor and a bishop, died, with a halo of glory round their head. This legend became widely spread in the East, reaching even to Abyssinia and Arabia.

[2] Of Dzu-l-Karnain (lit. 'the two-horned,' from his representation by a ram's head with horns). Ibn Hisham says, that his name was Iskander (*i.e.* Alexander), the founder of Iskanderia (*i.e.* Alexandria), which city bears his name; but he adds, that some one, well versed in Persian traditions, had told him that he was an Egyptian, called Marzulan, and descended from Jonan, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah.

[3] Gog and Magog are believed by the Mussulmans to be powerful nations living in the northern and eastern parts of Asia, and their future irruption upon the lands of the believers will be one of the signs of the approaching day of judgment and the end of the world. So vast will be their hosts that they will drink the Lake of Tiberias dry, on their march to Jerusalem, where they will

'The answer to the third question is found in Sura 17, verse 87, where we read, "They will ask thee about the Spirit. Say, The Spirit belongs to the things of my Lord (or, the Spirit is owing, as a creature, to a command of my Lord);[1] but the knowledge given to you is only a small measure."

'But when Mohammed, by answering their questions and giving an account of the unknown, had demonstrated to them that what he spoke was true and that he was a real prophet, envy prevented them from believing in him and following him, so that they remained rebellious against God, turned away from him with open eyes, and continued in unbelief.' (Ibn Ishak and Ibn Hisham in Part IV.)

(21.) *The impression made by their words and presence was such as often to disarm their enemies, and frustrate the hostile designs which they had entertained against them.*

a. 'The Pharisees and chief priests sent officers to take him. And some of them would have taken him; but no man laid hands on him. Then came the officers to the chief priests and Pharisees; and they said unto them, Why have ye not brought him? The officers answered, Never man spake like this man' (John vii. 14-46). Compare also John viii. 3-11.

'As soon as he had said unto them, I am he, they went backward, and fell to the ground. Then asked he them

greatly distress Jesus, who will have returned to this earth, and His companions. But at their request God will destroy them and send birds of prey to carry away and consume them. Their bows, arrows, and quivers will last the surviving Mussulmans as fuel for seven years; and at length God will send a pouring rain to cleanse and fertilise the land. The idea of these innumerable hosts of Gog and Magog seems to have been suggested to the Western Asiatics by the westward incursions of hundreds of thousands of horsemen from Eastern Tartary and China, for centuries before the Christian era. (Compare Ezek. xxxix. 1-16 and Rev. xx. 7-10.) The 'Rampart' mentioned, seems to refer to the 'Chinese Wall.'

[1] The word used in Arabic (*emr*) having the double meaning of 'command' and 'thing,' the verse can be literally translated by either, 'The Spirit is (one) from (amongst) the things of my Lord,' or, 'The Spirit is (proceeding) from (*i.e.* owing to) the command of my Lord.' In either case Mohammed's probable intention was, to represent the Spirit as one of the many things or creatures of God, produced by His creative fiat; and therefore the verse conveys a latent and indirect opposition to the Christian Faith in the Spirit, as one of the Three eternal hypostases of the Holy Trinity.

again, Whom seek ye? And they said, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus answered, I have told you that I am he. If therefore ye seek me, let these go their way' (John xviii. 3-9).

b. 'Abd Allah Ibn Omar said, I was present one day, when the chiefs of the Koreish were assembled in the temple and thus spoke about Mohammed: "We have never endured anything like what we endure from this man: he calls us fools, dishonours our fathers, reviles our faith, divides our congregation, and blasphemes our gods. Verily, we endure hard things from him." While they were thus speaking, Mohammed arrived, embraced the pillar of the temple, and passing them in going round the temple, I observed from his face that they had been saying something offensive to him. I made the same observation, when he passed them the second and the third time. Then he stood still, and said to them, "Hearken, O ye congregation of the Koreish, by Him in Whose power Mohammed's soul is, I come to you with sacrificing." The people being struck by this word, every one felt as if a bird had alighted upon his head, so that the worst amongst them addressed him with tender words, saying, "Go home, O Abu-l-Kasim; by Allah! thou art not a fool," whereupon Mohammed went away.

'Otba Ibn Rabia, one of the chief men of the Koreish, said once in their assembly, whilst Mohammed was sitting alone in the temple, "Shall I not go to Mohammed and make him certain offers which, perhaps, he will accept, so that he may not any longer trouble us with his faith?" They approved his proposal; and he went to lay his offers before Mohammed, who in reply recited to him a Sura from the Koran. When Otba returned to his friends, after this interview, they said one to the other, "We can swear by God that Otba has returned with quite a different countenance." On having seated himself near them, they asked him, "What is the report thou bringest?" He answered, "By Allah, I heard words such as I have never heard before: they are neither poetry, nor enchantment, nor soothsaying; therefore trust and follow me, by leaving Mohammed in peace." Upon this they replied, "By God, he has enchanted thee with his tongue." But he said, "This is my view, do ye what you deem proper."

'When Mohammed had left the Koreish, Abu Jahl said, "You see that Mohammed will only despise our religion, revile our fathers, call us fools, and blaspheme our gods. I therefore take God for a witness that to-morrow I will take with me a stone into the temple, as heavy as I can carry; and when he prostrates himself in prayer, I will smash his head with it. Then you may either protect me, or give me up to be dealt with by the Beni Abd Menaf, as they please." To this the Koreish replied, We shall never give thee up: do what thou wilt." The next day Abu Jahl took a heavy stone and waited for Mohammed in the temple. In the morning the latter went to the temple to worship, as he always did in Mecca, with his face turned towards Syria, between the Black Stone and the southern pillar, so that the Kaaba lay between himself and Syria.[1] The Koreish were all assembled to see what Abu Jahl was going to do. When Mohammed prostrated himself, Abu Jahl went towards him with the stone; but on approaching him, he turned back again like a fugitive, pale and terrified, his hands sinking down with the stone, till he let it drop. The Koreish went towards him and asked what was the matter with him. He answered, "I wanted to carry out what I had told you yesterday; but when I came near him, I saw a camel between him and me, with a head, neck, and teeth, such as I had never seen in a camel, and it showed signs as if it was going to devour me." At the close of this account Ibn Ishak adds, I have been informed that Mohammed said, "This was Gabriel who would have annihilated him, had he approached nearer."'

Abd Allah Ibn Abi Nejih reported that the Calif Omar narrated his conversion to Islam as follows: 'I was an enemy of Islam, loved wine, and drank a great deal of it. One night I went to a certain wine-seller of Mecca, in order to drink wine; but not finding him at home, I resolved to go to the Kaaba to circumambulate it seven or fourteen times. On my arrival there, I found Mohammed praying between the Black Stone and the southern pillar, and with his face turned towards Syria, having the Kaaba between him and Syria.

[1] The drift of this observation seems to be to intimate that Mohammed did not neglect any one of the two Kiblas, but that in facing the one he at the same time also faced the other.

When I saw him, I thought I will listen to-night to what he says; but lest I should frighten him, I went near him softly from the side of the northern wall and passed behind the curtains of the Kaaba, by which alone I was separated from him. On hearing how Mohammed prayed and read the Koran, my heart softened, I wept, and Islam gained entrance with me. I remained in my place till Mohammed had finished his prayer and went away. Going after him, I overtook him between the houses of Abbas and Ibn Azhar. Recognising me, and supposing that I had followed him, in order to harm him, he called out aloud, "What dost thou want at this hour, thou son of Khattab?" I answered, "I come, in order to believe in God and His apostle, and that which he has brought from God." Mohammed praised God, and said, "God has guided thee aright."[1]

[1] It is worthy of remark that immediately before this account of Omar's conversion, Ibn Ishak, on the authority of Abd-er-Rahman Ibn el Harith, gives a wholly different narrative of it with equal minuteness; and, as both cannot by any possibility be true, the truth of the one necessarily demonstrating the falsehood of the other, we have here an undeniable proof that the most detailed circumstantiality of description and the most plausible semblance to a graphic account by eye-witnesses, in these Mussulman sources of history, cannot by any means be relied upon as of themselves safe guarantees for the historical truth of a narrative. According to Abd-er-Rahman's account, Omar took his sword one day and went out with the intent of killing Mohammed. Being met on the way by Nueim Ibn Abd Allah, and asked what he was about, he communicated to him his intention. Nueim said, Thou hadst better righten matters in thy own family. Omar asked, Whom dost thou mean? Nueim replied, Thy brother-in-law Seid and thy sister Fatima have embraced Islam and followed Mohammed: first occupy thyself with them. Thereupon Omar went to his brother-in-law's house, where he found them engaged in reading a portion of the Koran. He smote Seid in the face, and on Fatima interfering, he also gave her a blow which wounded her. When he saw his sister bleeding, he regretted what he had done, was frightened, and said to her, Give me the manuscript from which I have just now heard you read, so that I may see what Mohammed has brought to you. After having read a little, he exclaimed, 'How beautiful, how sublime are these words! Take me to Mohammed that I may become a Moslem in his presence.' They told him that Mohammed was in a house near Safa, together with some of his companions; and after having gone there and confessed his faith in Islam, Mohammed exclaimed, God is great! and all those assembled in the house knew from this, that Omar had become a Moslem. At the end of these stories Ibn Ishak, evidently feeling their mutual contradiction, observes, 'God knows which of the two traditions is the correct one;' and the scrutinising reader may add with equal candour, 'God knows whether any is correct, and whether both are not false, and merely invented, as so many other things, to glorify the Koran and its earliest professors.'

(22.) *They were reviled and persecuted in their own home, because of their testimony and the unflinching discharge of their prophetic mission, especially when this involved opposition to the then existing state of religion and exposure of prevailing abuses.*

a. 'Jesus began to say unto them, This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears. . . . And he said, Verily I say unto you, No prophet is accepted in his own country. . . . And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up, and thrust him out of the city' (Luke iv. 21-29). Compare John v. 15-18; vi. 41, 42; Heb. xii. 3.

'The world cannot hate you; but me it hateth, because I testify of it, that the works thereof are evil' (John vii. 7).

'And Jesus going up to Jerusalem took the twelve disciples apart in the way, and said unto them, Behold, we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man shall be betrayed unto the chief priests and unto the scribes, and they shall condemn him to death, and shall deliver him to the Gentiles to mock, and to scourge, and to crucify him:[1] and the third day he shall rise again' (Matt. xx. 17-19).

b. 'The mission of a prophet is accompanied by troubles

[1] It may here be remarked that, as regards the termination of their persecutions, the life of Christ and the life of Mohammed present a striking contrast. Jesus Christ deliberately went up to Jerusalem, knowing for certain that He would then and there be condemned to death by crucifixion; but Mohammed, on seeing his life seriously threatened in Mecca, fled from his persecutors to Medina; and, in order to secure his own escape, condescended even to deceive the Koreish who were watching his house, by causing his nephew Ali to lay himself on the Prophet's bed in the Prophet's clothes. Besides, as long as Jesus lived in this world, the eminence of His Person drew all the persecutions upon Himself, thus saving His disciples from likewise becoming the special objects of persecution (John xviii. 8, 9); but Mohammed's personal influence, even taken together with that of his protectors, did not suffice to screen his followers from ill-treatment; for Ibn Ishak tells us, 'The weak amongst the Moslems were imprisoned, beaten, exposed to hunger and thirst, and to the heat of the sun, so that many of them forsook their faith in order to escape the persecutions, whilst others were strengthened by God to defy and resist.' After they had endured persecution for a while, they, by the advice of Mohammed, who thus confessed his own inability to keep them, emigrated to the Christian country of Abyssinia, where they found the needed protection, till Mohammed had become the chief of a powerful party in Medina, when they, at his request, rejoined him, in order to help in rendering that party dominant.

and burdens which only the persevering and strong amongst God's apostles can bear, with God's help; for they have to endure much from men who contend with them concerning that which they proclaim in the name of God." (Ibn Ishak.)

'Waraka said to that prince: "Would that I were still living, and young and strong on that day, when thy people will drive thee out of this city."[1] Upon this his Excellency said, "O Waraka, are they, then, going to drive me out?" Waraka replied, "Yes, certainly, they will drive thee out; for no one has ever brought such a thing as thou bringest, without his people having shown him enmity and troubled and persecuted him."'[2] (R.)

'As Mohammed continued to publish the religion of God and to invite to its adoption, the discord between him and the Koreish increased, so that they shunned him, hated him, spoke against him, and excited each other to hostilities against him. Then they went again to Abu Talib, saying, "Thou art a learned and distinguished man amongst us, and we have already requested thee to put a stop to thy nephew's doings, but thou hast not done so: therefore, by Allah, we shall no longer tolerate his reviling our fathers, misleading our youths, and blaspheming our gods; either thou restrainest him, or we shall combat you both." On their leaving, Abu Talib was very sorry for the discord and enmity of his people; and yet he could not forsake and deliver up Mohammed. . . .

'Then the Koreish became hostile to the companions of Mohammed who had embraced Islam and lived amongst them: every clan rose against the Moslems amongst them, sought to induce them to give up their faith, and ill-treated them. But God protected Mohammed by his uncle Abu Talib, who, on seeing the conduct of the Koreish, called upon the Beni Hashim and Mottaleb to join him in protecting Mohammed and taking his part. They accepted

[1] *i.e.* the city of Mecca where Mohammed was born and had grown up, as a complete parallel to Jesus' being thrust out of the city of Nazareth, 'where He had been brought up' (Luke iv. 16).

[2] This word, put into Waraka's mouth, shows that the Moslem writers believed it to be their duty to illustrate that Mohammed's equality with the previous prophets also consisted in his having to suffer persecutions, for delivering a message purporting to come from God.

this invitation and joined him, with the exception of Abu Lahab, that wicked enemy of God. When Abu Talib had the pleasure of seeing that his tribe inclined towards him and shared his zeal, he praised them, recalling the memory of their ancestors, and the excellencies of the apostle of God, and his position amongst them, in order to strengthen them in their love towards him.[1]

'The Koreish became still more violent on account of the unpleasantness which they had brought upon themselves by their hostility to Mohammed, they incited the most daring ones against him; and these called him a liar, a sorcerer, a poet, a soothsayer, a demoniac, and ill-treated him. Mohammed, in openly carrying out God's commands, said aloud what they did not like to hear, reviled their faith, rejected their idols, and separated himself from the unbelievers.

'Yahya Ibn Urwa narrates that his father heard Abd Allah Ibn Omar say, One day the Koreish were in the temple and I with them, and I heard one of them say to the other, Do you remember what he did to you and you to him, so that he said to you what you did not like, and yet you left him alone? While they were thus speaking, Mohammed entered. They fell upon him like one man, surrounded him, and asked, Didst thou revile our gods and our Faith in such and such a manner? He answered, Yes, I did. Then I saw how one of them seized him just in the place where the cloak is folded over. Abu Bekr placed himself weeping before him, and said, Will you kill a man who says, God is my Lord? Upon this, they left him and went away. This is the worst of what they did to Mohammed. Ibn Ishak says, One of the family of Om Koltum, Abu Bekr's daughter, told me that she said, When Abu Bekr came home that day, part of his head was bare, so violently had they torn him by his beard; for he had a beautiful beard. A learned man also told me, The worst which Mohammed experienced from the Koreish was this, that one day, when he

[1] This plainly shows that Mohammed, the grandson of the most influential man of Mecca, was, from the first, never so wholly independent of the help of man and so entirely left to the resources of his own person as Jesus Christ, the carpenter's son of Nazareth; and that Islamism, even in its nascent state in Mecca, was supported by an arm of flesh and benefited by the sympathies and antipathies of Arab clanship.

went out, no one, neither freeman nor slave, met him without calling him a liar and insulting him. He went home and wrapt himself up; but God said to him, O thou who art wrapt up, arise and preach!' (Ibn Ishak and Ibn Hisham, Part IV.)

(23.) *Unconvinced by their words and acts of the Divine Mission they claimed, the people proffer them Unacceptable Demands which are not granted, and only widen the breach between the prophet and the people.*

a. 'The Jews said unto him, What sign shewest thou then, that we may see, and believe thee? what dost thou work? Our fathers did eat manna in the desert; as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat. Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Moses gave you not that bread from heaven; but my Father giveth you the true bread from heaven. For the bread of God is he which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world. . . . Many therefore of his disciples, when they heard this, said, This is an hard saying; who can hear it?' (John vi. 28-33, 60). Comp. John ii. 18-22, Matt. xii. 38-40.

'The Pharisees also with the Sadducees came, and tempting desired him that he would shew them a sign from heaven. He answered and said unto them, . . . A wicked and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given unto it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas. And he left them, and departed' (Matt. xvi. 1-4).

b. 'When Islam began to spread in Mecca amongst the men and women of the clans of the Koreish, the chief men of each clan assembled on one occasion, after sunset, at the back wall of the Kaaba and sent for Mohammed that they might dispute with him and be excused afterwards. When he had seated himself by them, they repeated their former accusations and again, as previously through Otba, offered him money, honour, and power, if that were his aim; or to procure a physician for him, in case he was visited by a spirit of whom he could not rid himself. Mohammed answered, My state is not such as you suppose, neither do I seek money, honour, and power; but God has sent me as

His apostle, revealed a book to me, and commanded me to bring you glad tidings and warnings. Now, if you will accept what I have brought to you, it will be for your good in this world and in the next; but if you reject it, I wait patiently till God will decide between us.

'Then they said to Mohammed, "If thou wilt not accept these our offers, then, knowing how hard our life is, and how we lack water in this our narrow valley, pray to thy Lord who has sent thee, that He may remove the straitening mountains and widen our land, and dissect it by rivers, like Syria and Irak, and that He may cause our late fathers to rise again, especially the truthful elder, Kussei Ibn Kilab, so that we may ask them whether thou speakest true or false. If they declare thee to be true and thou dost what we ask of thee, then will we believe in thee, acknowledge thy high rank with God, and regard thee as His Apostle." Mohammed replied, "I have not been sent to you with this. I bring you that with which God has commissioned me."

'Thereupon they said, "If thou wilt not do this, care for thyself: pray God to send an angel to declare thee to be true and to refute our objections; beg of Him to send thee gardens, palaces, and treasures of gold and silver, that thou mayest no longer have to go to market, like any one of us, to buy victuals, and we will acknowledge thy distinction and rank, if thou art an apostle of God as thou assertest." Mohammed replied, "I will not do so and not ask any thing of God for myself: I am sent as a warner and bearer of glad tidings;[1] if you accept my message, it will be for your own happiness in this and the next world."

'They further said, "Then cause the heaven to fall down upon us in pieces, as thou affirmest God does, if it pleases Him, else we will not believe in thee." Mohammed replied, "This belongs to God: He will do it; as soon as it pleases Him."

'Again they said, 'O Mohammed, since thy Lord knows that we are here sitting with thee and addressing certain demands to thee, why does He not come and tell thee how

[1] These mild answers, which would be so natural and true in the mouth of Jesus, seem plainly framed in imitation of the spirit of the Gospel and Christian practice.

to refute us and what He will do, if we continue not to listen to thee? We have heard that a man of Yemama, called Rahman, is thy teacher; but, by Allah, we shall never believe in Rahman. We have now done our duty; and we shall no longer tolerate thee and thy doings, till either we succumb to thee or thou to us."

'Then Mohammed rose up to go home. His cousin Abd Allah Ibn Abi Omeia accompanied him and spoke to him thus, "Thy people have made offers to thee which thou hast rejected. Then they desired of thee sundry things to prove the high esteem thou art held in by God, so that they might believe in thee and follow thee; but thou didst not comply. Then they requested thee to ask for thyself such things by which they might know that thou enjoyest more favour with God than themselves; but thou hast declined. Then they wished thee forthwith to carry out a portion of the punishment with which thou threatenest them; but thou didst not accede. Therefore, by Allah, I shall not believe in thee, till thou, before my eyes, ascendest up to heaven on ladders and comest back with a writing in which four angels testify to thee; but I think that even then I should not believe in thee." With these words he left Mohammed, who returned home, sad and cast down, because he was disappointed in his hope of the conversion of his tribe, and saw that they further and further separated themselves from him.' (Ibn Ishak and Ibn Hisham, Part IV.)

(24.) *Both of them came in contact with Spirits from the unseen world, who recognised, honoured, and obeyed them, more readily than the people of this world to whom they addressed themselves.*

a. 'And there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit; and he cried out, saying, Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God. And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the unclean spirit had torn him, and cried with a loud voice, he came out of him. And they were all amazed, insomuch that they

questioned among themselves, saying, What thing is this? what new doctrine is this? for with authority commandeth he even the unclean spirits, and they do obey him' (Mark i. 23-27).

'And unclean spirits, when they saw Jesus, fell down before him, and cried, saying, Thou art the Son of God. And he straitly charged them that they should not make him known' (Mark iii. 11, 12). Compare Mark i. 32-34; v. 1-20.

b. When Mohammed returned from his fruitless missionary efforts amongst the Kahtanites and Thakifites, sad at heart, and spent the last night of the journey, we are told, 'Whilst he was at his evening prayers, seven or nine spirits from Nisibin or Nineveh accidentally came that way, and seeing the Teacher of all creatures at prayer, and hearing him read the Koran, they stayed and listened, till that Excellency had finished. Then they made themselves known to him, and he invited them to the Faith. They, without any hesitation, became believers, and that Excellency said unto them, "When you have gone to your home, invite also your people to the Faith, and deliver unto them my message." It is said that those seven spirits were of the Jewish persuasion. Therefore, on reaching their people, they said to them, "We have heard a book which has been sent down, after Moses," and further invited them to the Faith. Thus many of them embraced the Faith, without having seen that Excellency's blessed face, and desired to be honoured with the distinction of an interview with him. When this was communicated to the Lord of Lords, he appointed a night on which they might meet him. It is said that the night fixed upon was a Wednesday night.

'About a month after this, Gabriel came and informed that Lord of men and spirits that a host of spirits were coming. Therefore he said, "I have been commanded this night to go out to the spirits, in order to invite them to embrace Islam and to recite to them the Koran; who is there amongst my friends that will accompany me?" But all his companions remained silent, except Ibn Masud who said, "I am ready to accompany thee." When they together had reached the appointed place, the apostle of

God drew a circle upon the ground with his blessed finger, and said to Ibn Masud, "Enter thou within this circle and then do not again step beyond this line, lest suddenly a calamity might befall thee."[1] After this, his Excellency ascended a hill to perform his prayers, and while thus engaged, 12,000 or, according to another account, 600,000 spirits, or, according to still another account, 40 banners and under each banner a vast assembly of spirits, joined him. When that chosen one had finished his prayers, he invited them to embrace the Faith, and all of them became Mussulmans.'

Another account adds, 'When some of those spirits asked his Excellency, "Who art thou?" he answered, "I am the apostle and prophet of God." They again said, "Who is thy witness that thou art the prophet and apostle of God?" He replied, "My witness is this tree which stands here;" and, addressing the tree, he continued, "O tree, come hither at the command of God." Thereupon that tree at once began to walk, and, dragging along its boughs and branches, stood over-against that Excellency, who said, "O tree, to what art thou a witness?" The tree, acquiring an eloquent tongue, called out, "I bear witness that thou art the apostle of God." Then his Excellency said to that tree, "Return to thy place," whereupon it returned in the same way as it had come.'

It is recorded that Ibn Masud said, 'In that night I saw that several black figures, resembling vultures, went near his Excellency; and I heard great voices, so that I feared lest some grievous thing might befall that prince. So many black figures crowded upon that Excellency that he was entirely hid by them and I was no longer able either to see his person or to hear his voice. Then they became broken up and divided into parts, like a cloud and, going away, disappeared. When it had become morning, the Prophet came to me and asked, "Ibn Masud, What didst thou see?" I answered, "O apostle of God, I saw black persons wrapt up in white." His

[1] The tendency of this report plainly is, to convey the impression that Mohammed freely invited witnesses to be present at the expected strange interview, and that it was anything but intentional that, after all, he was by himself alone, when the interview took place.

Excellency said, "They were spirits from Nisibin, and as they asked provisions of me for themselves and the animals on which they rode, I decreed that bones and manure should be their provisions." I asked further, "O apostle of God, why are bones and manure sufficient for them?" His Excellency answered, "Because on every bone God causes as much meat to grow for them as there was originally meat upon it; and for the animals on which they ride, God causes so many grains of corns to grow in the manure as that manure contains old grains."' (Ibn Ishak.)

'Sehil Ibn Beiza narrates: "One day, during the expedition to Tabuk, his Excellency made me ride behind him on his camel, when we suddenly saw an enormous serpent on the road, so that the people ran away from fright. That serpent came and stood a considerable time opposite him, the people seeing it and wondering. Then it glided away and at a distance stood again on one side of the road. His Excellency now said to the people around him, 'Do you at all know what this serpent is?' They answered, 'God and His prophet know it best.' Thereupon his Excellency continued, 'This is part of those spirits who came to me in Mecca and listened to the Koran. Their abode being in these regions, they, as soon as God's apostle reached it, came to welcome and salute us, and to ask what were our difficulties; and after having received the answer, they stood again for a while and saluted you.' The companions replied, 'With it also be peace and God's mercy and blessing.' His Excellency added, 'Salute ye the servants of God, whoever they may be."' (Rawzat.)

(25.) *Both of them received Visits from Good Angels.*

a. 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man' (John i. 51).

'Behold, angels came and ministered unto him' (Matt. iv. 11).

'And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him' (Luke xxii. 43).

b. 'It is recorded that his Excellency said, "I was in the cave of Hira, when suddenly some one appeared to me and said, O Mohammed, to thee be the good news that God has sent me, Gabriel, to thee, and thou art God's apostle over His people."'

'Be it known that revelation was brought down to that Excellency by Gabriel, who sometimes came to him in the form of a beautiful man, visible now and then even to his friends; and sometimes appeared in his own original form, without assuming that of any one else.'

'In the year A.H. 10, Gabriel came to one of the Prophet's meetings, in the form of a man whose robes were exceedingly white and his hair extremely black, his scent superlatively fragrant and his face supremely beautiful, so that those who were present in the meeting saw him and wondered at him. For there was no appearance of travelling, that one might have taken him for a traveller; and not any one of those present knew him, so as to say, he belongs to such or such a country. On drawing near, he said, "Peace be on thee, O Mohammed," and sat himself down in such a way that his knees touched the knees of his Excellency. When his Excellency had returned his salutation, he put his hands upon his Excellency's thighs and asked questions about faith, surrender, doing good, the resurrection, and the signs of the resurrection; but no sooner had his Excellency answered these questions, than he rose up again and went away. The Lord of the world said, "Go and bring this person back." His friends went out, but however much they searched, they could not find him. His Excellency said, "This was Gabriel: with this one exception, I always recognised him in whatever form he came; but as soon as he had disappeared, I knew that it was Gabriel." Another account states that, three days afterwards, the Prophet asked Omar Ibn Khattab, "O Omar, knowest thou who that person was who asked me those questions?" Omar answered, "God and His apostle know it better." His Excellency rejoined, "It was Gabriel: he came to teach you religion."' (Rawzat.)

(26.) *The most remarkable story concerning the mythical Mohammed is that of his 'Ascension into Heaven.' Whilst Jesus Christ, during his earthly life, conversed only with two of the long-departed Saints, Moses and Elijah, and did not ascend into heaven till after his death, Mohammed, honoured with an Ascension into heaven long before his natural death, had personal communion with all the previous prophets, and, leaving Jesus far below in the second heaven, himself mounted high above the seventh, and, entering into the immediate presence of the Divine Majesty, attained to the most exalted degree of God-likeness, so that God said unto him, 'I and thou,' and he unto God, 'Thou and I.'*

a. 'As Jesus prayed, the fashion of his countenance was altered, and his raiment was white and glistering. And, behold, there talked with him two men, which were Moses and Elias; who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem' (Luke ix. 28-36). Compare Matt. xviii. 1-9.

'So then, after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God' (Mark xvi. 19). Compare Acts i. 2-11.

'God raised up Christ from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the church' (Eph. i. 20-22).

b. 'According to most high Ulemas, the ascension of Mohammed took place in the twelfth year of his prophetic mission; but according to some, in the fifth; and it is recorded in different ways by the traditionists, commentators, and biographers. But all the different narratives are based on what twenty of his companions severally declared to have heard from his own lips.[1]

[1] The Mohammedan authors give such long and detailed accounts of Mohammed's night-visit to the Aksa of Jerusalem and of his ascension to the seven heavens and far beyond them, that what here follows is in places somewhat

'That Excellency said, "When I was in my house in Mecca, its roof opened," or, according to another account, "When I was sitting upon my place of prayer in the house of Imhani, and had gone a little to sleep, Gabriel came and said, O Mohammed, arise, and come out of thy house. Then I arose, went out, and there saw an angel and a saddle-beast standing, or, by another account, I saw Gabriel and 50,000 angels with him, all singing praises." According to another account, that Excellency began his story thus: "I was in the holy temple of Mecca, when suddenly Gabriel and Michael came, who, after splitting me open from the chest to the navel, washed my inside clean, and removed the refuse and alloy that was there; and then bringing a ewer full of wisdom and faith, filled my heart with them and put it back to its place. Thereupon Gabriel, taking my hand, drew me forth from the temple, and I saw the *Borak* (or *Barak* [1]) standing between Safa and Merwa. He was smaller than a mule, larger than an ass, having a human face, elephant's ears, a horse's mane, a camel's neck, a mule's chest, a camel's tail, with the legs of an ox; or, according to another account, with the legs of a camel and the hoofs of an ox. His breast was like red emerald, his back like a white pearl, on his sides he had two wings covering his legs, and on his back was one of the saddles of Paradise.

'Gabriel said, O Mohammed, mount thou Abraham's Borak on which he visited the Kaaba. Then Gabriel held the stirrup, and Michael took the reins, and Borak bending himself down to the ground, I mounted. Gabriel accompanied me, with a host of angels before and behind, on my right and on my left hand. When we were on our way,

epitomised, without, however, omitting anything at all characteristic or essential. The narrators wish us expressly to understand that what they communicate was derived from their prophet's own lips.

[1] 'Barak' is the usual Hebrew word for 'lightning,' and was plainly obtained from Mohammed's Jewish instructors, like several others, *e.g.* Ashura, Shechina, Kisse, Torah, etc. These Hebrew terms unmistakably betray the human source of many of Mohammed's pretended supernatural revelations. A vehicle of the rapidity of lightning was required to convey the prophet, in the space of a few hours, to the temple of Jerusalem, and thence far beyond the seventh heaven, and back again to Mecca. Either ignorance or design converted the natural *barak*, or lightning, into the grotesque creature described in the text, and dubbed it with the proper name of Borak.

some one called after me from my right, wishing to ask me something, but I did not heed him. Some one likewise called to me from the left, desiring to put a question to me, neither did I heed him. After that I saw a woman who had adorned herself and was standing on my way; and when she also called me to stop, that she might ask a question of me, I again passed onward, without heeding her in the least. Then I asked Gabriel who those had been, and he answered, The first was a Jew, and if thou hadst attended to him, all thy people would after thy time have turned Jews; the second was a Christian, and if thou hadst attended to him, all thy people would after thy time have turned Christians; and the third was the world, if thou hadst attended to her, all thy people would after thee have become worldlings, choosing this world rather than the next.

'Then, pursuing our journey, we arrived at the temple of Aksa, where I found a congregation of holy angels who had come from heaven to meet me. They gave me honour and good news from the Lord of Glory, and saluted me in these words, Peace be with thee, O thou who art the first and the last and the ingatherer (viz. of men, for the day of judgment). Upon this, Gabriel took me down from Borak, and tied him to the same ring of the temple to which previous prophets had tied the animals on which they rode. Then I entered the Aksa and there saw an assembly of the prophets, or, by another account, of the spirits of the prophets. They saluted and felicitated me; and on my asking Gabriel who they were, he replied, They are thy brethren, the prophets of God. I desired that we should offer up prayers, whereupon the prophets and angels formed lines, and Gabriel said to me, Be thou the Imam. Then I stepped forward and acted as Imam, the prophets and angels following me. When I had finished the prayers, several of the most distinguished prophets gave praise to God for the special virtues and favours with which He had endowed them. The first was Abraham, the second Moses, the third David, the fourth Solomon, and the fifth Jesus. The latter said, Praise and honour be to that God who is the Nourisher of all the dwellers on the earth. He has made me His Word, and has formed me like Adam, whom He made of earth, and then said to him, 'Be!'

and he was. He has taught me the book of the Gospel, endowed me with wisdom, and enabled me to make a bird of clay, which, when I blew upon it, by His permission, became a living bird. He also has enabled me to heal the deaf and cleanse the lepers; He has taken me up to heaven and purified me, and has so protected me and my mother from the wickedness of Satan that he never gained any power over us.

'As soon as these prophets had finished their praises of God, I also began mine, saying, Praise and honour be to that God who has made me (a means of) mercy for the dwellers on the earth, and has sent me with an apostolic mission to all men, making me their evangelist and their warner. He has sent the Furkan[1] down to me, which contains the clear proofs of all things. He has made my people to be the first of all others, and given them a name for fair dealing and equity. He has made me the first and the last, has cleft open my breast and removed from it the weight (viz. of sin and guilt, or perhaps even of peccability). He has made my name exalted, and called me the Beginner and the Finisher.

'After this Gabriel took me by the hand and led me up upon the Rock.[2] There appeared a ladder, reaching from the Rock up to heaven, of such beauty, as I had never before seen. Angels were ascending by it into heaven. By this ladder the angel of death also descends, when he is going to take away men's spirits. The apostle,[3] mounting Borak, likewise ascended by this ladder. But, according to another account, Gabriel took him with both his wings and carried him up to the first heaven. The angelic door-keeper, Ishmael, having opened, they entered, and Adam met Mohammed with the salutation, Welcome, thou righteous prophet and son of a righteous one! On Adam's right hand there was a door by which the righteous of his children passed into Paradise, and which yielded a sweet fragrance, so that he was delighted, as often as he looked that way; but on his left hand there was a door by which the wicked of his

[1] Another name for Koran. It signifies 'distinction,' viz. between truth and error.

[2] Still shown in the Aksa, as the starting-point of his ascension.

[3] From here, by an irregularity, the narrative is carried on in the third person, till, with the next new line, a return is made to the first person.

offspring passed into hell, and from which a bad smell issued, so that he became sad, whenever he looked to that side.

'In the second heaven I saw the two youths John and Jesus, who were cousins, and they saluted me thus, Welcome, thou righteous prophet and righteous brother! In the third heaven I saw Joseph, who saluted me with the same words. His beauty was such as to excel the beauty of all other creatures, in the same degree, in which the light of the full moon surpasses the light of all other stars; or, according to another account, he represented half the beauty in existence, whilst the other half is distributed amongst the rest of creation. Then Gabriel took me to the fourth heaven, where I saw Enoch, who also saluted me by saying, Welcome, thou righteous prophet and righteous brother! Then he took me to the fifth heaven, where I saw Aaron, who welcomed me in the same words; and afterwards to the sixth, where I saw Moses, who did the same. When I had passed by him, he wept; and on being asked why he wept, he answered, Because a young man has been sent as an apostle after me, whose people will be more virtuous than my own, and of whom more will enter Paradise than of my people. After this he brought me to the seventh heaven, where I saw Abraham, my Father, who saluted me, saying, Welcome, thou righteous prophet and son of a righteous one!

'Thence they took me to the remotest Tree, and I saw that its fruit was like the Medina-pitchers, and its leaves resembled an elephant's ear, and the light of God overspread the whole Tree, and angels flew round it like golden moths, in such numbers that none could count them except God. This Tree is Gabriel's abode. Under the Tree I saw four rivers, two of which flowed within, and two without. Gabriel informed me that the former watered Paradise, and the latter were the rivers Euphrates and Nile.

'Another account is to this effect: "In the highest parts of the seventh heaven he took me to a river, called the River of Abundance, on whose banks tents of emerald, pearls, and smaragd were erected, and where I saw green birds. Gabriel said, This river God has given to thee. It flows over pebbles of emerald and smaragd, and its water is whiter than milk. Filling one of the golden cups standing there, and drinking

a little, I found the water sweeter than honey and more fragrant than musk. After this they showed me the Visited House which, situated in the seventh heaven, so closely corresponds with the Kaaba, that, if *e.g.* a stone were to fall from it, it would exactly hit the roof of the Kaaba. This house is daily visited by 70,000 angels, and always by fresh ones, so that those who visit it one day do not come again on another day. I was also offered three covered cups: the first I took contained honey, so I drank a very little of it; the second was milk, of which I drank till I had enough. Gabriel said, Wilt thou not also drink of the third? but I answered, I have enough. Upon this Gabriel said, The Lord be praised, who has guided thee aright; hadst thou taken the cup of wine, thy people would have gone astray.

'When we left the Tree, Gabriel said to me, Do thou pass before, for thou art more highly esteemed of God than I. Then I went on first, and Gabriel followed me, till we reached a curtain of gold cloth. On Gabriel announcing who it was that had come, an angel called out from behind the curtain, There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the apostle of Allah; and stretched forth his hand to take me in. I said to Gabriel, Why dost thou remain behind in such a place? He answered, O Mohammed, every one of us has his place assigned him, beyond which he cannot pass. If I advance only a finger's breadth further, I shall be burnt up; and it is only in honour of thee that I have come thus far to-night, otherwise my appointed place is the Tree. Then I myself moved on alone, and, one after another, passed through 70 curtains of light and darkness, each of which was 500[1] years' march in width, and separated from the other by a space of again a 500 years' march. Then Borak ceased walking, and there appeared a green carpet, brighter than the sun. I was set upon it, and moved on till I reached the foot of God's Throne of Glory, and then was moved forward still further to the place of 'Honour.'"—Another account states that God said to Mohammed a thousand times, Come nearer

[1] If this measurement is not directly taken from the Talmud, it certainly has a close resemblance to it: for, according to the Talmud, the distance from our earth to the firmament is a 500 years' journey: such also is the thickness of the firmament, and the distance between the different firmaments.

to me! and that each time that prince was raised higher, until he reached the place of 'Nearness,' and then that of 'Intimacy,' whence he entered the innermost Sanctuary, at a distance of two bow-ranges; and then approached still more closely.[1]

'Some cautious Ulemas thought it best not to define and publish what God revealed to His apostle in that night, but a number of others hold that we may well mention what information, on this subject, is derived from the Prophet himself or from his companions, and what conclusions have been arrived at by those learned in the Faith. According to an accredited tradition, the following three were amongst those things which God revealed in the night of the ascension: 1. The obligatoriness of the five daily prayers; and the fact of their being instituted in the night of the ascension, without the intermediatory action of Gabriel, shows that they are the most meritorious occupation. 2. The injunctions contained in the latter part of the second Sura. 3. The declaration that all Mohammedans shall obtain forgiveness of all their sins, with the only exception of Polytheism.

'According to another tradition, Mohammed also said, "I saw my Lord in the most beautiful form, and He said unto me: O Mohammed, on what subject do the angels of the higher world contend? I replied, O my God, thou knowest it. Upon this I was favoured with an especial manifestation: for the supreme Lord put His hand on me, between my shoulders, so that I felt its soothing and pleasurable effect between my breasts, and became cognisant of and knowing, the things in heaven and on earth. Then I was addressed thus, O Mohammed, knowest thou on what subject the highest angels contend? I answered, Yes, O my Lord, on the subject of atonement, that is to say, on the services and degrees which are the cause of the atonement of sins. Thereupon the word was addressed to me, What is atonement? I answered, Atonement is the remaining in the

[1] It is hardly possible not to be struck with the intention, concealed in these expressions, to transfer to Mohammed, in effect, though not exactly in the very same words, what is said in Holy Scripture respecting Jesus Christ, *e.g.* 'Sit thou at my right hand' (Ps. cx. 1), and 'Then the Lord was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God' (Mark xvi. 19).

house of prayer after the service has been performed; the going to the meetings on foot; and the taking an ablution when trials and troubles befall: whoever does these things will live and die well, and be as pure from sin as if he had just been born of his mother.[1] Then the question was addressed to me, O Mohammed, what are the degrees? I replied, To give or deliver a salutation, to provide others with food, and to rise up and perform prayers whilst people are asleep."

'According to another account, that prince, when in the Divine presence, was thus addressed, "O Mohammed, I and thou, and whatever exists besides, I have created for thy sake." His Excellency replied, "Thou and I, and whatever exists besides, I have left for Thy sake." Some also affirm that on the same occasion this word was said to him, "O Mohammed, until thou shalt have entered Paradise, all the other prophets are forbidden to enter."

'It is likewise recorded that that prince said, "When I reached the foot of the throne and saw its grandeur, fear and trembling seized on my mind, but at that moment a drop was dropping down, and I opened my mouth so that it fell on my tongue. That drop was so delicious that, by Allah! no one can ever have tasted anything sweeter; and by its blessing I became possessed of the knowledge of the first and of the last, and was delivered from an impediment of speech[2] which had been the result of my seeing the dreadness and majesty of the Most High." God also said to me, "I have forgiven thee and thy people; and thou mayest ask of me whatever thou likest and I will give it thee." I replied, "O our Lord, rebuke us not if we forget and sin." Thereupon this answer came, "I have taken away sin and forgetfulness from thy

[1] The reader will understand that the things here mentioned are not legal duties, binding on every Moslem, but supererogatory works, and as such are here represented to be efficacious in atoning for sin. But what a degree of spiritual blindness is presupposed by the assumption that man can do more than his duty (see Matt. xxii. 37-40), and that such paltry works of supererogation can supersede the 'eternal atonement by the blood of Him, who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God' (Heb. ix. 1-15)!

[2] Perhaps an intended parallel to Moses' slowness of tongue and the Lord's promise, 'I will be with thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say' (Exod. iv. 10-12).

people, and I have moreover passed by what they do by compulsion and against their own will." After this I asked, "O our Lord, do not lay upon us a covenant such as thou didst lay on those who have been before us." To this I received the following reply, "O Mohammed, I have accepted thy request, and not laid upon you the covenant of former people."[1]

'It is also recorded that in that night Mohammed witnessed the worship of the angels of the seven heavens; some performed it by standing erect; others by kneeling; others by prostrations; others by rehearsing the creed; others by magnifying; others by praising; and others by lauding (*i.e.* singing the Hallel). When fifty daily prayers had been enjoined, this word came to Mohammed, "O Mohammed, I have made a service of prayer obligatory on thee and thy people, which consists of standing erect, kneeling, prostration, recitation of the creed, reading, magnifying, praising, and lauding: in order that their worship should comprise that of all the angels from the Throne to the carpet, and that they should acquire the merit of all those classes of worshippers who severally worship in all these different ways.

'His Excellency thus continued his narrative: "After the Prayers had been enjoined upon me and my people, I received permission to return, and accordingly I went back as I had come, till I again reached Gabriel's abode. Gabriel welcomed me back by saying, "O Mohammed, receive thou the good news that thou art the first and most chosen of creatures. To-night the Most High has advanced thee to a degree which has not been reached by any other created being, neither the most favoured angels nor the prophets that have been sent. O Mohammed, may this distinction be blessed and pleasant to thee! After this, Gabriel led me onward to Paradise, and showed me the abodes and order of the spirits; and I saw all its black-eyed ones, its castles, its youths, children, trees, fruits, orchards, fragrant herbs, rivers, gardens, ponds, upper rooms, and high galleries."

According to another account, Mohammed also said, "When I entered Paradise I saw large tents made of pearls,

[1] This emancipates the Moslems from conforming to the Christian and Jewish religion, though it is theoretically held that the Gospel and the Law were sent down from heaven, like the Koran.

and the soil of Paradise was musk; and I observed that most of its inhabitants were poor people and dervishes; and I also found that most of the inhabitants of Hell were women, boasters, and oppressors." It is also established that he said, "They showed me Hell and its chains, its fetters, serpents, scorpions, the loud groaning and moaning, the cold, fetid discharges, and its black smoke."

'According to some biographies, that Excellency also narrated as follows: "In that night I also saw one of the angels whose face was altogether without cheerfulness and pleasure, and who never smiled at me, as all the other angels had done whom I met. On my asking Gabriel who this was, he answered, This angel has never smiled, and will never smile at any one; if he did, he would have smiled at thy blessed face. This is the angel who has power over Hell. He always shows a sour face, and his anger and the fury of his wrath is always against the inhabitants of Hell, because of the wrath of God against them. At my request Gabriel asked him to show me hell-fire, whereupon he drew the curtain from its opening; and I saw the fire flaming, black, without giving any light, and it rustled with moans and groans; and it rose so high up that I thought it would seize me. Then I saw Hell. There are so many different torments and dishonours and indignities in it that even stones and iron have not the strength to bear them. I asked Gabriel to tell the angel to withdraw the fire, as I could no longer bear the sight of it, and he did so." In that night his Excellency also met the Taker-away-of-life; and he begged of that high angel, "When thou takest away the souls of my people, do so easily, kindly, and gently." The angel of death replied, "O Mohammed, I give thee the joyous news that the Most High says often to me, by night and by day, Deal easily and gently with Mohammed's people."[1]

'It is also authentic that that Excellency said, "When I was returning from the Throne of Glory and met Moses, he asked me, How many prayers were enjoined upon thee and thy people? I answered, Fifty for one day and night. Moses said, Verily thy people will not be able to perform prayers fifty

[1] It is singular that this promise of an easy death was not fulfilled in Mohammed's own case, as we have been informed on pp. 232, 233.

times in one day; for I knew people before thee, and have tried the children of Israel; and thy people is weaker than others; return, therefore, to the Lord's Throne and solicit an alleviation for thy people. I went back and had ten taken off. On telling Moses of it, he advised me to seek a further reduction. So I went back, again and again, and had each time ten more taken off, till the fifth time, when only five were taken off, so that five remained. Moses thought them still too many, and wished to induce me to return once more. But I answered, I have already returned to my Lord so often that I am quite ashamed; I will return no more, but be content and satisfied and walk in the way of resignation." According to another account, Mohammed said, "I returned for reductions of the number of prayers, till my Lord said to me, O Mohammed, I have made five daily prayers obligatory on thee and thy people, and I accept each prayer in the stead of ten prayers, so that the five prayers shall count for fifty prayers; and if one of thy people purposes to do a good action, but is prevented by a legal hindrance from performing it, it yet shall count in the register of his good actions; and if he carries that purpose into execution, there shall be registered into the register ten good works, or 700, or still more, beyond counting; and for every one of thy people who had intended to commit a sin, but for God's sake leaves it undone, one good action shall be noted down; but if he commits the sin, only one evil deed shall be marked."

'That Excellency concluded his narrative by saying, "When I returned, Gabriel accompanied me till I entered the house of Om Hani; and all this travelling and journeying took place in what is to you one night." It is also reported that Omar said, "The time in which that prince went and returned was three hours of a night;" but others say that it took four hours." God knows best.'[1] (Rawzat.)

[1] The Ulemas differ as to the nature of Mohammed's ascension. Some think that his purified body ascended with the spirit; others, that it was only the spirit, whilst the body slept; and again others assume that the ascension took place several times, and that thus the contradictory accounts may be reconciled. How dexterous the Ulemas are in reconciling such difficulties, may be gathered from some of them removing the contradiction that one account places the Tree in the 7th heaven and another in the 6th, by the assumption that the branches were in the former and the roots in the latter.

(27.) *Persecuted and threatened with death by their fellow-citizens in the town in which they had grown up, they escaped from their hands, as by a miracle, and, together with their disciples, transferred their domicile to another town, willing to receive them.*

a. 'And Jesus came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up: and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the sabbath-day, and stood up for to read. . . . And he began to say unto them, This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears. . . . And they said, Is not this Joseph's son? And he said unto them, Ye will surely say unto me this proverb, Physician, heal thyself, etc. . . . And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong. But he, passing through the midst of them, went his way, and came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and taught them on the sabbath-days" (Luke iv. 16-31).

b. Mohammed's celebrated Flight from Mecca to Medina is itself an undoubted historical fact; what is fictitious in it is the supernatural halo with which it has been invested, as will appear from the following narrative taken from the Rawzat[1]: 'When the covenant and allegiance between the people of Medina and his Excellency were firmly established, and the friends of that prince were no longer able to remain in Mecca, on account of the persecution by the Polytheists, then he gave them permission to flee to Medina, saying, "I have been shown the place to which you will flee; it is a place of date-palms, between two mountains." It is recorded by the trustworthy Bokhari that when Abu Bekr, the true, was engaged with preparations for the journey, his Excellency said to him, "O Abu Bekr, have patience for a few days longer, for I have hopes that I myself also shall shortly receive the command to flee, so that I may become thy com-

[1] It will be observed that this account contains sundry particulars which are not given in Ibn Ishak's narrative, pp. 111-113.

panion, and we may flee together."[1] In those days Abu Bekr had a dream in which he saw the moon descending on Mecca, and illuminating that mother of cities. Then that shining moon rose again and, moving towards Medina, alighted and abode there,[2] illuminating with its brightness the whole neighbourhood of Yathreb. There the moon was joined by a multitude of stars, and, after a time, it rose with many thousands of them into the air and descended upon the temple of Mecca, whilst Medina remained as bright as before, with the exception of 360 or, according to another account, 400 houses. After a while it rose again towards heaven and returned to Medina, where it abode in Aisha's dwelling, and illumininated the whole land of Yathreb with its radiant light, those innumerable stars being still with it. Then the earth was divided, and a hole was formed in which that moon disappeared.[3] When Abu Bekr awoke, he began to weep; for he was renowned amongst the Arabs for his knowledge in the interpretation of dreams, and therefore knew that the moon he had seen signified the prophet; the stars, his companions and relatives; their return to Mecca, the conquest of that city; its descent upon Aisha's dwelling, that Aisha alone should be ennobled in Medina with the nobility of that Excellency's bed; and its disappearance in a hole, that the prince of the prophets should die in Medina.

The biographers record that as soon as the companions of the apostle of God had learned that they might flee to so near a place, as the city of Medina, they went thither. The unbelievers of Mecca, knowing that his Excellency would join his companions, and that the Medinites would protect him, formed a plan to prevent this. To this end they assembled together and carefully shut the door, lest any of the Beni Hashim should be present and become aware of the plan.

[1] From this it may be inferred that it had been intended Abu Bekr should fly first, but that Mohammed was reluctant to be left behind alone and without that intimate friend, by whose calm reflection and firm will he had probably been long accustomed to be helped and guided.

[2] A plain intimation that the intended flight was to become an accomplished fact.

[3] An unmistakable historical outline down to Mohammed's burial, in the form of a prophetic dream. If the dream was a fact, and not a mere invention, it shows how completely the thoughts of the two friends moved in the same groove.

Still, Satan, in the form of an old man, dressed in old clothes, made his appearance in their assembly, and, as on being asked who he was, he professed to be a stranger from Nejd, who sympathised with the object of their meeting, he was allowed to remain and to join in their deliberations. After the danger had been pointed out that Mohammed, finding confederates and helpers in Medina, might one day return with them and make war against Medina, the assembly were invited to suggest means for preventing such an eventuality. To put him in fetters and cast him into a dungeon, or to expel and banish him from the city, were the measures successively proposed, but objected to by the old man from Nejd, on the ground that, in the first case, his relatives might set him at liberty again ; and, in the second, that his persuasive speech might gain adherents for him abroad. Upon this, the wicked and ill-reputed Abu Jahl Ibn Hisham said, "My proposal is this, that we choose a courageous young man from each of our clans and provide them with sharp swords, so that they may fall upon him and kill him together, in which case his family will be obliged to accept the blood-money from us, as they will not be able to fight all the other clans united." The old man from Nejd fully approving this proposal, the assembly broke up, forthwith to carry it into execution.

'But the faithful Gabriel came to the Lord of the two worlds and informed that prince of what had taken place, at the same time also delivering to him the Divine command to flee, and telling him not to sleep that night in his usual bed, but to leave next day for Medina. As soon as it was night, the infidels assembled about the door of his house, in order, after he had gone to sleep, to fall upon him as one man and kill him. The prophet being cognisant of this, said to the well-beloved Ali: "The infidels having formed an evil design against me, I leave this place: do thou rest to-night upon my bed, and cover thyself with my green cloak, and be confident they will not be able to play thee any trick." Then Ali laid himself down on the prophet's bed, and drew his cloak over him for a cover. His Excellency himself rehearsed the 36th Sura as far as the verse, "We have set a barrier before them, and we have set a barrier behind them, and we have enshrouded them with a

veil, so that they cannot see;" and then threw a handful of earth upon them, and thus, passing through them, escaped without being perceived by those erring ones.[1]

'At that time God thus addressed the angels Gabriel and Michael: "I have made you brothers by establishing a covenant of brotherhood between you, and have given to one of you a longer life than the other, which of you, then, prefers his brother's life to his own, by giving up as a present to his brother that part of his own life by which he might have survived him?" They both answered, "O God, we do not wish to give up our life for any one, we want it for ourselves, and what could we do with the life of another?" The Most High then spoke to them thus, "O Gabriel and Michael, why are ye not like Ali Ibn Abu Talib? I have made him and Mohammed brothers by a covenant of brotherhood, by virtue of which Ali has made a sacrifice of his life to Mohammed, and preferred his life to his own, therefore go ye both down to the earth and guard him against any harm from his enemies." In compliance with this command they descended to the earth and stood, Gabriel at the head and Michael at the feet of the well-beloved Ali; and Gabriel said to him, "O Ali, who is like unto thee, of whom the Most High boasts before His angels?"

'The infidels looking through a crack of the door, saw some one lying on Mohammed's bed, whom they took for his Excellency himself. Saying to themselves: "By God, Mohammed lies there covered with his clothes," they rushed into the room and stretched out their hands to seize him,

[1] It is hard not to recognise in this, 'and thus, passing through them, escaped without being perceived,' a direct dependence on the, 'But he, passing through the midst of them, went his way,' used in the description of Jesus Christ's remarkable escape from his imminent danger. But what a contrast here, between Mohammed, exposing his dependent nephew Ali to a possible great danger, for the purpose of securing his own escape, and Jesus Christ in the garden of Gethsemane, manfully confronting his enemies and voluntarily surrendering Himself, in order to secure the safety of his disciples, by saying to his enemies, 'I have told you that I am he. If therefore ye seek me, let these go their way' (John xviii. 1-12)! Both behaviours are significant: Mohammed used his followers for his own protection, gratification, and aggrandisement; Jesus Christ sacrificed Himself for the protection, salvation, and glorification of His people. Hence the needed justification of Mohammed's conduct, implied in what immediately follows.

when, lo, that very moment, Ali, the well-beloved, rose from the bed. Seeing that it was Ali, they asked him, "Where is Mohammed?" He answered, "I know not." They, feeling perplexed and ashamed, occupied themselves with searching after Mohammed and did nothing to Ali.

'Aisha, the true, narrated that on the day following, when it was already hot, Mohammed suddenly appeared at her father's house, and, on being informed that there were no strangers there, entered and said to Abu Bekr, "Know, that God has given me permission to flee." Abu Bekr answered, "I shall be thy companion." He also offered the prophet one of two fleet camels, which the latter accepted on the condition that he should be allowed to pay for it, and Wakidi states its price to have been 800 dirhems. During the remainder of the day they hastily prepared provisions for the journey, Aisha getting together a bag full of them, and Asma, in the absence of string, took off her girdle from her loins, tore it in half, and tied the bag with it. Abu Bekr took with him all the money that was found in the house, amounting, as Asma tells us, to 5000 dirhems. After Abu Bekr had directed his son, Abd Allah, to be amongst the Koreish during the day, and bring him news of them in the night, and ordered a liberated slave to furnish them regularly with milk, and likewise secured a guide for the journey, they left at night, through an upper window, for the cave Thaur, where the guide was to meet them, three days later, with the camels.

'It is also recorded that when they were on the way to the cave, the prophet took off his shoes and pressed them under his toes, so that his footprints might not be known, and when his blessed feet became sore, Abu Bekr took him on his shoulders, and thus brought him to the opening of the cave. That cave was known as a place where flocks took shelter, and lest anything unpleasant should meet the prophet, Abu Bekr went in first to get it ready, and stopped the little crevices with pieces torn from his clothes, and then called out: "O Apostle of God, come in." They spent the night in the cave, and in the morning, when the prophet saw Abu Bekr denuded, and asked of him the reason, he was told that it was because he had torn up his clothes to shut

the holes, whereupon the prophet invoked a blessing on him. Abu Bekr was also troubled by serpents and scorpions, so that tears rolled down his cheeks, and when the Lord of beings saw this, he said to him: "Be not sad, for God is with us." Upon this the Glorious One sent such patience and composure into the heart of Abu Bekr that he felt quite light and at rest, and from that time those creatures could no longer hurt him. God also caused an acacia tree to grow before the opening of that cave, and inspired a pair of wild pigeons to make a nest on that tree, and to lay eggs that very night, and He commanded a spider to spin its net across the entrance of that cave.

The Polytheists, knowing what faithful friendship existed between that prince and Abu Bekr, went to the latter's house-door to obtain information about the former. Asma, Abu Bekr's daughter, being asked where her father was, answered, "I do not know." For this answer the cursed Abu Jahl lifted up his hand and dealt her such a heavy blow in her face that her ear-ring fell upon the ground. The Polytheists, having brought a sorcerer with them, searched till they found the footsteps of the fugitives, and then, with sword or stick in hand, pursued their track to the vicinity of the cave of Thaur where they lost it. The sorcerer being puzzled, said: "Behold, they came as far as these footprints, but whither they went hence I do not know;" and on having come close to the cave, he added, "The men whom you seek have not passed beyond this cave." At that moment Abu Bekr, the true, said, "O Apostle of God, if any of them were to look down underneath their feet, they would see us." The Teacher of all beings replied, "O Abu Bekr, God is as the Third amongst those who in thy opinion are but two." When they came to the door, the pigeons, being frightened, flew from their nest, and the Polytheists, on seeing the eggs and the spider's web, gave up all hope and said, "If Mohammed had entered this cave, those eggs would have been broken and those spider-webs torn." Then the Lord of the world knew that by this means God had turned away from them the harm which those men had intended. It is reported that the pigeons, now flying about the temple of Mecca, are descendants of that pair upon which

the prophet had then invoked a blessing, and assigned the temple of Mecca for their abode, to roost there where they like. As for the infidels, they returned home utterly disappointed. Abu Jahl had caused it to be proclaimed, throughout the high and low parts of Mecca, that he would give 100 camels to any one who brought back Mohammed and Abu Bekr, or showed the place of their concealment. It is from this reason that the infidels continued their search for a long time.

'In the morning after the third night, the hired guide and the man with camels arrived at the entrance of the cave. The Prophet and Abu Bekr mounted one of the two camels and the two men the other, and then started for Medina. After having travelled for a day and a night, Abu Bekr looked round and, seeing no pursuers, he invited the Prophet to dismount and take some rest, whilst he procured a bowl of milk from some shepherd. On continuing their journey further, they reached some Bedouin tents where no food could be obtained, on account of a prevailing famine. But Mohammed, seeing a sheep which was so emaciated that it could not walk, rubbed her udder with his blessed hands, and then could milk from it enough to give drink to the inmates of the tents and his own companions, as well as to fill all the procurable vessels. The same sheep continued to give abundance of milk daily, both morning and evening, for eighteen years, till it died in Omar's Califate.

'Bokhari also narrates that the Koreish sent to the Beni Modlej to inform them that if they would either kill Mohammed and Abu Bekr, or make them prisoners, they should receive their price of blood, consisting of 100 camels each. Suraka started in pursuit of the fugitives, without letting any one know it; but when he had approached them to within two spears' distance, his horse's fore-legs, or, according to another account, four legs, suddenly sunk in the ground, so that they could not be withdrawn, till Suraka begged the Prophet to pray for him, and promised that he would desist from further pursuit.—It is likewise reported that Beride Ibn el Khasib pursued Mohammed with seventy horsemen, in the hope of earning the offered prize, but on reaching the fugitives, he, instead of making them prisoners,

embraced Islam, and presented Mohammed with his turban-cloth and a lance for a flag with which to enter Medina.

'As soon as the Moslems of Medina learned the approach of the fugitives, they went out in a body and welcomed them with demonstrations of joy. Ibn Ishak states that all the other Moslems likewise emigrated to Medina, and that none of them remained in Mecca who had not either been compelled to renounce his faith, or was detained there by force.'

(28.) *In the town of their new domicile they developed a great activity, and from it, as their headquarters, they undertook expeditions, in order to carry out their mission and to secure for it a more extensive recognition.*

a. 'And Jesus came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and taught them on the sabbath days. And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power,' etc. (Luke iv. 31-44).

'And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people. . . . And there followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jerusalem, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan. . . . And he entered into a ship, and passed over, and came into his own city.[1] And, behold, they brought unto him a man sick of the palsy,' etc. (Matt. iv. 13-25). Compare Matt. v. 1, 2; viii. 5-7, 18-20; ix. 1-38.

b. 'God commanded Mohammed to build a mosque; and he remained with Abu Eyub till his own dwelling and the mosque were finished. In order to encourage the believers, he himself shared the labours; so both emigrants and assistants worked with zeal. In the first sermon which he preached in the mosque, as soon as it was finished, he

[1] Is it not a singular coincidence that as the city to which Jesus transferred his headquarters, after having been expelled from Nazareth, is in Scripture called 'his own city,' so also the town of Yathreb, to which Mohammed migrated, and in which he displayed his great politico-religious activity, and from which he started on his numerous war-expeditions, is since that time called *Medina*, *i.e.* 'city,' viz., his peculiar city, or the city *par excellence*?

said, "O ye people, send on good works before you. Know, by Allah! that none of you can escape death: then he will leave his flock without a shepherd, and God will say unto him, without an interpreter and without a go-between, Did not my apostle come to thee and bring thee my message? I have granted thee goods and shown thee favours. What didst thou send on before thee for thy soul? Then he will look to the right hand and to the left hand, but find nothing; and he will have to look forward and there only see Hell. Whoever can guard his sight against Hell, let him do so, and if it should only be by a piece of a date; whoso cannot find even so much, let him do it by a good word; for in this way the action is recompensed from 10 to 700 times. Peace be on you, and God's blessing and mercy!"

'Mohammed also drew up a contract between the emigrants and the assistants, and between them and the Jews, whose faith and property, under certain conditions, were to be respected, beginning thus, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! This is the contract from Mohammed the Prophet between the believers of the Koreish and of Medina, and those who follow them, unite with them, and join with them in war. They form but one people, separated from all other men," etc.—He likewise established a covenant of brotherhood between the believers from Mecca and those of Medina, by joining one fugitive to one assistant, thus forming forty-five, or, according to another account, fifty, pairs of adopted brothers who, in case of death, were even to inherit each other, to the exclusion of previous relatives.

'When Mohammed had found a secure abode in Medina, and his friends, the refugees, had joined him, and the affairs of the assistants had been arranged, Islam became firmly established, the public prayers were performed, fasting and almsgiving were made obligatory, the administration of justice was carried out, things allowed and forbidden were determined, and Islam acquired strength amongst the tribe of the assistants, both as regards faith, and as regards the certain maintenance of its professors.

'During the ten years of his residence in Medina, Mohammed organised thirty-eight military expeditions and twenty-seven of these he accompanied in person, as chief commander,

for the furtherance of the cause of Islam.' (Ibn Ishak and Ibn Hisham.)

'The war-expeditions which that prince accompanied in person are stated by some biographers to have amounted to 19; by others, to 21 or 24 or 27; the difference of numbers probably arising from this, that either some were omitted, or several happening close together, counted as one. In 9 of these expeditions it came to a battle with the infidels, viz. in those of Bedr, Ohod, Ahzab, the Beni Koreiza, Beni el Mostalik, Khaibar, the conquest of Mecca, at Honein and Taif.—The expeditions which that Excellency despatched against enemies, under the command of lieutenants, without being himself present, amounted to 56. But it must be mentioned that some authors give the number at more, others at less than 56.' (Rawzat.)

(29.) *They united their followers in the closest ties of* BROTHERHOOD, *which caused a relaxation in the stringent laws of possession and inheritance.*

a. 'If ye love me, keep my commandments. And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth' (John xiv. 15-17).

'When the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. . . . And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost. . . . And all that believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need. And they, continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favour with all the people' (Acts ii. 1-47).

b. 'When it pleased God to make His religion victorious and to glorify his Prophet and to fulfil His promises unto him; Mohammed, as he was wont to do during the pilgrim-

festivals, went to the different tribes, in order to present himself to them as Prophet; and on one of these occasions he met a number of Khazrajites from Medina who hearkened to him, believed in him, and embraced Islam. They also said to Mohammed, "We come from a people amongst whom there is much ill-will and enmity; perhaps God will *unite* them through thee; we shall invite them to the faith which we ourselves now profess, and if God *unites* them around thee, then no man will be more powerful than thou." After this they returned to their home, as believers.—At the festival of the following year, when the Medinan converts consisted of seventy-three men and two women, Mohammed gave them this assurance, "Your blood is my blood; what you shed I also shed; you belong to me and I belong to you; I fight whomsoever ye fight, and I make peace with whomsoever ye make peace."

'Not long after his emigration to Medina, Mohammed established a formal treaty, in writing, between all his followers, whether from Mecca or Medina, in which he declared, "The believers form but *one* people, separated from all other men. They shall not leave any one heavily burdened amongst them, without assisting him, whether a price of blood or redemption-money may have to be paid. No believer may commit acts of hostility against the confederates of another believer. No believer may slay another believer on account of an unbeliever, nor may he assist an unbeliever against a believer; but the believers are to protect each other against all other men,"' etc. (Ibn Ishak.)

'Five or eight months after his arrival in Medina, that prince established *a covenant of brotherhood*, constituting the respective parties adoptive brothers of one another, between forty-five or fifty of the refugees on the one side, and of the assistants on the other. He selected the individuals himself, and in the house of prayer joined them together, two and two as brothers. This is universally accepted amongst the historians. But Bokhari also narrates that besides this fraternity, another similar one was established, exclusively amongst the refugees, and to which the assistants were not admitted. It is reported that at that time they mutually bound themselves to assist and help each other and to *inherit*

from each other. According to this covenant, the friends of the Apostle of God inherited from one another, till after the battle of Bedr, when that covenant of brotherhood and the assignment of inheritance to one another was abrogated by Divine revelation.'[1] (Rawzat.)

(30.) *They introduced a mode of worship in which Jerusalem with its temple ceased to be looked upon as the seat of the Divine Presence or the Kibla, that is, the quarter to which the prayers had to be directed.*

a. 'Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship: for salvation is of the Jews. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth' (John iv. 19-24). Compare Luke xi. 1-13.

b. 'The traditionists and biographers record that when Mohammed had emigrated to Medina, he, for sixteen or seventeen months, performed his prayers towards the Holy House of Jerusalem, wishing to draw the hearts of the possessors of the Scriptures to Islam, by showing himself in accord with them in the matter of the Kibla. The Jews of Medina used to say, "It is a strange thing that whilst Mohammed is opposed to us in religion, he yet agrees with us in the Kibla." When this reached the blessed and noble

[1] The reader will have noticed that as the followers of Christ became a united organised body or church, when Christ, after having ascended the throne of the Majesty on high, sent down the promised Spirit on the day of Pentecost, so also the followers of Mohammed were organised into a politico-religious commonwealth, when Mohammed, after the Hegira to Medina, began to rule over them as lord-paramount, and gave them laws and institutions which were invested with all the sanctity and authority of Divine revelation; and that the introduction of both systems was accompanied by a kind of temporary community of goods. But this communism as to worldly possessions, and the entire organisation of the fraternity itself, was, in the one case, the natural free result of an indwelling Holy Spirit of love, and in the other, the effect of a superimposed external law, soon after formally abrogated, and of the enforcement of a commander's absolute will. How great the difference, therefore, notwithstanding the apparent similarity!

ear of the Apostle of God, he knew that they would obstinately remain in their own objectionable way. His precious mind, therefore, set itself upon changing the Kibla from the Holy House to the Kaaba, this having been the Kibla of his father Abraham, on whom be peace! He said to Gabriel, "I wish God would change the Kibla to the Kaaba;" but he answered, "Thou hadst better ask God thyself; for thou art highly esteemed by Him." He therefore always looked up towards heaven, waiting for tidings to change the Kibla.

'On a Tuesday of the month Rejeb in the second year of the Hegira, Gabriel brought down the following verse, authorising the change of the Kibla: "We have seen thee turn thy face towards heaven; we will have thee turn to a Kibla which shall please thee: turn, then, thy face towards the sacred Mosque; and, wherever ye be, turn your faces towards that part." The biographers report that, when that prince was in the house of Beshr Ibn Bara's mother, and the time for the noon-day prayers had come, he entered the mosque of that quarter and, with a congregation of his companions, performed the noon-day prayers. It was whilst they were on their knees in the second genuflection, that his Excellency turned round in the direction of the Kaaba, and the companions also, at his back, turned round in the same way and completed the prayers in that position—from which circumstance that mosque was called "the mosque of the *two* Kiblas."

'It is recorded that when the news of the change of the Kibla reached the public, every section of the population had something to say about it. The hypocrites said, "What has happened that they gave up their Kibla and chose another?" Some of the Jews said, "Mohammed pines after his original fatherland, and turns towards his native city." The polytheists said, "Mohammed is confused on the subject of religion, not knowing what he wants." And the chief men amongst the Jews said, "Mohammed has given up our Kibla from nothing but jealousy." Ibn Akhtab and his followers thus addressed the Mussulmans, "Tell us, whether the prayers which you hitherto offered in the direction of the Holy House were in accordance with revelation or with error: for, in the former case, it is plain that you have now

turned away from revelation; and in the latter, that you were then in error, and that whilst in error, ye offered up prayers to the true God." To this the Mussulmans replied, "Whatever God commands, is revelation; and whatever He forbids, is error." The Jews continued, "What do you say of those who died whilst you were praying towards our Kibla: are they blessed or condemned?" Upon this, the Most High sent the verse, "God did not put your faith (*i.e.* your prayer) towards the Holy House."

'The earliest Ulemas differ as to the Kibla which Mohammed observed before his flight to Medina. Ibn Abbas and many others affirm that he had been praying towards the Holy House; but that in doing so, he always took up such a position that he had the Kaaba on one side and never turned his back upon it. This is the correct view. But another account is, that he had been performing his prayers towards the Kaaba; and that during the early part of his residence at Medina he turned towards the Holy House, in order to conciliate the Jews and predispose them in favour of Islam. Sheikh Ibn Hajr says, that this view is not well supported, and that it implies a double abrogation of a previous injunction. But God knows best.

'It is recorded that at the time when the Kibla was changed, the Prophet went to the Kaba-mosque and changed its walls in such a manner that it exactly faced the Kaaba; and that he laid its foundation with his own blessed hands; and that his own blessed self, together with his friends, carried the stones and built them up. It is also credibly reported that his Excellency went every Saturday to that mosque, either on foot or on horseback, and that he declared its virtue to be such that any one who, after a complete ablution, performs his prayers in it, acquires the merit of a pilgrimage to Mecca.'[1] (R.)

[1] As regards the general subject of praying in a certain local direction, it may be observed that, from passages like Dan. vi. 11, 12, Psalms v. 8, xxviii. 2, it is plain that the Jews made the temple of Jerusalem their Kibla in prayer, as Mohammed also at first did, with his earliest followers, in obvious imitation of the Jewish practice. But Mohammed, instead of rising altogether above the use of a local Kibla, as did Jesus Christ, stuck fast, in this as in many other matters, on the Jewish standpoint, and only transferred the Kibla from one locality to another.

(31.) *They were called upon to decide what punishment should be inflicted on adulterers, regard being had to the punishment prescribed by the Law of Moses.*

a. 'The scribes and Pharisees brought unto him a woman taken in adultery; and when they had set her in the midst, they say unto him, Master, this woman was taken in adultery, in the very act. Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned: but what sayest thou? This they said, tempting him, that they might have to accuse him. . . . Jesus said unto them, He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her. . . . He said unto the woman, Hath no man condemned thee? She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more' (John viii. 2-11).

b. 'In the fourth year after the Flight, his Excellency had a man and a Jewish woman stoned. The Jews wanted to deceive his Excellency in this matter by a trick, saying, "In our Law the punishment of adultery is this, that the guilty party, be he man or woman, should have his face blackened, and being placed in a reversed position upon a camel, should be publicly paraded on the market-place." Abd Allah Ibn Selam, who had been a Jewish priest, but had been ennobled with the nobility of Islam, said to his Excellency, "O thou Prophet of God, these men tell a lie; according to the Torah, adulterers have to be stoned." His Excellency commanded a Torah to be brought, in order to have the statement verified. Then a Jew read from the Torah, but with his hand covered the verse about stoning. Ibn Selam observing this, said, "Take thy hand away;" and when the Jew withdrew his hand, the verse about stoning was seen; and Ibn Selam read that verse to the Prophet: whereupon they stoned that adulterer and adulteress. In this year he also requested Zeid Ibn Thabit to learn the Torah, so as to prevent the Jews in the future from tampering with or altering any of its verses. Zeid Ibn Thabit learned the whole of the Torah in fifteen days.

In the year 9 A.H. Mohammed also ordered a woman of the Ghamid tribe to be stoned, for having committed

adultery. She had come to him three years previously, confessing her adultery, and asking him to make her pure from her sin, that is, to deal with her according to law. He asked her whether she was with child, and on her answering in the affirmative, he directed her to be kept till the child was born, exhorting her, at the same time, to repent, and ask pardon of God. When the child was born, Mohammed said, "It will not do to make the child destitute; let her suckle it." When it was weaned, the mother took it to Mohammed, telling him that she had weaned it, and adding, "It is for thee to give further orders." Mohammed gave the child to some Mussulman, ordered the woman to be buried, up to her chest, and then stoned to death. Khalid threw the first stone on her, so that some drops of her blood soiled him, for which he reviled her. But Mohammed said to him, "O Khalid, do not revile her; by Him in Whose mighty hand my soul is, this woman has made such repentance and penance, that if any one who has committed even a greater crime, makes a like repentance, he will surely be forgiven." After this, he ordered her to be dug out, washed, wrapt in a winding-sheet, and buried with prayers.' (R.)

(32.) *They publicly invited the Jews to believe in their heavenly mission and to embrace the religion they preached: but met only with partial success.*

a. 'Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people' (Matt. iv. 23).

'Jesus answered and said unto them [the Jews], This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent' (John vi. 29). Compare John v. 24, vii. 14-37.

'Then spake Jesus again unto them, saying, I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life' (John viii. 12).

'O righteous Father, the world hath not known thee: but I have known thee, and these have known that thou hast sent me. And I have declared unto them thy name, and

will declare it; that the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them' (John xvii. 25, 26).

b. 'Mohammed called upon the Jews, the possessors of holy books, to embrace Islam, and endeavoured to gain them for it, threatening them with the punishment and vengeance of God, in case of refusal. Rafi Ibn Kharija and Malik Ibn Awf made answer to him thus, "We remain in that in which we have found our fathers, who were better and more learned than we are."

'When God had visited the Koreish on the day of the battle of Bedr, Mohammed gathered together the Jews in the Bazaar of the Beni Keinoka, as soon as he had returned to Medina, and said to them, "O ye Jews, embrace Islam, before God visits you, as He visited the Koreish." But they answered, etc.

'Once Mohammed went into a Jewish synagogue and called upon the assembled Jews to believe in God. On being asked by them, what religion he had, he replied, "The religion of Abraham." They said, "Abraham was a Jew." But when Mohammed proposed to submit the question to the decision of the Torah, they declined. When some of them were converted to Islam, the unbelieving Rabbis said, "Only the bad amongst us follow Mohammed and believe in him; if they belonged to the better ones amongst us, they would not forsake the faith of their fathers and embrace another.

'On one occasion, when speaking with the Rabbis of the Jews, Mohammed addressed them thus, "O ye Jews, fear God, and become Moslems: by God, ye know that my revelation is true." They replied, "This is exactly what we do *not* know;" and they denied what they knew, and continued in unbelief. Then God revealed this, "O ye men of the Book, believe in our revelation, which confirms what you have, before we destroy their faces and turn them backwards, or curse them, as we cursed the Sabbath-breakers, and God's behest was carried out forthwith.' (Ibn Ishak and Ibn Hisham.)

(33.) *Besides their efforts amongst the Jews, they also commissioned Ambassadors to distant nations and their rulers, for the purpose of inducing them to become disciples of the new Faith.*

a. 'Jesus came and spake unto his disciples, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world' (Matt. xxviii. 18-20).

'The Lord said unto Ananias, Go thy way: for he [Saul] is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel; for I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake' (Acts ix. 15, 16).

b. Ibn Ishak records, 'Mohammed sent ambassadors from amongst his companions and gave them letters to different princes in which he called upon them to embrace Islam. A trustworthy person has told me the following, on the authority of Abu Bekr el Hudsali. One day, after Mohammed had returned from the pilgrimage, on the day of Hodeibia, he went to his companions, and said, "O ye people, God has sent me to you out of mercy, in order to avert evil from you; do not, therefore, resist me, as the apostles resisted Jesus the son of Mary." The companions asked, "Whereby did they resist him? and Mohammed answered, "He charged them with what I charge you; but only those whom he sent to a near place were content and did well, whilst those whom he sent to a distance showed discontent and raised difficulties. Jesus committed the matter to God, and next morning all those who had raised difficulties, spoke the language of the nation to which they were respectively sent." Of the ambassadors whom Mohammed then chose amongst his companions and sent to the princes, with letters inviting them to Islam, there were: Dihye Ibn Khalifa, whom he sent to the Emperor of the Greeks; Abd Allah Ibn Hudsafa, to Chosroes, the King of the Persians; Amr Ibn Omeia, to Najashi, the Prince of

Abyssinia; Hatib Ibn Abi Balta, to Mokawkas, the Prince of Alexandria; Amr Ibn el Aasi, to Jeifar and Iyaz, the Princes of Oman; Selit Ibn Amr, to Thumama Ibn Uthal, and to Hawza Ibn Ali, the Princes of Yemama; Ala Ibn el Hadhrami, to Munzir Ibn Sawa, the Prince of Bahrein; Shuja Ibn Wahb, to El Harith Ibn Abi Shamir, Prince of the border districts of Syria; and Mohajir Ibn Omeia, to Harith Ibn Abd Kulal, the Prince of Yemen.—Yesid Ibn Abi Habib told me that he found a manuscript in which those are mentioned by name whom Mohammed sent to the Princes of the Arabs and of foreign countries; and which also contains what Mohammed told his companions in giving them their commission. He sent that manuscript to Ibn Shihab ez Zuhri who took knowledge of it.'

(34.) *They opened up to men the Way of Atonement and Pardon of Sin, to find Salvation.*

a. 'The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many' (Matt. xx. 28; Mark x. 45).

'As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life. For God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved. He that believeth on him is not condemned: but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God' (John iii. 14, 18).

'We rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement' (Rom. v. 11).

'Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us: nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with blood of others; . . .

but now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment: so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation' (Heb. ix. 22-28).

b. REMARK: Above, in the account of Mohammed's ascension into heaven, there was already an incidental reference to the subject of atonement (see pp. 310, 311), which shows that, to his mind, this was so puzzling a question that he fancied even the angels in heaven contended about it, and he ascribes to a very special Divine manifestation what light he possessed on the subject, and which he embodies in the following definition: 'Atonement, that is, what causes atonement for sin, are—the abiding in the places of worship, after the prescribed prayers have been performed; the going to assemblies on foot; and the regular and complete performance of the legal ablutions during seasons of calamities and troubles. Whoever does these things will live and die well, and become so entirely purified from sins, as if his mother had only just given him birth.' If we may judge of the amount of light Mohammed possessed on ethical and religious questions, from this definition, how truly disappointing and lamentably sad is the result: and this, six centuries after the rise of the religion of atonement and reconciliation between God and man! But we may also infer from this recital that the great subject of Atonement, that cardinal point of the Christian religion, duly forced itself on the attention of Mohammed, though he never took it in. This ought never to have been left unnoticed by Christian writers.

'Omar Ibn Aas, after narrating how in the year 8 A.H. he went to Medina to profess his faith in Mohammed, and how, on the way, he fell in with Khalid Ibn Walid who was travelling in the same direction for the same purpose, thus continues his narrative: When we arrived at Medina, we went straight to that Excellency, who first required the confession of the Unity from Khalid. After him, I also went

into the presence of that prince saying, "Stretch out thy hand, that I may take the oath of allegiance to thee." But when he stretched out his blessed right hand, I withdrew my own. Thereupon he asked, "What has become the matter with thee, O Omar?" and I replied, "I wish to make a condition." On asking me again, "What is the condition thou wishest to make?" I answered, "I take the oath of allegiance with this condition, that all my sins shall be forgiven." His Excellency rejoined, "Dost thou not know, O Omar, that Islam blots out all previous sins, and that the Hegira (=flight, migration) from the domain of unbelief to the domain of Islam, and the religious visits to the house of the Kaaba, equally demolish the structure of former trangressions?"

'On the war-expedition to Tabuk, A.H. 9, his Excellency rose one night, took down the provender-bag with his own hand, and gave barley to one of his horses; and then wiped and cleaned its back and shoulder with his own mantle. When his friends said to him, "O Apostle of God, how can this be a proper use for thy blessed mantle?" he replied, "Ye do not know that Gabriel came and ordered me to do this; and that last night angels came and rebuked me on account of want of attention to the horses, and told me that every Mussulman who, with the intention of going to war and battle in the cause of God, ties a horse, will not do so without the Most High writing down for him a good action, and pardoning a sin for every grain of corn he has given to the horse."

'It is also recorded that when Adam was punished and sent into the world on account of his sin, he repented of his sins with weeping and sorrow; but his repentance was not accepted, until at length he took Mohammed, the Apostle of God, for his mediator, saying, "O God, forgive my sins for Mohammed's sake!" God asked him, "Whence knowest thou Mohammed?" Adam replied, "At the time when thou didst create me, the foot of the Throne was straight opposite my sight, and I beheld written upon it: There is no God but Allah: Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah. Then I knew that the dearest and noblest of beings in thy sight is Mohammed, whose name thou hast joined close to thy own name." After this, the voice came, "O Adam, know thou, that one of thy

offspring is the last of the prophets: I have created thee in order that thou shouldest be a residuary portion of him." It is said that on that same day Adam was commanded by God to assume the surname of "Abu Mohammed" (*i.e.* father of Mohammed).[1]

'Another account is this, that the glorious God asked Adam, saying, "O Adam, knowest thou who he is whom thou hast taken for a mediator and intercessor with me, in order to obtain pardon of sins?" Adam gave this answer, "I know that he is thy chosen and loved one, and that the light which thou didst put on my forehead is his light; and from the words written upon the foot of the Throne, upon the Preserved Tablet, and upon the gates of Paradise, I know that this Mohammed is regarded by thee as the noblest and dearest of beings." Thereupon this glorious voice came, "O Adam, I have pardoned thee and condoned thy sins; and (I swear) by my own glory, (that) whoever of thy offspring takes him for a mediator and presents him to me as his intercessor, him I will pardon and his wants I will supply."' (Rawzat.)

(35.) *They had the mission of Overcoming the Devil and Destroying his Works.*

a. 'If I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you. Or else how can one enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man? and then he will spoil his house' (Matt. xii. 28, 29).

Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out' (John xii. 31). Compare Luke x. 17-20.

'For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil' (1 John iii. 8).

'Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of

[1] It is clear that the name 'Adam Abu Mohammed' requires fo its correlative 'Mohammed Ibn Adam,' so that the appellation 'Son of Adam, or *Son of Man*,' by which the Lord Jesus so frequently called himself, is here, by implication, appropriated for Mohammed.

our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony ; and they loved not their lives unto the death ' (Rev. xii. 10-12).

b. ' It is related that in the night of Mohammed's conception, when the light of Mohammed passed from Abd Allah (his father) to Amina (his mother), all the idols on the face of the earth were thrown down, and remained in that prostrate state for forty days and forty nights. At the end of these forty days and forty nights the angel in charge of the Devil's headquarters removed it down to the abyss of the sea. Then Satan became sad, crest-fallen, ashamed, burning with indignation and grief; and thus that cursed one walked about, uttering loud lamentations, till he reached the mountain Abu Kabis. Then all the evil spirits gathered around him, and said, " O our leader, what has happened to thee that thou makest such lamentations ? " Satan answered, " You have become lost, in a manner as you have never been lost before." On their asking again, " How is this ? what has happened ? " he replied, " This woman, *i.e.* Amina, has conceived Mohammed, that glory of the visible and invisible world. Henceforth no one is to worship idols ; for that Mohammed, being sent with a sharp sword, will change the false religions, destroy Lat and Ozza, break the idols, and will make fornication, wine, and gambling unlawful; and during his empire we shall be prevented from going up to heaven and listening ; divining will cease from amongst men ; and he will do what is just, speak what is true, and make an end of oppression ; and his people will adorn the face of the earth with mosques as the sky is adorned with stars, so that wherever we may go in the world, we shall find God's praise and Unity openly proclaimed ; and his people are to become a congregation, on whose account my Lord will have me stoned, and cursed, and driven from His court, and no part will henceforth remain to us in this world." The evil spirits answered thus, " O master, grieve not, for God has created seven categories of men, and they have riches and children ; as we had our wish gratified by the former categories, so we shall surely also not be disappointed by these, but obtain a portion." Satan asked, " How can you obtain from them a

portion for yourselves, seeing that they are a people of laudable principles and praiseworthy maxims, such as the injunction of what is good, and the prohibition of what is evil, kind-heartedness, beneficence, and charity?" They replied, "Do not grieve: for we shall excite desires in their hearts, leading to error and sin, and shall render oppression and avarice attractive to their views; surely they will be caught by our temptations and be ruined." On hearing these words from them, the Devil rejoiced and laughed, and said to them, "Ye have now delivered my mind from vexation and grief, and made me happy."

'The commentators affirm that the Devil uttered a loud wail on four different occasions, viz. first, on being cursed; second, on being driven from Paradise to the earth; third, when Mohammed was born; fourth, when the opening chapter of the Koran was sent down.

'It is reported that twenty days after the beginning of that Highness's public ministry, the Satanic spirits were forbidden to listen. It is recorded that Ibn Abbas said, "Before the Prophet's public mission, the Satanic spirits went up close to heaven and held their ears to it, so that they overheard some words concerning events, about to take place on the earth; and after having mixed up these true words with falsehoods, they went to tell them to the people of the earth: this they did until they were entirely prevented, at the time the Prophet was charged with his public mission."' (Rawzat.)

'The Jewish Rabbis and the Christian Priests, as also the Diviners amongst the Arabs, had already spoken of Mohammed, when his mission was drawing near—the former on account of what they found concerning him in their sacred books and prophetic Scriptures, the latter on account of what the evil spirits had communicated to them of those things which they overheard, before they were prevented by stars being hurled at them. The male and female Diviners dropped many things about Mohammed, but the Arabs did not heed them, till they were accomplished by the mission itself; but since that time the evil spirits could no longer listen, for they were prevented from returning to the places where they previously used to listen, by stars being hurled

down upon them. By this they knew that now had come to pass what God had decreed respecting his servant.

'Mohammed, on one occasion, asked the Ansars, "What was formerly your notion about the shooting-stars?" They answered, "We thought they indicated the death or accession of a king, or the birth or death of a child." Mohammed replied, "It was not so: rather, when God decreed anything concerning His creatures, the Bearers of the Throne praised Him, and the angels below them followed their example, and thus the praise spread down to the lowest heaven. There, one asked the other, 'Why did you praise God?' and the answer was, 'Because the higher ones did so;' and then the higher ones were asked, till the question reached the Bearers of the Throne. Then when these made known God's decree, the answer by degrees came down to the lowest heaven, and here the evil spirits overheard it; and, misunderstanding or misinterpreting some of it, they returned to the Diviners of the earth, and sometimes led these astray, sometimes told them the truth, till God kept off the evil spirits, by hurling stars at them: therefore now divining is at an end, and there are no longer any foretellers or soothsayers."' (Ibn Ishâk.)

(36.) *As Jesus Christ, so also Mohammed was above all other men in worth and dignity.*

a. 'He that cometh from above is above all; he that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth; he that cometh from heaven is above all' (John iii. 31).

'He is the head of the body, the church: who is the beginning, the first-born from the dead; that in all things he might have the pre-eminence; for it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell' (Col. i. 18, 19).

b. Ibn Hisham concludes the second part of his biography of Mohammed in these words, 'He was the best of his people, as regards descent and nobility, both on the paternal and maternal side.'

When Halima, Mohammed's wet-nurse, returned with her charge from Mecca to her own home, and they were met by a flock of sheep on the way, the sheep came near her and

said, 'O Halima, knowest thou who thy nursling is? He is Mohammed, the Apostle of the Lord of heaven and earth, and the first of the sons of men.' (R.)

Ibn Ishak narrates, on the authority of Thaur Ibn Yezid, that when on one occasion some of his companions asked the Apostle of God for information concerning himself, he spoke to them in this wise, 'I am he to believe in whom men were already invited by my father Abraham, and whose coming was foretold by Isa (=Jesus). When my mother had conceived me, she saw a light proceeding from her, which illuminated the houses of Syria. I was nursed among the Beni Saad; and one day, when I tended the cattle behind our house, together with my brother, two men robed in white, and holding a golden laver filled with snow, came upon us, seized me, split open my body, took out my heart, split it open, and, after removing from it a black clot, washed it and my whole body quite clean with the snow, and then one of them said to the other, "Weigh him against ten of his people." He did so, and I outweighed them. Then he said, "Weigh him against a hundred of his people;" and when I outweighed them also, he said, "Weigh him against a thousand of his people;" and when I outweighed these likewise, he said, "Leave him now, for if thou wert to lay his entire people into the scale, he still would outweigh them all."' (I. I.)

(37.) *Each of them was the greatest and best of all God's Messengers.*

a. 'Behold, a greater than Jonas is here. . . . Behold, a greater than Solomon is here' (Matt. xii. 41).

'Art thou greater than our father Abraham, who is dead? and the prophets are dead: whom makest thou thyself? Jesus answered, . . . Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day: and he saw it, and was glad. Then said the Jews unto him, Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham? Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I am' (John viii. 53-58).

'Last of all he sent unto them his son, saying, They will reverence my son. . . . Did ye never read in the Scriptures,

The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner: this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes?' (Matt. xxi. 37-42.)

b. Amina, Mohammed's mother, told the following story about her child: 'Afterwards another little cloud appeared, brighter and greater than the former, and I heard sounds like the neighing of horses, like the clapping of the wings of birds, and like the voice of the talking of men, proceeding from it; and a Caller called out, "Carry Mohammed about, all over the earth, and present him to all mankind, and to all the spirits; and honour him as possessing the purity of Adam, the tender compassion of Noah, the faithful friendship of Abraham, the circumcision of Isaac, the patience of Job, the eloquence of Ishmael, the beauty of Joseph, the voice of David, the austerity of John the Baptist, and the kindness of Jesus;" and according to another account, the Caller also called, "Plunge him into the sea of the qualities of the prophets and the apostles;" on which account it is said of him in poetry,

> "Thou art the heir of all prophetic gifts,
> Combining all the attributes of all Apostles."'

It is likewise reported that Amina said, 'When Mohammed was born, there appeared unto me three persons from the unseen world, with faces of such surpassing beauty that the sun took its rise from them. One of these, who by Ibn Abbas was declared to be the Treasurer of Paradise, after having washed the child seven times in a silver laver, and tied him up with a musk-scented band in a piece of silk, kept him for about one hour under his wings. Then he whispered many things into his ear, of which I understood nothing, and kissed him between his eyes, saying, "O Mohammed, hear thou this glad tidings, that thou hast been esteemed worthy to receive the knowledge of all the prophets, and thy knowledge and thy courage shall be more than all theirs; and the keys of victory shall accompany thee, and all hearts shall be so impressed with thy dread and majesty that no one shall be able to hear thy name without fear and trembling, though he have never seen thee, O thou loved one of God."' (R.)

(38.) *Each of them is the Holder of the Keys.*

a. Jesus saith, 'I am he that liveth, and was dead; and behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death' (Rev. i. 18).

Jesus is 'he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth' (Rev. iii. 7).

Jesus said unto Peter, 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven' (Matt. xvi. 19).

b. In the Rawzat it is reported that when Mohammed had been taken away by the angels, immediately after his birth, to be carried over the length and breadth of the earth and sea, and brought back again to his mother, he was wrapt—so she affirmed—in some wool, whiter than snow or whiter than milk. He lay on a piece of green silk, and was holding in his hands a number of keys; and a voice from the unseen world was heard calling out, 'Mohammed has taken the key of prophetship, the key of victory, and the key of the treasures of the air.' (R.)

'According to a trustworthy source of information, Abu Hureira used to say, at the time of the great conquests during the Califate of Omar and Othman, "Conquer as much as you like: by Him in whose hand Abu Hureira's soul is, you have not conquered a town, neither will you conquer one until the day of the resurrection, whose key God has not already given to Mohammed."' (I. I. and I. H.)

(39.) *Their body is the true Temple, that is, the abode of the Divine Presence, or of the Shechina.*

a. 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. . . . But he spake of the temple of his body' (John ii. 19-21).

'The Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth' (John i. 14).

b. Mohammed, in narrating the affair of the splitting of his body, says, 'When the angel had washed my inside

with snow-water, he said to the other angel, "Bring hail-water." Then they agreed with each other, and washed my heart with hail-water. After this, one of them said, "Bring the Shechina." Then they filled my heart with the Shechina.' (R.)

(40.) *They are both stamped with the Divine Seal.*

a. 'Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you: for him hath God the Father sealed' (John vi. 27).

b. Mohammed, after having related the splitting and cleaning of his heart by an angel, thus continues his recital: 'Then there was something in his hand which he had brought with him, and with which he filled my heart; and after having put it back to its place, he sealed it with a seal of light whose charm and ease still remain in my limbs and joints. . . . And the angel said again, "Stamp him with the seal of prophecy," whereupon they stamped my heart with the seal of prophecy.' (R.)

(41.) *Both of them have seen God and heard him speak.*

a. 'No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him' (John i. 18).

'Not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is of God, he hath seen the Father' (John vi. 46).

'All things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you' (John xv. 15). Compare viii. 26.

b. In the place where the Rawzat makes known the different modes in which Mohammed received his revelations, the seventh and last is thus mentioned: 'At the ascension, the Most High spoke to that prince without an intermediary angel, and without any other medium, from behind the Veil; and according to one account that prince saw God with the eyes of his own head, in the night of the ascension.' (R.)

(42.) *They taught their people how to pray.*

a. 'When ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask him. After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father,' etc. (Matt. vi. 5-13.)

'He spake a parable unto them to this end, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint' (Luke xviii. 1).

b. 'When Gabriel had departed, Mohammed returned to Khadija, and showed her how it is necessary first to wash before prayer, as Gabriel had taught him; then he prayed, as Gabriel had prayed before him, and she prayed after his example.' (Ibn Hisham.)

Ibn Ishak narrates: 'Salih Ibn Keisan told me what he had heard of Urwa Ibn Zobeir, who had been told it by Aisha, namely, that at first, prayer with two genuflexions only, was prescribed to Mohammed, which is still the duty incumbent on travellers, but afterwards God increased it to four genuflexions, for those who are at home.' (I. I.)

We have already learned from the account of the ascension, how Mohammed, by bargaining with the Most High, obtained a reduction of the fifty daily prayers at first required, to five, and how, when Moses invited him to try for a still further reduction, he answered, 'I have already returned so often to my Lord that I am ashamed to do so again; but I am content with this and walk in the way of submission.'[1] According to another account he said, 'I returned to my Lord for the purpose of obtaining a reduction in the number of prayers, till He said, "O Mohammed, I have made five prayers obligatory upon thee and thy people; and I accept each one prayer in the stead of ten prayers, so that their five prayers shall be as good as fifty prayers."' (R.)

[1] What a contrast between prayer in a Mohammedan and prayer in a Christian sense! The former is a duty, imposed upon God's slaves, who, in discharging it, regard it an indulgence to be let off with five prayers rather than ten: the latter is a privilege, enjoyed by children, for conversing with their heavenly Father, and therefore it becomes to them, as it were, a spiritual atmosphere in which they breathe freely and habitually.

(43.) *Each of them sanctioned the drinking of his blood, and ascribed to it a saving virtue.*

a. 'Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed; he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him' (John vi. 53-56).

b. Abu Saad Khodri relates: 'When, at the battle of Ohod, the helmet-rings had been taken out of the Prophet's cheek, blood flowed from the radiant face of that Lord of the pure, and my father Malik Ibn Sinan sucked the wounds with his mouth, swallowing the blood. When they said to my father, "Malik, is blood to be drunk?" my father replied, "Yes, the blood of the Prophet of God I drink like a beverage." At that time his Excellency, the Prophet, said, "Whoever wishes to see one who has mixed my blood with his own, let him look at Malik Ibn Sinan: any one whose blood touches mine, him the fire of hell shall not desire."

'It is narrated that when the false report of Mohammed's death in the battle of Ohod had reached Medina, fourteen Mussulman women combined to hasten to the battle-field. When they met him, Fatima clung round him, and wept, so that the Lord of the world showed great emotion. Then she cleaned the blood from that prince's blessed head and face, the well-beloved Ali bringing water on his shield, and Fatima swallowing that prince's blood. She succeeded in stanching the flow of blood by burning a piece of mat she found, and applying its ashes to the wound.' (R.)

(44.) *Jesus speaks of stones which would cry out, under certain circumstances; but Mohammed of stones and trees which actually did call out.*

a. 'The whole multitude of the disciples praised God, saying, Blessed be the King that cometh in the name of the Lord; peace in heaven, and glory in the highest. And

some of the Pharisees from among the multitude said unto him, Master, rebuke thy disciples. And he answered and said unto them, If these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out' (Luke xix. 37-40).

b. 'The biographers narrate that when that Excellency had completed his fortieth year, the Most High gave him his apostolic mission to all people. But previously there appeared many signs and tokens to that prince, such as true dreams, and salutations from trees and stones. Jabir Ibn Simre reports that he heard the Prophet make this statement: "At the time I was about to receive my mission, I, for several days and nights, did not meet a tree or a stone which did not say to me, 'Peace be on thee, O thou Apostle of God.'"

'In the narrative of the visit of Abu Talib, with his nephew Mohammed, to the monk Bahira, it is recorded that when the caravan with the future prophet reached a certain hilly and stony spot, Bahira heard how all the trees and stones of that place called out with a loud voice, "Peace be on thee, O thou Apostle of God!"' (R.)

(45.) *Each of the two prophets illustrated the hopelessness of a case by referring to a camel's passing through the eye of a needle.*

a. 'Jesus said to his disciples, Again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God' (Matt. xix. 24).

b. 'Amar narrates that Hadifa told him he heard Mohammed say, on their return from the expedition to Tabuk, A.H. 9, "There are twelve[1] hypocrites amongst my companions who shall not see the face of Paradise, or smell its fragrance, until the time when a camel may pass through the eye of a needle."' (R.)

[1] These 'twelve' hypocrites in Islam may perhaps be regarded as a sort of counterpart to the twelve apostles. It is also stated that 'twelve hypocrites' were partners in the building of a mosque near Medina, with the view of upholding Christian tendencies, which Mohammed, after his return from Tabuk, commanded to be burnt over the heads of those who worshipped in it.

(46.) *Both the prophets sometimes imparted Divine benefits and blessings by the laying on of their hands.*

a. 'After that Jesus put his hands again upon the blind man's eyes, and made him look up: and he was restored, and saw every man clearly' (Mark viii. 22-25). Compare Mark vii. 32-35.

'And they brought young children to Jesus, that he should touch them. . . . And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them' (Mark x. 13-16).

'Now when the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases, brought them unto him; and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them' (Luke iv. 40).

b. 'Amongst the Beni Beka, who, A.H. 9, came to Medina to profess Islam, there was Moawia Ibn Thor, a venerable old man, a hundred years of age. He begged his Excellency graciously to lay his blessed hand on his son Beshr, because he behaved so well towards him. That Excellency granted his request, and stroked Beshr's face with his blessed hand, and invoked a blessing upon him. In consequence, whenever a famine happened in the country of the Beni Beka, it did not reach them.'

'In the same year, A.H. 9, Zeiyad Ibn Abd Allah also embraced Islam, together with some others. He went to the house of Meimuna, one of the Prophet's wives, because he was her nephew. It happened that, soon after, his Excellency also came to Meimuna's dwelling, but, on seeing Zeiyad with her, he became angry and turned away. Meimuna called after him, "O Apostle of God, this is my sister's son." Then that prince turned back, and sat down with them. At noonday prayers they went to the mosque together, and his Excellency made Zeiyad sit by his side. He also prayed for him, and with his blessed hand stroked him, bringing down his blessed hand over Zeiyad's face to the end of his nose. It is recorded that the Beni Halal said, "After this, we always saw in Zeiyad's face a light, and the traces of a blessing."

'A.H. 10, Jerir Ibn Abd Allah came to Medina with 150

men from his tribe and embraced Islam. When Mohammed requested him to return home and destroy their idol forthwith, Jerir said, "O Apostle of God, the way is long; if I ride on a camel, I shall be late, and I cannot ride on horseback, for if I mount a horse, it throws me down." Jerir continues his narrative thus: "Then that prince laid his blessed hand on my breast, so that I saw the traces of his blessed fingers upon my breast, and said, 'O God, stablish him and make him a rightly guided guide.' Then I left that Excellency, and, by that God who sent him with truth, mounted an intractable horse, which at once became under me as gentle as a lamb, so that I speedily reached the idol-temple, demolished, and burned it. When this news reached his Excellency, he rejoiced, and prayed for a favour and blessing on Jerir's horse."

'Some one went to Moseilama, the false prophet who wished to be named Mohammed's successor, and asked him to bless his son, and to pray for him, on the ground that Mohammed did the same for the children of his companions. Moseilama then prayed for the boy, and stroked his head, when, lo, the boy's head turned bald; and every child to whom Moseilama was called to lay his hands on its head, or to put his fingers into its mouth, became bald-headed, and received a stammering tongue.' (R.)

(47.) *By their mediation and benediction a small quantity of food miraculously sufficed to feed a large number of people.*

a. 'Jesus took the loaves; and when he had given thanks, he distributed to the disciples, and the disciples to them that were set down; and likewise of the fishes as much as they would. When they were filled, he said to his disciples, Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost. Therefore they gathered them together, and filled twelve baskets with fragments of the five barley-loaves, which remained over and above unto them that had eaten' (John vi. 5-13).

'And he blessed, and commanded to set them also before them. So they did eat, and were filled: and they

took up of the broken meat that was left seven baskets. And they that had eaten were about four thousand (Mark viii. 1-9).

b. Ibn Ishak narrates: 'Said Ibn Mina told me that he heard Beshir Ibn Saad's daughter relate the following story: My mother Omra called me, and put a handful of dates into my dress, saying, "Go, take this breakfast to thy father and uncle." I went away with the dates, and on passing Mohammed, in seeking my father and uncle, he called me, and asked what I was carrying. I answered, "These are dates with which my mother has sent me to my father and uncle." He said, "Give them to me;" and when I put them into his hands, they did not quite fill them. He then commanded a cloth to be spread, and threw the dates upon it, saying to a man who was standing there, "Call the men of the ditch[1] to breakfast." All the men of the ditch collected around him and ate of them, and they continued to multiply, so that when the people left, they were still falling down from the side of the cloth.

'Said Ibn Mina has also told me that Jabir Ibn Abd Allah narrated to him as follows: "When we were working together with Mohammed in digging the ditch, I had a lamb which was not very fat, and I said to myself, 'By Allah, we can prepare this lamb for the Apostle of God.' I requested my wife to prepare a little barley-flour and bake bread, whilst I killed the lamb and dressed it for Mohammed. In the evening, when he wanted to go home, I said to him, 'I have caused a lamb to be prepared for thee which we had in our house, and we have also baked barley-bread[1] for it. I shall be glad if thou wilt come home with me.' Mohammed consented, but caused a Caller to call out aloud, 'Follow the Apostle of God into the house of Jabir Ibn Abd Allah.' Then I thought, We are God's, and return to Him. However, Mohammed soon came with the people and sat down. We brought the food to him. He pronounced a blessing upon

[1] The 'men of the ditch' were the people who, at Mohammed's command, fortified Medina by digging a ditch, in a comparatively short time, alongside its exposed part, on the occasion when an attack was expected from a Meccan army.

[2] Compare the five 'barley-loaves' in John vi. 9.

it[1] in the name of God and ate. Then the people all ate in turn, one company after another,[2] till all the men of the ditch went away satisfied."'[3]

(48.) *Towards the close of their earthly course, both the prophets triumphantly re-entered the capital city and national sanctuary, accompanied by a vast multitude of exultant followers, though previously they had to flee from it, their liberty and even their life being threatened by the parties in power; and they authoritatively rid the sanctuary of what was desecrating it.*

a. 'Then gathered the chief priests and the Pharisees a council, and said, What do we? for this man doeth many miracles. If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him: and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation. . . . Then from that day forth they took counsel together for to put him to death. Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews: but went thence unto a country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim, and there continued with his disciples' (John xi. 47-54).

'Then Jesus, six days before the passover, came to Bethany, where Lazarus was which had been dead, whom he raised from the dead.—And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and were come to Bethphage . . . his disciples brought an ass and colt, and put on them their clothes, and set him thereon. And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees, and strawed them in the way. And the multitudes that went before, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest! And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was moved, saying, Who is this? And the multitude said, This is Jesus, the

[1] Compare the 'giving thanks' of Jesus in John vi. 11.

[2] Compare Mark vi. 40: 'And they sat down in ranks, by hundreds, and by fifties.'

[3] These instances of Mohammed's *many miracles* must suffice here, as they will form a subject by themselves, further on.

prophet of Nazareth of Galilee. And Jesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold doves, and said unto them, It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves. And the blind and the lame came to him in the temple; and he healed them' (John xii. 1; Matt. xxi. 1-14).

b. What, in the biographies of Mohammed, corresponds to this triumphant entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, separates into three distinct acts: *aa.* the three days' visit, after a wholly abortive attempt; *bb.* the conquest of Mecca and cleansing of the Kaaba; *cc.* the grand Farewell Pilgrimage.[1]

aa. 'Six years after Mohammed and his followers had fled from Mecca, where their liberty and even their lives were endangered, and had been received with open arms in Medina, he resolved on a visit to the sacred city, in the character of a pilgrim. But fearing the Koreish might oppose him by force, he invited the friendly Arabs and Bedouins to accompany him. Many of these indeed slighted his invitation, but others joined the refugees and assistants. Then they put on the pilgrim's garment and carried with them animals for sacrifices, so that it might be quite obvious they were not coming for war, but merely on a religious visit to the temple. The Koreish, knowing with whom they had to do, put no confidence in Mohammed's professions, and

[1] As it can be gathered from the narrative of the four Gospels that the whole course of Christ's public life tended towards Jerusalem, where He knew His 'Father's House' to be; where it was assigned Him to 'accomplish His ministry;' and where His Church was to be founded, by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit: so also it appears plain from the Mohammedan records that Mohammed, so long as he was forcibly debarred from Mecca, never ceased to keep its subjugation steadily in view, and persistently strove to obtain possession of the holy city and temple, as the centre and sanctuary of Islam. But how great a difference between the two prophets! Christ went to Jerusalem to be crucified, and to found a spiritual kingdom, 'not of this world;' but Mohammed entered Mecca as a conqueror, establishing a worldly empire under the guise of religion. It is, of course, not intended to affirm that Mohammed undertook these journeys to Mecca and the Kaaba for the express purpose of establishing a parallel to Christ's visit of Jerusalem and the Temple; but the description given by his biographers renders it not improbable that in their minds a desire existed to draw attention to Christ's royal entrance into Jerusalem, and to show how entirely it was eclipsed by Mohammed's pompous entrance into Mecca.

said, "Even if he does not come for war, the Arabs shall never be able to say that we received him because we could not help it." Mohammed was not permitted to visit the temple on this occasion, and had to content himself with a written compact containing this clause, "Mohammed is to go back this year without entering Mecca, but next year the Koreish are to vacate the city for three days, so that he and his companions may enter and remain there in the dress of pilgrims, and without any other weapon but a sheathed sword."

'In the following year Mohammed and his followers returned to Mecca, which he found vacated, and they remained three full days. But at the end of this term the Koreish sent a deputation to them, reminding them of their stipulation to leave. Mohammed replied, "What harm is there, if I remain a little longer among you to celebrate my marriage and to prepare a wedding feast for you?" But they said, "We do not want your feast: depart from us." Accordingly Mohammed quitted Mecca in such a hurry that he had to leave his freedman, Abu Rafi, behind him, to follow with Meimuna, the newly engaged bride. They overtook the Prophet at Sarif, where the marriage was consummated.' (Ibn Ishak.)

bb. 'Although it had been stipulated in the pact of Hodeibia that there should be peace for ten years, yet as there happened acts of hostility between the confederates of the Koreish and the confederates of Mohammed, which led to bloodshed, the Prophet, already two years later, A.H. 8, determined to undertake an expedition of war and conquest against Mecca. According to the narratives of the biographers he started from Medina with his army in the month of Ramadan, proclaiming it optional for every one either to fast or not to fast on that occasion, and taking with him Om Salma from amongst his chaste wives. When the army encamped four parasangs from Mecca, it numbered 10,000 or 12,000 men. Abu Sofyan, through the mediation of Abbas, went out to Mohammed, and thus interceded for the city, "For God's sake, and for the sake of thy affinity with the Koreish, forgive them, and spare their blood, and show them kindness and favour; for thou art the best of

men, and most merciful towards relatives." That Excellency replied, "O Abu Sofyan, this is a day of mercy; a day in which God brings glory to the Koreish; and a day in which God's House, the Kaaba, shall be greatly exalted." After this he ordered the different commanders of his troops to advance against the city, and to enter it simultaneously, from seven different directions; but he enjoined on them all to fight with none who did not attack them. Only the troops commanded by Khalid were attacked, so that he had to fight, and his opponents lost twenty-four men in killed, or according to another account, seventy men, this being the number Mohammed had once vowed to slay from amongst the Koreish, in revenge for his uncle Hamza, who fell in the battle of Ohod. It is recorded that the remaining Meccan soldiers, on seeing the slain, fled ignominiously, without looking back.

'When Mecca was in the possession of the Mussulman army, Mohammed washed the dust off his face and hands, took a bath, then put on again his armour and helmet, and, accompanied by his friends, rode to the holy place of the temple, between drawn-up lines of cavalry. He first saluted the Black Stone, as it was usual, with the crooked stick he had in his hand, and, together with his fellow-Moslems, raised such a loud cry of "Allāhu ákbar, *i.e.* God is great!" that fear and trembling fell on all Mecca. Having performed his processional circumambulation of the sanctuary, he upset the 360 idols, set up around the Kaaba, by striking them with a javelin or club which he held in his hand, so that some of them lay prostrate on their faces, others on their backs. The large idols Hobal, Asaf, and Naila, were broken in pieces. A few great idols being placed so high that they could not be reached with the hand, Ali, God's favourite, said to the Prophet, "O Apostle of God, hadst thou not better stand on my shoulders and pull these idols down?" To this Mohammed replied, "O Ali, thou hast not strength enough to bear the weight of the prophetship that is in me: thou hadst better stand on my shoulders, and do this act thyself." Ali obeying, cast down those idols and broke them up into fragments. Then he threw himself down upon the ground in honour of the Prophet, and smiled; and his Excellency

asking him why he laughed, he answered, "I laugh, because though I let myself down from so great a height, yet no harm has happened to me." The Prophet rejoined, "O Ali, how could any harm have come to thee, seeing that he who held thee was Mohammed, and he who let thee down, Gabriel." Mohammed also sent Omar and Othman into the Kaaba, to efface the figures of angels, prophets, etc. which the infidels had drawn on its walls. But on afterwards entering himself, with some companions, and observing that Omar had not ventured to efface the images of Abraham and Ishmael, he ordered that these should likewise be obliterated, adding these words, "Let God's curse be on that (=any) people who make figures of those things which they cannot create."

'When he again came out of the Kaaba, and found the people of Mecca standing and waiting for a declaration from him, as to how he intended to treat them, he addressed this question to them, "What do you yourselves think and say, as to how I should deal with you?" They answered, "We speak of thee and hope from thee nothing but what is good: thou art our kind brother and our kind brother's son, who hast now obtained power and dominion over us." With these words they referred to the story of Joseph and his brethren. His Excellency replied, "Inasmuch, then, as your thoughts concerning me are such, I also say to you what Joseph said to his brethren, 'No censure and reproof shall be on you to-day: may God forgive you, for He is the Most Merciful."'

cc. 'The biographers record that A.H. 10, that is, in the year of his death, that prince performed the pilgrimage to Mecca which is called "The Farewell Pilgrimage," on account of his taking leave of his friends in his addresses during that pilgrimage, saying, "I shall perhaps not see you again after this year." But it is affirmed, on the authority of Abbas, that his Excellency disliked that appellation and preferred to call it "The Pilgrimage of Islam." He sent news to all the surrounding tribes of Arabs that he had decided on making the pilgrimage, and invited them to join; and God afflicted with measles and small-pox those who did not wish to join him in the pilgrimage. On that journey so many people

came together that none but God can know their number. Another account, however, states their number at 114,000, and still another at 124,000 persons.

'His Excellency entered the sacred mosque, saluted the Black Stone, and went seven times round the Kaaba, the first three times in haste and the last three times slowly, saluting the Black Stone and touching the Yemenite pillar each time. He also went to the place of offering, in order to slay his sacrifices. The camels brought by him from Medina, and by the well-beloved Ali from Yemen, amounted to 100. Of these camels his Excellency slaughtered 63 with his own blessed hand, in correspondence with the number of the years of his age; and the remaining 37 he ordered Ali to slay. On having his blessed head shaved, he distributed his sacred hair, giving one half of it to the Ansar Abu Talha, and the other half to his chaste wives, and also one or two hairs each to every one of his friends, according to their different rank. After that, faithful Aisha anointed that prince with an ointment in which there was musk,[1] whereupon he put off his pilgrim dress, and rode into Mecca before the noonday prayers.' (R.)

(49.) *Both Jesus and Mohammed continued up to the close of their career, and with death already at the door, in the zealous discharge of their respective life-work.*

a. 'And Jesus taught daily in the temple. But the chief priests, and the scribes, and the chief of the people, sought to destroy him, and could not find what they might do: for all the people were very attentive to hear him' (Luke xix. 47, 48).

'And in the day-time he was teaching in the temple; and at night he went out, and abode in the mount that is called the Mount of Olives. And all the people came early in the morning to him in the temple, for to hear him' (Luke xxi. 37, 38).

Compare also, in illustration of Christ's wonderful activity

[1] Is this notice, perhaps, a covert reference to Mary's 'ointment of spikenard, very costly'? (John xii. 3.)

during the last few days of His life, what is written in Matt. xix. to xxvi., and in John xi. to xviii.

b. 'The biographers report that when the Apostle of God had returned from the farewell pilgrimage to Medina (a few months before his death), he was seized with some illness, before the last in which he died. When the news of that illness became known in the country, several individuals openly pretended to be prophets, such as Moseilama, Talha, Aswad, and even a woman, named Sajah. Moseilama wrote a letter to Mohammed, in which he offered to divide the world equally with the Koreish; but Mohammed declined the offer, concluding his answer in these words, "Thou hast ruined the people of Yemama: may the Almighty ruin thee and thy followers!" Aswad was a diviner who had two devils telling him what was going to happen amongst men. When Badzan, Mohammed's Commissioner of Sana in Yemen, had died, he, with the help of his followers, seized and subdued Sana, and even made Badzan's widow[1] his wife. As soon as Mohammed had learned this from his other Commissioners in those parts, he ordered them by letter to unite and undo that mischief "in any way they might be able." Thereupon they secured the co-operation of Aswad's new wife, and with her help—she intoxicating him for the occasion—they succeeded in cutting off his head. Although the letter in which Mohammed was informed of this success reached Medina only after his death, he had received the same information by a heavenly messenger a day before he died, which he communicated to his friends, saying, "Last night Aswad has been killed;" and on being asked by those around him, he was able to give them even the names of the murderers.

'During his last illness, the Prophet also rose from his bed and went at night to the graveyard to pray for the dead. Ata Ibn Yesar says, "One night that Excellency was told, Arise, go to the Bekia cemetery, and pray for the pardon of those who lie in the graves. He arose and did so; and having gone back to sleep, he received the same injunction a second time, and complied with it in the same manner.

[1] Or, according to another account, the widow of Shahr, Badzan's son, who had succeeded his father for a very short time, and was slain in his struggle with El Aswad.

Having once more returned to rest, he was told, Arise and pray for the pardon of the martyrs of Ohod. His Excellency arose, went to Ohod, and prayed for them; but when he returned from Ohod, he suffered from headache, and tied a cloth round his blessed head." Akba Ibn Amir says, "Eight years after the affair of Ohod, the Prophet of God performed prayers over the martyrs of Ohod—that is, he blessed them and prayed for pardon for them. In this way he bade farewell, as it were, both to the living and to the dead."' (R.)

'Abd Allah Ibn Kaab said, "On the day on which Mohammed prayed for the martyrs of Ohod, he also mounted the pulpit, and said, O ye company of the refugees, deal kindly with the assistants. Other people increase in number, but they remain the same. They were the shelter to which I turned: be kind to those who befriend them, and punish those who oppose them. Then Mohammed left the pulpit, and his illness increased so much that he fainted."

'The last war-expedition which Mohammed arranged was that of sending Osama Ibn Zeid to Syria, to the districts of Balka and Darum, belonging to Palestine. When the people were busily preparing for this expedition, and the oldest emigrants were already gathering around Ibn Zeid, that illness commenced by which God in mercy was pleased to take him away. On being informed, during the illness, that the people hesitated with the mission of Osama Ibn Zeid, and that some objected to his placing a young man over the honourable refugees and assistants, he came forth from his chamber, and, with his head tied up, mounted the pulpit, and, after praising God, thus addressed the people: "O ye people, carry out Osama's mission. By my life, if ye object to his leadership, ye also object to that of his father before him; but he is as worthy of it as his father has been." When Mohammed quitted the pulpit, and the people expedited their preparations, his illness became aggravated. Osama left the city with his army and encamped at Jorf, three miles from the city; but, as Mohammed was very ill, Osama remained with his men in the camp, waiting to see what God had decreed concerning His Apostle.' (I. I. and I. H.)

'On Monday some of the Mussulmans who were to accompany Osama, came to bid farewell to the Prophet, and

then returned to the soldiers' camp. They found him very ill, yet he urged them, saying, "Send Osama's soldiers onward!" Osama also came again that day, and his Excellency, on taking leave of him, said, "Fight, with the blessing of God!" As soon as Osama returned to the soldiers' camp, he gave orders to be mounted and start; but at that moment his mother sent him word, "The Apostle of God is in his death-struggle." On hearing this, he returned with the leading men of the companions, and had the great banner planted before the door of his Excellency's room.' (R.)

(50.) *The Death of both these prophets was no less wonderful than their birth and life.*

a. The approaching death was foreknown and foretold by them.

aa. 'From that time forth began Jesus to shew unto his disciples, how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders, and chief priests, and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day' (Matt. xvi. 21). Compare Luke xviii. 31-33.

'Now, before the feast of the passover, when Jesus knew that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end' (John xiii. 1).

'It is enough, the hour is come; behold, the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners. Rise up, let us go: lo, he that betrayeth me is at hand' (Mark xiv. 41, 42).

bb. 'The biographers record that his Excellency was made aware, towards the close of his life, that this year he was to migrate from this transitory world to the vicinity of the Lord of Glory. He undoubtedly alluded to this subject in his Farewell Pilgrimage, when he said, "Learn ye the ceremonies of the pilgrimage well of me; perhaps after this year I shall not make any more pilgrimage;" and again, "They have, as it were, invited me to the abiding world; and I also have accepted the invitation, and have become one who is going to the eternal world."

'It is narrated that Abd Allah Ibn Masud said, "Our loved one and our prophet, that is, Mohammed, the chosen,

apprised us of his approaching death a month before he died. He invited us, his special friends, to the house of Aisha, the faithful, that mother of the believers; and when we came into his presence, so that his blessed eyes saw us, he began to weep. This weeping in all probability proceeded from his most tender feelings, and affection, for his friends, and from his picturing to himself his separation from them. On my asking, O Apostle of God, when will thy appointed time be completed? his Excellency replied, The time of separation has drawn nigh; and the hour of the return to the Most High, and to the remotest Sidra, and to the abode of Paradise, and to the upper companions, is at hand."' (R.)

b. Their death was not unavoidable, but freely accepted by them.

aa. 'Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again' (John x. 17, 18).

'But that the world may know that I love the Father; and as the Father gave me commandment, even so I do. Arise, let us go hence' (John xiv. 31).

'Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil' (Heb. ii. 14).

bb. 'It is a well-accredited tradition that Aisha gave the following narrative: "I heard the Prophet say in his healthy days, No prophet leaves this world for the next, without the option being given him whether he will choose the present world or the world to come.[1] When his last illness befell him and he was seized with a cough, his Excellency said, 'With the higher companions,' or, according to another account, 'With the higher and most blessed companions, with Gabriel, Michael, and Asrafel.' Then I knew that the option had been given him, and that his Excellency had chosen the next world." It is also reported that in all his former

[1] It requires little acuteness to perceive that the following story, with all its extraordinary details, owes its origin to the desire of illustrating and verifying this declaration of the Prophet by his own personal experience.

illnesses the Prophet had asked God for recovery and health, but that in this last illness he never prayed for restoration.

'According to tradition, Gabriel came three days before his Excellency's death, and said to him, "Thy Lord salutes thee, and has sent me to thee, as a special mark of honour and distinction, to ask of thee what He knows before, namely, how thou art." His Excellency replied, "O thou faithful messenger of God, I am sad, sorrowful, and distressed." Gabriel came also on the second and third day to ask the same question and received the same answer. On the third day there further came the angel of death, and another angel called Ishmael, who is the ruler of 70,000, or, according to another account, of 100,000 angels, each of whom, in his turn, is again the ruler of 70,000 or 100,000 other angels; and all these thousands of thousands of angels accompanied Ishmael. When Gabriel made his usual inquiry after the Prophet's health, that same day, he added, "O Mohammed, he that has now come, is the angel of death: he stands at the door and desires permission from thee to enter. Hitherto he has never asked and henceforth he will never ask such permission of any one." His Excellency replied, "O Gabriel, give him permission and let him come in." As soon as the angel of death had received permission, he entered, saluted that Excellency, and said, "O Mohammed, the Most High has sent me to thee and commanded me to obey thy behest: if thou commandest it, I am to take thy spirit and convey it to the higher world; but, if not, I am to go back." That prince looked towards Gabriel, that is to say, he made a sign to Gabriel to hear from him what he was to say. Gabriel replied, "O Ahmed, the truth is, that thy Lord longs to see thy noble face." Upon this that Excellency said to the angel of death, "Accomplish the work with which thou art commissioned." Gabriel further said, "O Ahmed, peace be with thee, I am now no more to descend to the earth to bring revelations: thou alone hast been my object and desire from amongst the people of this world.'

'It is reported that Ibn Abbas said: On the day of that Excellency's death God commanded the angel of death, "Go down to the earth, to Mohammed my beloved, but take heed not to enter and not to take his spirit, without permis-

sion. Then the angel of death, with many hundreds of thousands from amongst his angelic assistants, mounted piebald horses, put on robes woven with pearls and rubies, and came to his Excellency's door, bringing in their hands a letter from the Lord of the Universe. The angel of death stood before the door in the form of an Arab, saying, "Peace be with you, O ye inmates of the Prophet's house and of the Apostle's residence! will you grant me permission to enter?" Fatima, the chaste, who was standing at his Excellency's head, made answer thus, "The Prophet is just now engaged with himself, so that an interview is not quite convenient." The angel of death asked permission a second time, and received the same reply. On the third occasion he asked so loud that all the inmates of the house trembled, from the awfulness of his voice. When his Excellency came to himself, he opened his eyes, and inquired what it was. On being told, that prince said to Fatima, "Knowest thou with whom thou hast been holding converse?" She answered, "God and His Prophet know it best." Then his Excellency said, "The person who came to the door is the angel of death, the spoiler of pleasures, the crosser of wishes, the separator of friends, the converter of wives into widows, and of sons and daughters into orphans."' (R.)

c. Angels would have been ready to prevent their death, had they desired it.

aa. 'Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels? But how then shall the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?' (Matt. xxvi. 53, 54.)

bb. 'It is recorded that Gabriel came from God, during the Prophet's last illness, and said, "O Mohammed, of a truth thy Lord sends thee greeting; and He has ordered that if thou wishest it, I am to cure thee and to deliver thee from this illness; and also that, if thou desirest it, I am to let thee die and to pardon thee." His Excellency answered thus: "O Gabriel, I have committed my affairs to my Lord. Let Him do whatsoever He pleases."' (R.)

d. They died a martyr's death.

aa. 'To this end was I born, and for this cause came I

into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth' (John xviii. 37).

'But now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth, which I have heard of God' (John viii. 40).

'The Jews answered, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God. . . . They cried out, Away with him, away with him, crucify him! Pilate saith unto them, Shall I crucify your king? The chief priests answered, We have no king but Caesar. Then delivered he him therefore to be crucified. And they took Jesus, and led him away' (John xix. 7-19).

bb. Ibn Hisham, in narrating the attempt made by a Jewess in Khaibar to poison Mohammed, transcribes the following passage from Ibn Ishak, 'Merwan Ibn Othman related to me that when Om Bishr visited Mohammed in his last illness, he said to her, "I feel now how my heart-artery is bursting in consequence of the bit I ate with thy son (or brother) Bishr at Khaibar." From this, let the Moslems infer that God, after having honoured Mohammed with the prophetic mission, also permitted him to die a martyr.' (I. I. and I. H.)

'According to a sound tradition, Aisha, the faithful, said, The Prophet used to utter the following magic sentence as a charm over the sick:

Move far away this ill!
O Lord of men, do heal!
Thou art the healer sure:
No cure, except thy cure!
God, with thy healing heal,
That we relieved may feel.

Whenever his Excellency was taken ill, he charmed himself with this spell, whilst passing his blessed hand over his noble body. During his last illness, when it had become very severe, I pronounced this prayer, and wanted to pass his blessed hand over his body; but he drew his hand away from me and said, "May the Lord pardon me and join me with the higher companions."' (R.)

e. As the sufferings in their death were greater than other men's, so also is their reward.

aa. 'And, being in an agony, he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground' (Luke xxii. 44).

'After this, Jesus knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled, saith, I thirst,' etc. (John xix. 28-30.)

'Being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name' (Phil. ii. 8, 9).

'He, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God' (Heb. xii. 2).

bb. 'It is recorded that Aisha, the faithful, related what follows: The Apostle of God showed much restlessness in his last illness; unable to remain in his bed, he turned from one side to the other. We said to him, "O Apostle of God, if one of us, when ill, had shown such restlessness and wish for change, thou surely wouldst have been angry with us." To this his Excellency replied thus, "O Aisha, my illness is extremely painful: the truth is, that the Most High sends exceedingly painful and severe afflictions to the just and to the believers; but that no affliction or trouble befalls the believer, without God, in return, raising him a degree higher and blotting out one of his sins." Aisha also said, "I have never seen in any man a more painful and violent illness than the Prophet's."'

Abu Sayid narrated, 'When we went to the Prophet, he was covered with velvet, and we felt his fever-heat through that velvet; and on account of that violent heat, we could not endure laying our hands on his blessed body; and we, being astonished, said, "Great God, what fever is this!" His Excellency answered, "There is no one more afflicted than a prophet: but just as their afflictions are multiplied, so also is their reward." The mother of Bishr Ibn Bara said, "I went to the apostle of God in his last illness, and finding him in an exceedingly hot fever, I said to him, 'O Apostle of God, thou hast a fever such as I have never seen in any one else.' His Excellency replied, On this account our reward also will be double that of other men."' (R.)

f. Their sufferings and death are meritorious, taking away sin and helping all their people into Paradise or Heaven.

aa. 'We thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead' (2 Cor. v. 14).

'Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness: by whose stripes ye were healed' (1 Pet. ii. 24).

'Though he were a Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered; and being made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him' (Heb. v. 8, 9).

bb. 'It is an accredited tradition that Abd Allah Ibn Masud said, I went to the Apostle of God, when the fever had seized him; and, on laying my hand upon his face, it was so burning hot that my hand could not bear it. I said, "O Apostle of God, thou hast a wonderfully hot fever." His Excellency responded, "Yes, and the truth is, that the violence of my fever is as great as that of any two of you, suffering from fever, put together." I said again, "O Apostle of God, then thou acquirest also a double merit and reward." His Excellency rejoined, "Yes, so it is; and by that God in whose mighty hand my soul is, no one suffers pain or affliction from illness or anything else, without casting off his sins, like a tree in autumn casts off its leaves."

'When Bilal, soon after Mohammed's death, sounded the call for prayer and thereby caused a universal weeping in Medina, he added, "O friends, for you are these glad tidings that every eye which weeps for his Excellency, the apostle, shall never see hell-fire." It is known that this virtue is not confined to his Excellency's contemporaries, but we have the hope that it extends to all believing people, until the day of the resurrection, if, touched and moved by that prince's death, they weep over his trouble and departure, they all reap the same benefit, for it is established that his death is the calamity of the entire people.[1] Ibn Abbas declares, I heard the Prophet say, "Every one of my people who loses two children by death will, at God's behest, be taken to Paradise, when he dies, by those two precursors." Aisha said, "But if only one child

[1] Compare with this the word of Jesus: 'Weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children" (Luke xxiii. 28).

has died, what then?" The Prophet answered, "Then the one precursor shall be reckoned for two." Aisha asked again, "But if any one has had no precursor at all, what then?" The Prophet answered, "Then I am in the stead of the precursor, that is, I am my entire people's precursor (taking them to Paradise), so that no such calamity is to befall them, as the calamity of my own death."' (R.)

g. In their suffering of death Satan had no power over them.

aa. 'Hereafter I will not talk much with you: for the prince of this world cometh,[1] and hath nothing in me' (John xiv. 30).

bb. 'When Om Bishr visited Mohammed in his last illness, he asked her, "O Om Bishr, what do the people say about my illness?" She replied, "They say that thou hast the pleurisy." Upon this, his Excellency said, "It is not consistent with the goodness and kindness of the Most High to let that illness seize on His Prophet. The illness thou hast mentioned arises from Satanic influences; but Satan has no power over me. My illness is the effect of the poisoned meat I ate in Khaibar, together with thy son."' (R.)

h. Their death-agonies were so extreme, that in their distress they called out aloud after God.

aa. 'Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour; and about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli! Eli! lama sabachthani? that is to say, My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me? . . . . Jesus, when he had cried out with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost' (Matt. xxvii. 45-50).

bb. 'It is reported that the death-struggle of that Excellency was so painful and violent, that he at times turned red; at times, pale; sometimes pulled away his right hand, sometimes his left; and that his illustrious face streamed with the sweat of death; and he dipped his blessed hand into a cup of water standing there, to moisten his face, and

[1] It is undoubted that the 'prince of the world,' here, means Satan. Nevertheless, the Mohammedans sometimes quote this verse as one of the passages in which the coming of Mohammed, as both a prophet and a worldly ruler, has been foretold.

called out, "O God, help me against the death-struggle! O God, help me against the death-struggle!" or, according to another account, "There is no God but Allah: but there is struggle in death." Aisha, the faithful, said, "After having seen his Excellency yielding up his soul with so much violence, I never longed again to be of those who yield up the soul with ease; for if it were best to yield up the soul easily, the Almighty would have chosen such an easy death for His Prophet."' (R.)

i. The fact of their death was indubitably established by the state of their body.

aa. 'Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the first, and of the other which was crucified with him. But when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they break not his legs: but one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water. And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true; and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe' (John xix. 32-35).

bb. 'It is recorded that some of the hypocrites of Medina said, "If Mohammed had been a prophet, he would not have died." Omar Ibn Khattab drew his sword, placed himself before the door of the mosque, and said, "I shall cut in two any one who says that his Excellency the Prophet has died." On account of this word of Omar, the people doubted whether that Excellency was really dead. Thereupon Asma, the daughter of Amish, examined that Excellency's back between his shoulders with her hand, but no longer found the seal of prophetship in its place, so she said, "Of a truth, that prince has migrated from this present world; for the seal of prophetship has disappeared from its place." With this word Asma convinced a number of the companions of the fact of that Excellency's real death.' (R.)

j. Their death was accompanied by extraordinary phenomena, and its effects reached even to the invisible world of spirits.

aa. 'Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost. And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the

earth did quake, and the rocks rent; and the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many. Now, when the centurion, and they that were with him watching Jesus, saw the earthquake, and those things that were done, they feared greatly, saying, Truly this was the Son of God' (Matt. xxvii. 50-54).

bb. 'When the angel of death was admitted into Mohammed's chamber, he said, "Peace be with thee, O Prophet: the Most High sends thee greeting, and has commanded me not to take thy spirit, except with thy permission." That prince answered, "O angel of death, I have something to ask of thee;" and, on being requested to say what it was, his Excellency continued, "It is this: that thou shouldest not take my spirit until Gabriel has first come again to me." Then God addressed the angel who has the power over hell, saying, "Extinguish hell-fire; for they are now going to bring the pure spirit of Mohammed my beloved to heaven." He also said to the black-eyed houris, "Adorn yourselves; for Mohammed's spirit is coming." An order was issued to the angels of the Kingdom and to the dwellers in the strong places of the highest Ruler to this effect, "Arise and stand in lines; Mohammed's spirit is coming." And to Gabriel this behest was given, "Go down to the earth, to Mohammed my beloved, and take to him a handkerchief of Sindis-silk." Then Gabriel went his way weeping, and on his arrival, that prince said to him, "O my friend, thou hast left me so long alone." Gabriel answered, "O Mohammed, I bring thee the glad tidings that the flames have been extinguished, the spirits have dressed, and the black-eyed houris have adorned themselves, and the angels have formed lines, to meet thy spirit." His Excellency said, "All these are good things: but tell me something wherewith to cheer up my soul." Gabriel responded thus, "The truth is, that until thou and thy people have entered Paradise, Paradise will be forbidden to all other prophets and their people." Mohammed said, "Give me yet more of these glad tidings.' Gabriel continued in these words, "O Mohammed, God has counted thee worthy of several things which He has not

given to any other prophet, namely, the pond of nectar, the lauded place, the intercession on the day of the resurrection; and then He will also give thee so many of thy people that thou shalt be content and pleased." His Excellency replied, "Lo, now I am pleased and rejoiced, and my eyes are full of light." Then he turned to the angel of death and said, "Come now and perform the service with which thou art commissioned."

'Aisha related: "When his spirit quitted the body, there was observed such a sweet fragrance as had never before been perceived by any of the Meccan travellers." Ali is reported to have said: I heard a voice from heaven saying, "O Mohammed!" It is also narrated that when the awful event had happened, the males and females of the Prophet's household heard a voice from the corner of the house, saying, "Peace be with you, ye inmates of the house, and the mercy and blessing of God! Know and understand that with God there is a comfort for every affliction, and a successor for every one dead: therefore trust in the highest Lord and turn to Him, but do not wail and lament; for in truth, the unfortunate person is he who has not yet been rewarded by the Almighty." On Ali, the well-beloved, asking them, "Do you know at all whose the voice is that you have just heard?" the companions answered "No." Then Ali continued, "It is the voice of a messenger from the unseen world who has come to comfort us."' (R.)

k. They were expected not to succumb to the power of death or remain in its grasp.

aa. 'We have heard out of the law that Christ abideth for ever: and how sayest thou, The Son of man must be lifted up?" (John xii. 34.)

'Now the next day, that followed the day of the preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate, saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again. Command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day, lest his disciples come by night, and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead so the last error shall be worse than the first. Pilate said

unto them, Ye have a watch: go your way, make it as sure as ye can' (Matt. xxvii. 62-65).

'Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day' (Luke xxiv. 44-46).

bb. Ibn Ishak states on the authority of Zuhri and Said that Abu Horeira narrated as follows: 'When Mohammed had died, Omar rose up and said, "Some hypocrites affirm that Mohammed has died: but, by God, Mohammed has not died, but has gone to his Lord like Moses, Amram's son, who remained away from his people for forty days and then returned, after he had already been announced dead. By Allah, the Apostle of God will also come back again like Moses, and cut off the hands and feet of those who pronounced him dead." Then Abu Bekr, on having received tidings, came to the door of the mosque, whilst Omar was speaking to the people. He looked at no one, but went straight into Aisha's room, where Mohammed lay in a corner, covered with a striped cloak. He approached him, uncovered his face, kissed it, and said, "Thou art dearer to me than father and mother: thou hast now tasted death, as God decreed; but after this death, thou wilt be immortal." Then he again covered his face with the cloak, went out, and said to Omar, who was still speaking, "Gently, Omar, listen to me!" Omar refused, and continued speaking. Abu Bekr seeing this, turned himself to the people, and they, as soon as they heard his voice, left Omar, and listened to him. Abu Bekr, after praising God, said, "O ye people, whoever adored Mohammed, let him know that he is dead: but whoever adores God, knows that He still lives and will never die." Then he read out this verse, "Mohammed is only an apostle, other apostles have passed away before him: will ye turn on your heels, when he dies or is slain?" And, by Allah, it was as if the people had known nothing of the revelation of this verse, till Abu Bekr read it out on that day. The people then accepted it of Abu Bekr, and still quote it.' Abu Horeira also stated that Omar said, 'By Allah, as soon as I heard Abu Bekr read out this verse, I was quite overcome, so that my legs would no longer carry me, and I fell down: then I knew that the Apostle of God had died.' (I. I.)

l. They each received an honourable burial, their friends preparing their body, wrapping it in fine linen, and, with an ample use of costly spices, depositing it in a new sepulchre.

aa. 'In that she hath poured this ointment on my body, she did it for my burial' (Matt. xxvi. 12).

'There came also Nicodemus, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound weight. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury. Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid: there laid they Jesus' (John xix. 39-42).

'The women returned, and prepared spices and ointments; and rested the sabbath-day, according to the commandment. Now, upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared, and certain others with them: and they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre' (Luke xxiii. 55—xxiv. 2).

bb. 'Abd Allah Ibn Masud narrated: We asked Mohammed in his last illness, who was to wash him after death, and he replied, "Those males of my household who are nearest to me;" and our question, how he was to be shrouded, he answered thus, "If you like, you can shroud me in the linen I now wear, or in Egyptian linen, or in Yemen-vestment, or in white linen." When we asked him who was to say the prayers over him, we began to weep, and he also wept. Then he said, "After having washed and shrouded me, and laid me on one side of my grave in this room,[1] then go out and leave me for a while alone: the person who will say the prayers over me is to be my friend Gabriel, next him Michael, next him Asrafel, and next him Azrael, together with a vast host of angels." When we asked him again, "Who is to lower thy blessed body into the grave?" he replied, "A great congregation

[1] That this reference to Aisha's room is a bare invention can almost with certainty be inferred from Ibn Ishak's narrative, according to which there was a dispute as to whether he was to be interred in the common burying-place, or in the mosque: for such a dispute could not have arisen, had he himself, during his illness, designated the chamber in which he was lying as the place where his grave was to be.

of angels, together with the people of my house, are to lower me: and those angels will see you, but you will not see them."' (R.)

'On Tuesday, after the oath of allegiance to Abu Bekr had been taken, preparations were made for Mohammed's funeral. Ali washed him, leaning him against his own breast; Abbas and his sons helped to turn him over, Osama and Shokran poured water upon him. Mohammed had his under-clothing on, and Ali rubbed him over it, without his hand touching the body, saying, "How fair art thou, both living and dead!" Nothing was observed in Mohammed that is seen in other dead bodies. Yahya narrated on the authority of his father Abbad, that Aisha said, "When Mohammed was to be washed, they were not agreed as to whether he was to be undressed like other corpses, or to be washed with his clothes on. Then God let them all fall asleep, so that their chins sank down on their breasts; and then some unknown voice from the side of the house said, "Wash the Prophet in his robes." Then they washed him in his under-clothes, pouring the water upon them, and rubbing him, so that the clothes were between him and their hands. After being washed, he was wrapt in three cloths, two of white Sohar and a striped cloak, and laid upon his bed in his dwelling. When there was a dispute as to where he was to be buried, some wishing it to be in the mosque, others, with his companions; Abu Bekr said, I have heard Mohammed say, "Every prophet is to be buried on the spot where he dies." Then they lifted up the carpet on which Mohammed had died, and dug his grave underneath. Mohammed was buried in the middle of the night from Tuesday to Wednesday.' (I. I.)

'It is also narrated that, after the washing, a few drops of water remained in the corner of that Excellency's eye and in the hollow of his navel, which Ali the well-beloved drank, and these drops of water, drunk by him, caused his extraordinary knowledge and memory. After that, they shrouded the Lord of the world in three white cotton cloths, none of which was either a shirt or turban-cloth. According to another account, that prince's winding-sheets were two white linen cloths and a striped piece of Yemen-

cloth. They also scattered musk and spices on his winding-sheet and on his prayer-place. And it is said that Gabriel brought the spices for that prince from Paradise.' (R.)

m. Their sacred tomb had been the subject of a previous Divine revelation.

aa. 'For he was cut off from the land of the living, on account of the transgression of my people: stricken for them. And they appointed his grave with the wicked, but [he was] with the rich in his death; because he had done no violence, and there was no deceit in his mouth' (Isa. liii. 8, 9, according to the original).

'When the even was come, there came a rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, who also himself was Jesus' disciple: he went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. Then Pilate commanded the body to be delivered. And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed' (Matt. xxvii. 57-60).

bb. 'It is recorded of Aisha, the faithful, that she narrated as follows: I once saw in a dream, during the Prophet's lifetime, that three moons came down from heaven into my room. I communicated this to my father, Abu Bekr, and he said, "Please God, it will prove an omen for good." Then he asked me, "My daughter, how dost thou interpret it?" I answered, "I interpret it as signifying that I shall have three sons by the Prophet." To this Abu Bekr did not make any observation. Afterwards, when they had interred his Excellency in my room, Abu Bekr said to me, "O Aisha, this is one of the three moons which thou sawest in thy dream, and the best of them."' (R.)

n. Devoted friends visited their tomb, and there received supernatural revelations, showing that even after death they were still living.

aa. 'In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, to see the sepulchre. And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended

from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow: and for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men. And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye; for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified. He is not here; for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay; and go quickly, and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead; and, behold, he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him: lo, I have told you' (Matt. xxviii. 1-7).

bb. 'Many of Mohammed's companions, after his death, chose to remain in Medina, in order to derive comfort from visiting his grave. When they had any difficulty, they used to come and stand over-against his sepulchre, and then were caused to hear an answer from that Excellency, solving their difficulties: to some of them it was given to hear it with the ears of their body; to others with the ears of their soul. That prince's sepulchre was exceedingly bright and extremely light and shining. Those who did not see his Excellency openly, but merely his illumined tomb, used to bear witness that he who lies in that tomb must be a prophet. So it is narrated that once an Arab came upon that prince's tomb, and seeing it illumined, he called out on the spot, "I testify that there is no God but Allah; and I testify that Mohammed is His servant and His apostle." On being asked how he had known that this was a prophet's tomb, that Arab swore, "I had never seen this grave, and did not know whose it was, but a Divine inspiration reached my heart, and I anon knew it beyond a doubt."

'It is recorded of Ali, the Emir of the believers, that he gave this account: Three days after his Excellency's funeral there came an Arab, who threw himself down upon that prince's grave, and took a handful of earth from it, casting it on his own head, and then called out, "O Apostle of God, thou hast spoken it, from thee we have heard it, thou hast received it from God, and we have received it from thee, and it is derived from those who came down to thee, that noble verse, 'And if they have darkened their souls, let them come unto thee!' I have brought darkness on my soul: but I

am come to thee as a confounded, bewildered sinner, that thou mayest ask pardon for me of the Most High." Then there came forth a voice from that Excellency's tomb, saying three times, "Thou hast been pardoned, thou hast been pardoned."

'All the Ulemas are agreed that to visit the tomb of the Apostle of God is a solemn duty and an acceptable virtue; and that it is very meritorious. It is recorded that his Excellency said, "Whoever visits my tomb, to him my intercession is due on the day of the resurrection;" or, according to another account, "Whoever visits my tomb, his advocate and witness I shall be on the day of the resurrection." He also said, "Whoever visits my tomb after my death, it shall be all the same to him as if he had visited me in my lifetime."'[1] (Rawzat.)

[1] The attentive reader will probably have found the apparent parallels between the lives of Christ and Mohammed, which this chapter has brought before his eyes, far too close and numerous to be considered accidental. It seems really difficult to avoid arriving at the conviction that, where there appears a sameness or rivalry between both these extraordinary characters of history, and seeing that the antecedent cannot imitate the subsequent: the later biography can only be a designed, though more or less disguised, copy of the earlier. Such a conclusion must appear all the more justified, by the traces we have discovered of Mohammed expressly referring to Christian precedents, as the cause and model for his own institutions, see *e.g.* p. 332. Now if this fact is duly pondered, that Mohammed is represented as having dared, directly or indirectly, to usurp to himself the known position of Jesus Christ, the God-man Saviour, the avowed Mediator between God and man: then he appears in the full light of an Anti-christ. It can also no longer surprise us, but must appear quite natural, if we find that Islam, the system he initiated, ruthlessly destroyed every vestige of Christianity in Arabia, and that, in the course of its foreign conquests, it speedily invaded Palestine, the land of its birth; Asia Minor, the field of St. Paul's labours; Egypt, the early seat of Christian anchorites and learned divines; North Africa, where St. Augustin had long been a burning and a shining light; and even Constantinople, the capital of the first Christian monarch, and the locality of the earliest Councils of the Church. As Mohammed tried to usurp the place of Christ, in a religious sense, so the Mohammedan world has laboured, during successive centuries, to displace Christendom, as a dominant Factor of History.

CHAPTER II.

SUNDRY SKETCHES OF MOHAMMED, UNDER VARIOUS ASPECTS, DRAWN BY MOSLEM HANDS.

REMARK: If the place assigned to these sketches suggests their strong mythical colouring by Tradition, this is not meant to affirm that they may not comprise much which is really historical. Free scope is left to the reader's own tact and taste to discriminate between the historical and the mythical. All the sketches and their headings are translated from the popular Biography, *Rawzat-ul-Ahbab* (*i.e.* the Flower-garden of Friends), which is an elaborate collection of the records and traditions concerning the Life of Mohammed, for the edification and enjoyment of the Mussulman believers. The reader will bear in mind, that, as in the preceding Chapter, so also in this, he reads the statements of Moslem writers.

I.—PHYSICAL QUALITIES AND MORAL VIRTUES OF THE LORD OF THE WORLD.

(1.) *Mohammed's Bodily or Physical Qualities.*

Respecting that prince's stature, appearance, and limbs, the biographers and traditionists communicate that his body, like the bodies of his successors, was of a middle size, whose perfect limbs and members were indications of the complete moderation of his dispositions. Although his blessed *stature* was of middle height, yet, whenever he was walking with tall people, he appeared taller than they; and whenever he sat in an assembly, he was the greatest of those present. That blessed prince's *head* was large, and yet was he not big-headed. His *head-hair* was black, yet it was not very frizzled or very dangling, but just right; and his musk-scented curls were hanging down sometimes to the middle

or end of his ear, and sometimes to his shoulders. At times also his hair was parted into four parts and then left to itself. His blessed *forehead* was open. His *eyebrows* appeared to be joined to each other, but were not really so. There were *two veins* between his eyebrows, which filled and became visible when he was angry. His bright *eyes* were the essence of lustre and beauty. Their black part was exceedingly black and their white part exceedingly white; and there appeared red veins in the white and in the black of his blessed eyes. He was almond-eyed. His power of *sight* was such that he could see as well in the dark as in the light. His blessed *cheeks* were not higher than his cheek-bones. His blessed *nose* was not longer than is usual, and a light encircled it; but if any one looked at it without reflection, he might regard his nasal bone as exceedingly long, though in reality it was not so. His blessed *mouth* was open, but exceedingly graceful; and his good *teeth* were white and shining, with thin, sharp ends. The space between his teeth was open, so that when he spoke, it appeared as if light was flowing forth from between them. His blessed *face* was radiant and round, shining like the moon when it is a fortnight old. His *complexion* was not excessively white, but inclined a little to redness; but his *body* was so superlatively white and luminous that it looked as if it had been newly cast of silver. His blessed *beard* was thick, and his *neck* high and exceedingly clear, as if it were of silver, or a gazelle's neck. The *space between his blessed shoulders* was grand; his hateless *bosom* broad, his *abdomen* and *chest* were uniform and even; and from his chest, full of rest, down to his navel there was drawn a thin line of hair, while the other parts of the chest and stomach were hairless, although there was hair on his blessed arms and shoulders and the upper part of his chest. The ends of the bones of his limbs were large. His blessed *body* was firm, and not flabby. His *wrists* were long, his *hands* open and softer than silk. His *thighs* were not without fineness; and his *fingers* and *toes* were long and strong. On his *heels* there was not much flesh. The *sole* of his feet was bent up and not equal with the ground. The back of his foot was even and soft. There was on him nothing broken or cleft, so that no water

could stand upon him. In short, all the limbs and members of that Excellency were regular and perfect; and those who described that prince said, that they had never seen his equal either before or after him. Ibn Abbas said that the Prophet never sat opposite the sun or a light, without outshining them by his own light.[1]

The seal of prophetship was between his two shoulder-blades, or, according to another account, upon the left shoulder-blade. It consisted of a lump of flesh, about one handful in quantity, around which there appeared moles of the size of peas. According to another account, the words 'Mohammed the Apostle of God,' were written upon it.[2] The perspiration from that seal was superlatively fragrant. Uns Ibn Malik narrates that when the Prophet of God had passed through one of the streets of Medina, the people knew it, from the scent of musk he left behind.

(2.) *Mohammed's Mental Qualities.*

As Mohammed the chosen was commanded in the Koran to follow the other prophets, he united in himself all their several virtues by which they had each been distinguished,[3] namely, the gratitude of Noah, the meekness of Abraham, the sincerity of Moses, the trustworthiness of Ishmael, the patience of Jacob and Job, the penitence of David, the humility of Solomon, and the abstinence of Jesus. When Aisha the faithful was once asked what had been the Prophet's practice, she replied, 'The Koran; that is, he carried out those commands and prohibitions, those good qualities and manners which are known from the Koran.' The good

[1] Who is not here reminded of passages like Ps. xlv. 2, and Cant. v. 10?

[2] Even admitting the existence of some such physical peculiarity, there plainly was no connection between it and the proofs of his prophetship, except the genuineness of its superscription be granted, which, however, the Moslems themselves allow to rest upon 'weak' tradition. This last-mentioned tradition only proves the activity of the Mohammedan imagination to discover or invent tokens in support of their Prophet's claims.

[3] This sentence furnishes a key for the explanation of much of the marvellous which enters into the constitution of the Prophet's mythical character. Once admitting that he was a real prophet, nay, the last and best of the prophets, he had also to resemble or surpass them in word and deed. This necessity must have been felt both by Mohammed himself and his adherents. Thus the door became widely open for the play of fancy and the flow of fiction.

manners of that prince were such, that he never grieved any one of his friends and servants. Uns Ibn Malik says, 'I served that prince for ten years, both at home and on journeys, and he never said to me, "Why didst thou do this? or why didst thou not do that?" that is to say, whenever I was at fault in my service, he never slapped my face, saying, "Why didst thou do this? or why didst thou not do that?"'

Aisha the faithful declared, 'No one had better manners than the Prophet of God: to any one calling him by his name, he would answer, "Here am I." He always accommodated himself to his friends: when they spoke of the the world, he did the same; and if they mentioned the next world, he joined them in that; and if they laughed at what had been done in the days of ignorance, he would likewise smile.' Once when Aisha the faithful was asked how the Prophet had lived in his family, she replied, 'Like other men: he would help in sweeping the house, he would sew his clothes, mend his sandals, give water to the camels, milk the sheep, assist the servants in their work, take his meals together with them, and himself fetch the necessary things from the market.'

Hasan Ibn Ali narrates: 'When I asked my father how the Prophet spent his time in his own house, he answered, "He divided his time into three parts: one he devoted to the service of God, the other to inquiring after the members of his household, and the third to his own private wants; and sometimes he also employed a portion of the latter part by improving the state of the people, and instructing the leading men amongst them."'

Hosein Ibn Ali narrates: 'When I asked my father how the Prophet lived in public, he answered, "He kept his tongue from what is unprofitable, conciliated and pleased his companions, and did not offend them. He treated the honourable men of the people with distinction, and gave to the people their due. He never neglected good manners, duly saluted his companions, and inquired after their state. He approved of what was good, and condemned what was bad. Those nearest to him were the best of the people; and the most honoured those who were most benevolent to the Mussulmans."' In reply to my question after his

Excellency's conduct in assemblies, my father said, 'He never sat down or rose in an assembly, without mentioning the name of God; and in going to an assembly, he always sat down in any place which he found vacant, and enjoined also upon his friends to do the same. He gave to every one present what was due to him, and treated all with respect and honour. When any one had an interview and conversation with him, he had patience till it was over, without occupying himself with his own concerns. Whoever asked help of him was sure to be relieved, or, at least comforted with kind words. He showed such kindness to the people, as if he was the father of them all. In the administration of justice he was no respecter of persons: his council-chamber was a place of knowledge, modesty, patience, and faithfulness. No one was allowed to raise his voice high in his council; and if any of those present was guilty of a fault, he would not expose but conceal it. These councils were all virtue and piety, where the great were honoured, the small had mercy shown them, and the absent and needy were protected.'

It is recorded that *the abstinence* of that prince was such that if the entire world had been offered unto him, he would not have looked at it; and when he departed from this world, his armour had been pawned to a Jew; and for three successive days his stomach did not taste bread. It is likewise recorded that, for two days in succession, he could not satisfy himself with barley-bread. It might happen in the Prophet's family that no fire was lit for a whole month, but that they lived upon dates and water. So also it could happen that his Excellency laid himself down at night hungry, when on the following day he was going to fast; and yet, if he had asked for it, God would have given him more than could enter any one's imagination.[1] It is recorded that Gabriel once came to that apostle and said, 'Verily, the Most High sends thee greeting, and lets thee know that if thou desirest it, I am to convert these mountains of Mecca into gold and silver,

[1] In this whole account of the Prophet's abstinence and poverty, it must not be forgotten that, as the climax and sum-total of all the previous prophets, Mohammed had necessarily to be represented as participating in the privations of previous messengers of God, all the more so, as this was not quite a matter of course in the husband of a wealthy merchant lady or the ruling chief of a commonwealth.

for thy sake; and that they should accompany thee wherever thou mayest go.' When that prince heard these words from Gabriel, he lowered his head and reflected for a while. Then he raised his blessed head, and said, 'O Gabriel, this world is the house of those who have no house (viz. in heaven); the wealth of those who have no wealth (viz. of a spiritual, eternal kind): the foolish only make it their portion.'[1]

That Excellency's *humility* was so great that, when he was sitting in an assembly, he would not extend his blessed knees beyond the knees of those who sat by him; that he greeted those he met and was first in shaking hands; and that he never stretched out his legs before his companions, or made the place narrow for any one. He showed regard and honour to those coming to the assemblies; and sometimes would let them sit upon his own cushion. He would mention his companions by their patronymics and call them by the names they liked best. He never interrupted another in speaking; and if any one in need came to him, whilst he was at prayer, he would shorten his prayers, help the person, and afterwards complete his prayers. Ibn Malik narrates that once, when that Excellency was accosted by a woman in one of the streets of Medina, he said, 'In whatever street of Medina thou likest, thou mayest sit down, and I also will sit down and attend to thy affair.' At another time, a little slave-girl of Medina took that Excellency's hand and put it wherever she liked. On account of his exceeding great humility and unceremoniousness, he would sit down, lie, and sleep on the dry earth, would accept an invitation from a slave, even to dry barley-bread.

His *kindness*, *liberality*, and *generosity*, were such that he never sent any beggar empty away from his door. Once a Bedouin begged something from that Excellency, and he gave him so many sheep that they filled the space between two mountains; and when the said Bedouin returned to his people, he addressed them thus, 'O my friends, turn ye

[1] Observe the tendency in this story of outshining the self-denying abstinence of Christ. Whilst He only declines an offer of Satan, and rejects the wealth of the world, already in the hands of others, Mohammed declines an offer of the Almighty, made to him through the angel Gabriel, and refuses mountains of gold and silver, which he could have had without dispossessing others of what they claimed as their own.

Mussulmans; for Mohammed gives such gifts as will put an end to poverty and fear.' It is related that, on the day of Honein, he gave away so much wealth to the people that they were astounded, and that it became the cause of several leading men from amongst the Koreish embracing Islam; for they said to themselves, 'He gives so many presents that a person can no longer dread poverty, but must feel confident that God will never let him want, but provide for his sustenance.'[1] It is creditably narrated that once some one came to his Excellency to ask for something, and that he gave this reply, 'At the present moment nothing remains in my hand: but buy whatever thou desirest and put it to my account; and as soon as anything comes to my hand I will defray the debt.' On another occasion, when 100,000 dirhems were brought to that Excellency, he had them all forthwith poured out on a mat and divided amongst the people, so that, on rising up, not a single dirhem remained in his hand.

The *meekness* of that prince was such that he endured all the persecution from relatives and strangers without a thought of revenge, but rather blessing them for it.[2] Abd er Rahman said, 'The Apostle of God was the meekest and most patient of the people, and could better suppress his anger than any of them.' Uns Ibn Malik narrates that when he was once sitting in the mosque with a number of his companions, and had wrapped himself in a mantle of Nejran, there suddenly came a Bedouin, seized that cloak, and so pulled at it that that prince's blessed shoulder touched the Bedouin's breast, and the edge of the cloak left a mark on that Excellency's blessed bosom. His Excellency looked at the Bedouin, and said, 'What wilt thou?' The Bedouin answered, 'Command that some part of the wealth thou possessest may be given to me.' His Excellency then ordered that something should be given him. Men of research have remarked that the persecutions did not affect that Excellency, because his mind and eye were looking towards God and regarding His favour.

[1] Thus one of the main causes is pointed out of the rapid and wide spread of early Mohammedanism. Here the motto was not 'Forsake all, and follow me,' but 'Follow me, and you shall share in the riches of the world.'

[2] The eulogist is here strangely oblivious of a very different conduct with which the First Book of this work has acquainted us, see *e.g.* p. 98.

That Excellency counted it incumbent on himself to *fulfil engagements*, and he *never broke a promise.* It is related that once, before his mission, he sold something to some one, and that this person, not having the whole price with him, said to his Excellency, 'Stop here, till I go and fetch the remainder of what I have to pay.' Then that person went away, but forgot all about his promise, till after three days, when it came back to his mind, and he at once took what he was owing and still found his Excellency in his former place, only saying to him, 'Young man, thou hast put me to inconvenience: for on account of thy promise I have been waiting here ever since.'

In *courage* and *bravery* no one could equal that prince. Uns Ibn Malik affirmed, 'The Apostle of God is the best of men, the bravest of men, and the most generous of men.' Ali Ibn Abu Talib said, 'In the day of battle we put our trust in that Excellency, and he was nearer the enemy than all of us.' Omran Ibn Hasin states, 'Each time when, in battle, we came upon hostile troops, the first who went amongst the enemies and laid hands on them, was that prince.' In the battle of Honein, as is reported, that Excellency went alone and single-handed against 4000 enemies and charged them. It is also established that, one night, the report reached Medina that a well-armed body of enemies were approaching the town with the intent of plundering it, so that the people became much frightened and distressed; but that Excellency girded on his sword, mounted a horse without saddle, and went out before all the rest of the people; and, after having ascertained the causelessness of the alarm, he returned, saying to his friends who went out after him, 'Fear not; for that report is unfounded.'

Of that Excellency's *bashfulness* and *modesty* the recorder records, 'The Apostle of God was more bashful than a virgin in her veil.' Owing to his great modesty, a change would come over his face, when he saw anything loathsome in a person, though without remarking upon it to that person.

In the enumeration of the Prophet's qualities it is declared that his heart was kind to creatures, his bosom joyous, and yet always weeping from the fear of God; that he was high in sadness and great in hope, remembering favours always,

and wrongs only a short while; he was of a kindly disposition and noble acts, keeping secrets hid, and yet the confidant of heaven; he was amicable, meek, affectionate, and tender, a lover of hospitality, benevolent, wise, assiduous in the cause of God, a fulfiller of promises, a diligent servant of God, and one seeking after Divine approval.[1]

II.—Habits of the Prince of Princes.

(1.) *His Habits in regard to Dress.*

Be it known that his Excellency's mode of dressing was not rigid and fashionable, but that he only wore a shirt, drawers, a kerchief, a jacket, a marked and plain cloth, a tunic, a fur, leather socks, and a pair of easy sandals. His cloth was generally of cotton material, and his noble companions adopted the same material. Sometimes they also wore wool, or linen. That Excellency valued and liked the striped cloth of Herat above any other. Of all the articles of clothing that prince loved the shirt best. Of colours he generally preferred the white, saying, 'Wear ye white clothes: they are the most blessed and pure; and wrap also your dead in white winding-sheets.' He forbade the men to wear purely red or purely yellow clothes. But he himself wore red-spotted, green-spotted, and black-spotted clothes, and approved and admired the green.

He desired that every one, in putting on a new article of dress, should recite this prayer, 'Praise be to God who has clothed me with this dress, and has provided it for me, without my efforts and strength;' and he affirmed that, by using this prayer, every one shall have all his past and future sins forgiven. On Fridays he mostly wore a new dress. In putting on a new dress, he began on the right side; and in putting it off, on the left side; and when he had taken a new dress into use, he gave the old one to some poor man.

Round his blessed *head* he wound a white cloth in the

[1] The candid student of Mohammed's historical character can hardly fail to be immediately struck with the gross exaggeration in these fulsome eulogies. They suggest the idea that the eulogists laboured under the apprehension that, if they did not expressly ascribe certain virtues to their hero, there might be reason to suspect him of the correlative vices, *e.g.* in lauding his bashfulness and continence.

form of a *turban*, of which he sometimes let the end dangle down between his blessed shoulders. He wore the turban either over a white cap, or without it ; and at times contented himself with the white cap only. Occasionally he also wore a black turban, *e.g.*, as some say, on the day of the conquest of Mecca. The biographers indeed do not state the exact length of his turban-cloth, but a number of Hanifa Imams affirm that, for every day, it was seven ells, and for Fridays and feast-days, twelve ells long. When he anointed his blessed head, he covered it with a towel, lest any of the unguent should soil his other clothes.

Uns Ibn Malik narrates that that prince often only wore a *shirt* and a cloth over it. The shirt-sleeves reached to his wrists or to the top of his fingers, and were rather wide. The shirts were either with or without buttons.

That prince's *mantle* was four ells long, or, according to another account, two ells ; or two ells and a handbreadth ; or, according to later traditionists, six ells, with a width of three ells and a handbreadth. On certain occasions, such as feasts, or at the reception of ambassadors, he wore most costly robes ; and once a grandee presented him with a cloak for which he had paid 30 camels. Once a silk robe, bordered with bells, was sent him for a present ; but when that prince came to prayers in it, Gabriel intimated to him that it was unlawful, whereupon that prince quickly took it off, and cast it aside with disdain.

He wore a *seal* on the little finger of his right hand ; but it is also recorded that he wore it on the little finger of his left hand. Either is lawful ; but according to the Hanifa Imams, it is better to wear it on the left ; and according to the Shafi Imams it is more correct to wear it on the right hand. He wore the seal with its flat part inside the hand ; and sometimes went out with a thread tied to it, to help him in remembering some important matter. After the Prophet, that seal was taken possession of by Abu Bekr ; and after him by Omar ; and after him by Othman ; from whose hand, after being worn for six years, it dropped into a well whence it could never be recovered. It is said, that this circumstance turned away people's hearts from Othman, and opened the door of sedition.

That prince also wore *sandals*, made of tanned ox-hide and provided with two leather straps; but sometimes he walked barefoot. The author of the Rawzat ul Ahbab states in his work that he possessed an exact copy on paper of his apostolic Excellency's sandals, with the places of his five toes severally marked. The renowned Khoja Abu Nasr, that cream of traditionists, that model of men of research, and proof of law, piety, and religion, had written upon it, in his own noble handwriting, that it represented the exact size of the sandals of the Apostle of God, according to an uninterrupted chain of traditional testimony, and that the following are amongst the tried blessings of the copy of those exalted sandals: 'If any one always carries it with him, he will become loved, and appreciated amongst men, and will certainly visit the Prophet, or see him in a dream, which is of the same virtue as if he had seen him actually; and if a soldier wears that copy, he will never be routed; and if a caravan wears it, it will never be plundered; and if a merchant wears it, he will meet with fortune and success; and whosoever wears it, he will never be drowned; and whosoever puts himself under the protection of one who wears it, he will surely be accepted and remain exempt from trouble and distress, and only find pleasure.'[1]

(2.) *His Habits as regards Eating and Drinking.*

The Prophet observed no ceremony in eating, but partook of any good food that had been prepared; and sometimes he would get up and fetch himself what was to be eaten or drunk. Before eating he said, 'In the name of God,' and requested his friends to do the same; and if they happened to forget it, before a meal, they were to say at its conclusion, 'In the name of God, for the first and for the last.' He ate with the three fingers of his right hand. He always took what lay just before him, except when there were fresh and dried dates, or a certain soup, in which case he would take from any part of the dish that which he liked. Sometimes he made use of his four fingers in eating. But he never ate with only two fingers, saying that Satan was eating thus.

[1] A drawing of those sandals, with Abu Nasr's writing upon it, is given in the Rawzat-ul-Ahbab.

He never ate proudly, leaning on anything, or sitting down square, but resting upon his knees, saying, 'I am one of God's servants, and eat as servants eat and sit as servants sit.' Sometimes, however, he would sit on his left leg, posting up the right; and if he was very hungry, he would sit down altogether and post up both legs. He liked best not to eat alone, but with a goodly number at the table, saying, 'The worst of men is he who eats alone.' When he ate in company with other people, no one ever took anything which lay just in front of that Excellency.

He generally ate at a table, but at times also on the ground. After a meal he would thank God for it. It is said that whoever, on eating, recites the words, 'Praise be to Him who has fed us with this food, and provided us with it, without our own efforts and strength,' he will have his sins forgiven. When he ate with other people, as their guest, he prayed for them. He used to wash his pure hands, both before and after meals, and then stroked his blessed face and arms, saying, 'The blessing of a meal consists in the washing of the hands before and after it.' He forbade eating and drinking with the left hand, saying, 'Satan eats and drinks with the left hand.' After he had finished eating, he licked his blessed fingers: first the middle one, then the prayer-finger, and last the thumb. He never wiped his fingers before having licked them. He also commanded his friends to lick their fingers and to scrape the basin, saying, 'You do not know in which particular part of the food the blessing is contained; besides, the basin which ye scrape after eating will ask pardon of God for you.'

He used to converse during the meal, and repeatedly offered food to the guests, saying, 'Eat!' He never ate from a table with legs, nor drank from a cup with a broken rim. Very flat bread, bread with air-dried meat, lizards, the milt, kidneys, onions, garlic, and leek he did not eat, and said, 'Let every one remain far from me who eats these ill-smelling vegetables.' If the tradition derived from Aisha the faithful is correct, that at a later period the Prophet ate onions, it must have been either as a medicine, or to show that it is lawful to eat them. That Excellency never combined fish or sour things with milk; or grilled meat with boiled meat; or

dried meat with fresh meat; or meat with milk or milk with meat; or two binding and two relaxing dishes; or two heavy and two light ones. Nor did he eat very hot food, but let it stand for a moment, till the greatest heat had passed. He never rejected any lawful food, but ate of it, if he had an appetite, and if he had not, he did not taste it. Once, when they brought lizards to his table, and he did not taste them, his friends said, 'O Apostle of God, thou didst not eat of these: is it because they are not lawful?' He answered, 'I do not declare them unlawful, but as they are not found in our own country, I do not relish them.' On another occasion, when they again served lizards to him, he said, 'Once, in ancient times, these were a people, but were transformed into lizards.'

That prince ate exceedingly little. He said, 'When you have eaten, spend the strength of the food in prayer and praise, and do not sleep directly after a meal, lest your hearts should be oppressed.' He used to eat barley-bread, made of unsifted barley-flour, retaining all the bran. He ate the meat of sheep, camels, wild asses, hares, bustards, and fish, and sometimes also dried meat. Meat was the food he liked best, and he used to say, 'Meat strengthens the power of hearing,' yet was he not very greedy for it, nor ate too much of it. He habitually preferred the meat of the fore-leg and shoulder, but also praised the meat of the back. He also ate fried sheep-liver. He cut the meat with his teeth, not with a knife, and used to say, 'To cut the meat with a knife is the work of the Persians: ye had better cut it with the teeth, for then it is more digestible and wholesome.' The Ulemas say that this prohibition of the use of the knife refers only to such meat as does not require being cut with a knife; or that its import is, 'Do not form the habit of cutting the meat with a knife.' For it is an established fact that his Excellency himself cut up roast shoulder or baked loin with a knife.

What that prince ate most frequently were dates, so that if he ate two meals a day, one of them was sure to be dates. He also liked Helwa, honey and fresh butter; and ate dates mixed with milk. When he ate fresh or dried dates, he took the stones out of his blessed mouth, and laying

them on the nail of his prayer and middle fingers, threw them away. Sometimes also he collected the stones in his left hand; and it is narrated that once when he was eating fresh dates, and had gathered the stones in his left hand, he showed them to a sheep, which at once came and ate them out of his left hand, whilst that prince continued eating fresh dates with his right hand.

The Prophet also liked pumpkins, saying, 'The pumpkins are from the tree of my brother Jonas.' It is also narrated on the authority of Aisha that he said, 'When you set up a stone jar, it is proper to put many pumpkins into it, for this is useful for a sad heart.' It is narrated that when once Othman brought a jelly to that prince he pronounced it to be excellent, and inquired how it was made. One of his favourite dishes was made of cheese and melted butter. Sometimes also he ate bread with olive-oil. On the expedition to Tabuk they brought him dry cheese, which he cut with a knife, and ate. He also ate fresh dates with cucumbers or melons. According to some books, that prince liked melons and fresh grapes better than any other green fruit. In eating grapes, he put the berries into his blessed mouth, squeezed them with his teeth, and then threw out the husks. It is reported that he ate the cucumbers with salt. There is a tradition that when a first-fruit was brought him, he would give it to a little child to eat, if one happened to be present.

That prince loved milk exceedingly, and to any one giving him milk to drink he would say, 'God bless us with it, and grant us more of it.' He also said, 'I know nothing that takes the place of food and drink like milk, and is equally useful.' Sometimes when he drank milk, he would press it between his lips, and say, 'It has something buttery.' When that prince drank water, he would do so in three draughts, saying before each, 'In the name of God,' and after the last, 'Praise be to God.' So long as the water-cup was at his mouth, he stopped breathing. Every day he drank a glass of honey-sherbet. Sometimes he drank toast-water, prepared with roasted barley or wheat; and, as the water of Medina was a little bitter, he put in dates to sweeten it. Generally he drank sitting, but sometimes standing.

When he had company who had to be served with water or sherbet, he gave them first, himself drinking after them, and it is established that he said, 'He who gives drink to the people, drinks after them.' But sometimes also he himself drank first, and then gave the cup to the person sitting on his right hand. On one occasion, after having drunk of a cup, filled with milk and water, he handed it to an Arab, sitting on his right side, when Omar called out, 'O Apostle of God, hand it to Abu Bekr,' who sat on his left. But he replied, 'The right-hand man is the right-hand man.' On another occasion a youth was sitting on his right hand, the youngest of the company, whilst the elders and magnates were sitting on his left. After having drunk himself, he asked the youth's permission to hand the cup first to the elders on his left. But on that youth refusing consent, he let him have the cup first. He loved cold sweet water best. Such water was brought for him from a place two days' journey from Medina. That Excellency also said, 'When night sets in, say, "In the name of God," and cover the vessels in which you keep your eatables and drinkables, if it should only be with a chip of wood.'[1]

(3.) *His noble Travelling Habits.*

His day for starting on a journey was Thursday; and sometimes he also chose Monday, or Sunday, or Wednesday. When he had risen up to start, he would say a short prayer, and after having mounted, he would repeat three times, 'God is most great.' During the journey he used to say a Magnificat, whilst going up an ascent, and a Doxology, whilst going down a descent. That prince said, 'If you travel in a year of plenty, do not let your beasts remain hungry; and if you travel in a year of scarcity, travel quickly, that you may reach your destination before your beasts become lean and weak; and if you wish during the journey to dismount at night for sleep and rest, do so in a place off the road, for the places on the road itself are dangerous.' He forbade

[1] The limitation shows that the object of the advice was not so much to keep any foreign matter from falling into the vessel, as rather to avert from it the evil influences of the powers of night and darkness.

going alone on a journey, saying, 'If people knew what it is to travel alone on the roads at night, no one would enter any road alone at night.'[1] The women he wholly prohibited from travelling, except under the protection of a man or near relative. He also declared that the good angels do not accompany those who have a dog with them, or a bell, which, he said, belongs to the devil's music. On warlike expeditions and journeys he would sometimes leave his companions to bring on the weak and others, lagging behind, whom he might even take on his own beast and pray with them.

He began and concluded a journey by uttering pious ejaculations. As he was coming back, his friends would go out to meet him, taking their children and wives with them. When returning from a journey, he never entered the city at night and also forbade his friends from doing so. He would have a camel or a bullock slain, to regale those who came to welcome him back. On his return, he first entered the mosque and said two genuflexions of prayers. To travellers he would say, 'Start at night; for to those who do so the road is shortened.' He also advised, 'It is proper that no less than three companions should set out together, so that they may appoint one of their number for a commander.' If any one came to bid him farewell before starting on a journey, he would say, 'I commend to God thy religion and the result of thy labours;' or sometimes also, 'May God increase thy piety, pardon thy sins, and prosper thee wherever thou turnest!'

(4.) *His Habits in the Intercourse with his pure Wives.*

Be it known that his apostolic Excellency was the best amongst the people, as regards the beauty of intercourse and kindness of companionship with his wives. That prince was exceedingly demonstrative of affection towards his wives; and when they came to solicit a command from him, and there was no obstacle in the way, he granted their

[1] This hint also has reference to the dangers threatening from the invisible world of spirits and spectres, and not to the ordinary dangers of a night-journey.

request liberally. It is firmly established that sometimes, when Aisha the faithful drank water from her cup, that Excellency would take the cup out of her hand, and drink exactly from that place from which she had been drinking, and when she was eating meat from a bone, he would take the bone out of her hand and would put his blessed mouth exactly on the spot where Aisha had put hers, in order to eat the meat. When it was with Aisha as it is with women, that prince would lay his blessed head upon her bosom, or lean over her and read the Koran to her. Amongst other things, the Prophet once raced with Aisha the faithful, and in the first race she outstripped him, but in the second, after she had become corpulent, he passed her, and then said to her, 'This is for that,' *i.e.* this triumph makes up for my former defeat. At another time they pulled each other about till they came outside the door of Aisha's chamber.

Aisha also narrates: 'When once there had been words between that prince and myself, he said to me, "O Aisha, whom wishest thou me to bring as umpire to judge between us? wishest thou for Abu Obeid Ibn Jarrah?" I answered, "No, he is not of a tender nature, and leans towards thee." Then he asked, "Wilt thou be satisfied with Omar?" I replied: "No, I am not, for I am afraid of Omar." His Excellency rejoined, "Even Satan is afraid of Omar;" and then asked again, "Wouldest thou accept Abu Bekr?" On my answering in the affirmative, he sent for my father, Abu Bekr, and said to him, "O Abu Bekr, judge thou between me and this one, and decide our affair." Then, on his Excellency opening his mouth to state his case, I called out, "O Apostle of God, be just!" As soon as my father heard this word, he raised his hand and gave me such a slap in the face that blood streamed down from both my nostrils, and he said, "Thou shalt have no mother: who will be just, if the Prophet is not?" His Excellency rejoined, "O Abu Bekr, we did not wish for more from thee than to judge between us." Then that prince rose up, and with his own blessed hand washed the blood off my face and clothes.'

It is recorded that when Aisha became angry, that prince would lay his blessed hand upon her shoulder, and say, 'May God forgive her sins, subdue the wrath of her

heart, and free her from excitement!' Sometimes it happened that when he was in the midst of the entire company of his pure wives, he would stretch out his blessed hand after one of them and make some fun and jest.

Every day, after finishing the afternoon prayers, he made the entire round of the private apartments of his wives, to inquire how they were; and when it had become evening, he went to spend the night with her whose turn it was. As regards sustenance and portions and all things within his power, he observed a careful equality; and he used to say, 'O God, this is my portion in that which I possess: do thou not blame me in that which I do not possess,' that is, do thou not blame me (*sc.* for my want of continence) in the matter of love and conjugal intercourse.

[*N.B.*—Then follows a passage in the text which is calculated to offend feelings of propriety, though of interest as characterising the Arabian prophet. The Mussulmans indeed read it with devout admiration; but we omit it from its place and put it as a footnote at the bottom of the page, so that it may be easily passed over by any reader who prefers leaving it unread.[1]]

(5.) *His Habits in the Intercourse and Conversation with his Friends and Companions.*

Amongst his friends and companions the Prophet sat down and rose up humbly. It often happened that he

[1] *Passage omitted from the text:* 'Sometimes it happened that his Excellency would have the intercourse at the beginning of the night, then take a bath, and go to sleep; sometimes, that he would only take an ablution after the intercourse, then sleep, and take the bath at the close of the night. It frequently happened that in one night or one day that prince made the round with all his nine wives, contenting himself with only one bath; or sometimes, in visiting them all, take a bath after every intercourse. When they asked him, "O Apostle of God, why dost thou not content thyself with only one bath?" he answered, "Because this is purer, cleaner, and better." It is firmly established that in the matter of cohabitation that Excellency had the power of thirty strong men given him. Therefore it was lawful for that prince to take as many wives as he pleased, be they nine or more.'

Could anything more strikingly illustrate the wide divergence in the ethical character of Islam and Christianity than the fact that Moslem writers unblushingly mention such things as proofs of their Prophet's divinely conferred pre-eminence, whilst Christian authors dare not even historically reproduce their words without an apology and warning to the reading public?

assumed a vaulted posture, by stiffening his knees and embracing his feet with his blessed hands. Sometimes he sat down leaning against something, or he lay on his blessed back; and in this latter position put one foot upon the other.

He spoke considerately and slowly, so that it would have been possible for any one so minded to count his words and sounds. But mostly he chose to be silent, and only spoke when necessary. Avoiding redundancy, prolixity, wearisomeness and confusion, he spoke to his friends concise, useful words,—all wisdom and prudence. Sometimes he would repeat the same words thrice, so that those present might well remember and understand them. Whilst speaking, he used to gesticulate, and sometimes put the palm of his right hand upon the thick part of his left thumb; and when he wondered at a thing, he used to turn the palms of his blessed hands towards it; but when he was angry, he turned away. He could be exceedingly angry; and as a sign of his anger his blessed countenance would change and he would finger his beard. When that Excellency spoke in an assembly, those present would keep silence, and lean forwards with their heads. What his companions admired, he also admired; and when they laughed, he either was silent or smiled. He would laugh so that his teeth could be seen. That prince's weeping also was most moderate: his tears flowed; and from his bosom, void of rancour, a sound was heard like the seething of a pot. His weeping was either on account of a dead person, or from tender affection for his people, or from the fear of God.

He sometimes swore, in important matters. His most frequent oath was, 'By Him in whose hands my soul is,' or, 'By Allah.' When he arose from an assembly, he would say, by way of atonement for the assembly, 'Praise be to God, and for Thy honour I testify that there is no God but Thou: I ask pardon of Thee, and repent towards Thee.' From whatever tribe men came to follow him, he would speak to them in their own language. He would take counsel with his friends about things; and Aisha the faithful declared, 'I have not seen any one amongst the people who so readily asked advice as that Excellency.' Some Persian words became current from that Excellency's blessed language.

In the Prophet's assemblies poems also were recited, sometimes as many as a hundred verses. He himself did not compose poetry, except sometimes in a metre to which he was accustomed. Once, when in reciting a poem, he changed some expressions, and Abu Bekr corrected him, he said, 'I am not a poet.' In those assemblies they also told stories and kept wakes. Sometimes he told stories to his companions and his wives about what had happened in ancient times.

That prince made also fun and jests with his friends. Abd Allah Ibn Harith relates: 'I never saw a man who made more fun and jests than the Apostle of God; but his jests were always just and true.' When once his companions said to him, 'O Apostle of God, thou tellest us jokes and jests, which does not become thy position,' he replied, 'I say nothing but what is true;' and Aisha the faithful declared, 'The Prophet made many jests, and said that God does not punish just jokes made in fun.' Khawat Ibn Jabir narrates as follows: 'Being once on a journey with the Apostle of God, we alighted at a halting-place. After a while I went out of my tent, but, seeing a number of beautiful ladies standing there, and talking with each other, I went back to my tent, dressed myself, and then went towards those ladies, and sat down by them. All at once the Apostle of God came forth from his tent and, seeing me, said, 'O Abu Abd Allah, why sittest thou by them?' I, fearing the Prophet, answered, 'O Apostle of God, I have an intoxicated bad camel, and am come to these that they may twist a rope for me to tie it with.' The Prophet passed on a little, but came back again saying, 'O Abu Abd Allah, what did that intoxicated camel do?' After we had left that halting-place, the Prophet, whenever he saw me, would, after saluting, ask me again, 'What did that intoxicated camel do?' So when we had returned to Medina, I absented myself from the mosque, fearing that his Excellency might put me to shame by asking me that question there. Then I waited my opportunity to meet the Prophet alone in the mosque; and as I went there and said my prayer, that prince came out of his private chamber and performed a short prayer of two genuflexions, and then sat down near me. I

lengthened my prayers, hoping that Excellency, having finished before me, would return to his chamber, without saying that word to me again. But on his observing this, that Excellency said, 'O Abu Abd Allah, make thy prayer as long as thou wilt, but ¶ shall not go away till thou hast finished.' I thought with myself I now must find an excuse to appease that Excellency. So I finished and saluted him; and when he returned my salutation, and asked again, 'What did that intoxicated camel do?' I answered, 'O Apostle of God, by that God who has made thee a cause of prosperity, that camel has given up its habit of intoxication since I have become a Mussulman.' Upon this that Excellency said three times, 'God has had mercy on thee;' and thenceforth ceased asking me that question.

That Excellency used to laugh when they made jokes in their assemblies. It is recorded that, one day, Dhahak Ibn Sofyan, who was exceedingly plain, made a contract with the Prophet; and, as at that time the verse enjoining the veiling of women had not yet been sent down (from heaven), Aisha was sitting by his Excellency's side. Dhahak said, 'O Apostle of God, I have two ladies, both of whom are more beautiful than this fair one, *i.e.* Aisha: I will divorce one of them that thy Excellency may marry her.' Aisha, on hearing this word, said at once, 'Who is more beautiful, the lady or thyself?' Dhahak replied, 'Of course I am the more beautiful of the two.' His Excellency laughed heartily at this question of Aisha's.

There was one of the assistants, named Naamiyan, who was much addicted to jokes and to drinking, and therefore was frequently brought before the Prophet to be beaten with his blessed sandals for his intoxication. But as he did not mend, one of the Prophet's companions said to him, 'May God curse thee!' Hearing this, that prince said, 'Do not say so: for he takes God and His Apostle for his friend.' This happened during the Khaibar expedition. Then as often as caravans brought beautiful things to Medina, this Naamiyan would buy them on credit, and take them to the Prophet, saying, 'O Apostle of God, I have brought thee this for a present.' On payment being demanded of him, he took the creditor to the Prophet, saying, 'O Apostle of God, give the

price of that beautiful thing to this man.' When the Prophet asked, 'Didst thou not bring it to me as a present?' Naamiyan would reply, 'O Apostle of God, the price of that present was not within my power; but I wished that thou shouldest have it and no one else: so pay for it now and the object is accomplished.' Then that Excellency laughed and paid the value of the present.

(6.) *His Habits in using Ornaments and Ointments.*

Amongst all the habits of the Prophet there was also this, that he combed his hair and beard, but not every day, like the rich; and that he anointed his blessed head and beard. His moustache he clipped, and commanded also his companions to do the same. Every Friday, before going to mosque, he attended to his moustache and cut his nails. He made use of his right hand for making ablutions, for eating, combing his hair and beard, for cleaning his teeth, snuffing up water and the like; but his left for removing what is unpleasant and for cleaning impurities. When he had to take anything from any one or to give something, he did so with his right hand. Every night he applied three spoons-full of collyrium to his eyes, or sometimes three to his right and two to his left eye. Whenever he went on a journey, he took with him a looking-glass, a comb, an ointment-bottle, a box of aromatic substances, a pair of scissors, and an oil-bottle; and when he was in the house, he took the said things with him to the room of whichever wife he spent the night with, so that they were at hand, in case he liked to make use of any of them. He prohibited the rounding of the face, the plucking out of the hairs from the face, or the white hairs from the beard or the head.

According to some sound traditions, that prince coloured his blessed hairs with collyrium, or, according to another account, with collyrium and indigo-leaves, or, according to still another account, with waras and saffron. Some accounts state that the Prophet was not so grey as to need dyeing, and that, according to a sound tradition, the grey hairs in his beard and head did not amount to twenty. In reconciliation of these traditions we suggest that that prince sometimes

applied collyrium to his blessed hair in order to cure headache, but that some people, who saw the colour, thought it was for dyeing the hair; or that he used so much aromatic ointment that sometimes the colour of his hair was changed thereby, so that it looked like dye. But a number of Imams regard the traditions concerning his using dyes for his hair as the stronger ones.

That prince made use of a depilatory unguent, and his pure wives also applied it to him. But there is also an account that he did not apply depilatory unguents, but used the scissors. All the traditionists and biographers agree that that prince never entered a public bath;[1] and that he only once bathed in the place in Medina which is still renowned as the Prophet's bath, a structure having afterwards been erected over the place where he had bathed, so as to secure the blessing and luck resulting therefrom. But some Hanafi Ulemas state in their works that the Prophet did enter public baths.

(7.) *His Habits in regard to Auguries.*

One of all the habits of that Excellency was that of drawing auguries from fine names or beautiful words, saying, 'Auguring is a good thing.' But he condemned bad auguring. When they asked him, 'O Apostle of God, what is an augury?' he answered, 'A good word which one of you hears.' He rejoiced to hear such good words as 'correct,' 'sound,' etc., when he was going forth in a matter of importance or necessity. He liked good names, and used to say, 'The names most loved by God are, Abd Allah (= Servant of God), Abd ur Rahman (=Servant of the Merciful); and the name most disliked by God is, Shah-i-Shahin' (=king of kings). He used to change bad names into good ones, *e.g.* Berre (properly, a wound) into Zeinab (properly, a certain beautiful, fragrant tree). In case he wished to send an agent

[1] Another striking instance of his scrupulous and somewhat suspicious care to prevent any one from seeing his body. Even after his death a 'voice' had to direct his friends not to wash him like any other dead body, but over his clothes in which he died. Is this perhaps connected with what Gibbon says in his Latin footnote?

to a district, he would ask what his name was: if his name was good and pleasant, he was glad; but if it was the reverse, signs of displeasure arose in his blessed countenance. He said, 'If any of you sees something bad, let him say this prayer, "O God, no one brings good except Thou; and no one keeps off evil besides Thee; and there is no power and strength except in God."'

(8.) *His Habits as regards the Akika Offerings.*

That prince ordained the Akika offering, saying, 'When a boy is born to you, offer two sheep; and if a girl is born to you, then offer one sheep; and it is proper that the sacrifice should be slain on the seventh day; and that the new-born child should likewise receive its name on that day.' When the commanders of the faithful, Hasan and Hosein, were born, he offered for each of them one sheep, or, according to another account, two sheep; and when those infants were born, they were taken to that Excellency that he should open their mouths with his blessed hand, and cause them to taste a little date, and invoke a blessing upon them.

(9.) *His Habits in asking Permission and in Saluting.*

Of all the habits of that prince one was, that when he went to any one's house, he did not place himself opposite the door, but stood either on the right or on the left hand side of it, asking permission to enter in these words, 'Peace be upon you! Peace be upon you!' He also directed his friends, saying, 'If ye go to any one's house, first give the peace; and do not admit any one into your house, who, in coming, does not first give you the peace.' He also said, 'Greeting is before asking: if any one begins by asking anything of you, without first giving you the peace, then do not answer him.' It is reported that once some one came to that prince's house asking, 'Shall I enter?' But he sent some one out to him, saying, 'Teach that person the way of asking permission, and let him first say, "Peace be upon you!" and afterwards, "May I come in?"' And not till this order had been complied with did that Excellency give the permission

to enter. He likewise said, 'If any one sends you a messenger to invite you, and ye go with that messenger, he is your permission, and ye need not ask permission a second time, on arriving at the house of the host.' It is also established that he declared, 'When God had created Adam, He said to him, "Go to that company of angels, sitting there, and see in what way they will welcome thee: and the mode of their greeting shall be yours and your children's." Then Adam went to them, saying, "Peace be upon you!" They replied, "Peace be on thee and the mercy of God!"'

That Excellency also said, 'Peace be upon you!' or, 'Peace be upon thee!' but did not at first like to say, 'Upon thee be peace!' He also said, 'Ye cannot enter Paradise, except ye believe; and ye cannot believe, except ye make friendship with each other. Mark therefore the means I indicate to you for securing mutual friendship, namely, the open declaration of peace both to the known and to the unknown.' He also said, 'Give peace to the little and to the great; to the few and to the many; to the standing and to the sitting!' It is also recorded that that prince once entered into a company of boys, and another time into a company of women, and on both occasions he saluted by giving the peace. He also gave the peace when he met a mixed company consisting of Mussulmans and polytheists.[1] Most times it was impossible to anticipate that Excellency in saluting; but if any one saluted him first, he would return the salutation in the same or in a still better way. He returned the salutation anon, without any delay, except for some special reason. He saluted in an audible voice, and did not content himself with a mere sign with his finger. In returning a salutation, he said, 'And upon thee be peace!' When he went to a house at night, he saluted in a manner that those who were awake could hear him, but that those asleep were not awakened. He also enjoined not to give the salutation of peace to Jews and Christians.

[1] From this we are left to infer that he would not have given the salutation of peace to a company of polytheists only. With them he was not at peace, but at war. To this day the pious Mussulmans do not salute Christians and other non-Moslems with the usual Selam (=peace) which they employ amongst themselves. A few lines further on the reader will find that Mohammed expressly forbade his followers doing so.

(10.) *His Habits as to Sneezing and Yawning.*

It was one of the Prophet's habits that when he made 'Atsa,' that is, when he sneezed, he made a moderate noise, covering his blessed face with his robe-sleeve and putting his blessed hand before his nostrils. He used to say, 'God loves sneezing, but detests yawning: let every one who sneezes say, "Praise be to God!" and let him who hears him rejoin, "God have mercy on him!"' Once two persons sneezed in that Excellency's presence, and one of them who said, 'Praise be to God!' heard from his Excellency the reply, 'God have mercy on thee!' but the other, who had omitted to say, 'Praise be to God!' did not hear any reply from that prince. The Prophet also said, 'To any one sneezing, reply up to three times, "God have mercy on thee!" and never think it a mere cold, even if it be more than three times.'

(11.) *His Habits as to Walking and Riding.*

The walking of that prince was a perfect motion, that is, he was not exceedingly slow, dragging his legs, like the proud and affected; nor did he show excessive haste and anxiety, like the light-minded and foolish. That prince's walk appeared so measured and grave as if he was descending from a height. Sometimes he walked as if his blessed feet did not touch the earth, or as if the ground turned from under his feet. When walking with his friends, they sometimes walked in front, he following behind. At one time he walked in sandals, at another time he dispensed with them and walked barefooted. On some war expedition that prince knocked his blessed toe against a stone so that blood flowed from it.

At home and on journeys that prince would ride with and without a saddle, on horses, camels, mules, and donkeys. He was mostly mounted alone, but occasionally he had some one mounted behind him as his Redif (=reserve), or even before him. Sometimes he had one of his pure wives mounted behind him. Most generally he rode on horses and camels.

(12.) *His Habits as to Waking and Sleeping.*

That prince and his noble companions did not manifest too much concern about their habitations and dwellings, but contented themselves with structures sufficient to keep out heat and cold, sheep and cattle, and the gaze of the eyes of men. When night set in, that prince took an ablution, put off the clothes he had worn by day, and put on his night-robes. Then he blew on the palms of his blessed hands, and, after repeating a verse from the Koran, rubbed his limbs with them. He lay on his right side, putting the palm of his right hand under his right cheek, and saying, 'O God, in Thy name I die and live,' or, according to another account, 'In Thy name, O Lord, I lie down and rise again.' He sometimes lay on his night-clothes, sometimes on a carpet, sometimes on a mat, sometimes on sacking, and even on the dry earth. When he slept, he had under his head a leather cushion, filled with date-palm fibres.

To that prince dreams were shown in his sleep which he narrated and interpreted to his friends. Sometimes also his friends told him their dreams, and requested him to interpret them. That prince also said, 'When one of you has a dream which appears to him bad, then let him spit three times to his left side, and ask protection from God against the evil of that dream and Satan; and let him turn himself to lie on the other side, and not tell his dreams to any one, so that the evil it portended may not come to pass. But if he sees a good dream, let him tell it to a friend or to a man of understanding.' When that prince rose from sleep, he used to say, 'Praise be to God, who has made us alive after we were dead: to Him we move and wake.' In no condition did he omit the mention of God.

(13.) *His Habits in administering Medicines to the Sick.*

Amongst all his other habits, that prince also was wont to administer medicines to the sick. *Intermittent fever* he medicinally treated with cold water. It is narrated that when intermittent fever seized that Excellency, he caused a skin of water to be brought and poured over his blessed head

for a bath; and he used to say, 'If intermittent fever seizes any of you, then sprinkle him with water for three nights at early dawn.' He also said, 'Fever comes from the heat of hell, but it is cooled with water.' The Ulemas remark that the use of this remedy was peculiar to the people of the Hejaz; because most of their intermittent fevers were the effect of the heat of the sun; and the fever lasted only a day. He ordered the treatment with cold water, by letting the patient go into it and drink it.

When that prince happened to suffer from *headache*, he used to apply collyrium to his blessed head, saying, 'Verily collyrium is good for headache, by the permission of God.' When any one complained of headache to that Excellency, he would say, 'Apply collyrium to thy head.' The Ulemas affirm that this remedy suits the kind of headache which does not arise from matter, but is caused by the heat of the sun; and most of their headaches and fevers were of the latter description.

In the medical treatment of *eye-ache* he recommended quiet and rest: and when Ali suffered from pain in his eyes, he forbade him to eat fresh dates; and as often as one of 'the mothers of the believers'[1] suffered from pain in her eyes, he did not approach her till she was well again.

The *swollen throat* of infants, in which blood appeared from their throat, he cured with the Indian Kostus, and forbade the practice of midwives, who tried to cure it by pressing the children's throat to make them bleed. On one occasion, when that Excellency went to Aisha's room, he saw there a boy bleeding from his nostrils, because they had been pressing his throat in order to cure him of the swollen throat. He asked, 'What is this?' They replied, 'On account of his swollen throat, or his pain in the head.' His Excellency answered, 'Woe unto you; do not kill your children. Every woman whose child suffers from a swollen throat or from pain in the head is to dissolve the Indian Kostus in water, and drop it into the child's nose.' They did as that prince had bidden them, and the child recovered.

The *stomach-ache* arising from the superabundance of matter, that Excellency cured by aperient medicines. It is

[1] A designation of the Prophet's married wives.

proved that once some one came to him, saying, 'O Apostle of God, what dost thou recommend for my brother's stomach-ache?' His Excellency replied, 'Let him drink honey-sherbet.' The person did so two or three times, but after each time came back, saying that it had produced no effect. On the third or fourth occasion his Excellency said to the person, 'God has spoken true, but thy brother's stomach has acted falsely.' The Ulemas observe that the meaning of 'acting falsely' is here, that on account of the abundance of bad matter, the honey-sherbet did not effect a cure. But that person gave his brother one more draught of honey-sherbet and it produced the desired effect. The Ulemas say that the reason why his Excellency told that person to give his brother another dose, was to show that a dose of medicine must have respect to the nature of the complaint: if the dose is too small for the complaint, it does not operate; and if it is too large, it proves weakening. When the last dose was given to that person's brother, it was equal to the complaint, and caused the cure.

Dropsy was treated by that prince with milk and camel's urine; and a *dry constitution* with opening medicine. As opening medicine he chose senna: and he used to say, 'If there had been any remedy against death, that remedy would have been senna.'

The *pleurisy* he treated with red Kostus and olive-oil; and for the *itch* and *louse-disease* he ordered the wearing of a silk shirt. For *wounds* he ordered complete restraint and for *heartache* Medina dates. The *pustules* and *eruptions of the body* he cured with Indian calamus aromaticus; and the *sweat of women* with the tail of the Arab sheep, by dividing a tail into three parts and causing one of them to be drunk fasting, on three successive mornings.

That prince *cupped* frequently, and said, 'One of the best things with which cures are effected is cupping: in the night of the ascension the angels told me to recommend to my people the use of cupping.' As a remedy for the poison which he had eaten at Khaibar, he twice had himself cupped between his shoulders, and also on his blessed head. He produced *vomiting* as a remedy for the stomach; and he used to say, 'Do not force the sick to take food or drink against their

will: for God is giving them food and drink.' The Ulemas explain this latter expression to mean, that the nature of the sick has to cook and eject the noxious substances, and to gain strength thereby. That prince also recommended *abstinence* to the sick, and beverage prepared with unsifted barley-flour and honey, resembling milk in substance and appearance. He also said, 'Cheer up the sick with pleasant words, and free their minds from grief and sadness.' He forbade the use of unlawful things as remedies, saying, 'God will not cure you by what He has made unlawful unto you.' When once some one had asked that prince for permission to make *wine*, but had been refused, he rejoined, 'But, O Apostle of God, I want to make the wine as a medicine.' To this rejoinder his Excellency replied, 'It is not a receipt, but a deceit.'

He forbade intercourse with those who had an *infectious disease*, such as lepers. Abu Horeira narrates that his Excellency said, 'Flee from a leper as ye flee from a lion;' and again, 'Speak with a leper in such a manner that there be the distance of one or two javelins between you.' In the later traditions it is creditably affirmed that that prince opposed infection, saying, 'There is no infection: one man's illness does not reach another man.' We explain this difference thus: He who is of a strong faith suffers no harm from contact with infectious disease, because the power of faith repels the power of infection; but he who is of a weak faith must avoid contact: on these accounts that prince was charged by God with both these lines of conduct, *i.e.* he both came in contact with lepers, and also ordained to keep aloof from them, so that the strong in faith might follow him in the way of trust, and the weak in faith in the path of self-preservation. The traditions concerning plague and pestilence are also of this nature.

That prince has authorised the use of *charms against the evil-eye.* It is recorded that once whilst Sehl Ibn Hanif was bathing, Amir Ibn Rabia, seeing him naked, was so struck with the beauty of his body, that he exclaimed, 'By Allah! I have never seen so beautiful a body, neither among men, nor among the veiled girls.' As Amir was saying this, Sehl dropped down unconscious. When this report was brought to that prince, he became angry with Amir, saying, 'Why

dost thou not rather offer up a prayer of thanksgiving to God in seeing another's beautiful body, instead of killing him?' He ordered Amir forthwith to take a full ablution and to pour the water of it over Sehl; and lo, that same hour Sehl's consciousness returned. It is likewise recorded that when that Excellency observed in the face of a slave-girl in Om Salma's room the appearance of a spirit, he said, 'Make incantations for that slave-girl, for in her face are the marks of the appearance of a spirit.' It is also reported that when, on one occasion, that Excellency performed his prayers in a place and was stung by a scorpion, he, after having finished his prayers, said, 'God's curse be upon the scorpions for not leaving alone God's prophet and others,' *i.e.* for stinging them. Then he applied a poultice of salt and bread, and repeated some verses from the Koran till the pain ceased. It is established by sound traditions that that prince made incantation with the first Sura, the verse of the Throne, and a number of other Koranic verses, and that he used sundry other enchanting formulas, on which we cannot enlarge in this book.

It is to be observed that a number of sound traditionists have declared that there is no connection between the cures performed by that prince and those performed by other doctors; for his were absolute cures, really effecting restoration and health, inasmuch as he acted by Divine revelation and inspiration; but the cures of others are mostly based on conjecture, opinion, and trial. Whoever is not benefited by the prophetic remedy, must know for certain that the cause of this is his want of faith; and whoever applies it in sincere dependence and pure faith, will surely be benefited by it. Just as the noble Koran is a remedy for the hearts and minds, but whosoever does not receive it with gladness and sincerity, to him it only causes an aggravation of his spiritual maladies. It is admitted that any medicine benefits the patient only on the condition of his receiving it with faith, so that nature may meet and assist it in expelling the distemper. Thus a number of distinguished men have used honey for all diseases, because in the glorious Koran it is written concerning the virtue of honey, 'In it there is healing for men;' and by the blessing of their faith those diseases were removed.

III.—The Religious Services of that Prince.

Be it known that the Ulemas differ as to what kind of service the Prophet performed before he was commissioned with his prophetic office. Some say it was meditation, others, it was commemoration (viz. of God's perfections). So they also differ as to the Law he previously practised: whether it was that of Jesus, or that of Moses; or whether he practised the religion of Abraham, or of Noah, or of Adam; or whether he practised the religion of all the previous prophets together. But after having been commissioned as a prophet, he, according to one view, chose from every Law what was most difficult and painful; and according to another view, based on the Koran, he practised the religion of Abraham; but according to a still more preferable view, he practised his own Law. In the service of God the efforts and power of that Excellency attained perfection; and inasmuch as the best service, next to faith, is prayer, prayer also was established on purification. It is therefore most becoming here to begin with the *ablution*, as a prefatory and introductory step to prayer.

It is established that when the Prophet wanted to enter into a place for certain purposes, he took off the ring from his blessed finger, and then stepped in, with his left foot first, saying, 'O God, I take refuge with thee from all impurity.' When he left that place, he did so with his right foot first, saying, 'Thy pardon!'

Mostly he took an ablution before every performance of prayer, sometimes only one ablution before several performances of prayer; and before the ablution he made use of the wooden tooth-brush. On this matter he insisted most strongly both by word and deed. He also would rinse his mouth and sniff up water; and he never omitted this in his ablution, using either one, two, or three handfuls of water. The sniffing up of water he performed with his right hand, the blowing of his nose with his left. In taking the ablution, he would wash his limbs twice or thrice; and would rub his head once or oftener, finishing up with smoothing his turban. The inside of his ear he would rub with his

prayer-finger, and the outside with his thumb. Respecting his washing of the neck there exists no trustworthy tradition. He would clean his beard, and also his fingers, taking off the ring, if he wore any. At the beginning of the ablution he would say, 'In the name of God;' and at the end, 'I testify that there is no God, but Allah alone, who has no companion; and I testify that Mohammed is His servant and His apostle. Make me penitent, pure, and Thy faithful servant. I ask Thy forgiveness, and repent towards Thee;' or sometimes, 'Forgive me my sins, relieve me in my straits, and bless me in my substance.' He would never dry his limbs after the ablution, even if a towel was at hand for the purpose. He forbade the wasting of water at ablutions and baths. In washing he poured the water with his right hand upon the left, washing both hands. . . . Then he rinsed his mouth, sniffed up water, and washed his hands again. Then he poured water over his head, and washed the remainder of his blessed body, after which he moved to another place and washed his feet. He decided on wiping his leather socks once every day when at home; and once every three days when on a journey. Where there was no water the practice of *Teyemmum* was lawful, in accordance with which he first struck his flat hands upon the earth, and then rubbed his face and hands with them; or he struck his flat hands twice upon the earth, and then rubbed his arms up to the elbows.

He also paid the utmost attention to the observance of the *Kibla*, to the *decent covering* of the body, and to the other requisites of legal prayer.

At the time of *public prayers* he would come to the mosque and act as Imam for his companions. In lengthening or shortening the service, he would have regard to the state of the congregation. In entering the mosque, he always stepped in with his right foot first, saying, 'I take refuge with the great God, His presence and power, from Satan the stoned.' When he stood erect in prayer, he raised his blessed hands to a level with his shoulders and with his ears, spreading out his fingers and saying, 'God is the greatest.' After this opening exaltation of God, he would place his right hand upon the left, and then say the opening prayer. The Bismillah

he sometimes said aloud, sometimes in silence. After repeating the first chapter of the Koran, he said, 'Amen,' which the congregation repeated after him. In two places of the prayers he would leave room for silence.

He opposed and forbade the protracting of the services; and when he was once told that an Imam had read out the long second Sura in the evening service, he became exceedingly angry, and said, 'Verily some of you cause the congregation to loathe the services: every one who acts as Imam must make the service short; for in the assembly there are many sickly, weak, and needy ones.'

When he read from the Koran, he did so with distinctness, modulation, and expression, stopping at the end of every verse, and prolonging his voice. When he made the prostrations, he did not raise his hand, but first put his knees upon the ground, then his hands, and after that his forehead and nose. His arms he held far away from his chest, and put them on the ground, level with his shoulders, and his fingers he kept joined together. In sitting up for the confession of faith, he laid down his left foot and sat upon it; and planting his right foot, he put his right hand upon his right thigh, and his left hand upon his left thigh. But in the last of these sittings for confession, he put his left foot under the right, and sat on the ground.

It is narrated on the authority of Ibn Abbas that during prayers the Prophet was looking from the corners of his eyes to the right and to the left. When he had finished the prayers following the confession, he said, 'Peace be upon you, and the mercy of God,' turning first to his right side, so that they who sat there could see his blessed cheek; and then to the left, saluting in the same way. And after the peace (*i.e.* at the close), he said three times, 'I ask pardon of the great God, besides whom there is no other God, the living, the eternal One; and I repent towards Him.'

Be it known that that Excellency *read* daily a certain *portion from the Koran*, besides the services, elucidating and explaining what he was reading. He read the Koran at all times, standing or sitting, after an ablution or without one; and nothing whatever prevented his reading, except cohabitation. He never finished the Koran in less than three days

and three nights.[1] When he heard the Koran read out by others, tears flowed from his blessed eyes. On journeys his custom was to shorten the services.

That prince observed *Friday*, on which day he performed a great many services, cleaned his clothes, and recommended the Friday-bath. When the people were assembled for prayers, on Friday, that prince went to mosque alone, without a chamberlain or servant; and on arriving, he first greeted those present; then he ascended the pulpit, and saluted again before sitting down. As soon as Bilal had finished his call to prayers, he rose up and delivered an address in which he praised God; confessed the Faith; exhorted and commanded the believers to fear and obey God, to loathe and despise the world, and to desire eternity; read a verse from the Koran, and prayed for the male and female believers. When he had finished the address, he leaned upon a bow or a staff, never upon a sword or a spear. But afterwards, when the pulpit was properly fitted up, this leaning upon a bow or a staff, was not continued. In his address he would also command the people to be near the Imam, and to keep silence during the address. If, after the Friday service, he returned to his house, he said four more genuflexions of prayers; if he prayed in the mosque, never more than two. He used to say, 'There is one short space of time on Friday: if any one knew that time and prayed in it, God would grant him all he asks for. That hour is not confined to the lifetime of the prophet, but recurs until the day of the resurrection.' The Ulemas entertain eleven different views as to which is that hour for acceptable prayer, of which the following two are the most probable: first, the time from the Imam's entering the desk to the conclusion of the service; secondly, the time between the afternoon prayers and sunset.

The *festival service* he performed outside Medina, in a place for prayer, except once, when the rain prevented their going outside the town, and the service had to be held in the mosque. On the day of the feast he put on his best garments,

[1] This statement seems to presuppose that the Koran existed as a collected whole in the Prophet's lifetime, which, as is well known, was not the case. True, the original term for reading is also applicable to a recital from memory, but it is very questionable whether the whole Koran, as we have it now, was so impressed upon the tablet of his memory that he might read it from that.

sometimes one with red or with green stripes. On the festival of breaking the fast, he, before going to the outside place of prayer, broke the fast by eating some dates, but always an uneven number; and besides these dates he ate nothing till his return from the house of prayer. On the feast of sacrifices he patiently abstained from breaking the fast till he returned from the place of prayer, after having slain the sacrifices. On the occasion of the feast he took a whole ablution, and went out to the place of prayer on foot, having a short spear carried before him. On the way he loudly recited praises; and when they arrived at the prayer-place, that short spear was stuck in the ground as a mark for his Excellency whither to turn in prayer; for in those days the prayer-place was in the open field, and not yet surrounded by walls. After the service was over, he stood before the people, and gave them an address, which he began with praise to God, and then exhorted and commanded the people to give alms; and also gave notice of any war-expedition which he might have in contemplation. The women of Medina also used to be present in the place of prayer; and his Excellency went to them, exhorting them with great vehemence, and saying, 'Give alms!'[1] It is also established that after the prayer of the festival he sacrificed two rams, which were to have horns, black fore-legs and hind-legs, and black rings round the eyes; and before he slaughtered them he turned their faces towards the Kibla and recited a prayer. He also commanded the people, saying, 'Take the fattest and best of the sheep for sacrifices, those free from defects, whose ears are not cut off or pierced through, those not very lean or sick.' He likewise ordained that from amongst the sheep one, a year old, and from amongst others one, two years old, should be proper for sacrifice; and that it should be lawful for seven persons together to sacrifice one bullock. In returning to Medina from the place of prayer, he always went by a different way from that by which he came. The Ulemas state that the reason of this was, that many places might witness his good works, and that the hypocrites might be cowed by seeing the splendour of the true Mussulmans; and that the people on both roads might salute him; and that the earth of both roads might be benefited by his blessed footsteps.

[1] No wonder, considering their use: see p. 414.

That Excellency also offered up *prayer for rain.* Sometimes he first ascended the pulpit and delivered an address, and sometimes, without doing so, he recited the prayer for rain in the place where he was sitting. It is also established that during that prayer he held up the back-side of his hands towards heaven. When a *storm* was blowing, and clouds were seen, the visage of that Excellency showed signs of distress; and he would go inside and not come out again as long as this lasted; but as soon as rain began to come down, that state passed off, and he cheered up. Aisha the faithful narrates that on her asking the Prophet for an explanation of this, he replied, 'O Aisha, lest what happened to the people of Ad should happen again; for when they saw clouds of punishment in the sky, they said, "These clouds come to bring us rain," whereas that was a storm and clouds bringing them a grievous punishment.' His Excellency also said, 'The wind is from the Spirit of God (in Arabic, the *riah* is from the *ruah*): it brings gracious rain to His friends, and sore punishment to His enemies.' When once some one was cursing the storm in that prince's presence, he said, 'Do not curse the storm, for it is a commissioned officer, and, verily, whoever curses what is undeserving of curse, on him will that curse return.' Ibn Abbas narrates, that there never was a storm or thundering without that prince kneeling down to pray.

During an *eclipse* that prince used to say two genuflexions of the eclipse-service. Ibn Abbas relates that he was present once when the Prophet recited that prayer, and that on that occasion he prolonged the standing up to an unusual extent, about as long as it would take to read the second Sura, and that as soon as the prayer was over, the sun reappeared. The Prophet also said, 'Truly, sun and moon are signs of God; but although their eclipse does not portend any one's life or death, yet, if you see any, remember God.' His friends said to him, 'O Apostle of God, we saw that whilst thou wast saying the prayer, thou didst grasp at something, and then let it go again.' His Excellency replied, 'Verily, I have seen Paradise, and I wanted to seize one of the branches of its vines; if I had taken it, you could have been eating therefrom till eternity sets in. I have also seen hell; but I

have never witnessed anything to equal its terrible and awful aspect; and most of the inhabitants of hell were women.' When his companions asked, 'O Apostle of God, why are most of the people of hell women?' he answered, 'Because they are ungrateful respecting the kindness and rights of their husbands.'

Be it known that his apostolic Excellency also paid *visits to the sick*, and commanded his friends to do the same. When he went to see a sick person, he used to say, 'Please God, no misfortune, but purification,' or 'Atonement and purification.' He seated himself on the sick person's cushion, and inquired, 'How art thou? what is thy condition? hast thou a fancy for anything?' If the person fancied a thing that was not hurtful, he ordered it to be given. He would lay his right hand on the sick person's body, and say,

'Remove the ban,
Thou Lord of man!
O Healer, heal, relieve!
There is no cure
Besides Thy cure:
Help, Helper, we believe.'

If any one had a wound or an ulcer, he would first press his prayer-finger upon the earth, and then lifting it up, say, 'In the name of God! Dust of our earth and milk mixed with olive-oil shall heal our distempers with the permission of our Lord.' He had no fixed day or hour for visiting the sick, but did so at any time, by day or by night. He used to say, 'If any one pays a sick-visit to a Moslem brother, he is walking in the garden of Paradise as long as he is going to him, and whilst he is sitting by the side of the sick, the grace of God is descending upon him till he is quite immersed in it. If he visits in the morning, 70,000 angels are interceding for him till evening, and if in the evening, 70,000 angels are interceding for him until morning.' When he observed the premonitory symptoms of approaching death in a person, he would bring eternity to his mind, and enjoin repentance and the making of a testament. Of the customs which prevailed during the time of ignorance, he altogether forbade the lamentations for the dead, the tearing of the collar, the beating of the face, and the like, and he enjoined upon the

people to be grateful and patient, and to say, 'We belong to God, and to Him we return,' and willingly to submit to the decrees of the Almighty.

He insisted on promptly washing, dressing, perfuming, and burying the dead, requiring the corpse to be washed three or five times, or oftener, according as those who wash may find it necessary, and with the last washing to use some camphor. Do not wash a chief,[1] but only divest him of his breastplate and arms; and a pilgrim bury without drawing his pilgrim-dress over his head, so that on the day of the resurrection he may stand up and say, 'Here am I.' He directed that in case the winding-sheet is too short for a corpse, the head was at all events to be covered with it, and some hay put on the feet. He commanded that the dead be buried wrapt in a white sheet. Over the dead,—male or female, infant or adult, present or absent,—he performed a service of four, five, or six Magnificats, in each of which he lifted up his hands. The service over, he quitted the place, with one Selam, or with two. If anything prevented his saying the prayers over the corpse, he said them afterwards over the grave. When the prayers were ended, he walked on foot before the corpse to the grave, and did not sit down till it was deposited in the earth. Whilst they were bringing the body, he used to say, 'Make haste: for if the dead is one of the blessed, he is quickly to enter into Paradise; and if he is one of the wicked, he is a burden to be cast off the sooner the better.' His Excellency also said, 'Whoever follows a corpse, let him carry it three times, verily, he will receive his reward.'

In ordaining *the legal and other alms*, that prince had regard both to the wishes of the poor and to the mental pleasures of the rich. He enacted the legal almsgiving from four kinds of property, most common and most used amongst the people, viz. first, from camels, cattle, and sheep; second, from gold and silver; third, from corn and fruit; and, fourth, from all kinds of merchandise. It is not established that the giving of alms from property, as a legal duty, was incumbent on the Prophet himself;[2] but according to the enactments of

[1] Was this exception enjoined with a view to Mohammed's own case?

[2] From this it is seen that the exceptional privileges of the Prophet were not confined to the number of wives allowed, but extended also to other matters.

the Law, he took the alms from the rich, and gave them to those who were worthy. He would tie the alms-camels with his own hand, and mark them generally on the shoulder; and if any one was bringing the legal alms from his possessions to that Excellency, he would invoke a blessing upon him. To the neighbouring tribes he sent agents who collected the property-alms; and after spending on those who were worthy in that place, brought the rest to Medina, for his Excellency to expend. He exceedingly loved a surplus of the alms, and also required the people to have a strong desire for it.

The Prophet had a great zeal for the *manumission of slaves*, and pointed out its meritoriousness. He gave liberty to a number of male and female slaves; but to more of the former than of the latter.[1]

Be it known that his Excellency never began to *fast*, till he, or some reliable witness, had seen the new moon of *Ramadan*, or thirty days were passed of Shaaban. At the end of Shaaban he made an oration in which he said, 'O ye men, an exceedingly great moon has now overshadowed you. It is a blessed month in which there is one night which is better than a thousand other nights. The Most High has appointed the fast during its days as an indispensable rite for you, and the staying up during its nights as a custom. Whoever does a supererogatory work this month, will be rewarded as much as if he does a legally enjoined work in another month; and whoever performs a legally prescribed work this month, will be rewarded the same as if he had performed seventy such works in any other month. This is the month of patience; and the reward for the patience of this month is Paradise. This is a month of bravery and kindness. This is a month in which the believer's means of living shall increase; and whoever this month gives food to a faster to break the fast with, becomes the cause of the forgiveness of that man's sins and of his deliverance from hell-fire, and becomes partaker of a portion of the reward of that faster, without this latter losing anything by it.'

[1] Mohammed had evidently a personal reason for making this difference; and as long as Islam renders a female slave as lawful for her master as his own wife, the abrogation of slavery is likely to be opposed from the secret motives of those personal prerogatives of masters.

In reply to the observation of his companions that, perhaps, one of them might not have enough to spare for another faster wherewith to break his fast, his Excellency declared, 'If any one gives to a faster only a spoonful of milk, or a date, or a draught of water, yet will the Most High give him that reward; and if any one fully satisfies the faster, the Most High will give him a beverage from my own pond, so that he will thirst no more till he enter Paradise.' 'This month is a month whose beginning is mercy, its middle pardon, and its end freeness from hell-fire; and whoever will this month lighten the service of his slave, him will God pardon and deliver from the fire of hell.' According to authentic traditions the gates of heaven; or, according to another account, the gates of mercy; or, according to still another account, the gates of Paradise, are opened with the beginning of the month of Ramadan, and the gates of hell closed, and the devils dragged in chains.

Before saying the evening prayers, the Prophet used to break the fast by eating a few fresh dates; or, if there were no fresh ones, other dates; or, if there were not any dates, by taking one or two draughts of water; and he made his friends do the same. That Excellency persevered in taking the early meal before sunrise, enjoining the same upon his people; and he used to say, 'The taking a meal early before sunrise distinguishes our fast from the fast of the people of the book.' During his fast he would kiss his ladies, let blood by cupping, and use aperients; and if he needed an entire ablution by night, he would take it just before dawn.

That prince also *fasted voluntarily*, as a work of *supererogation*. Aisha the faithful narrates: 'That prince fasted so much that we thought he would never take breakfast; and he took so much breakfast that we thought he would never fast. I never saw him fast for a whole month, except in Ramadan.' In the month of Shaaban he fasted more than in other months, sometimes two days in succession; and on the day of Ashur he fasted as a matter of course. On Mondays and Thursdays he frequently fasted; for he said, 'Because on these two days the works are presented (to God), I wish to be fasting on them.' Sometimes he also fasted on Saturday and Sunday. Each month he fasted

three days; and on Friday he rarely broke the fast. Whenever he fasted on Friday, he also added either Thursday or Saturday as a fast-day; for he forbade fasting on Friday only. Sometimes he would enter the abode of bliss (*i.e.* his harem), and ask, 'Is there anything to eat?' and if the answer was, 'No;' he would say, 'Then I fast to-day.' Sometimes also he would decide upon a supererogatory fast, without completely carrying it out.

In the third decade of Ramadan he *retired* to a *retreat*, showing much zeal in acts of devotion, services, and vigils. He would have little to do with the people, but recite the Koran. He also would retire into a retreat in the first and middle decade. When he knew that 'the Night of Destiny' would happen in the last decade, he would insist on holding the retreat in the last decade. On the day in which he retired to his retreat, he would first perform morning prayers, and then go to the place he had chosen for the retreat. That Excellency's place of retreat was a tent within the mosque. Whilst in the retreat, he would sometimes stretch his blessed head from the mosque into Aisha's apartment, so that she might comb it; and whichsoever of his pure wives that prince desired, she came to be with him during the night in the mosque.

IV.—Peculiarities of the Prophet.

Be it known that it is the custom of the Shafii section of the orthodox Ulemas to mention that Excellency's peculiarities at the beginning of the marriage-book, because most of his peculiarities have a connection with marriage. Some of their doctors indeed hold that the things which were peculiar to that prince ought not now to be discussed, because they are things of the past, having no present utility; but by far the greatest majority of the doctors teach that such discussion is lawful, and that it is no error to affirm that it is even desirable and a duty: because one ignorant of the fact that certain things were peculiar to the Prophet, might wish, in finding them amongst the sound traditions, to imitate them as examples. Be it known, therefore, that the Most High has conferred special distinc-

tions upon that Excellency, which are divided into four classes, viz. first, religious duties; second, things forbidden and illicit to him; third, things lawful and permitted to him; fourth, excellencies and miracles. But as the latter are so many, they have been treated in a special chapter by themselves, and in the present, only the first three will be concisely stated.

(I.) *Religious Duties peculiar to the Prophet.*

The cause of such peculiar duties is the greater measure and higher degree of the Divine presence vouchsafed to this prince; or, according to some Imams, the circumstance that the merit of the performance of a religious *duty* is seventyfold that of the performance of a work of supererogation. His peculiar duties were :—

1. Prayers in addition to those legally enjoined.

2. Prayer in the early part of the day, after the first legal prayer.

3. The slaying of sacrifices.—It has here to be observed, that the Imams of the Shafii section declare the voluntary and early prayers to be duties peculiar to the Prophet; but that the followers of the Imam Abu Hanifa hold, that voluntary prayers and sacrifices are incumbent on the people also; but the fact is, that the Shafiites here use the term 'duty' in the sense of an absolute duty, and the Hanifites in the sense of less than an absolute duty.

4. Vigils or night-watches.—The Shafiite Imams hold, that at first this was one of his Excellency's peculiar duties, but that afterwards it was abrogated, which view is also supported by a tradition derived from Aisha.

5. The use of a tooth-brush.—This is supported by a tradition from Aisha, but opposed by others.

6. Consultation with relatives, in important matters.

7. To pay the debts of those who at their death leave no property behind them.—There is a difference of opinion amongst the Ulemas as to whether Mohammed paid those debts out of his own private treasure, or from the property of the State; and also as to whether or not the same duty is likewise incumbent upon the sovereigns who succeeded him.

8. To persevere against the enemy in war.—This perseverance was incumbent on him, even if the enemy was more than twice as numerous as himself; but it is not incumbent upon the people, if their enemy is more than twice as numerous as themselves.

9. To repair every reverse that he suffered, though in doing so there should be fear and danger, because God had promised to keep him; but if the people are afraid to repair a reverse, their duty of doing so ceases.

10. God Himself choosing for him his pure wives, causing them to decide between selecting the fashion of the world and separating from that Excellency, on the one hand, and selecting the eternal things, with being found under the shadow of that prince's innocence, on the other. In compensation for their choosing eternity it was made unlawful for that prince to marry another wife in addition to them, or in the stead of any one of them. But the verse of the Koran enjoining this was afterwards abrogated, and another sent down in its stead, freeing him from that restraint.

(2.) *Things unlawful and forbidden to the Prophet.*

The reason why some things have been specially made unlawful to him is this, that the reward attached to refraining from things unlawful is greater than that attached to abstaining from things disliked and detested.

1. One of the things unlawful to that Excellency was the *taking of canonical alms.* This unlawfulness extends also to his family and children. For, according to a sound tradition, canonical alms have been called man's filthiest thing, and the rank of that prince's family is far above accepting men's filthiest things. Another of those things is, that the taking of the vile legal alms means their spending them again in acts of mercy to the poor and others. In compensation for this, God gave them a portion of the spoil taken in war. But because at present they are deprived of the fifth of the spoil, some Ulemas have pronounced it lawful for them to take the canonical alms. The Ulemas disagree as to whether or not other prophets shared this restriction, and as to whether the Prophet and his family may lawfully take voluntary alms

or not. The Shafiite Ulemas hold that to take voluntary alms was unlawful to the Prophet himself, but is lawful to his family.

2. Not to eat onions, garlic, leek, and other similar things of an unpleasant smell. There is conclusive proof that he did not partake of these things. When they were offered, where he was present, he used to say to his companions, 'Do ye eat them: I therefore do not eat them, that persons unable to talk secretly with you, may do so with me.' The Shafiite Ulemas affirm that these things were not 'unlawful' to his Excellency, but disliked by him.

3. Not to eat in the same place where he slept. The Shafiite Ulemas again affirm that this was not 'unlawful' to him, but only disliked by him, as by others. There is no positive proof on the subject; and his abstaining from a thing does not imply its being unlawful.

4. Not to write.

5. Not to poetise.

6. After having put on his armour to fight with an enemy, not to take it off again without having been engaged in combat.

7. Not to look and aim at the pomp of the world used by the people.

8. Not to have a treacherous eye. The meaning of this is, not to give a sign with the hand, head, or eye that any one was to be smitten or killed, whilst the surrounding circumstances pointed to no such fate.

9. Not to give anything to any one with the object of obtaining in return more than its value.

10. Not to consummate marriage with any woman who solemnly protests against it. The Ulemas establish this by a tradition from Aisha, who said, 'When the Prophet married the daughter of a man called Gön, and was about to sit close to her in her bridal chamber, that girl said, "I take refuge from thee with God." Upon this, that prince said, "Verily thou hast taken refuge with a Great One, go and return to thy father's house."'

11. Not to marry a free woman from 'the people of the book,' *i.e.* from the Jews and Christians. It is recorded that his Excellency said, 'I begged of my Lord that I might not

have to marry any woman but one who can be with me in Paradise; and my Lord accepted this my request.' It is also reported by tradition that once there was a dispute between Aisha and Fatima, in which Fatima said to Aisha, 'I am nobler than thou, because I am a morsel from the Prophet of God.' Aisha replied, 'In an earthly point of view it is so; but mine is the eternal glory that I am to be together with the Prophet in Paradise, and thou shalt only have Ali's rank in Paradise: consider, therefore, what difference there is between these two ranks.' On Fatima bursting out weeping because of this word, Aisha arose, kissed her blessed head, and said, 'Would that I were but a hair of thy head!' Now when it is declared that that Excellency's ladies shall be with him in Paradise, it must be unlawful for him to marry a free woman from the people of the book, because no unbeliever can enter Paradise, and he must naturally also be averse to marrying such a woman.

12. Not to marry a Mussulman slave-woman; for the legality of her marriage depends on these two conditions, viz. first, the fear of adultery; and, secondly, the inability to marry a free woman. But the Prophet was innocent of the fear of adultery. Nor could the second reason operate with him, because he was not bound to bestow either an initial or a final dowry.

(3.) *Things permitted to him,* i.e. *things whose legality was peculiar to that Prince.*

The object in legalising these things to his Excellency was his comfort and convenience. The term 'legalised or lawful things' is here employed to designate things respecting which that Excellency was free from guilt, whether he did them, or left them undone. They were:—

1. Enjoyment during a fast, as stated in the chapter of 'Religious Services.'

2. To select and take away whatever he liked from the spoil of war, before the regular distribution is made.

3. To enter the sanctuary of Mecca, without being robed in the sacred vestment of pilgrims.

4. To kill within the sanctuary of Mecca. This is proved

by the fact that at the conquest of Mecca that Prince commanded Ibn Khadl to be killed, though he had wrapt himself up in the curtains of the Kaaba.

5. To pass a judgment merely by his own knowledge; whereas it is not lawful for other judges to do this.

6. To give a judgment concerning himself and his children, because that prince was innocent of partiality.

7. To accept the testimony of a man testifying of himself. This is based on the following tradition: The Prophet had bought a horse from a Bedouin. The Bedouin denying the sale, demanded a witness. The Ansar Khazinat Ibn Zabit came and bore witness. The Prophet said, 'O Khazinat, how canst thou witness to an affair at which thou hast not been present?' Khazimat replied, 'O Apostle of God, if we believe thee in the matter of the messages from heaven, why should we not believe thee in things of this world?'[1] Upon this the Apostle of God surnamed him 'the witness-bearer.'

8. To keep for himself anything forbidden. But this privilege he did not always exercise.

9. In time of need to take eatables and drinkables from any one who has, whilst it is the duty of the latter to yield up to him whatever food he possess, in order to keep the Apostle of God alive, though he may apprehend that by so doing he may perish himself. Of this privilege likewise he did not always avail himself.

10. Sleep on his part does not invalidate his ablution as it does that of others; for even when the eyes of that prince slept, his mind was awake, as he himself once said, 'My eyes sleep, but my heart does not sleep.' In this particular the other prophets were his partners. For Bokhari has a tradition to the effect that his Excellency said, 'And of the other prophets also the eyes only slept, but not the heart.' But some Imams, overlooking this tradition, classed this particular amongst his peculiarities.

11. To remain in a place of worship in a state of canonical uncleanness.

[1] This mode of reasoning by Moslems plainly shows how naturally the acknowledgment of Mohammed as a prophet engendered other errors and falsehoods; and how impossible it is to give implicit credence to even the most positive assurances of his believers and partisans.

12. To curse a believer, though he may not have been guilty of anything meriting a curse; because that Excellency's curse is an act of mercy. This is supported by a tradition derived from Abu Harira to this effect: 'That Excellency addressed a petition to the Almighty, saying, "O God, I am nothing but a man, if therefore I hurt, or revile, or curse, any one of the believers, turn it all into an act of mercy to him, and into a means of approach, so that on the day of the resurrection he may thereby approach to thee."'

13. To unite to himself in marriage more than four ladies. The proof of this is based on the unanimous opinion of the doctors of the Law and on the practice of the Prophet. In this particular privilege also other prophets were that prince's partners. For it is established that Solomon had taken 100 ladies at once, and David 99 ladies.

14. That he could contract a marriage on the strength of the word 'gift.' This is proved by the noble verse of the Koran: 'And if a believing woman gives herself to the Prophet, and the Prophet be so minded, he can marry her. She has acted with purity of mind towards him, above the believers.'

15. That his marriage was valid, even if contracted without any relative or any witness being present. This is natural, because that prince is above any sureties or witnesses, and would never deny a marriage he had entered; but if the woman were to deny it, and thus contradict the Prophet's affirmation, her word could not be accepted against his; and some Imams have declared that she would have become an unbeliever by that very contradiction. His companions were in doubt as to whether he had taken Safia by way of marriage or by way of concubinage. The marriage of Zeinab also proves this particular privilege.

V.—Mohammed's Excellencies and Miracles.

(1.) *His Excellencies.*

In point of purity and goodness God has created the souls as three different classes: highest, lowest, and middle. The souls of the prophets are the purest and best; and

Mohammed is the purest, best, and noblest amongst them. To enumerate and detail all his excellencies would require a book, so they are here given in an abridged form.

1. His spirit was created first, and the spirits of all other beings were derived from his. Mohammed said, 'I am the first of the prophets as to creation, and the last as to mission.'

2. God took a covenant and promise from all the other prophets, that if they attained to the time of Mohammed's mission, they would believe in him, and aid him. The prophets are, therefore, placed in the position of followers with regard to Mohammed.

3. Whilst God, in the Koran, addresses every prophet simply by his name—*e.g.* 'O Adam, dwell thou with thy wife in Paradise;' 'O Jesus, son of Mary, remember my grace towards thee and towards thy mother,'—He addresses our own Prophet by honouring attributes and epithets, *e.g.* O thou Apostle, O thou Prophet, O Mohammed the Apostle.

4. To the former nations it was lawful to address their prophets simply by their names, but to the people of this prince, this is not lawful. They have to say, O Apostle of God, or O Prophet of God.

5. In the glorious Koran God swears by Mohammed's life, his city, his apostolic mission, and his religion (*lit.* guidance), whereas, according to Ibn Abbas' statement, God has never sworn by the life of any other prophet.

6. God gave to Mohammed 'concentration of speech (*lit.* collection of words), *i.e.* such speech whose expressions are short and their meaning comprehensive.

7. Mohammed was granted victory in such a degree that his enemies at a month's distance feared on account of the dreadness of that prince.

8. The possession of booty was made lawful for him and his people, whereas when the former people made booty, they had to bring it before their prophet, to be consumed by fire from heaven.

9. The whole face of the earth was given him and his people for a place of worship, and for purification, so that they can perform their services where they like; and if they find no water, they can use earth instead, whilst the former

people could only perform their services in the place appointed, and were not allowed to use earth instead of water.

10. That prince was sent unto all creatures. Noah's mission after the deluge was indeed also a general one to all men, but as regards its previous character, the Ulemas are divided in opinion, whether it extended to all men, or was restricted to a single nation. Even admitting that Noah's mission was one to all men, we have still to affirm that the mission of our own Prophet was both to men and spirits.

11. His appearance was the end of prophecy (or of the prophetic office). The second coming of Christ, at the end of time, is not opposed to this, because He is not to bring an abrogating Law, but to preach the Law of Mohammed, and to conform to it.

12. In his wars with unbelievers he was helped and strengthened, more than any other prophet before him, by hosts of angels.

13. God has made Mohammed a means of mercy for the inhabitants of the whole world.[1] Some commentators explain that he is such by guiding the believers, by securing immunity for the insincere from being killed, and by delaying the punishment of the unbelievers.

14. Since the time of his mission the evil spirits (or Satans) have been kept away from heaven by shooting stars, which previously had not been the case.

15. The angel Asraphel several times came down to him which he had not done to any other prophet.

16. God, in His book, mentions the repentance and pardon of many prophets, and also their fall into what was unworthy of their character, *e.g.* of Adam, Noah, Jonas, David, and Moses, but respecting our own prophet God said, 'God will surely forgive thy sins, both the past and the future,' thus veiling what the sin itself was.

17. Whatever God gave to the previous prophets, He gave on account of their having asked for and desired it, but whatever He gave to that Excellency, He gave without being asked and solicited.

[1] Mohammed is here invested with the character both of the 'mercy-seat' in Israel (Exod. xxv. 17-22) and of Jesus Christ, 'whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood' (Rom. iii. 25).

18. God said concerning him, 'We have made thy mention exalted,' what the commentators explain to mean, that Mohammed is to be mentioned wherever God is mentioned, *e.g.* in the Creed, the Praises, etc.

19. In order to exalt his Excellency, God made his pure wives the mothers of the believers; *i.e.* He appointed them to be honoured and revered by the believers as their own mothers, so that it should be unlawful for them to marry them. It is said that this was done because Talha Ibn Abd Allah had said, 'When the Prophet has left the world, I shall marry Aisha.'

20. God declared the supererogatory prayers of Mohammed, performed sitting, to be of the same merit as those performed standing: whereas the supererogatory prayers performed by any one else in a sitting posture, have only half the merit of those performed standing.

21. That prince could see behind him, just as well as he could see before him. Some of the Ulemas affirm that this vision was a mental one; others, that it was ocular. The latter say, that Mohammed had two eyes between his shoulders, similar to the eyes of a needle, with which he could see behind, and that the clothes he wore did not prevent these eyes from seeing.

22. His Law has abrogated all other Laws, but will itself remain established till the day of the resurrection.

23. That prince's blessed body was so light-like that, when he walked against the sun, or the moon, it produced no shadow.

24. The glorious God made Mohammed His own dearly beloved friend. According to Ibn Abbas, Mohammed once said to his companions, 'You truly said, that Abraham was the friend, Moses the confidant, Jesus the spirit, and Adam the pure one, of God: but know, that I am the dearly beloved friend of God.'

25. That prince had revealed to himself the world and those that are in the world, from the time of Adam to the first blast of the last trumpet, so that he knew it all, and at times communicated some of the information to his friends.

26. God ennobled him in this world with His beauteous grace, as He had not done to any other creature.

27. God commissioned him in the best of ages.

28. God raised him up from the best of tribes.

29. God declared his people, or his religious community, to be the best of the religious communities.

30. The assembling together of his people is an absolute duty, but that of other people is not so.

31. His people do not agree on error or falsehood.

32. In the resurrection his people are to be witnesses to all the other peoples, or religious communities.

33. On the day of the resurrection the favourable answers to his people shall be more numerous than those to the people of any other prophet.

34. His people are to constitute the third part of the inhabitants of Paradise.

35. His people are not to perish from famine.

36. No other people is to rule over his people.[1] Mohammed said, he had prayed for this and God had accepted his prayer; but that when he also prayed that there should never be war or conflict between themselves, God refused.

37. The painful duties which had been enjoined upon former peoples, were not imposed upon his.

38. God made the hosts of his people like hosts of angels.

39. It was not lawful for any person to raise his own voice above his.

40. When Mohammed called any one who was saying his prayers, it was obligatory to him to respond to the call; and in so doing he did not invalidate his prayers.

41. To accept presents implied no blame, but was perfectly lawful for that Excellency, but not for any other judges or governors.

42. Intentionally to speak a lie against that Excellency is not like intentionally lying against any one else, but is the most infamous of infamies.

43. Whoever sees that Excellency in his dream, has seen him really and truly, according to the tradition that Mohammed once said, 'Whoever sees me in a dream, has seen me really: for Satan cannot imitate me.'

[1] From this it may be gathered how far the sincere loyalty of the Mohammedans can be relied upon by any non-Mussulman government throughout the world.

45.[1] The dignity has been conferred on that prince of acting as Intercessor on the day of the resurrection. The parties on whose behalf he will intercede are classified as follows:—

1. The great intercession will be for those about to be judged, namely for those who, despairing of all the other prophets, flee for refuge to Mohammed.
2. For those who find their way into Paradise, without an account.
3. For those deserving punishment.
4. For those of the believers who go to hell, but will by his intercession be taken out again and translated into Paradise.
5. Some who have entered Paradise will by his intercession obtain a higher place in it.
6. Some unbelievers will have their punishment made lighter through his intercession, such as, *e.g.*, Abu Talib.
7. For all those who die in Medina; for according to a tradition Mohammed said, 'Let those who can, die in Medina; because I shall intercede for every one dying there.

46. The intercession of that Excellency will be the first to be received.

47. On the day of the resurrection the banner of praise will be in his hands.

48. In the estimation of the Most High he is the noblest and worthiest of all creatures; and will be their leader on the day of the resurrection.

49. All the prophets and apostles are to be under the shadow of that prince's glorious standard, on the day of the resurrection.

50. That prince will be the first to enter Paradise. According to tradition Mohammed said, 'When I shall knock at the gate of Paradise on the day of the resurrection, and the Treasurer of Paradise shall ask, "Who art thou?" I shall answer, "I am Mohammed." Then the Treasurer of Paradise

[1] It is the Rawzat ul Ahbab itself which passes from Nos. 43 to 45. Whether this is an omission of No. 44 in the Turkish Edition of which I made use, or merely a mistake in numbering, I cannot say; probably the former, because in the latter case, the 'excellencies' would only amount to 59, instead of the round number 60.

shall say, "I have never been commanded to open the gate to any one before thee."' So likewise his people shall enter Paradise before every other people.

51. On the day of the resurrection the celebrated Pond shall pass into his possession.

52. The praiseworthy Place (*makam-i-mahmud*) shall be his.

53. That prince will have the rank of Mediation which is the highest rank of Paradise. Abu Horeira narrates that Mohammed once said, 'Only a single person can reach that highest rank, and my hope is that I may be that person.' His Excellency employed the optative form because of his good manners and caution, although it is eternally decreed that he shall have that highest rank.

54. As that prince could see in the light, so he could also see in darkness. But this rests on a weak tradition, derived from Aisha.

55. Yawning, which is one of the works of Satan, never happened to that prince, as stated by Iman Bokhari in his great history.

56. No fly alighted on that prince's blessed body.

57. The character and disposition of that prince was superior to the character and disposition of every other creature.

58. That prince was the noblest of creatures respecting the form of his body and the symmetry of its members.

59. In the pages of the writings of the previous prophets mention is made of his description (or attributes) and renown, and of his being the prophet of the latter time; and their authors foretold the glad tidings of his coming. So likewise the doctors and wise men of the possessors of the Scriptures foretold the coming of that prince; as did also the diviners, the theosophers, and those who had dealings with spirits, testifying to the truth of that prophecy. The great and distinguished of every age, have also had dreams pointing to the beneficent coming of that prince. The biographers term these men *Beshair, i.e.* bearers of good news. It is proper here to introduce some of them.

God sent a revelation to Adam, the import of some of whose pages was to this effect, 'I am the Lord of Mecca whose inhabitants are my neighbours, and those who visit

that House are my guests, under the wings of my protection, and under the shadow of my keeping. I will people that House with heavenly and earthly beings; and they shall come to it in troops, dusty, and with disordered hair, saluting and praising it with a loud voice, and shedding tears. And whoever visits that House with no other object in view but me, in effect visits me, becomes my guest, and is worthy of my favour; I will confer the nobility and high honour of that House upon a prophet from amongst thy children, named Abraham; and I will let him finish its building, and I will show him the Zemzem well in it, and give him the right of opening and closing it for an inheritance. After him the people of every age shall keep that House in repair, until the time of a prophet from among thy children, called Mohammed, and him I will make one of its inhabitants and governors and chamberlains and water-distributors. Every one who seeks me and desires to ask anything of me, must know that I am with that company whose hair is mingled up with their beard, who are covered with dust and earth, but who fulfil their vows, and turn to their Lord.'

In the Rolls of Abraham, that prophet was addressed thus, 'I have heard thy prayer for thy son Ishmael, and have blessed him and his seed, and have made him great and honoured. An illustrious son shall come from him, Mohammed by name, who shall be an elect and chosen one. I will send him a revelation to be communicated to his people; and his people shall be better than any other people.'

In the Torah God refers to the truth of Mohammed in a passage which being interpreted reads thus, 'O thou renowned prophet, verily we have sent thee to be a witness and a bearer of good news to the good, a warner to the bad, and a refuge to the unlettered. Thou art my servant and my apostle. I have named thee the trusting one.' Then God continues, but changing from the second to the third person, 'He is not a man of vulgar speech or bad habits, or a stony heart, or one who cries in the market-places. He does not requite evil with evil, but pardons and yields. The Most High will not raise him up until the time when a peculiar people shall be born who shall say, "There is no God but God." With this word he shall open blind eyes and deaf ears,

and set minds at liberty.' In another place of the Torah it is also stated that Mohammed was to be the son of Abd Allah, that the place of his birth was to be Mecca and that of his flight Medina; and that his power should extend over Syria; that his people should give thanks, and say, 'God is great,' whenever they ascend up high, and render praise whenever they descend low; that they should bind their loins with a girdle and take ablutions; and that their Moezzins should call out from high places, and that their line of battle and their line of prayer should be straight; and that at night their voices should be like the humming of bees. It is further affirmed that Moses in his Torah was acquainted with seventy attributes of the people of the latter time; and that as often as he had considered one of them, he asked of God that that congregation might be his own people. But the answer came to him, 'They are to be Mohammed's people.' At last, when he saw that Mohammed's people were to have so many excellencies, he said, 'O God, let me also be amongst Mohammed's people.'

In the book of the prophet *Habakkuk*, the contemporary of Daniel, the following prophecy occurs, 'God came from Teman, and the Holy One from the mountain Paran; and the earth was filled with the praise of Ahmed and his holiness; and he possessed the earth, and subdued the nations.' And in another place of the same book it is written, 'Heaven was illumined with the dignity of Mohammed, and the earth filled with his grandeur.'

Wahab Ibn Minbeh said, that the Most High sent the following revelation to the prophet *Isaiah:* 'I will send a prophet who is to be unlettered, and by his name I will open the ears of the deaf, and the minds of the listless; and I will clothe him with gravity, and I will make goodness his outward mark, and godliness and temperance his inward mind; and wisdom his understanding; and truth and purity his nature, and propriety his disposition; and equity his practice; and truth his law; and right guidance his leader; and Islam his people; and his name Ahmed. And through him I will show to his people the right way out of error, and the way of knowledge after ignorance; and by his name I will make the few many and the divided united; and will bring [illegible] amongst

the separated hearts and the antagonistic nations harmony and intimacy; and his people shall be superior to every other; and they shall pay respect to the light of the sun, *i.e.* they shall look to the sun to know the right time for prayer.'

In the *Gospel* the Most High gave the following revelation to Jesus, 'Declare Mohammed to be true, and believe in him; and tell also thy people that those of them who reach his time should believe in him. O thou son of the Virgin, *i.e.* O thou Jesus, know thou, that if it had not been for Mohammed, I should not have created Adam and Paradise and Hell; and the truth is, that when I made the Throne, it shook and would not stand firm till I wrote upon it, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah," whereupon it steadied itself and became quiet.'[1]

The *prophecies* by sundry learned Christians and others are very many; *e.g.* Seif Ibn Yazan, a king of Yemen, to whom a deputation was sent from Mecca, to congratulate him on having reconquered his land from the Abyssinians, said to Abdu-l-Mottaleb who was one of the deputation, 'A prophet shall arise from thy seed, Mohammed and Ahmed by name. The time of his birth has now come. His parents will die, and he will be under the care of his grandfather and uncle. God will make him known, and suddenly give him assistants and helpers, so that with their aid he will make his friends glorious and his enemies despised. At his birth shall the fire of the fire-temples be extinguished; the people shall worship the one incomparable God; infidelity and sin shall disappear from the world; Lat, Ozza, and the other idols shall be broken; his word shall be decision and his judgment justice; and he shall make his commands respected.'

It is recorded that when that Excellency was seven years old, a number of *Christians* came to Mecca from Syria for purposes of trade, and one of them recognised that prince

[1] If the Mohammedans fabricated prophecies such as these, and ventured to ascribe them to sundry Biblical books, mentioned by name, for the purpose of extolling their Prophet, of how many other frauds, with the same pious object, may they not have been guilty, where it is far less easy for us than in these instances clearly to distinguish between fact and fiction! If their pretended prophecies have obviously not any foundation in truth, may it not justly be suspected that the applicability thereof to the historical Mohammed is equally supposititious and unjustified?

from the signs and tokens he had read in their own books. On their asking Mohammed who he was, he replied, 'I am Mohammed Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abdu-l-Mottaleb.' Then that Christian made a sign towards heaven, towards the earth, and towards the mountains, and asked again, 'Who is thy nourisher?' Upon this Mohammed answered, 'God, who is without a partner and without an opponent.' Hearing this, the Christian exclaimed, 'O ye people of Syria, know ye that this is the prophet of the latter day.'

The *prophecies of the Soothsayers and Diviners* concerning the coming of that prince are also so many that we only give one as a specimen:—Nazr Ibn Babia, one of the kings of Yemen, who is said to have been the builder of Samarkand and Herat, had a dream which frightened him. He gathered his soothsayers and astrologers to tell him the dream, as a guarantee for the correctness of their interpretation. They confessed that they themselves were not able to do so, but recommended Satih and Sak to be sent for, which was accordingly done. Satih stated that Nazr had seen in a dream a black-burnt substance, proceeding out of darkness, or out of a black cloud, and falling upon the land of Yemen, burning up everything in it. When Nazr had declared that such had really been his dream, Satih interpreted it thus: 'Sixty or seventy years after Nazr's death, the Abyssinians will conquer Yemen. Then Seif Ibn Yazan will rise up and retake it from them. Then a pure prophet who receives revelations from the Lord of both worlds, will conquer it from the Yazanites; and in the hands of his people Yemen will remain till the day of the resurrection.'

The *spirits* (jins) also gave many prophecies of that prince's appearance. Abu Amir narrates that he went to Syria to inquire of diviners about the future, and says in his account, 'One moonlight night I fell asleep on my camel, which then went astray; and on awaking I found myself in an unknown wilderness, so that I was in great fear. Seeing several fires before me, I went towards them, when I perceived people around them who did not the least resemble men. They were warming themselves, and talking with each other in a loud voice, so that the hairs of my body stood up, and the camel on which I rode, stopped and began to tremble.

When I dismounted, those people disappeared from my sight. I called out aloud after them, "I put my trust in the chief of this people." Thereupon four of them became visible to me, saluting me, and sitting down opposite me. Their form was exceedingly ugly and awful. One of them asked me, "Whence art thou?" and I answered, "I am from Ghazan, and am going to Syria, there to inquire concerning the future of the Diviners; and my name is Abu Amir." Then they made a sign to one of their number, saying, "Now is the opportunity." I turned towards him, and laid my request before him, remembering that the Diviners receive their information from the spirits (jins). That spirit said to me, "I swear by the rain that pours down from the clouds, and by those who people the waterless deserts, that thin-bodied, quickly-marching camels shall be brought to one who is the best of heroes, of covenant-keepers, of exhorters and commanders, and to whom word also shall be brought down from heaven. Surely the time is near, that one shall be called and raised up who will be a subduer of Cæsars and Chosroeses." Then he described the form and beauty of that Excellency, and the seal of his prophetship, adding, "He shall be unlettered, and whosoever follows him shall find happiness. O Abu Amir, these things I have heard from the good angels with my own ears."'

Of the *true dreams*, pointing to the coming of that prince, we will only mention one of Abdu-l-Mottaleb's, thus related by himself: 'I once slept in the Kaaba, and saw in my dream a tree growing forth from my loins, whose top reached up to heaven, and its boughs and branches took in the east and the west. There was light in it equalling that of seventy suns, to which both the Arabs and the Persians bowed down in worship, and that light was still increasing from moment to moment. And I saw a number of the Koreish clinging to the boughs and branches of that tree, and another number ready to cut it down. But when they approached the tree, I saw a youth of matchless beauty keep them back and pluck out their eyes. I myself stretched out my hand to seize one ray of that light, when the same youth said to me, "Those may seize it who cling to the boughs and branches of the tree." Then I was frightened and awoke. When I told this

dream to a soothsayer, his colour changed, and he said to me, "One will come from thy loins who will rule over the people of the east and the west, and to whom the people of the whole earth shall become subjected."'

60. Mohammed's sixtieth excellency consists of the evident miracles and wonders which he was enabled to perform, and which will now be specially treated of.

(2.) *His Miracles.*

The Divines affirm that the miracles of all the previous prophets were given to Mohammed, and that he surpassed them all, so that, *e.g.*, if Noah received the miracle of the Ark which floated upon the waters of the deluge, our own prophet could command stones to float on the water: and it is certainly more wonderful to cause stones to move upon the waters than a vessel. It is reported that when he invited Abu Jahl to embrace the Faith, Akrima requested him, first to show a miracle, and then he also would believe. Now, as they just happened to be near a lake which was full of water and surrounded with stones, Mohammed said to him, 'Go to that stone and say to it, "Mohammed calls thee."' Akrima did as he was bidden, and, lo, instantly that stone began to move and to swim on the water, till it stood opposite his Excellency. But every one knows that it is more wonderful for a stone to swim on the water than, *e.g.*, for a tree or a board.

Likewise, if fire was made obedient to Abraham, so that it could not burn or singe him, Mohammed the chosen was so eminently endowed with miraculous power that fire would not even singe the pocket-handkerchief which he held in his hand. It is recorded that Uns Ibn Malik visited that Excellency, who, after dinner, sent for a soiled handkerchief which he threw into an oven where a fire had been kindled, and then took it out again, when the fire had not had any other effect except that of thoroughly cleaning it. It is stated that, on the day of the resurrection, the Most High will command the fire of hell to obey Mohammed, so as to burn any one of whom he will say, 'Burn him;' and not to touch any one of whom he will say, 'Do not burn him.'

If Moses was endowed with the miraculous power of

causing water to flow from the rock, our own prophet was counted worthy of the power of causing water to flow from his fingers. For it is creditably affirmed by his companions, Abd Allah Ibn Masud and Jabir Ibn Abd Allah, that during the war of Hodeibia the people complained of thirst, when that Excellency said, 'Look, whether any one has still some water.' His friends searched, and having found a small quantity, brought it to him. That Excellency asked for a cup, into which he poured that water, and then also put his blessed hand into it, whereupon water began to bubble forth from between his fingers, as it bubbles forth from a well; and all the people came, drank to their full, and performed their ablutions. When Jabir was afterwards asked how many they were on that occasion, he replied, 'We were 5500: but if we had been 10,000, that water would have been enough for us.' But it is an established fact that it is much more wonderful for water to proceed from flesh and skin than from stones and earth.

If the prophet Salih was given the miraculous power of bringing forth she-camels from the hard rock, our own prophet was counted worthy that by his prayer he could cause a date-tree to grow forth from a camel's hump and instantaneously to bear fruit, so that all who were present in the assembly could eat of the fruit, and that the dates of that tree were exceedingly sweet to the palate of those having an established faith in theology, but became stones in the mouths of all who were unbelievers. So likewise Salih's she-camels never spoke to him, whereas our own prophet had camels speaking to him again and again. One of these many cases is the following. 'That Excellency was on a journey, when suddenly a camel approached him, saying, "O Apostle of God, I have no master: hitherto he has been using me, but now that I am become old, he wants to slaughter me; therefore I am come to take refuge with thee that thou mayest save me." The Apostle of God sent for its master, and requested of him to let him have that camel. The master acceding to the request, his Excellency liberated it.'

Likewise, if the wind was made subject to Solomon, so as, morning and evening, to carry his throne a month's dis-

tance, that prince was counted worthy of a Borak which, in one portion of the night, carried him to the seventh heaven and back again.

So likewise, if it was given to Jesus to raise the dead and to cleanse the lepers: for our own prophet, even the side of a poisoned kid was endued with life, so that it said to that Excellency, 'Eat not of me, for I am poisoned.' It is related that Maath Ibn Afra had taken a wife who refused to live with him, because she had been told that he had leprosy on his chest, whereupon he laid the case before the Prophet, as a clever physician. The prophet requested him to uncover his chest; and then taking up a club, rubbed with it that part of the chest which was leprous, and the leprosy disappeared instantly. It is also told that once a woman brought a present to his Excellency, begging him to cure the eyes of her girl, who had been blind from her birth. His Excellency turned up her eyes with his blessed hands, and she could see at once.

Some Ulemas affirm that that prince had performed 1000 miracles; others 3000. Besides those signs and wonders already mentioned, as connected with his birth, mission, and flight, we have still to record some miracles of that Lord of Lords.

1. His first and greatest miracle is the Koran. For as the miracles of Moses, such as his dividing the sea, turning the water of the Kopts into blood, and his staff into a serpent, corresponded to a prevailing tendency of his age, viz., magic; and as the miracles of Jesus, such as the raising of the dead, the cleansing of lepers, etc., bore on the healing art which was a pre-eminent science of his age;—so in the age of our own prophet, eloquence, poetry, and beautiful composition, were more particularly in vogue, and therefore he brought to the world a word of consummate perspicuity and eloquence, of perfect grandeur of expression and solidity of meaning, and yet free from prolixity and circumlocution, as well as exempt from confusing breviloquence and abridgment, comprising a truthful and just account of former nations and other prophets and apostles, as also of future events; and including marvels of wise sentences and gems of beautiful sayings; having in its order and arrangement not the least

resemblance to other men's words, and being preserved from changes, alterations, and contradictions; and will have to remain in this state till the time of the resurrection.

2. The splitting of the moon into two parts. Ali, the commander of the faithful, affirmed to have heard the account from several persons, that once a number of polytheists came to Mohammed, and said, 'If thou claimest to be a prophet, split the moon which is now in the sky into two parts.' Mohammed asked them, 'If I do so, will you then believe?' and on their answering in the affirmative, he stretched out his hands in prayer, or, according to another account, he made a sign to the moon with his fore-finger, when instantly the moon became divided in two, one part remaining where it was and the other descending behind the mountain and disappearing; or, according to another account, one half was seen over one mountain and the other half over another mountain; or, according to still another account, the moon was divided in such a manner that the mount Hira could be seen between the two halves. But the Koreish said, 'Mohammed has used magic before us.'

3. On the Farewell-pilgrimage they brought an infant to the Prophet of God which was only born that very day, and when his Excellency asked, 'Who am I?' the infant answered, 'Thou art the Apostle of God.' After this the infant did not speak again till the time had arrived when it could naturally do so.

4. Om Salma and others narrated: 'Once the Prophet was walking in the field, when he suddenly heard a person's voice saying, "O Apostle of God!" When his Excellency first looked round he saw nothing; but on looking carefully, he observed a hind tied in a tent which said in a clear voice, "O thou Apostle of God, come to me;" and when his Excellency went and asked, "What dost thou want?" the hind replied, "I have two kids on this mountain: loose me that I may go and suckle them, after which I will return to thee." His Excellency said, "Wilt thou come back again?" The hind replied, "God shall punish me, if I do not return." Upon this his Excellency let it go; and when it had suckled its young, it returned; but Mohammed requested its owner to let it go.'

5. Ibn Abbas and Abd Allah Ibn Omar narrated that there was a Bedouin hunter who once returned with a lizard which he had caught and which he intended to slay and roast for his family, when he met a crowd who, on being asked, told him that they had gathered, because Mohammed was claiming to be a prophet. The Bedouin pressed through the crowd and said, 'O Mohammed, by Lat and Ozza, I shall never believe in thee, till this lizard does the same;' and with these words threw the lizard down before Mohammed. The lizard wanted to run away; but Mohammed called it back. It then said in plain Arabic, understood by all present, 'Here am I: what is thy behest?' Mohammed asked, 'Whom dost thou worship?' The lizard answered, 'I worship that God whose throne is in the heaven, His dominion on the earth, His path in the sea, His mercy in Paradise, and His punishment in Hell.' His Excellency further asked, 'Who am I?' to which the lizard thus made answer, 'Thou art the apostle of both worlds, the seal of the prophets: those who acknowledge thee find luck and prosperity, and those who reject thee shall suffer loss and harm.' When the Bedouin heard these words from the lizard, he was astounded, and said, 'I shall not desire any further sign after what I have now witnessed: I testify that there is no God but One, who has no companion, and I testify that thou art His servant and apostle. By Allah, I love thee more than my eye and my ear, my mother and my father, my wife and my children.'

6. Akil Ibn Abu Talib related, 'I once accompanied that prince on a journey, and, after travelling about two parasangs, I saw several miracles from him. The first was this, that when I complained to his Excellency that I was very thirsty, and he sent me to a mountain close by, to ask water of it, that mountain began to speak, saying, "Go to the Prophet and say to him that since the Most High has made known in the Koran the verse 'Kindle the fire which will burn up men and rocks,' I have wept so much from the fear of God that no water has remained within me." The second was this, that, once, when that prince wished to go aside privately and there was no sheltered spot near, he saw some trees at a distance, in the field, whom he addressed, saying, "Cover

me;" whereupon those trees at once gathered in one place and formed a kind of vault which that Excellency entered. The third was this, that we reached a place where we found a camel lying which as soon as it saw his Excellency, rose up, went near him, and bowed before him, as humbly as children bow before their parents. On his Excellency asking, "What dost thou want?" that camel answered, "O Prophet of God, my people lie down and sleep without saying their evening prayers, so that I fear God will punish them." Then his Excellency had those people brought to him, and forbade them to be so negligent.'

7. Once a stag fled before a wolf and entered the holy place for protection, the wolf remaining outside. Abu Sofyan Ibn Harb and Mahzama Ibn Nowfal saw this and wondered, when the wolf spoke to them thus: 'Do ye wonder at this? I tell you that your own case is still more to be wondered at; for Mohammed is inviting you to the profession of the Unity and to the Faith, but ye do not believe him; and, by Allah, none of you has ever seen one like him, nor has any ear heard of attributes like his.' They wondered at this: but on account of their exceedingly great envy they did not tell it to any person, until they embraced Islam.

8. Seid Ibn Zeid relates that once the Apostle of God, together with Abu Bekr, Omar, and Othman, was on Mount Hira. Then that mount began to move and tremble, but his Excellency addressed it thus, 'O thou Mount Hira, be still and quiet: for the persons on thee are no other than the Prophet, the faithful one, and the martyr.'

9. Abu Dhirr narrates that once the Prophet sat somewhere with Abu Bekr, Omar, Otham, and, according to another account, also with Ali, when he took up seven pebbles from the earth; and they, in his blessed hand, praised God with a loud voice, like the buzz of bees. He then put them down, and they became silent. After this he placed them into the hands of his companions in turn, and they again praised God; but on putting them into my hand, they remained silent; and on my asking the Prophet the reason of this, he replied, 'O Abu Dhirr, wishest thou to be equal to the orthodox Califs?'

10. Once a Bedouin came to the Prophet, saying, 'I have

embraced Islam, and am come to ask of thee to show me a sign, in order to increase the certainty of my faith.' Mohammed sent him to a tree to request it, in his name, to come to him. As soon as he delivered the message, the tree began to turn from one side to the other, tearing up its roots, and then walked to that Excellency, saying, 'Peace be to thee, O thou Apostle of God!' Then the Bedouin said, 'It is enough, it is enough!' and the Prophet commanded the tree to return to its former place.

11. Ibn Abbas avers that when once some person came and said to that Excellency, 'Whence can I know that thou art a prophet come from God?' he replied, 'Wilt thou believe, if at my request a branch of this date-tree comes down?' The Bedouin having answered in the affirmative, Mohammed called the branch, and lo, it at once fell down on the ground and then stood up erect and walked to his Excellency, who then sent it back to its former place.

12. It is narrated that once, during the Taif expedition, that prince mounted his camel during a very dark night and rode onward, till he stood before a lotus-tree, which then, of itself, split in two, so that his Excellency could safely pass through it.

13. Jabir Ibn Abd Allah narrated that when they were digging the ditch, he had been preparing a supper with a fattened kid, for the Prophet, and a few friends. On inviting the Prophet, the latter asked him to tell his wife, not to take the pot, with the kid, from the hearth, nor to put the dough into the oven, before they came; and then the Prophet asked all the people employed in the ditch to accompany them. Jabir went and said to his wife, 'Woe to thee: his Excellency has invited all the people.' His wife replied, 'Grieve not: for God and His apostle know best.' When we arrived, that Excellency pronounced a blessing on the pot of kid and on the dough, and then caused the people to enter and sit down by tens. After they had all eaten and were satisfied, that Excellency ordered the pot to be kept covered and the oven closed, and then called in the rest of the people, amounting in all to nearly 1000 who likewise ate, till they had enough. His Excellency also told them to take some of the food to their neighbours, because of the prevailing famine. We all

ate and sent to our neighbours, and the supply was not finished till that prince left our house.

14. Jabir again narrates that, after his father's death, the creditors came, demanding payment; and on offering them the entire produce of the field, they refused to accept it, deeming it too little. He then went to the Prophet to ask help of him; and he ordered him to gather all the produce in different heaps. This being done, the Prophet walked three times round the first heap, and then measured from it the whole amount due to the creditors, without apparently diminishing it, whilst all the other heaps remained for Jabir.

15. It is recorded that the Apostle of God once stroked the back of a barren sheep with his blessed hand, when the udder of that sheep instantaneously filled with milk, so that he could milk it, drink of the milk himself, and also let Abu Bekr drink of it.

16. Abu Horeira narrates: 'I once went to the Apostle of God with a few dates, asking him to bless them for me. After he had taken them into his own hand and blessed them, he told me to put them into a sack, which I was never to empty upon the ground, but from which I was to take as often as I might want. I did as I was bidden, and, by Allah, I ate of those dates, giving also to my guests and people, as long as that Excellency lived and even during the Califates of Abu Bekr, Omar, and Otham, till, at the martyrdom of the latter, my house was pillaged, together with that sack.'

17. Omar Ibn el Khattab related: 'During the Tabuk expedition the companions asked permission of the Apostle of God to slaughter camels, because of the scarcity of provisions. But he refused, requesting them to bring all the remaining provisions and to pour them upon a mat. This done, he invoked a blessing, and then all those present ate of the provisions till they were satisfied, and what remained over, they put into sacks.'

18. Abu Horeira averred: 'Once they brought a cup of delicious food to the Prophet, and he invited also those present to partake of it, with him. When they had all eaten, his Excellency, with his blessed finger, stroked together what was sticking to the basin, amounting to a mouthful,

which he asked me to eat: and, by Allah, I ate of it till I became quite satisfied.'

19. The same related: 'Once when I was very hungry, his Excellency asked me to his house, and on arriving I found that he had prepared a cup of milk. After all had drunk of it and only a little remained, this was given to me to drink. I then drank of it, and went on drinking, till there remained no more room in my stomach; and what I left that Excellency drank himself.'

20. Uns Ibn Malik related: 'Once that Excellency put a few loaves of bread into my arm, with which he satisfied the appetite of seventy men: and yet these loaves were still remaining in my arms.'

21. It is reported that once the Prophet requested Omar Ibn Khattab to prepare dates as provision for 400 soldiers, mounted on camels. Then those 400 soldiers provisioned themselves from those few dates, and when they had done so, the dates remained just as before, as if none had been taken.

22. Jabir Ibn Simre stated, that once his Excellency said, 'You ought to conquer the lands of Chosroes and the Cæsar, and divide their riches and treasures.' Eventually matters turned out as that Excellency had predicted.

23. Ibn Horeira narrated: 'On one of the expeditions I was with his Excellency and there was also a certain Kazman of whom he said, 'He will surely go to Hell.' When they told the Prophet that Kazman had fought better than all the rest, he repeated, 'He surely will go to Hell.' This was so strange, that one of the companions went after the man to learn his state; and then saw him draw an arrow from his quiver to kill himself, he being reluctant to bear the pains from a spear-wound which he had received. When Mohammed heard this, he told Bilal to call out aloud, 'No one who is not a Mussulman can enter Paradise.'

24. Abu Musa narrated: 'I once sat with his Excellency in one of the gardens of Medina, when some one came and knocked at the door. That Excellency asked me to open the door for the coming person and to salute him with the promise of Paradise. I did as I was bidden, and that person was Abu Bekr. Then some one else knocked, and his Excellency spoke as before. This was Omar. After

a while again some one knocked, and Mohammed, who was reclining, said, "Go, open the door, and salute him with the promise of Paradise, on the condition that he is to suffer a great calamity." I went and found that it was Othman.'

25. Ibn Horeira said: 'The Prophet stated that the resurrection is not to take place till the time when you will have made war with a people whose sandals are of leather, and with the people of the Turks whose eyes are narrow, their faces red, their noses extended, and whose visage is, as it were, a shield covered over with leather.'[1]

26. Ibn Abbas reported: 'The Prophet one day went round the Kaaba, when he met Abu Sofyan, and said to him, "O Abu Sofyan, thou hast spoken such and such words to thy wife Hind." Abu Sofyan said to himself, "My wife has betrayed my secrets: I will go home and do so and so to her." After that Excellency had finished his circumambulation, he went again to Abu Sofyan, and said to him, "O Abu Sofyan, do thou no harm to thy wife; for she has not betrayed thy secrets." Upon this Abu Sofyan said, "I testify that thou art the Prophet of the Most High God, and knowest my mind and my secrets."'

27. Aisha the faithful stated: 'Once the Prophet sent me to see a lady whom he desired to marry. On my return I said, "O Apostle of God, I did not see anything that would answer." His Excellency replied, "The truth is, that thou hast seen in her face such a charm of beauty as raised thy jealousy." On hearing this, I became just, and said, "O Prophet, who is there that can conceal anything from thee?"'

28. Abu Nawfal narrated: 'When Hajaj killed Abd Allah, he sent his head to his mother Asma, and she returned to him this answer: "The Apostle of God says that a liar and a shedder of blood is to arise from the Thakifite tribe; and although thou hast seen the liar, thou dost not think that there is a spiller of blood besides thyself."' The Ulemas declare that the liar here referred to was Mukhtar Ibn Abu Abid.

29. Once, when the Apostle of God left Medina on a

[1] This description applies to the genuine Turks as being originally a branch of the great Tartar stock in Central Asia.

military expedition, a woman, Om Waraka, begged him to let her accompany the expedition, to attend on the sick and wounded, and, if God should appoint it for her, to obtain martyrdom. But Mohammed told her to remain in Medina, and there to attain to the rank of a martyr. Now in Omar's Califate her two slaves murdered her, so as to obtain their liberty the sooner. Omar, on hearing it, pronounced it to be the fulfilment of the Prophet's word. Still, he commanded the two slaves to be hanged.

30. Abu Horeira stated that he heard the Prophet say: 'A number of the strong men of the Koreish will destroy some of my people.' Abu Horeira adds, 'If I wished, I could designate them by name.' The Ulemas affirm, that the Beni Harb and Beni Omeia were meant.

31. It is recorded that when the Sura in which it is said, 'Do not you raise your voice above that of the Prophet,' was sent down, Thabit Ibn Kis did not come to the mosque for some days, knowing that the verse referred to him. Mohammed inquiring what was the matter with him, whether, perhaps, he was ill, some one went to see him, and reported to the Prophet that he had found him very sad and melancholy because of the verse, whereupon the Prophet sent the man back to Thabit with this message, 'Art thou not ready to live happy, to die a martyr, and to enter Paradise praising?' It is a fact that Thabit became a martyr in the battle of Yemama, after the time of his Excellency.

32. Abu Dhirr narrated that the Prophet said, 'Be quick to conquer Egypt; and, O Abu Dhirr, when thou seest that two men quarrel with each other, on account of a piece of land, the size of a brick, then leave that country. Abu Dhirr adds, 'After the conquest of Egypt I saw Abd ur Rahman quarrel with his brother for so much land as his Excellency had intimated; and I at once left that place.'

33. Uns Ibn Malik related that once the Prophet took breakfast in the house of Om Haram, his pure wet-nurse, after which he fell asleep. On awakening he smiled; and Om Haram asking him for the reason, he replied, 'Because I have been shown part of my people embarking in ships to make war with the infidels.' When Om Haram said, 'O thou Apostle of God, pray that I also may be amongst

them,' he rejoined, 'Thou shalt be of their number.' In the reign of Omeia, when they made war with the Greek infidels, the soldiers embarked in ships, and Om Haram went with them; but on the way to the ship she fell from her camel and died.

34. Hazim Ibn Aws averred that he heard the Prophet say, it had been revealed to him that his people was to conquer Herat, and that a fair Amazon, riding on a white mule, should be taken captive. Hazim begged that she might become his; and Mohammed consented. The prediction was fulfilled under Khalid Ibn Walid.

35. When the Sura Tebbet (*i.e.* Sura 111.) came down, concerning Abu Lahab, his wife, Om Jamila, went to abuse the Prophet of God. Abu Bekr, who just happened to be with him, seeing her come, said to Mohammed, 'O thou Apostle of God, this woman has an exceedingly bad tongue: go out of her way that she may not see thee.' So when she had departed, without having seen him, the Prophet said, 'The Almighty has sent an angel who covered me with his wings.'

36. Abu Horeira narrated, that one day Abu Jahl wished to put his unclean foot on Mohammed's pure neck and to rub his face upon the ground, as the latter was performing his prayers; but when he approached him with that intention, he was seen suddenly to withdraw and to make motions with his hand, as if he was turning something away. On being asked the reason of his having done so, he replied, 'A ditch of fire appeared between him and me; and I saw a multitude who drove me away with their wings, wherefore I was overwhelmed by an exceedingly great fear.' His Excellency said to his companions, 'If Abu Jahl had come near me, the angels would have torn off his limbs one by one.'

37. Abu Imama stated, that the Apostle of God was once about to put on his boots, and had already put on one, when a raven came and carried off the other to some distance, where a serpent was seen to creep out of it.

38. Hitham Ibn Adi narrated that in the battle of Ohod Katada Ibn Naaman was hit in his eyes with a spear, so that the eye came out and he held it in his hand. In this condition he went to seek help of Mohammed, who said to

him, 'If thou desirest it, I will ask God to give thee patience and Paradise; and if thou desirest it, I will ask Him to restore thine eye.' Katada replied, 'Paradise is indeed a great reward; but I am one who is wrapt up in the love of women, and if they saw me thus, they would say, "He is one-eyed:" therefore I beg of thee to restore my eye.' Thereupon that Excellency took Katada's eye in his own blessed hand, put some saliva upon it,[1] and restored it to its proper place. Katada could at once see with it as before, nay, it was his best eye and never ached the least, till he died.

39. Ibn Abbas stated that once a woman brought her child to the Prophet of God, saying, 'In truth this child has a sort of spirit which seizes it when we eat, so that we are in great distress.' That Excellency rubbed his blessed hand over the child's chest and prayed over it. Then the child retched, and there came forth an animal from its stomach like a puppy, and ran away. But the child was cured.

40. It is reported that once Abu Talib was ill and was visited by the Prophet of God, to whom he said, 'O nephew, pray to the God whom thou worshippest, that He may heal me.' Mohammed complying with the request, Abu Talib was cured instantaneously, and said to his nephew, 'O Mohammed, verily thy God obeys thee.' Mohammed replied, 'O uncle, if thou worshippest Him, He will also obey thee.'

41. Abu Nehik narrated that he heard Omar Ibn Akhtab say, 'Once the Apostle of God asked me for a draught of water. On reaching him a cupful, I observed a hair in it, which I first picked out, and then gave him the water. His Excellency drank it, and then said, 'O God, the Creator, keep thou Omar Ibn Akhtab beautiful and fresh.' Abu Nehik adds, 'When I saw him, he was ninety-one years old, and yet not a hair of his beard had turned white.' But God knows best.

[1] This trait seems borrowed from the instances recorded in the Gospels where Jesus Christ employed his own saliva in restoring their sight to blind persons, *e.g.* Mark viii. 23; John ix. 6.

BOOK III.

Mohammedanism viewed in its Historical Position, especially as regards its Relation to Christianity and Christendom.

AFTER having taken a full view of the *historical* figure of Mohammed, as it impressed itself upon his time and nation; and after having contemplated the *mythical* form, with its exaggerated proportions, which the Prophet assumed in the fond recollection of his devoted admirers, it may be opportune briefly to direct our attention to the grave and important problem of *the real nature of the position occupied by Mohammedanism, as an historical power in the world, surviving down to our own days.*

In doing so, we must not be guided by mere subjective impressions, but judge by an objective canon of unquestionable authority. Accordingly we take our stand on the frank profession, in which all will join us whose belief in Christianity, as the highest stage of Revealed Religion, rests on personal conviction, that *the Religion of Christ presents the Standard by which all other religions have to be judged.* Christianity being the religion of the God-man, in whom the true ideal of religion was fully and perfectly realised, any person can only be genuinely religious in proportion as he resembles Christ, and any system of religion can only sustain its claim to truth so far as it harmonises with the plan of salvation laid down in the Gospel. Christ is the perfect man, the 'teacher come from God.' He solemnly declared, 'I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by me' (John xiv. 6). Christianity is the true religion, the right way that leads to communion with God. In this we have the test,

the only decisive test, by which the real character of Mohammed can be correctly ascertained, and the oft-repeated question, whether Islam is a true or a false religion, authoritatively settled. Only if a critic is still doubtful in his own mind, as to whether Divine Revelation has reached its climax in the God-man Christ Jesus, and whether this Sun of the realm of mind is powerful enough to penetrate all human spheres and illuminate all mental paths, can he think of deciding the great question about Mohammed and Mohammedanism by any other standard. In any sphere it is only by the light of the higher stage that the lower can be fully understood. Only on the standpoint of the animal kingdom can we rightly estimate the vegetable and mineral kingdoms; and only rational man forms the key for the understanding of all the rest of terrestrial creation. So likewise in Christianity alone have we the right criterion by which to judge all other religions.

I.—*Mohammedanism, by its historical hostility to Christianity, has proved itself a Weapon of the Kingdom of Darkness against the Kingdom of Light, thus taking rank, side by side, with anti-Christian Judaism and anti-Christian Paganism.*

The sudden rise and rapid spread of Mohammedanism in the world has something enigmatical and startling for the student of history. When the historian has successfully sailed down the misty and difficult stream of remote antiquity, wafted onward by side winds from the right and the left, through rapid currents and intricate channels, till he has arrived at that grand epoch marked by the Second Adam, the God-man Saviour, towards which the whole ancient world tends as to its goal,—then he feels like a mariner who has reached a harbour of rest and safety, after a tedious and dangerous voyage. The Central Sun of Divine Revelation which has risen for him in the wonderful Person of the Prophet of Nazareth, now sheds its illuminating rays over all the apparently pathless regions, the wide expanse of highlands and plains, of cultured fields and arid deserts, through which he has been steering; and

relieves the darkness of their 'Why? and Wherefore?' by its radiant light. He has discovered a goal for the march of nations, a living centre for human history.

From under the Temple of God, 'broken down, and after three days raised up again' (John ii. 19-21), a stream issues forth (Ezek. xlvii. 1-12), destined to flow onwards to the ends of the earth, and to restore freshness and healthiness to all the national waters with which, in its course of universality, it comes in contact. This stream of Christian light and life is the motive power of all real progress and healthful development in the spiritual condition of the world.

As every other stream, this also had its small beginning, then widened its bed, and is still continuing its onward flow, till at last it will issue into the boundless ocean of eternity. From its narrow dimension at the source, where it was wholly spanned by personal *individualities*, it speedily spread to a congregational or *ecclesiastical* width, and after a flow of three centuries, had already acquired a full *national* breadth. The mightiest nationality then extant, the Roman, had itself been subjected by it to a process of permeation and absorption. Thus the wonderful stream had risen to fill with its swelling volume the entire channel of its course, up to the brink.

In such majestic fulness it rolled onward the renovating waters of its personal, ecclesiastical, and national influences, diffusing fertility right and left along its shores. Nothing else could apparently be expected than that it should uninterruptedly continue its mighty, though quiet, onflow,—till it had accomplished its circuit through the world, and enriched, with its bountiful blessings, all the nations of the earth.

But scarcely had Christianity been at work for three centuries longer, in the gigantic task of renovating and reforming the heathen character of the Roman empire, and Christianising the other nations within its reach, when suddenly we find a formidable bar drawn across its hitherto steady course of progress; and Islam is in arms, threatening not merely to stop its onward march, but to repress and crush it altogether. Thus Mohammedanism presents itself to the student of history as a surprise, an enigma, a crux. It

had not been expected, like a season in its turn, or a child at its birth: it came suddenly, like the disastrous overthrow of an earthquake. How must we interpret this startling phenomenon? how account for this fiery meteor?

In point of time, Islam was the direct successor of Christianity, which was then already practically affirming its claim to finality and universality amongst different nations, the Arabian not excepted; and addressing itself generally to the moral nature of man, as a free agent. Hence it would have been natural and easy for the new religious movement in Arabia, to fit itself into the organic growth of history, by resting content with a subordinate position and becoming the handmaid of the Christian Cause. Had Islam been willing to minister to the Divine energies of the religion of Christ, and to smooth the way for its wider propagation, it might have claimed the rank of a perfectly natural and truly beneficial evolution of history.

Even now there are not wanting thoughtful men who attribute to it this very character, and believe in its having a mission from Providence to minister to the Cause of Christ, —notwithstanding its own outspoken profession to the contrary and the undeniably hostile policy towards Christianity and Christendom, of which its entire history is one continuous illustration. What these men have affirmed about a *Providential* character of Mohammedanism, is this: that God raised it to be intrusted with the double mission of chastising Eastern Christendom or 'the Eastern Church,' for many grievous errors, by conquering the finest Christian lands; and also of preparing the heathen nations for the reception of the Gospel, or at least benefiting them, by imposing on them the discipline of its strict Monotheism and rigid law.[1]

[1] Even the theologian Dorner, in his great work *System der Christlichen Glaubenslehre*, apparently ascribes to Mohammedanism an essentially providential character, by declaring that 'on the whole it can only be regarded as a preparation of the masses of heathen populations for Christianity, by means of its law and monotheism' (vol. i. p. 713). But at the same time, and in virtual contradiction to this, he also says, that it 'occupies a *hostile* position against Christianity, and, being inferior to it, can only be looked upon as ordained to serve Christianity in its historical course, *contrary to its own will*' (p. 718). Now what Islam is made to do 'contrary to its own will,' does not constitute its proper essence and true nature. Professor Dorner being constrained to admit that it is in itself hostile to Christianity, or anti-Christian, and, as such, not

Now it is quite true, that in a certain sense everything which is or happens can be called Providential. The omniscient Creator naturally foreknows all the possible outcomes of the faculties with which He has endowed His personal creatures. As the Supreme Ruler He also controls whatever exists or happens. Even what is done contrary to His command and in opposition to His will, by those whom He has made free agents, is yet under His laws and shaped by the nature which He has bestowed on them. Whatever exists, sin not excepted, is, in this manner, subject to the laws of God and embraced by the unlimited sphere of His Providence. But examining Islam as to its character of a Divinely revealed religion, which it claims for itself, it cannot be admitted that it was raised up to fulfil a mission in harmony with Christianity, by seconding its efforts to advance the highest interests of mankind, nor, in fact, that its origin and rise was caused by the spontaneous action of that Holy God who sent Jesus Christ into the world.

Unfortunately it is but too true that the spread and enforcement of Islam did bring an untold amount of sufferings, degradation, and misery upon a vast portion of Christendom; and that the visible Church of Christ, on this earth, has never at any period been so entirely free from imperfections and blemishes that those calamities might not more or less have had the appearance and the intent of Divine judgments. But this as little suffices to account for the rise and progress of Mohammedanism, as our Lord Jesus permitted the inference that Pilate's slaughter of certain Galileans in the temple, or the fall of a tower in Siloam killing eighteen persons, were special acts of Divine

providental, but anti-providential, he ought not to have characterised it as 'on the whole a preparation of the masses of the heathen populations for Christianity,' as if God had raised it for this purpose; but he ought to have qualified it according to its own nature and design, as an anti-Christian power, which, however, has to submit, like everything else, to being controlled and overruled by Divine Providence. If Dorner, in speaking of the divisions and schisms of the Christian Church, says (vol. ii. p. 912), 'As all obscurations, so these also, must be derived from error and sin,' *i.e.* from the kingdom of darkness, how can he avoid tracing Mohammedanism to the same source, seeing it not only obscures, but flatly denies, the Christian truth? In the interest of consistency with the whole, the heading of § 69 of the admirable *System der Christlichen Glaubenslehre* ought to be differently worded.

vengeance for sins of an unusually provoking character (Luke xiii. 1-5). It would certainly require an unwarrantable amount of hardihood to affirm that there was such a difference between Eastern and Western Christendom, in their religious faithfulness and faultiness, as to account for the fact that in the seventh century Palestine and Egypt and Syria were trampled under foot by Islam, and in the eighth the sturdy sons of Gaul and Germany, by their glorious victory near Tours, rolled back for ever the surging tide of Mussulman invasion. It is not very rational to suppose that God subjected the Eastern Christians to Mohammedan oppression, because they were not so faithful to the Gospel as they ought to have been; and that He raised up and prospered the Mohammedan oppressors, though they sought with all their might to degrade and repress the evangelical religion which it was His special aim to preserve and to protect.

Nor is it a more fortunate idea, in seeking to fasten on Providence the paternity of Islam, to credit the latter with a Divine destiny to prepare the Pagan nations for the adoption of Christianity. For this is opposed by the hard fact that, throughout the thirteen centuries of its existence, it not only has never favoured, but actually prohibited and prevented, as far as it could, all its votaries from embracing the Faith of the Gospel; and that as a system for the special purpose of preparing the way for Christianity, it would at any rate have made its appearance 600 years too late.

All these attempts to discover in the existence of Islam a Divine teleology, and to represent it as a necessary link in the chain of Providential actions and institutions, for the good of mankind, are opposed by the decidedly anti-Christian character both of its essential nature and its historical manifestation.[1]

[1] A view entirely opposed to the one here propounded is expressed in a work which only came into my hands when my manuscript was already fully prepared for the press. I refer to the published *Lectures on Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, by R. Bosworth Smith, 1874. Mr. Smith tells us that his object in writing the work was 'to render some measure of that justice to Mohammed and to his religion which has been all too long denied to them' (p. 206). Accordingly he has to be looked upon not so much in the light of a judge, as rather in that of an advocate. This rôle he keeps up throughout his book. The Koran is to him 'a miracle indeed' (182); Mohammed 'the greatest of all Re-

It can indeed hardly surprise us that a theory which would eliminate so jarring an element, so perplexing an enigma from history, should have found favour with many. The thoughtful mind finds it more gratifying to discover in history what is harmonious, than what is discordant. To the devout believer, in particular, it may seem more God-honouring to recognise in so important an historical factor as Islamism rather a work of God than an institution opposed to His will, rather an ally and helper to Christianity, than

formers' (60); 'too great to be designated merely as "The Great"' (233); 'half a Christian and half a Pagan,' but the *better* half, 'uniting in a marvellous degree the peculiar excellencies of them both' (235); in short, 'a very Prophet of God' (238). Whilst thus extolling Mohammed in terms which no sober judge can indorse, 'the author of these Lectures has thought it right mainly to dwell on that aspect of the character of Christ, which is admitted by Mussulmans as well as Christians, by foes as well as friends' (Preface x). But does not the question suggest itself to every reader: Is the character of Christ *admitted by Mussulmans*, His *true* character, or do not these Lectures rather place before us, as a fictitious Mohammed, so also a fictitious Christ? It is a mere illusion of the confident author to suppose that, by this method, he has discovered 'a basis for an ultimate agreement' between real Mohammedanism and real Christianity.

Under the spell of this illusion, and evidently knowing Islamism mainly from books and from hearsay, Mr. Bosworth Smith indulges the visionary hope that these two religions will one day agree in brotherly harmony, 'each rejoicing in the success of the other, and each supplying the other's wants, in a generous rivalry for the common good of humanity.' To realise this vision, they will have to keep within 'their respective spheres: the one the religion of the best parts of Asia and Africa, the other of Europe and America' (232). He does not say, what is to become of the worst parts of Asia and Africa. Apparently they are to content themselves indefinitely with Paganism. But what must we think of the Christianity of a writer who thus wishes to restrict the '*all* power in heaven and on earth,' claimed by Christ, and who indirectly stultifies his Master's solemn command, 'Go ye into *all* the world, and make disciples of *all* the nations'? (Mark xvi. 15, Matt. xxviii. 18, 19); what of his philanthropy, when, after professing that 'Christianity is immeasurably superior to Mohammedanism' (106), he yet composedly resigns himself to the perpetual domination of Islamism and Heathenism over Asia and Africa, and even expects the Christian to 'rejoice' in such a future?

It is truly surprising that a scholar, such as this author, did not perceive the many self-contradictions in which his hazardous assumption that Mohammed was 'a very Prophet of God,' could not fail to involve him. He flatters himself with the discovery that Islam is 'not an anti-Christian, but merely a non-Christian faith' (51). But how does this discovery tally with Christ's positive declaration, 'He that is not with me is *against* me'? (Matt. xii. 30.) The learned author found it convenient to omit all reference to this passage, whilst laying an exclusive and one-sided stress on Mark ix. 40. Can a *non*-Christian religion, springing up in the face of Christianity, and with the undeniable intention of displacing it, be anything but *anti*-Christian? Mr. Smith lays great stress on

its hinderer and irreconcilable foe. But, with all our just desire to discern plan and harmony in a world created and ruled by God, we are forced to admit, if we judge soberly, that not everything which is or comes to pass, is good. Sin and evil are a terrible reality in this present world; and no one who reads history with open eyes can fail to trace it there, throughout its course.

Yet whatever is not good cannot, as such, claim God for its author. As ethically constituted creatures of a Holy

Mohammed's morality and sincerity. In fact, these are the main pillars which sustain his belief in Mohammed as 'a very Prophet of God.' As if what constitutes a man a prophet was his morality and sincerity, and not rather the message he bears! If Mohammed had been the most moral man in the world, his false teaching would alone suffice to stamp him as a 'false' prophet. Mohammed's morality and sincerity are rather delicate subjects for boasting. So warm an advocate as Mr. Smith feels constrained to admit that 'he had faults, and great ones;' still, as 'he was always the first himself to confess and deplore them,' they did not undo 'the noble sincerity of his character' (238). But is it really true that Mohammed was so ready to confess his faults? Let us put the assertion to the test of facts. David committed adultery. Mohammed also committed adultery. For his favourite wife Aisha boldly accused him thus, 'O Apostle of God, thou hast paid Zeinab a (conjugal) visit, without asking her in marriage, and without witnesses.' The 'penitential Psalms' still witness to the profound and poignant repentance with which David confessed and condemned his sin, and thus mentally separated himself from it. But Mohammed, far from confessing and condemning, rather tried to palliate and justify his adultery, by pretending 'the giver in marriage was God, and the witness Gabriel.'

The theory of men like Messrs. Smith and Carlyle respecting Mohammed as 'a very prophet of God' or 'a hero-prophet,' and respecting Islamism as a genuine twin-sister of Christianity, remains very far indeed from being proved by the self-contradictory statements, the half-truths and unhistorical assertions with which these Lectures abound. But even if it rested on a better foundation, what would be its practical utility, seeing that it could only tend to prolong the domination over Asia and Africa of religions which these authors themselves cannot help admitting to be vastly inferior to Christianity. If 'the poor have the gospel preached to them' (Matt. xi. 5), neither the best nor the worst parts of Asia and Africa can be beyond the limit of its applicability. Mr. Bosworth Smith, in an article published in the December number 1887 of *The Nineteenth Century*, still affirms (p. 807) that he has 'as yet seen no good reason to depart from the spirit and object' with which he discussed the 'great kindred religion' in the afore-mentioned Lectures. At the same time, he also avows (p. 792) that he would now think certain 'modifications and explanations' of his earlier views 'essential;' and he does not disguise that he has made great progress in his estimation of the relative position of the two religions, by concluding his article in these far more judicious words, 'If we are able to believe in God at all, we must also believe that the ultimate triumph of Christianity is not problematical but certain, and in His good time, across the lapse of ages, will prove to be not local but universal, not partial but complete, not evanescent but eternal.'

God, we must admit that sin is not the free product of His will, nor enjoys His loving approbation. There is a sense in which it must be fearlessly affirmed that all sin and its consequent evil exist in spite of God and contrary to His will. Ethically opposite forces flow from ethically opposite sources. Much seed is scattered on God's field, to spring up and yield a bitter, baneful fruit, respecting which it must be sorrowfully confessed, 'An *enemy* hath done this' (Matt. xiii. 28). The harvest is not benefited by confounding weeds with wheat. Harmony is not enhanced by a premature recourse to synthesis, before due scope has been given to discriminating analysis. God is not honoured by attributing to His causation what He only overrules, in working out His sovereign designs. God is greater in permitting the exercise of free action, even if opposed to His own will, and in yet finally accomplishing His purpose, than if He were to exercise His sovereignty to the extent of rendering every counter-current impossible, and monopolising the whole channel of history by the unchecked flow of His own volition. Man could not have been the crown and masterpiece of God's workmanship, if he had not been made a free agent, able to determine himself for good. But the capacity of becoming voluntarily good, necessitates the possibility of becoming what is not good. Had it been physically impossible for man to become evil, his goodness could never have been really voluntary, *i.e.* no ethical goodness at all. Now if ethically constituted man, instead of realising the good on whose account he has been created a free agent, realises the evil which had only been made possible for him in order that he might be able to become good by his own free will, he abuses his liberty and acts contrary to the intention of his Creator. By means of a God-given faculty he actually offends God and contravenes His will.

So little can the moral responsibility for the actuality of sin and evil rest with *God*. It must be traced to *a being opposed to God and hostile to man*, as the Bible traces it. No great acuteness is required to perceive that antagonistic forces are at work throughout the world. As everywhere around us our eyes are met by the opposites of life and death, light and darkness, good and evil, so likewise the

stream of past history by no means presents itself to us as one of crystalline limpidity, but as a turbid mixture of good and evil, love and hate, bright sunlight and deep night shadows. These contradictory forces cannot have sprung from one and the selfsame original source, but must have emanated from very opposite fountain-heads.

Mohammedanism also occupies a place in the current of history, and contributes a quota to its composition and movement. This could not be, if God had not permitted it. But this fact of itself as little proves a Divine initiation and approbation, as the impurities by which many a river is allowed to be polluted, can be looked upon as natural and necessary ingredients of its original water. Mohammedanism, though controlled by the universal government of God, yet cannot have been called into existence by His holy, good, and perfect will, to which we owe the coming of Christ; nor did its actual pretensions ever include a supposed mission to promote the high interests of Christianity and Christendom. The essential nature and true character of Islam, with regard to Christianity, is not that of harmony and willing helpfulness, but that of a conscious and undisguised antagonism. This is abundantly apparent from the first two Books of the present work. The Mohammedan world, as general history clearly demonstrates, never has been and never wished to be *pro*-Christian. It always has been and, so long as it remains what it is, always will be, *anti*-Christian.[1]

But if Christianity is derived from heaven; if it bears the stamp of true religion by having for its central idea that of God-manhood, the union of God and man; if it brings God to man and man to God, then a religious system diametrically opposing it, and claiming a destiny to supersede it, cannot likewise be from God, or share in its Providential

[1] It is with satisfaction I find that the views here expressed are borne out by the sound judgment and vast learning of the author of a note-worthy work originally published in Danish and entitled: 'Humanity and Christianity in their historical Development, or, Philosophy of History from a Christian standpoint,' by C. H. Scharling, Professor of Theology in Copenhagen. On p. 174, vol. i. of the German Translation of that work we read: 'It surely is altogether false, if some, in modern time, assert that Islam has a mission in this world, namely, of serving as a preparation of idolatrous nations for the faith in the one true God. History most positively contradicts this assertion. Islam has never operated to prepare the way for Christianity, and least does so to-day.'

mission. The nature of their relationship cannot possibly be that of a common descent and natural affinity, but must be that of heterogeneity and essential antagonism. In fact, Islamism and Christianity are as far apart by the respective spirit that animates them, as the Crescent and the Cross are dissimilar in form. If the religion of Christ is the light of truth, come down from heaven, the religion of Mohammed, the *false* prophet, must have darkness for its element, and derive its origin from below. God does not annul His own work. His Kingdom is not divided against itself. What opposes the reign of Light can only be a power of Darkness.

Accordingly we have to look upon *Mohammedanism* as, in its deepest nature, *a reaction and aggression of the Kingdom of Darkness against the Kingdom of Light.* The innate antagonism and historical warfare of Islam against Christianity and Christendom are, in reality, only a revival, under a new form, of the dark opposition and Satanic conflict which had previously proceeded from anti-Christian Judaism and anti-Christian Paganism.

Christianity, in entering this world and taking its place amongst the religions of mankind, made *three* successive steps, or evolved its intrinsic potentiality in *three* ever-widening concentric circles: the *personal*, the *ecclesiastical*, and the *national.* The early history of the Christian religion exhibits an advance by these three stages, in three clearly marked periods. First, a solid foundation was laid in the land of its birth, by the preparation and spiritual conversion of *individuals.* Then congregations or *Churches* were formed throughout the Roman empire. At last the Emperor himself bowed to Christ, and the faith in a crucified Saviour became the acknowledged religion of *the State.*

The very same stages have still to be passed through, when at present the religion of Christ is being spread in foreign lands by the great Missionary organisations which form so important a feature of our age. There always is first the conversion and baptism of *individuals.* Then follows the 'gathering of Native Christians into organised *Communities, for Church and religious purposes.*'[1] This ultimately leads to

[1] See *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, vol. ix. pp. 193, 194.

the Christianisation of the *nation*, or to a renewed nationalisation of Christianity.

Upon each one of these three stages of its primitive development and organic progress Christianity was opposed, in succession, by the fierce onslaught and obstinate resistance of one of the following mortal enemies: the *Jews*, the *Romans*, and the *Mussulmans*. Jewish fanaticism sought to strangle Christianity at its birth, by shedding the blood of Christ and His apostles. Roman heathenism and despotism persecuted the youthful Churches with imprisonment, tortures, and death. Asiatic Islamism, that mysterious compound of a fanatical faith and an iron tyranny, strove, with all its might, to cast Christianity from its political pinnacle and to rule the nations in its stead. These three historic adversaries of the Kingdom of God, widely as they differ amongst themselves, are yet inwardly united against Christianity by the same malicious spirit they breathe and the one impious aim they pursue.

But Jesus Christ being the sole Monarch, who is immortal, and whose kingdom is 'an everlasting kingdom,' every attempt to dethrone Him and to overthrow His kingdom cannot but fail, and eventually recoil with overwhelming force upon the guilty heads of the enemies themselves. The fanaticism of the *Jews* was unable to exterminate the Christian believers, and to prevent them from uniting into Churches: but their own commonwealth has ceased to exist for the last 1800 years. The sanguinary and protracted persecutions of the humble Christian communities, by the Heathenism of *the Roman Empire*, only gave rise to the remarkable saying, 'The blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church;' and Pagan Rome herself became for centuries the capital of Christendom. *Islamism* so palpably failed in its gigantic attempts to dethrone and denationalise Christianity in the world and to supplant the Cross by the Crescent, that now the remaining Mussulman Governments exist only through the forbearance of the rulers and nations of Christendom. Past history teaches that, through the action of an overruling Providence, the ultimately winning Cause in the world is the Cause of Christ, and the inevitably losing Cause, that of all who fight against Him.

II.—*Unbelieving Judaism diabolically opposed Christianity in its Personal Manifestation.*

The age when Christianity first made its appearance in the world was one of grand and powerful *Personalities.* John the Baptist, who pointed to 'the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world,' had none greater than himself among all them that were born of women before him (Matt. xi. 11). St. Paul's master-mind directly reached and profoundly stirred the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin worlds. Each one of the twelve Apostles was a strongly marked representative character, whose type will still be seen impressed upon the Church in her future state of perfection and glory (Rev. xxi. 14). The great central figure of that age and, in fact, of all ages, at once the archetype of humanity and the historical realisation of the perfect man, Immanuel, the God-man,—stands out so boldly in unique excellence, that the very best of mankind can but distantly approach, never surpass or equal Him. In this wonderful Person, primarily, and in the strong Personalities attracted and ennobled by Him, secondarily, Christianity first took human form and earthly subsistence. The Kingdom of God had at last 'come nigh,' inviting men to enlist under its banner, and to acquire citizenship in it. The long-expected Saviour of man had become an historical reality, and discerning eyes could behold 'the Son of God manifested, that He might destroy the works of the devil' (1 John iii. 8). Jesus testified to the Jews, 'If I, by the finger of God, cast out devils, then is the kingdom of God come upon you' (Luke xi. 20).

But the Kingdom of God is spiritual in its nature; and therefore spiritual faculties are required for its perception and apprehension. As the acutest intellect can, of itself, only imagine but not see a colour; and in order actually to see it, has needs to employ the physical organs of sight, so also the sharpest material eye cannot pierce through to the sphere of mind or see the Kingdom of God. To perceive and find it, kindred organs, appropriate spiritual faculties, are needed. The unenlightened Jewish spectators had no such faculties. For them the Kingdom of God had no visibility. The great Architect of God's Temple, who was actually standing be-

fore their faces, appeared to them only as the common 'carpenter's son of Nazareth' (Matt. xiii. 55).

As a matter of course, eyes which could not discern the Kingdom of Heaven in its coming, nor the King, greater than Solomon, who brought it nigh, were as little capacitated to perceive the Kingdom of Darkness which surrounded them, and that fully armed Strong One upon its throne, who was now about to be overcome, stript, and spoiled by One still stronger (Luke xi. 21, 22). The Jews did not understand Jesus, when He offered them true freedom from the worst of slaveries, and bluntly answered Him, 'We be Abraham's seed, and have never yet been in bondage to any one: how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free?' (John viii. 32, 33.)

To the God-man's penetrating eye, however, the intimate connection between the Seen and the Unseen, the Natural and the Supernatural, lay fully open. He saw that the Jews, in their fanatical resistance to His Kingdom of Truth, and in their deadly hatred to His holy Person, were plainly influenced by the loveless, hateful power of Darkness. They were in reality only the willing visible instruments of a crafty invisible Instigator. In spite of their vaunted Monotheism, their ancient privileges as the 'chosen people,' their daily services and sacrifices, their sanctimonious scrupulousness in legal observances,—they had to hear the judicial denunciation: 'Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father it is your will to do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and stood not in the truth, because there is no truth in him' (John viii. 44). We read that it was 'the devil' who put it into the heart of Judas Iscariot to betray Him (John xiii. 2); and when the chief priests and captains of the temple and elders went out to seize Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane, He told them, 'This is your hour, and the power of darkness' (Luke xxii. 53). Surely we need search for no stronger proof of the reality of Satanic influences amongst men than the fact that Jesus Christ, the Sinless, the Holy, was hated, condemned, and crucified by the Jews, and that the claim of the Christian religion to universal acceptation is still so persistently and so extensively resisted in the world. St. Paul lays bare the naked truth when he says, concerning the unbelievers, that the

Gospel is 'veiled' to them, and that 'the god of this world has blinded the eyes of their minds, so that the light of the glory of Christ cannot dawn upon them' (2 Cor. iv. 3, 4).

Thus, an authority which cannot be questioned by any believing Christian, and which must be decisive for us, in judging historical phenomena, leads us to acknowledge in the hostile acts of tangible men against Christ and His Cause the intangible agency of mysterious powers of Darkness. It was the Jews who crucified Jesus, and afterwards persecuted and killed His disciples, and His death is even declared to have been foreordained by Divine counsel (Acts iv. 28), yet notwithstanding all this, the Jews, in what they did to Jesus and His disciples, were not acting as the seed of Abraham, or as God's people, but as 'children of the devil,' and as tools of the Murderer from the beginning, and the father of lies (John viii. 44).[1]

Therefore also their triumph could only be apparent and their success temporary. God's purpose yet prospered. The Crucified became the centre of a Church, the rejected Prophet the crowned Monarch of a universal and everlasting kingdom. St. Peter could say to the Jewish Council, 'The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew, hanging him on a tree. Him did God exalt with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour' (Acts v. 30, 31); and St. Paul could write to the Philippians, 'God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things

[1] As, therefore, the profession of a monotheistic religion did not protect the Jews from being entirely out of the right way, so also it is quite possible, as is sometimes done, to over-estimate the religious standing of the Mohammedans by excessively emphasizing their profession of Monotheism. But even Hegel, the Philosopher, has intimated that what we need is not so much the knowledge of the existence of one God, as rather the knowledge of what that God is to us, or in what relation we stand to Him; and he has pronounced the Deistic conception of God to be of a most elementary character in a religious point of view, by saying in his *Logic*, p. 141, 'If the really necessary thing, now, would only be to effect this much that the faith in the existence of God should be preserved, or even that such a faith should be produced, then what would have to be wondered at most would be the poverty of a time which presents this most elementary of religious knowledge as a gain; for the pretended advance would really consist in a return to the ancient altar of Athens, which was dedicated to *the unknown God.*'

in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father' (Phil. ii. 9-11).

III.—*The Heathenism of Rome diabolically opposed Christianity in its Congregational or Ecclesiastical Manifestation.*

The *second* form in which Christianity manifested and established itself in the world was the *congregational* or *ecclesiastical.* It naturally developed from the personal stage and retained it within itself. The individual Christians, attracted and moulded as they all are by Christ, are related to each other like the *radii* of a common centre. They all trace their new life to Him as its source, and recognise in Him the type and regulating law of its development and manifestation. The same bond of union which connects them with their spiritual Head also joins them to one another, as living members of one spiritual body. 'Whosoever loveth him that begat, loveth him also that is begotten of him' (1 John v. 1). Christianity is essentially a uniting, communion-forming principle: its natural outcome are religious communities, *Churches.*

During the lifetime of Christ, and for a number of years after His death, His disciples were only united by the inward tie of faith and love, but outwardly continued members of the Jewish community. In Antioch they were first recognised as a distinct denomination, that of 'Christians' (Acts xi. 26). At the close of the first century from the birth of Christ, whole portions of the Roman empire were dotted with congregations of Christians; and St. John, in his old age, was directed to write letters to the *seven* most celebrated and representative Churches of Asia Minor (Rev. i. 11).

It is notorious how these youthful and rapidly multiplying Christian communities were persecuted for nearly 300 years; and how long the Roman empire, so tolerant in matters of religion generally, treated Christianity as a '*religio illicita*,' and sought to prevent its propagation and profession by all the rigour of its laws and the whole weight of its secular force. Lactantius, a Christian historian of that time, thus refers to

the sad drama: 'Had I the power of language a hundredfold, still I could not relate all the crimes that were committed, nor recount all the torments which the ingenuity of rulers devised against unnumbered multitudes of innocent Christians.' Eusebius, another historian of the same period, in recording the effects of the persecution by the Emperor Diocletian in the single Province of Egypt, where churches had greatly multiplied, declares that 70,000 Christians had to suffer imprisonment, slavery, and banishment, that 140,000 died the death of martyrs, and that sometimes so many were beheaded in a single day, that the executioners became weary of their butcheries, and their instruments were blunted. By such inhuman means Heathenism, the State-religion of Rome, strove to rid itself of what it felt to be a formidable rival, full of youthful ardour and energy.

No crimes could be carried home to the Christians in their religious assemblies, as their heathen adversaries had so often attempted to do; but the real cause of all this hatred and enmity is already referred to in Pliny's celebrated letter to the Emperor Trajan, where he informed his Imperial master that all over the Province of Bithynia, of which he was the Procurator, the public temples and altars were deserted, and there remained but few who brought offerings to the idols and their priests. Now if St. Paul speaks truly 'that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons and not to God' (1 Cor. x. 20), then the interests of Idolatry and the interests of the spiritual powers of Darkness, which formed the background of Idolatry, were virtually identical. The cause threatened and the cause to be defended were a common cause. Demoniacal inspirations and impulses can therefore hardly have been wanting in the cruel persecutions against the rising Christian Church, by which the Idolaters of the Roman empire so pertinaciously tried to uphold their ancestral religion. The ancient Fathers, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and others, were quite consistent in tracing the origin of these atrocious persecutions back to that source.

But, as every one can easily understand, it does not follow from this, that the powers of Darkness must have equally regarded it as their interest, some centuries later, to

uphold and defend Idolatry in *Arabia.* In the Roman empire the Heathen religion was threatened by the Kingdom of God, under the form of Christianity; in Arabia only by the dominion of Islam. It is notorious that Islam, under the form of a rigid Monotheism, has retained and legalised the essentials of Heathenism, such as: a self-chosen earthly sanctuary, or House of God (*beit-Ullah*); ritual ceremonies, in the stead of a worship in spirit and in truth; fictitious revelations; a false Prophet and unqualified Mediator; and dispensation from the necessity of a spiritual regeneration in heart and life. Christianity called the Heathens out of their religious night into the bright daylight of the Sun of righteousness and truth. Islam transferred them from the starlight night into the moonlight night. In the latter case their change was a comparatively slight one, and only disposed them still more fatally to confound night with day, and to prefer darkness to light.

The same Satanic influence, which had moved the Jewish priests and elders to crucify the Master and to persecute the Disciples, also stirred up the whole Roman empire to scatter and destroy the rising Church. For by the truth they taught, and by the holy love they practised, the Christians were a standing rebuke to the errors and vices, so largely prevalent everywhere around them, and. so genial an element for the sinister influence of the powers of Darkness. In the Apocalyptic epistle to the Angel of the Church of Smyrna it is expressly written, 'Behold, the devil is about to cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days' (Rev. ii. 10). The visible persecutors and actual imprisoners, of course, were the Roman magistrates and soldiers: but Holy Scripture, which looks through the outward appearance to the inward essence of things, makes the startling announcement, 'The *devil* will cast some of you into prison.' So certain it is, that the sanguinary persecutions of the Christian Church by the Pagan empire of Rome had their deepest spring in the infernal spheres of Darkness.

But Light is destined to triumph over Darkness, and Good to prevail against Evil. Therefore, as the heavenly faith and love of the Christians survived the persecution of a Jewish

fanaticism, so they also gained the victory over the Roman prison, fire, and sword. The '*religio illicita*,' the persecuted Church, became a privileged institution, a protected Church-Establishment. New Rome came forth from Old Rome. Christianity superseded Paganism as the 'Religion of the State.' The laws of the Empire were gradually reformed in a Christian direction, and its public institutions increasingly harmonised with the word of God. The *Pontifex maximus* of a bygone superstition was replaced by the *Christian Emperor* of a new and higher order of things. The mighty people of *Rome* became the first *Christian Nation.*

IV.—*Islamism, a compound of Jewish fanaticism and Roman despotism, likewise opposed Christianity, but more especially in its National and Political Manifestation.*

In the way described, Christianity had now advanced to the *third* of the ever-widening circles of its healthful life and influence: from the personal, through the ecclesiastical, to the *national.* Its progress from one of these stages to the other was a perfectly natural and necessary one, being nothing more than the organic unfolding of its inward life and the fuller realisation of its destiny. Christ's parting injunction to His Apostles was, 'Go ye, and make disciples of all the *nations*' (Matt. xxviii. 19). He claims the whole man, and all men. His rich storehouse of blessings is intended for the Individual, the Church, and the Nation.

As soon as a nation accepts Christianity for its religion, it, in a sense, becomes a *Christian* nation. From that moment it is no less incumbent upon it to Christianise its institutions, laws, habits, and entire national life, than an individual Christian is bound to lead a Christian life. But as in this present world of development everything is imperfect, and the true ideal is only pursued, never completely overtaken, we neither find the Christian individuals perfect, nor the Christian churches immaculate. If, therefore, we see Christian life and influence, in its widest, its national, circle even still more extenuated and marred,—this must not make us blind to what is actually Christian, or induce us

to give up faith in the power and destiny of our religion to bring forth Christian nations. The Christian individual progresses from infancy to maturity, and a nation may be called Christian, when its Christianisation is but really begun and still far from perfect.

The national Christianity or Christian nationality, resulting in the Roman empire from the elevation of the Church of Christ into the religion of the State, and from its consequent effects upon the nation at large, was no doubt far behind the standard of its aspiration and vocation, and it is not difficult to point out its serious failings and faults; but nevertheless it marked a progress compared with the previous state of things. Christianity really made a long stride towards actualising its nature and destiny, it accomplished a decided advance in unfolding an unquestionable latent potentiality, when it passed from the obscurity of secret conventicles and the ignominy of a *religio illicita* into the broad daylight of a recognised chief power in the State, for securing the highest interests of the entire nation. A spiritual potency so mighty, intense, and salutary, as Christianity, demands and deserves the widest scope for its energy and action. It will bring its benefits not only to the individual believer in his private closet, or to the devout assembly in their public temple, but also to the nation at large as a first-rate *public power*.

Some, indeed, have doubted whether it was right for Christianity ever to have assumed a national garb; and whether it ought not to have confined itself to the ecclesiastical robe, or to the still more tightly fitting individual dress; but at the time it was first raised to national eminence, the universal feeling produced amongst the Christians was that of intense relief and gratitude. Every one recognised in its new character the hand of Providence and the seal of Divine approval.

If it be remembered how long and how cruelly the Church had been persecuted by the Heathen State, and that at the first General Council of Nice, there were Bishops present, as its members, with maimed limbs and blinded eyes, the result of tortures suffered for their faith: then who can wonder that the magnificent appearance of the first Christian Emperor in that memorable assembly seemed to

many like the visit of a heavenly messenger; and the sumptuous banquet in the Imperial palace, to which they were invited at its close, as something like an anticipation of millennial enjoyment?

Surely the national character and political aspect which Christianity assumed in the course of providentially ordered history, was nothing but its natural development, the legitimate outcome of its destiny for the whole world. *Christianity national and political, is Christianity still*, though in a wider circle and with a fuller scope than Christianity personal and ecclesiastical.

Now if, as we have seen, Christianity has been violently opposed in its infancy, when its sole exponents were Christian individuals, and cruelly persecuted in its youth, when it established itself in the form of numerous congregations or Churches, we must be prepared to find that, when, in its manhood, it sought to pervade with its vigorous life the entire national organism, and to assert itself as a new national force amidst the peoples of mankind, its onward course was again obstructed by all the might of its ancient adversary, and this more particularly with the intent of annihilating it as a *national force* and a *dominating political power.*

The spiritual kingdom of evil, whose main policy is to prevent or spoil what is good, and which therefore has to accept its temporary shape from the development and manifestation of the kingdom of God, took good care that such an expectation should not be disappointed. The consciously anti-Christian policy of Julian the Apostate overshot the mark and mistook the time in trying to revive and re-establish effete Heathenism; hence it was but short-lived, and Julian had to cede the victory to the great 'Galilean.' Two still more serious, because much more lasting, movements were soon after let loose against the Christianly remodelled Roman empire. The one consisted in the irruption of those northern nations—the Goths, Alani, Suevi, Vandals, Huns, and the like, who, impelled by a mysterious impulse, convulsed the whole Western empire and gave an entirely new face to the population of Europe and North Africa. The other, springing from the fire-worshipping power of Persia, extremely imperilled the Eastern empire. Both these

hostile movements lasted for several centuries. But in the one case, the earth, as it were, opened her mouth and helped in absorbing the foaming waters of the inundation, which might have engulfed the newly Christian State; and in the other, the fires of Persia were quenched by the opening of the flood-gates from Arabia.

Decidedly the greatest, and, from its long duration, no less than the vastness of its power, by far *the most formidable adversary of Christianity*, as a national institution and dominant political force in the world, is the politico-religious system ushered in by Mohammed. *Mohammedanism stands forth in history as the great anti-Christian Power, the hereditary enemy of Christendom.* This, its historical character, at once precludes us from attributing its origination to Divine will and Providential purpose, and stamps it as essentially the outcome of that spiritual kingdom whose element is the reverse of truth and light, of love and life. Islamism is misjudged, if represented as a Providential Dispensation, needed for the enlightenment, progress, and happiness of, the world, or by supposing its design to have been the helping forward and benefiting Christ's Cause and Kingdom. Its proper nature is of a directly opposite kind, though subject—be it repeated—like everything else, to the all-controlling Government of God, and having in the end to subserve the plan of His all-wise Providence.

V.—*Mohammed, the Prophet and Propagator of Islam, laid the Foundation of the anti-Christian and permanently hostile Policy of the Mussulman world against Christianity and Christendom.*

The anti-Christian character of the religion and policy of the Islamic world derives its origin from the Founder of Islam. Mohammed was diametrically opposed to Christ, both in his religious teaching and in his practical aims. It is simply preposterous to attribute to him a mission to benefit, develop, and complete, the great Cause introduced into the world by Jesus Christ: instead of helping it on, his aim was rather to hinder, humble, and undo it. The devastating wars of conquest, carried on by the Mohammedan nations against Christendom, for so many centuries, are

nothing but the direct and natural outcome of Mohammed's own hostile position towards Christ and Christianity, rendered patent by his acts, though attempted to be disguised by his words. Islam historically proved itself anti-Christian, because Mohammed personally was an Antichrist.

Mohammed's character and work differ essentially and totally from that of the Founder of our own religion. Christ Jesus, the God-man, was in His own Person a new beginning, a spiritual centre, for mankind. His unflinching and comprehensive demand was, 'Ye must be born anew' (John iii. 7). He laboured for the regeneration of man and of mankind. As a wise master-builder He laid His foundation deep in the inmost personal life of man. His work is a vital organism by which the regenerate Christian individual expands into the Christian Church, and the Christian Church leads to the Christian State; all of which retain their separate existence and legitimate independence within their respective spheres. Mohammed, on the other hand, was not a new or a regenerate man, but a natural individual like all the rest, with a strong predominance of the sensual in him. He did not even rise above the narrow shackles of the Arabian nationality. His great aim was not the regeneration, but the subjugation, of individuals and nations, not a spiritual kingdom of God, but a secular empire in a religious guise. His main efforts were not devoted to the spiritual elevation of the character and personal life of his followers, but to their organisation into a compact body with which he might operate after the manner of worldly despots. Therefore the structure he erected became, so to speak, top-heavy, lacking the organic cohesion of life, and had to be artificially held together either by the allurements of worldly gain and carnal pleasure, or by the iron clasps of compulsion and rude force. Two systems so widely different as to their nature and object could not possibly co-exist in harmony; and the author of the rival system could not but oppose the work of his great Predecessor, however liberal he might be in verbal protestations of esteem for His Person and His Gospel.

Mohammed, as we have seen in the First Book, formed the plan of politically uniting the entire Arabic nation on the basis of a more national religion, after which many of

his countrymen were already feeling, likewise not without political aspirations. Accordingly he made his start as a Reformer of the prevailing religion. Retaining the national sanctuary, with its religious veneration of a black stone, he accepted from the Monotheistic religions the Faith in One God and the repudiation of idols. He borrowed, particularly from Jewish sources, much historic and religious information which, with other enactments, he sought to palm off on the people as direct revelations from heaven to himself, through the angel Gabriel. In this sinister enterprise he was materially aided by the hysterical, visionary constitution of his nature, an inheritance from weakly parents, and an open channel for impure and deceiving influences from the realm of Darkness. Once presenting himself to the people as a Prophet and religious Reformer, he had necessarily to talk much about God and religion. But it must not be forgotten that pious phraseology, which has deceived so many, is not by itself a proof of sincere spiritual piety, and that the language of Canaan has often been heard from the lips of Philistines.

That Mohammed was not a spiritually quickened or regenerate man, breathing the pure atmosphere of a 'worship in spirit and in truth,' must inevitably be gathered from his religion with its mechanical formalism of worship, its wearisome repetition of prayers, its conception of God as mainly the sovereign Lord and omnipotent Master,[1] and

[1] Even the philosopher Hegel clearly discerned and declared the decided inferiority of the Mohammedan conception of God, as compared with the Christian. He says, 'If we regard God merely as the Absolute Being, and nothing more, we know Him only as the general, irresistible Force, or, in other words, as *the Lord*. Now it is true that the Fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, but it is likewise true that it is *only* its beginning. It is in the Jewish, and further, in the Mohammedan, religion that God is conceived as the Lord, and, in fact, only as the Lord. Now although this conception of God is an important and necessary step in the development of religious consciousness, it yet by no means exhausts the depth of the *Christian* idea of God.' And again, 'The definition of God in Deism is the conception of God by the mere understanding, whereas the Christian religion, which knows God as the Triune, contains the conception of God by the reason.' (See G. W. F. Hegel's *Werke*, vol. vi. pp. 226 and 348.) Therefore, according to the judgment of Hegel's vigorous and penetrative mind, Mohammed not only did not advance the knowledge of God, but sunk back, in his conception of the Deity, below the Christian level, to the long-superseded standpoint of Judaism and Deism.

with its perfunctory practice of dead works. The religion concocted by Mohammed is properly that of the unregenerate, natural man. It remains at an immeasurable distance behind the lofty spirituality of the Gospel and the loving communion with the 'Father in heaven' to which it shows the way. The word which Jesus addressed to the Jews becomes fully applicable here: 'Ye are from below, I am from above' (John viii. 23). Mohammed, from his low, earthly standing-point, could neither apprehend the unique excellence of the character of Christ, nor the real nature of His all-sufficient and all-comprehending salvation.

Not want of opportunity, but want of sympathy and compatibility, kept him aloof from the religion of Christ. His first wife introduced him to her Christian cousin; one of his later wives had embraced Christianity in Abyssinia; and the most favoured of his concubines was a Christian damsel from the Copts of Egypt. He was acquainted with ascetic monks, and had dealings with learned Bishops of the Orthodox Church. In those days the reading of the Holy Scriptures in the public services of the Catholic Church was already authoritatively enjoined and universally practised; if he had wished thoroughly to acquaint himself with them he could easily have done so. But having no adequate conception of the nature of sin and man's fallen state, he also lacked the faculty of truly appreciating the remedy for it, which was offered in the Gospel.

Unable and unwilling to recognise in Christ the Saviour of man, and in Christianity the right way to God, Mohammed dared to set himself up against Christ, as the last and greatest of all God's Messengers, and to claim the right for his new religion of replacing Christianity. So it came to pass that Islamism, the only religion starting up in broad Christian daylight, and in the face of Christ, was essentially and from its birth not a sort of imperfect or half-Christianity, a younger brother and helpful ally, but a determined rival and implacable foe. The Koran is a book not merely different from the Gospel, but hostile and contradictory to it. It is notorious that it categorically denies the great truths upon which all Christianity reposes as its immovable foundation, to wit, the Divine nature and Sonship of

Christ, His atoning Death, and the final character of the Gospel as God's highest and fullest revelation. The very essence, therefore, of the character of Mohammed, as the author of Islam, must have implied an uncompromising hostility to Christianity and its advocates.

Besides, Mohammed must submit, like every one else, to being judged, not by his words and teaching only, but especially also by his acts and living. We have already seen how overbearingly he acted towards the Christians with whom he came in contact, and how he inflicted on them and their religion the stigma of inferiority and contempt (p. 138). As everything about Christ testified to the truth of His declaration, 'My kingdom is not of this world' (John xviii. 36), so Mohammed's whole life and conduct showed him to be earthly-minded, and to aim at worldly power. By some of his acts he shocked the moral sense even of his heathen countrymen. The first armed expedition which he undertook with his followers was to rob and plunder. So eagerly bent was he on the acquisition and exercise of secular domination, that he can hardly be said to have waited till he had sufficiently established himself as Prophet, before he turned warrior and conqueror. He had not secured more than a few hundred adherents, and was, as it were, still offering his pretended revelations to an unsympathetic nation with one hand, when he took up the sword of violence with the other, and thus put a sudden sinister life into his movement. Both, this haste with which he seized the sword of conquest, and the unscrupulous harshness with which he wielded it, show unmistakably what kind of ideal floated, with more or less distinctness, in his mind from the first. The clank of arms and bustle of war were so incessant with this fighting prophet, that they must have absorbed most of his time and attention, leaving very little for the care of religion. During the ten years between his Flight to Medina and his death he organised no less than thirty-eight military expeditions, twenty-seven of which he accompanied in person; and it is easy to conjecture how all-absorbing they must have been in their preparation, execution, and results, to the time, labour, and thoughts, of the Prophet-Emir, with whom rested the responsibility for them all. With feverish

restlessness he was pushed on, as if by an unseen hand, from one enterprise to another; and the same precipitate haste, with which he rushed from the pulpit and the mosque to the sword and the sceptre, in his adopted home, he also betrayed in seeking to extend his power beyond its borders.

Scarcely had the majority of the Arab tribes been subjugated to his rule by the force of arms, the enticement of worldly advantages, and the promise of a sensual Paradise, when he took the notorious step of despatching formal embassies to the surrounding rulers, summoning them to accept Islam. Five of these letters were addressed to Christian potentates, including the Roman Emperor. These arrogant, though harmless, missives failing to accomplish their object, as previously his preaching had remained inefficacious to convince and convert his Arab countrymen, he was not long in resorting to the more effectual argument of the sword. After several more or less successful incursions into the border districts of the Roman empire, a large and well-appointed army was collected to invade Syria. Mohammed instructed the commander to make the utmost haste, so as to fall upon the inhabitants before the tidings of his approach could reach them, and to set fire to their dwellings, fields, and palm-plantations. This characteristically turned out the last public act in which the whole policy of the warrior-prophet, as it were, culminated. The hand of death was already upon him; and before the army could start on its sanguinary mission, he had breathed his last. But Abu Bekr, his like-minded successor, carried out the plan bequeathed to him, and opened his Califate by the despatch of the still-assembled host. Thus it is unmistakable that the deeds of war and conquest, which filled up the lives of the Califs, were nothing but the continuation and further expansion of the work begun by Mohammed himself.

Nor can it be less undoubted that the man who arrogated to himself secular authority and military command, as soon as his altered circumstances in Medina offered him the slightest chance, would have done the very same thing in Mecca, had he found it equally practicable there. If he did not persecute and fight in Mecca, this was not because he was morally elevated above doing so, but because he lacked

the power. He naturally could not show himself intolerant so long as his own existence depended upon the toleration of others; or insult and fight the Christians, whilst his followers enjoyed the protection of Christian Abyssinia. If a man steals as soon as he is let out of prison, his abstaining from theft whilst shut up between four walls, cannot prove him to be an honest character. The difference between the preaching prophet of Mecca and the fighting prophet of Medina is not owing to a change of principles, to a spiritual lapse —as some wrongly regard it—but simply to the removal of restrictions whereby his real character obtained scope for manifestation.

In the light of impartial history, Mohammed appears equally anti-Christian by the religion he taught and by the policy he practised; and Islamism has ever since retained the anti-Christian stamp impressed upon it by its author.[1]

[1] That the Islamic system is not at all intended to co-exist in loving harmony with Christianity as a sister of equal rank, but that it rather regards it with disdain and hostility, appears particularly also from its notorious *law, decreeing capital punishment on every Mussulman who secedes* from the Mohammedan *to the Christian religion.* How deeply this odious law is ingrained in Islam, and how it is still regarded as forming an integral part of it, became glaringly manifest by its application to a Christian convert from Mohammedanism in Turkey, as recently as the middle of the present century. The case formed the subject of an official correspondence between the English and the Ottoman Governments, and is recorded in Part xviii. of the printed papers presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, A.D. 1856. It appears from those documents that in the latter portion of the year 1853, when the English and French fleets were assembled in Turkish waters for the protection of Turkey, a young man was judicially condemned to death and publicly executed in Adrianople, by the Ottoman authorities, for the crime of having apostatised from Islam to Christianity. He had openly declared that Christ was the true Prophet, and that having Him, we had no need of Mohammed, who therefore was a false Prophet. He was cast into prison and cruelly tortured to induce him to recant, but in vain. On being beheaded, he exclaimed with his last breath, 'I profess Jesus Christ, and for Him I die.' On September 17th, 1855, the Earl of Clarendon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, 'The Christian Powers, who are making gigantic efforts and submitting to enormous sacrifices, to save the Turkish Empire from ruin and destruction, cannot permit the continuance of a law in Turkey, which is not only a standing insult to them, but a source of cruel persecution to their co-religionists, which they never can consent to perpetuate by the successes of their fleets and armies. They are entitled to demand, and Her Majesty's Government do distinctly demand, that no punishment whatever shall attach to the Mahometan who becomes a Christian.' The same noble language of Christian patriotism had also been held earlier by the Earl of Aberdeen, who wrote to Sir

VI.—*The Mohammedan World, under the direction of the* ARABS, *and acting in the spirit of its Prophet, pursues an interior and exterior Policy decidedly anti-Christian.*

The 1300 years of the existence of Islamism in the world can be divided into two not very unequal periods, in the first of which the *Arabs*, and in the second the *Turks*, were the chief exponents of its power and the directors of its policy. They have proved of one and the same mind in their hostile attitude towards Christianity and its professors; because they were equally animated by the anti-Christian spirit of their religion.

As it was by Mohammed's own inspiration and instigation that the army of Mussulman Arabs, in first crossing the borders of their country, attacked the *Christian* world, so, during the subsequent ages of war and conquest, it was by virtue of their Faith, and in full accord with the innate tendencies of Islam, that the Mohammedan Powers kept the one aim constantly in view, namely, the overthrow of the Christian Governments and the subjugation of the Christians throughout the world. In carrying out this policy they were

Stratford Canning on January 16th, 1844, 'The Christian Powers will not endure that the Porte should insult and trample on their faith, by treating as a criminal any person who embraces it.' The intention was, to induce the Porte to renounce and abrogate the law in question. But the spirited correspondence with the Turkish Government, even under those exceptionally favourable circumstances, led to no greater result than that, early in the year 1856, a Memorandum was agreed upon containing these words: 'As all forms of religion are and shall be freely professed in the Ottoman dominions, no subject of His Majesty the Sultan shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion that he professes, nor shall be in any way annoyed on this account. None shall be compelled to change their religion. The discovery had been made that the objectionable law, being regarded as invested with a Divine character, could not be annulled or abrogated by any human authority whatsoever. Therefore the British Ambassador considered it best to advise his Government to be content with the afore-mentioned clause, saying in his despatch to the Earl of Clarendon, dated February 12th, 1856, 'The law of the Koran is not abolished, it is true, respecting renegades, and the Sultan's Ministers affirm that such a stretch of authority would exceed even His Majesty's legal powers. But, however that may be, the practical application of it is renounced by means of a public document, and Her Majesty's Government would at any time be justified in complaining of a breach of engagement if the Porte were to authorise or to permit any exception to its own official declaration.'

indeed guided by what appeared feasible and profitable, but the policy itself was never relinquished. With what vigour the champions of Islam pursued their anti-Christian designs from the first, is made apparent by what Moslem historians record in honour of Mohammed's second successor, Omar, namely, that during his brief Califate of only ten years' duration, 1036 towns were conquered, 4000 Christian churches destroyed, and 4000 mosques erected in their stead.

With the Mussulmans all wars of conquest are at the same time also *religious* wars, intended to promote the interests, and to effect the propagation, of Islam. Hence every Moslem warrior who falls in such a foreign war is held to be a martyr for the Faith. As in Mohammed's own case, religion was a stepping-stone to worldly dominion, so in the case of his followers, the secular power they possessed and extended was used as a means for spreading their religion, which, in turn, had to support their power. In any war against Christians, the Moslems were bound first to invite them to embrace Islam ; and they seconded their invitation by the offer of all the privileges of the conquerors. Then, in case of refusal, they indeed might permit them to retain their religion, but at the cost of a full surrender, without fighting, and the payment of a perpetual capitation tax in token of their political dependence and subjugation. But if the decision was left to the sword, they were to seize all the women and children as slaves, and to slay the men, or otherwise dispose of them. It is self-evident that the first and third of these military canons were calculated directly to effect a reduction in the number of Christians, and an increase of Moslems at their expense ; whereas the second annihilated the political independence and social liberty of those to whom it was applied, and further tended indirectly to a gradual diminution of the Christians and a corresponding increase of the Mohammedans.

The subjugated Christians in the Mussulman State were placed under the most humiliating and irksome disabilities. They had to submit to Mohammedan courts of law, where their testimony was not received against a Moslem, and the judge considered it a religious duty to favour the party belonging to his own Faith. In social life they had to defer

to the meanest Mussulman as their superior in rank. In their mode of travelling, in their dress, in their dwellings, and even in their graves, they were to be marked by a badge of inferiority. For the maintenance of their religious institutions, and the instruction of their children, they received no help whatever from a Government whose revenues they had to swell. Many of their churches were demolished or converted into mosques, and those permitted them were not allowed to be increased in number by the building of new ones. The exercise of their religion was deprived of its publicity, and of everything which might have appeared as a recognition or sanction of Christianity by Government. Hence all religious processions had to be discontinued, the church-bells were to be destroyed or silenced, and all the crosses removed from the top of ecclesiastical edifices, or any other place where they might have offended the Moslem eye. In short, the Christian communities could not become organic parts of a Mohammedan State, and were not even counted worthy to bear arms and to defend the common country on an equal footing with the Moslems.

The Christians were treated as if they formed a mere colony of helots within the State, tolerated and protected by the ruling class and for their benefit, on about the same principle on which domestic animals are kept and fostered by their masters. Accordingly, the poll-tax, collected from every male adult of the Christians, was designated by a word (*jizyeh*) properly signifying 'ransom, satisfaction,' because it was, as it were, generously accepted in lieu of their lives, which in the eyes of Islam had legally been forfeited. The land-tax they had to pay was called by a word (*kharaj*) which had originally been employed as a designation of that portion of a slave's earning which he had to pay to his master for being allowed to exercise a trade on his own account. So, likewise, the term *Raya*, ordinarily applied to the Christian section of the population under a Mohammedan Government, has its meaning thus rendered in Lane's well-known Arabic-English Lexicon, 'Cattle pasturing, cattle kept, tended, or pastured; especially cattle kept or pastured for the Sultan, and upon which are his brands and marks.'

Therefore, though the Mohammedan State did not directly interfere with the *private* profession and exercise of Christianity, but rather tolerated, and in a manner protected, it, yet it most effectually deprived its Christian subjects of all *political and military power*, and reduced them to a state of *civil inferiority* and helpless *dependence on the armed and ruling class*. Thus it could not fail to damage the Christian cause itself, though indirectly and covertly.

But the anti-Christian character of Islamism lies especially patent in its *exterior policy*, which it stamped upon the pages of history by its most pertinacious and stupendous efforts to bring the entire Christian world under its crushing rule. The Arab Mussulmans first pressed northward, wresting Palestine, the cradle of the Christian Faith, all Syria and Armenia, from the hands of the Christians. They indeed also subjugated fire-worshipping Persia, and pushed their conquests towards India, as also, by way of Khorassan, Bokhara, and Samarkand, deep into Central Asia, where Christianity disappeared from the Tartar tribes to which it had already found its way; but the chief object of their warlike ambition remained Western Christendom and its powerful capital on the Bosporus.

This was so clearly marked a plan of the Mussulmans, that scarcely had they established their power in Northern Syria, when they began to overrun Asia Minor, and, in less than thirty years from the death of Mohammed, *besieged Constantinople* by land and by water *for six successive years*. Fortunately they could not prevail against the valour and art—especially the so-called 'Greek fire'—by which the city was defended.

Being baffled again and again in their direct attempts to dethrone Christianity in its political capital, they started on a long détour in order, if possible, to reach their goal from the west, instead of from the east. Agricultural *Egypt* had fallen an easy prey into the hands of the hardy Arab warriors; and the Coptic Patriarch had obtained for it comparatively easy terms from the conquerors. This rich land, so conveniently near to the Arab home of Islam, was made the starting-point for extending the Mohammedan conquests westward over the whole of *North Africa*. Here the fanatical

Arabs pursued their anti-Christian policy with such deadly effect that soon the remnant of the once flourishing Church of which a Tertullian, a Cyprian, and an Augustine, had been ornaments became entirely effaced, and the sound of church-bells was silenced for ages by the call of the Moëzzin.

Mohammedanised Africa became the stepping-stone for invading Christian *Europe* from the west. Before Islam had completed the first century of its existence, it sent its dauntless propagators, in the form of numerous troops of armed horsemen, across the straits into *Spain;* and in the short space of two years the rule of the Peninsula had passed from Christian into Mussulman hands. But Spain was only the first stage of the intended march of conquest through the heart of Europe to the crowning goal of Constantinople, the then capital of Christendom.

Not many years were allowed to pass before an army of hundreds of thousands of horsemen sallied forth from Spain, to make *France* the second stage on the expedition for the conquest of Christian Europe. The whole south of France was fearfully devastated, houses ruined, churches burnt, women ravished, children enslaved, till in the neighbourhood of Poitiers and Tours the barbarous Mussulman hosts encountered Charles Martel at the head of a powerful Franco-Germanic army, and fought with such desperate obstinacy that most of them fell under the crushing blows of these hammering arms, before the small remnant confessed themselves vanquished by seeking safety in a precipitate flight. Reinforced by fresh Arab hordes, they renewed their sanguinary onslaughts for several years, but with no better result, so that they had to retire for ever behind the Pyrenees, and to give up their attempted march, through Central Europe to the Bosporus, as impracticable.

The national independence of Christendom survived these desperate attacks, and the religion of Christ had time to confer its blessings, in a fuller measure and to a wider extent, upon the nations of Europe. Islamism, as represented by the *Arabs*, had clearly manifested alike its determined resolve and its utter inability, to overthrow and replace Christianity as a political force and a national power in the world.

VII.—*The Mohammedan world, under the direction of the* TURKS, *retains and carries out the anti-Christian Policy started by the Arabs, as long as its power of doing so lasts.*

Whilst, during this welcome respite, Christianity was deepening its roots and spreading its branches in Europe, Islam was slowly and surely preparing in Asia tougher and rougher instruments, than even the Arabs, for making another supreme effort to carry out its old plan of altogether supplanting Christian supremacy by its own. The loose morality and unscrupulous violence which had distinguished the Mohammedan system from its birth, soon, like an evil seed, produced its corrupt and poisonous fruit in ever-widening circles of the Mussulman world. During the Abasside dynasty, when Bagdad was the seat of the Califate, so degenerate, untrustworthy, disunited, and factious had Arab society become, that the Califs found themselves compelled to look to the hardier and more reliable race of the recently Mohammedanised Tartar tribes from the deserts and highlands of Central Asia, as the fittest recruiting ground for an army on which they could rely.

These Tartars and Turkomans—all born horsemen and inured to the hardships and simplicity of nomadism from time immemorial—enlisted with alacrity under the Calif's banner, as offering so much more favourable a prospect to their daring and greed. Finding the gates of Central Asia so widely open to the riches and luxuries of the south and the west, these nomad hordes issued forth in ever-increasing numbers, pushed on, at times, by the teeming population of the remotest east. They—either as mercenaries of the Calif over whom they gradually gained a commanding influence, or, independently of him, as isolated bands of freebooters—helped to extend Mussulman domination at the expense of Christendom, and infused a new element of strength into the disunited and decaying world of Islam.

One of these Tartar tribes, the *Seldjuks*, established themselves in different parts of Western Asia, sometimes in direct opposition to the Calif's authority; and soon turning its victorious arms westward, conquered vast portions of Asia

Minor, which, till then, had remained in the hand of the Christians. Another such horde of Mohammedanised Tartars were the *Turks*,[1] a number of whom, under their leader Ertogrul, joined their Seldjuk brethren in the province of *Angora*. They speedily developed such military prowess and strength, in the conflict with the Greek empire, that under their next leader, Othman, they could supplant their Seldjuk confederates, and, joined by fresh bands of countrymen from the east, overrun and subjugate all that the Christians still held of Asia Minor.

These *Turks*, or *Ottomans*, as they generally call themselves, after their distinguished chief, Othman, extended their power, in course of time, over the greater part of the Mohammedan world, became the heirs of the Califate, and vigorously took up the Mussulman policy of universal domination, which the Arabs were no longer able to carry out. We have seen that this policy implied, as its highest and most difficult aim, the subjugation of Christendom, and particularly the conquest of Constantinople, its strongest remaining citadel eastward. To this object the Ottoman Turks, on becoming the leading nation of Islam, directed their most persevering and gigantic efforts: this forms the open secret of their devastating wars and their ambitious policy of conquests.

Othman terminated his victorious career with the seizure of Broussa, A.D. 1326, which at once became the Turkish capital, almost within sight of Constantinople. From Broussa as his starting-point, Othman's first successor attacked the Romano-Greek Empire in Europe, making himself master of Gallipoli and Rodosto; and his second successor extended his European conquest beyond Adrianople, which he raised to the rank of second capital; and his third successor devastated Albania and Bosnia and incorporated the Christian kingdoms of Servia and Bulgaria with his own dominion, which now bordered on the Danube as far as Belgrade. Later Sultans enlarged and consolidated their conquests on the Balkan Peninsula and elsewhere, till nothing remained to the Greek Emperor but his capital *Constantinople*.

[1] On the etymology of the words 'Tartar' and 'Turk' may be compared an article by the author in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xi. Part ii. p. 148.

At length for this also the fatal hour arrived. A Turkish army of more than 200,000 warriors and a powerful fleet surrounded the doomed city. This was the *twelfth* and final Mussulman *siege* it had to suffer, namely, seven from the Arabs and five from the Turks. It was stormed after a desperate resistance by the inadequate number of its defenders, and delivered for three days to the pillage and brutality of its conquerors. The luckless year 1453 thus had to witness the last Romano-Greek Emperor, Constantine IX., falling sword in hand in his fruitless resistance to the Turks, the ardent Mohammed II. occupying his ancient throne as Sultan, the first Christian capital converted into a new centre of Mussulman conquests, and its finest churches turned into mosques. What had remained a constant but vain object of Moslem ambition for eight centuries, was now accomplished by Turkish pertinacity and valour, and the youthful victor of Constantinople had earned for himself to all posterity the proud title of *El-Fatih*, the Conqueror. This constituted the crowning victory both of Ottomanism and Mohammedanism.

From the height of this vantage-ground it is easy to foresee that, when once will have come to pass what already appears so decidedly within the range of possibilities, viz., the expulsion of the Turks from Constantinople, and the restoration of the still remaining church-mosques, about twenty in number, to their original destination for Christian worship, then also the anti-Christian system of Islamism will have made a long stride in the process of its inevitable dissolution.

Fortunately the fall of Constantinople into the hands of the Turks had been delayed till it no longer involved the fall of Christendom itself. In the interval between the Arab failure and the Ottoman success in their Mussulman assaults of the Imperial stronghold on the Bosporus, a number of more or less powerful Christian capitals had dotted the European west. One of the most eastern of them was Vienna, and not even this could be taken by the Turks, notwithstanding their utmost efforts during the culminating period of their power. It is a matter of history comparatively recent and well known, with what brutality, cruelty,

and treachery, the Turks pushed their conquests in the lands of the Mediterranean, as the terror of Christendom by sea and land; how persistently they invaded and devastated the countries on the left bank of the Danube; how recklessly they employed sword, fire, impaling, and torture; how their whole system of keeping down the distant peoples whom they had subjugated, was one of unsparing oppression and heartless terrorism; how many tens of thousands of virgins and women they captured in Christian lands, sometimes fastening them together, in large gangs, by their hair, to be afterwards distributed in the harems of voluptuous Mussulmans; and how they crowned their anti-Christian measures by the institution of the Janissaries, whereby annually thousands of the most promising Christian boys were forcibly taken from their homes and brought up as Mohammedans, to form a standing army for the further conquest of Christian lands and the keeping in subjection of those already conquered.

It is equally patent how steadily the Ottomans kept the great Moslem idea in view of a victorious march through the heart of Europe for the entire overthrow of Christian dominion, and how repeatedly they attempted to achieve from the east what the Arabs in Spain had failed to accomplish from the west. They considered as *Dar el harb*, or 'domain of war,' not only this or that Christian country, but every Christian land within their reach. No wonder, then, that at the time when the Turkish hosts overran Malta and Hungary, their ultimate aim was so well understood all over Europe, that even in its remotest west the Church of insular England was anxiously reminded by its Archbishop, under Queen Elizabeth,[1] that the Isle of Malta was 'invaded with a great army and navy of Turks, Infidels and sworn enemies of the Christian religion, and that if they should prevail against that Isle, it is uncertain what further peril might follow to the rest of Christendom;' and as regards Hungary, that 'if the Infidels should prevail wholly against that most goodly and strong kingdom, all the rest of Christendom would lie open to the incursion of the said savage and most cruel enemies the Turks, to the most dreadful danger of whole Christendom.' So deep was the interest in the

[1] See the Book of Common Prayer of that time.

common Christian cause that public prayers were offered up in the churches of England on behalf of 'the Emperor's excellent Majesty as God's principal minister, and all the Christian army assembled with him against the Turks;' and it was openly acknowledged here that 'our own danger or safety doth follow upon success of them.'

The plan and policy to subjugate all Christendom was genuinely Mohammedan. It was Islam which inspired it first in the Arabs and then in the Turks. The Arabs and the Turks adhered to it as long as they could, to the utmost of their power. If the desolating march upon Vienna, and the siege of that city by the Ottoman hosts two hundred years ago (A.D. 1683), was the last of its kind, it was so, only because experience had taught them that the enterprise they had taken in hand was beyond their power, that the national vitality of the Christian religion could not be crushed out by all the massive weight and fierce onslaught of the Mussulman world.

These hazardous and fanatical attacks upon Christendom, whose success would only have extended the reign of spiritual desolation and death over mankind, proved injurious to Islam itself, by the habits they fostered and the resources they squandered; and their final complete failure could not but accelerate that utter collapse and prostration of the Ottoman, and, in fact, of the whole Mohammedan, world, which is now bringing the rottenness of its foundation and the cancer in its vitals more and more to light. The entire *Dar el Islam*, or Islamic community, disunited and dismembered for generations, has now sunk into such a state of spiritual torpor and political impotence that, apart from fitful outbursts of fanaticism and spasmodic paroxysms of savagery, any serious aggressions against Christian nations are out of the question, and the signs of its approaching complete disintegration are rapidly multiplying. If, in some far-off places, such as the continent of Africa, Islam has of late been spreading to some extent, this has been effected by the notorious means of its propagandism, and can only remind one of those sparse green twigs sometimes still appearing at the extreme ends of half-dried-up boughs in trees whose core has for long been decaying from old age.

The Christian world, on the other hand, far from being stifled, was only stimulated, by the Mohammedan pressure of bygone ages, and has now reached such a commanding height of political power and general influence, that the Christian Governments of the day virtually exercise their sway over the whole earth. Thus far, then, the verdict of history has been clearly pronounced in favour of Christianity, on each stage of its past development, and against all those who strove to deprive the world of this salutary ferment and saving force. The Christian policy of Europe has already effected much in resuscitating and liberating the Christian nationalities which were so long kept in base subjection by Islam, and unpityingly trampled upon by its iron hoof. This Christian work of justice and mercy will, no doubt, be ultimately crowned with complete success, whilst the remaining Mussulman States are themselves hastening on the process of their final dissolution.

The external obstructions being thus providentially removed out of the way, one by one, *Christianity* can, in the future, more freely advance towards a still higher and wider sphere of its historical realisation, by assuming a predominantly universal or cosmopolitan character, and by effecting its final evolution as *the one Church of Mankind, the Kingdom of God for all Nations.*

Should the road to this great ulterior goal again be obstructed, perhaps from the midst of an apostate Christendom, and with all the fierceness of a desperate last effort, by an Adversary whose concentrated hostility to all that is Christian will merit for him the black distinction of '*the* Antichrist,' then the past entitles us to hope that this severest combat between the kingdom of Light and the kingdom of Darkness on our earth will but prove the decisive birth-throe ushering in the crowning victory and everlasting peace. We read in the Word of God that at the most momentous final crisis, the King of kings shall descend in Person with the armies of heaven (Rev. xix. 11-16) and shall consume that Wicked One with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of His coming (2 Thess. ii. 8), and, all conflict over, *Himself shall reign as Prince of Peace for ever and ever* (Rev. xi. 15; Heb. vii. 2, 3).

APPENDIX I.

MOHAMMED'S WIVES AND CONCUBINES.

REMARK.—What follows are again mere translations, which present the reader with an interesting account of the several persons mentioned. The account consists of sundry biographical notices from Moslem authors, as collected and introduced by the Rawzat ul Ahbab.

IT is recorded that the Prophet said, 'I have not taken any wife, nor given away a daughter to any one, without Gabriel having first brought me an order from my Lord; and I only acted according to that order.'[1] The biographers record that his Excellency had twelve married wives with whom he consummated marriage. They are all agreed respecting eleven of them; but in regard to the twelfth, their opinion differs as to whether she was a married wife or a slave concubine.

1. *Khadija* was the first of those pure wives. As she had a common lineage of descent with the Prophet, she was of all his chaste wives nearest to him. From the children of Kassy that Excellency married Khadija and Om Habiba. Khadija had been twice married before, in each of which marriages she had born two children. *Hind*, one of her sons, was brought up by the Prophet of God, after he had married her. It is recorded that Hind used to say, 'I am the most noble through father, mother, brother, and sister; for my father is the Apostle of God, my mother Khadija, my brother Kasim, and my sister Fatima.' Khadija was a virtuous, wise, and determined lady, whom even in the time of ignorance they called 'the pure.' She had an exalted lineage and an ample fortune.

[1] This assertion was evidently made for the purpose of shielding Mohammed against a charge of sensuality and carnal passion in the matter of taking wives. It was felt that his notorious conduct lay open to censure, and this had to be forestalled, as in many similar cases, by the fabrication of a story conveying a justification.

Although the chiefs and nobles of the Koreish asked her in marriage, after Abu Hala's death, she refused them, because in a dream she had seen the sun come down to her house from the sky, and diffuse such light, that there remained not a house in Mecca without being illuminated by it. On waking from her sleep, she went to her cousin Waraka Ibn Nawfal and told him her dream, because he was exceedingly expert in the science of interpretation. He said to her, 'O Khadija, the prophet of the latter time is to be thy husband.' She asked, 'From which country is that prophet to appear?' Waraka answered, 'From Mecca.' Khadija inquired, 'From which tribe?' Waraka replied, 'From the Koreish.' Khadija asked again, 'From which family?' Waraka answered, 'From the Beni Hashim.' Khadija inquired, 'What is his name?' Waraka replied, 'Mohammed.' Khadija thus knowing whence that sun was to arise, at once began to wait for it. So it happened that one day, when that Excellency was dining at Abu Talib's table, Atika, the sister of the latter, was also present, and both observed his propriety and good manners. When he had left, after dinner, Abu Talib said to Atika, 'Mohammed is a grown-up youth, and the time has come for him to marry, but he never speaks to us on the subject. O Atika, what is to be done in the matter?' Atika replied, 'Khadija is an exceedingly blessed lady of noble birth and station who is about sending a caravan to Syria; we can do nothing better than take some merchandise from Khadija for Mohammed, to trade with at their joint profit.' After having consulted with Mohammed, who approved the plan, Atika went to Khadija and communicated to her the state of affairs. Khadija, reflecting for a while, said, 'Is this perhaps the interpretation of my dream? This person is an Arab of Mecca, a Hashimite of the Koreish; his name is Mohammed, he is of a beautiful countenance and pleasant manners, a truth-speaking, faithful man: is this, perhaps, the promised prophet?' Then she accepted the proposal, and became ennobled with the nobility of the bed of the Lord of the apostles. She was the first lady whom that Excellency married, she being 40 and he 25 years of age. All that Excellency's male and female children were by her, with the only exception of Ibrahim, who was born by Mary the Copt. As the Lord of the world paid much respect to Khadija's wishes, he did not take another wife in addition to her.

The good qualities and virtues of Khadija were many. All agree that she was the first person who was ennobled with the nobility of Islam, believing in his Excellency, and spending property

for his pleasure. According to sound tradition, his Excellency declared that Mary, the daughter of Amram, and Khadija, were the two noblest women of Paradise; and he also said that the mistresses of the ladies of Paradise were, Mary, Fatima, Khadija, and Asia, Pharaoh's wife. According to a tradition derived from Abu Horeira, Gabriel once came to his Excellency and said, 'O Apostle of God, Khadija is coming to bring thee a basin full of savoury food; when she has come, give her a salutation from her Preserver and from me, and announce to her the good news that she has a house in Paradise, made of a hollowed-out pearl, in which there is not any adversity or affliction.' When that Excellency delivered the salutation from the Most High and from Gabriel, Khadija said in reply, 'Truly, God is peace, and from Him comes peace; and peace be upon Gabriel and upon the Apostle of God, and upon every one who hears the salutation, except Satan.'

It is recorded that Aisha the faithful said, 'I felt no jealousy with regard to any one of the Prophet's wives, except Khadija, though she was no longer living when I was ennobled with the nobility of that Excellency's bed. He so much remembered her, that sometimes he would slay a sheep and divide it amongst her friends. So I said to his Excellency, "It seems there is no woman in the world except Khadija." His Excellency replied, "Khadija had many fine points, and my children came from her." On another occasion Khadija's sister Hala knocked at the door, in a way which reminded the Prophet of Khadija's knocking. He became sad and sorrowful, according to one account, or bright and cheerful, according to another, and said, "The person knocking must be Hala." This word of his Excellency so roused my jealousy that I called out, "How much thou rememberest an old woman from amongst the old females of the Koreish, who had no tooth left in her mouth, and had already spent her life, and yet the Most High has given thee something better in her stead!" This observation made his Excellency so angry that the hairs stood up on his forehead, and he said, "By Allah! the Most High has not given me a better one than she was; she had believed in me at a time when all the people were still unbelievers, and testified in my favour when all the world was denying me; and she assisted me with her fortune when all other people were shunning me; and by her the Most High gave me children."' Aisha adds, 'After this I made up my mind never again to say anything derogatory of Khadija.'

The biographers are not agreed as to the time of Khadija's death,

but most probably she died in the month of Ramadan of the ninth year of the prophetic mission. His Excellency went in person to her grave to pray for her, and was exceedingly sad and cast down by her death. On the day of her death Khadija was sixty-five years old.

2. *Sevda*, a Koreishite, surnamed Om Eswad. She had become a believer in Mecca at the beginning of the prophetic mission, and was first married to Sakran Ibn Omar, by whom she had a son named Abd ur Rahman. Sakran is reckoned amongst the Ansar. She had emigrated with him to Abyssinia, and after sojourning there for a time, they returned to Mecca.

Sevda had seen in a dream that the Prophet came and put his foot upon her neck. When she narrated this dream to Sakran, he said, 'If thou hast really had this dream, I am to die, and Mohammed will marry thee.' After this, Sevda had another dream, in which she saw the moon come down from heaven upon her. On telling this dream also to her husband, he replied, 'If thou hast really dreamed thus, I am to die shortly, and thou wilt marry another husband.' Sakran fell ill that very day, and died a few days later, leaving Sevda a widow. Then in the tenth year of the prophetic mission, after Khadija's death, and before the marriage with Aisha, that Excellency married Sevda, according to sound tradition, settling a dowry upon her of 400 dirhems.

On becoming aware of her great age, he, A.H. 8, divorced her, or, according to a more correct tradition, intended to divorce her. Then, one night, when that Excellency was going to Aisha's house, Sevda stood in his way, and said to him, 'O Apostle of God, do not divorce me, neither return to me, for I have no wish for any one besides thee, and there is no sensual desire remaining in me, only I wish to rise amongst thy wives on the day of the resurrection, and I freely surrender my turn to Aisha, thy loved one.' Upon this, his Excellency desisted from divorcing her, or re-accepted her. It is recorded that Sevda, from time to time, said some words to that prince which made him laugh.

Five traditions are derived from Sevda. Her death took place in the latter part of Omar's Califate, but Wakidi credits a tradition, according to which she left this world in Moawia's reign. She was exceedingly tall and corpulent.

3. *Aisha* the faithful, the daughter of Abu Bekr, was the Prophet's third wife. She belonged to the jurists and lawyers, and

the learned, and virtuous, and eloquent, of his companions. Some of the ancients affirm that one-fourth of the legal ordinances became known through her, and it is notorious that the Prophet of God said, in reference to her, 'Take ye a third of your Faith from this fair one.' It is recorded that Arwa Ibn Zobeir said, 'I know of no one more learned in the meaning of the Koran, and in the laws concerning what is permitted and forbidden, and in the other ordinances, and in the sciences of poetry and genealogy, than Aisha.' Aisha herself is recorded to have declared that she possessed the following distinctive excellencies above all other wives of the Prophet:—

1. That Excellency married no other virgin except myself.
2. The parents of not any other of his wives emigrated for the cause of God.
3. A verse was sent down from heaven in behalf of my justification and innocence.
4. Before that Excellency married me, Gabriel showed him my image upon a piece of silk, saying, 'Marry this one,' and upon this he married me.
5. I bathed with his Excellency under one cover, a dignity not shared by any other.
6. I was reclining and lying opposite the prayer-place where he performed his prayers.
7. A revelation came to him in my bedroom only, and not in that of any of his other wives.
8. His spirit was taken from him when he was lying between my bosom and my liver.
9. He died on the day when it was my turn to spend the night with him.
10. He was buried in my apartment.

These points show that he had more inclination and love for Aisha the faithful than for any other of his wives. It is also established that when the Apostle of God was asked, 'Who is most loved by thee amongst all the people?' he replied 'Aisha.' And when he was asked again, 'Who is it amongst the males?' he answered, 'Her father, Abu Bekr.'

It is also a correct statement that when the people wished to give the Prophet a present, they watched for an opportunity of presenting it to him on the day when it was Aisha's turn to be with him. Their object in doing so was to gain that Excellency's goodwill. When some of his other wives sent Om Selma to him, requesting him

to tell the people not to wait for Aisha's day with their gifts, but to bring them on the day of any of his other wives, he said to her, 'O Om Selma, do not trouble me about Aisha.' She replied, 'O Apostle of God, I repent towards God for having given thee trouble.' So, despairing of Om Selma, they sent Fatima on the same errand. To her the Prophet said, 'O sweet daughter, dost thou not love whomsoever I love?' and when she replied, 'Yes, O Apostle of God, I do,' he added 'Then love Aisha.'

It is established that Aisha narrated as follows: 'When once I asked the Prophet, "O Apostle of God, how much lovest thou me?" he answered, "As the knot of the cord." Thereafter I would ask him from time to time, "O Apostle of God, how is the knot of the cord?" and he would answer, "As before," *i.e.* I love thee as much as at first; my love to thee has not changed.' When the Calif Omar assigned a pension to Mohammed's widows, he gave each 10,000 dirhems; but to Aisha he gave 20,000, on the ground of her having been the Prophet's best beloved.

It is recorded that Aisha stated: 'When the Apostle of God married me, I was in my sixth year, and when he consummated the marriage with me, I was in my ninth year, and was still playing with other little girls. These girls would run away when that prince came near me, being ashamed; but he would go after them and bring them back to continue our play.[1] One day he visited me, when I had been playing with my dolls, whom I had laid on a cushion, and drawn a curtain over them. After a while the wind blew the curtain aside, and the Prophet seeing them, asked, "What is that?" I answered, "These are my dolls." Then seeing something like a horse with wings on both sides, he inquired again, "And what is that other thing I see amongst them?" I replied, "A horse."

[1] Dr. Ludolf Krehl, who, in his *Leben des Muhammed*, shows a decided disposition to take the most favourable view of Mohammed the prophet, yet unhesitatingly calls his marriage with Abu Bekr's youthful daughter 'open to objection, and offensive beyond a doubt' (p. 104). He also, on the same occasion, makes the following just remarks: 'Mohammed, obviously, was not capable of clearly recognising, and fully estimating woman's true worth. He, in effect, saw nothing more in woman than a ministering slave; and this entire view has been adopted into Islam, to its great disadvantage. Amongst the nations professing Islam, the refining element which lies in the intercourse with ladies, and in the influence of educated mothers on the early training of their children, has never been duly recognised, and this is a fatal cancer from which Islam will always suffer.' The reader who wishes to see more on the inferiority of woman's position in Islam, is referred to Part II. Chapter v. section 6 of the pamphlet—*Food for Reflection: a Comparison between the three Monotheistic Religions*, Church Missionary House, London.

He, "And what is that on both its sides?" I, "Those are its wings." He, "Have horses wings, then?" I, "Hast thou not heard that Solomon had winged horses?" Upon this his Excellency laughed so heartily that the whole row of his teeth was seen.'

It is also recorded that Aisha narrated, 'When, on one occasion, the Apostle of God said to me, "I know when thou art pleased with me, and when thou art angry with me;" I asked, "O Apostle of God, whereby dost thou know it?" He replied, "When thou art pleased with me and swearest, thou sayest, By the Lord of Mohammed! but when thou art angry with me and swearest, thou sayest, By the Lord of Abraham!" I then said, "O Apostle of God, it is exactly as thou hast stated; but, O Apostle of God, it is not, that I wish thee away from me or to leave thee; I only omit thy name, but my love for thee is unalterable."'

It is further recorded of Aisha: 'The Apostle of God said to me, "O Aisha, if thou wishest to reach my state, and to remain united with me, then so live in this world that the provisions of a rider may suffice for thee, and never call a dress old as long as it has not been patched; also, be very careful in having to do with riches."' According to another account, Aisha also narrated: 'When one day I begged of the Prophet, saying, "O Apostle of God, pray for me, that the Most High may also make me one of thy wives in Paradise," that Excellency replied, "If thou aspirest after that dignity, thou must never store up food for the next day, or put off a dress before it is patched; and thy provision from this world must be no more than a horseman takes with him for a journey."' It was by the blessing of this advice that Aisha so much preferred poverty to wealth, that she never stored any provisions; and Arwa Ibn Zobeir states, 'I saw Aisha give away 70,000 dirhems in the cause of God, and yet a corner of her own chemise was patched.' On another occasion, when 100,000 dirhems were sent her, she forthwith distributed them all amongst her relatives and the poor, though she herself was fasting. Her fast being over when she had finished the distribution, she ordered a slave to bring her breakfast, which was then seen to consist only of a bit of bread and some dry dates. It is said that her marriage portion from his Excellency amounted only to 50 dirhems, or, according to another account, to 500 dirhems, which he had borrowed for the purpose. The honoured books record 2210 traditions from her, 174 of which are generally received.

It is recorded that when Aisha was near her death, Ibn Abbas visiting her, said, 'Be glad that thou hast been the wife of the

Apostle of God, and that thou hast been the only wife he married as a virgin, and that a verse came down from heaven in thy justification.' After he had left, Abd Allah Ibn Zobeir entered, to whom she said, 'Ibn Abbas has been here and praised me, although to-day I do not take pleasure in any one's coming and praising me. What would it have mattered, if I had been a sun-dried brick? Would, I had been some such thing, so that no one had taken my name in his mouth; and would, I had never been created!' She died, A.H. 58, more than 66 years of age.

4. *Hafza*, the daughter of Omar Ibn Khattab. Before she became the Prophet's wife, she had been married to Khanis, who was one of the fugitives to Abyssinia, and afterwards one of the combatants of Bedr. After his death, A.H. 2 or 3, the Prophet married her, as soon as her legal time of waiting was over.

It is reported that when Hafza's first husband was dead, her father, Omar, offered her to Othman, whose wife Rokaia, daughter of Mohammed, had just died. Othman asked for time to consider, and then declined the offer. Omar went to Mohammed to complain of Othman's conduct, and the Prophet settled the affair by saying, 'May God give to Othman a better woman than thy daughter, and to thy daughter a better husband than Othman!' This wish was speedily fulfilled; for Mohammed himself married Hafza, and gave his own daughter Om Koltum to Othman.

It is also reported that Omar had offered Hafza to Abu Bekr, who gave him no answer whatever, so that he felt greatly incensed. But one day, after Mohammed's marriage with Hafza, when Abu Bekr met Omar, he accosted him thus, 'Perhaps thou art offended with me for having left thee without an answer, when thou hadst offered me thy daughter Hafza.' Omar replying, 'Yes, I was very much offended,' Abu Bekr continued, 'The truth is, that nothing prevented me from accepting her, except my knowing that the Apostle of God had set his heart on having her, and it was in order not to betray that Excellency's secret, that I did not give thee an answer then.'

It is recorded that later on the prince of the world divorced Hafza. Omar, as soon as this news reached him, cast earth upon his head and became very disconsolate. On the next day Gabriel descended, saying 'O Mohammed, in order to show mercy to Omar, God requests of thee to return to Hafza.' Hafza was born five years before the prophetic mission, and died in the reign of Moawia, A.H. 45 or 48 or 50, about sixty years old. The current

books derive sixty traditions from her, of which six are generally received.

5. *Zeinab*, Bint Khazima, had been married to three successive husbands before Mohammed, the first of whom divorced her, and the second and third were killed respectively in the battles of Bedr and Ohod. His Excellency married her A.H. 9. She had only been eight months in his house when she died, or, according to another account, three months. She was called 'the Mother of the Poor,' because of her compassion for them, and the abundant alms which she bestowed upon them.

6. *Om Selma* or *Hind*, Bint Abu Omia, was first married to Abu Selma, Mohammed's cousin, to whom she bore four children. Of these, two emigrated with their parents to Abyssinia, and afterwards to Medina. Abu Selma was wounded in the battle of Ohod, and his wound closed. When Mohammed sent him on an expedition, it reopened and became the cause of his death. Their love for each other was so great that they made a covenant to the effect that whoever should survive the other, should not marry again. But before his death, Abu Selma said to his wife, 'When I die, do not thou suffer trouble, but marry again, and may God give thee a husband better than myself, who will never pain or grieve thee.'

Om Selma says, 'When Abu Selma was dead, I thought of these words, but said to myself, Who can be a better husband to me than he was? I had no idea of marrying again. I went to his Excellency, saying to him, "Thou knowest that Abu Selma is dead, what prayer shall I offer in my loneliness?" He replied, "Say, O God, forgive me and him, and give me something better in his stead." Then I persevered in offering up this prayer, and God gave me something better than Abu Selma; he gave me in wedlock to the Apostle of God.' According to another account, his Excellency went to Om Selma's house, after her husband's death, to condole with her, and prayed, 'O God, assuage her grief, remove her trouble, and compensate her by some one better than Abu Selma.' Afterwards, events turned out in accordance with this prayer.

It is recorded that when Om Selma's time of mourning was over, both Abu Bekr and Omar desired to marry her, but she declined them both. On his Excellency proposing to her, she replied, 'Welcome, O Apostle of God; but I am a lady of a certain age, with orphans, and also am very jealous, unable to endure having

only a share with thy many other wives; and, moreover, my guardians are not here now, whose consent is requisite.' To these objections the Prophet replied thus: 'Thou sayest, "I am old," but I am still older, and it is no shame for women to be the wives of husbands older than themselves. Thou sayest, "I have orphans," but the guardianship and education of thy orphans belongs to God and His Apostle. Thou sayest, "I am jealous, and cannot endure partnership," but I will pray for thee, that God may take away those feelings from thee. Thou sayest, "My guardians are not here," but all thy guardians, whoever they may be, and whether present or absent, will not object to my marrying thee, but be quite agreeable.' Thereupon Om Selma said to her son Omar, 'Arise and marry me to the Apostle of God.' He arose and gave her to the Prophet, though at that time he was not yet of age. This happened in the fourth year after the Flight. Her dowry consisted of furniture worth about 10 dirhems.

As at that time Zeinab had just died, and her room was still unoccupied, the Prophet assigned it to Om Selma. On taking possession of the room, she found there a small jar containing a quantity of barley, an earthen pot, and a handmill. She ground a little barley in this mill and boiled it into a porridge, adding some grape-bulama, and pouring melted suet over it. This she took to the Prophet, and it formed their wedding repast. It is recorded that the Apostle of God remained three days with Om Selma and then wished to leave, in order to pay the portion of honour due to his other ladies, but Om Selma seized him by his skirt and wanted to keep him back.

Om Selma died, 84 years old, A.H. 59 or 60, in the reign of Yezid Ibn Moawia. It is said that when she heard of the murder of Hosein, she cursed the people of Irak. The current books contain 378 traditions attributed to her, of which thirteen are generally acknowledged as genuine.

7. *Zeinab*, Bint Jahsh, whose name Berre (=a wound) his Excellency changed into Zeinab. Before the Prophet married her she was the wife of Zeid Ibn Haritha. When Zeid had divorced her, his Excellency married her, in the year 5 A.H.

It is recorded that when, in the first instance, that prince asked Zeinab in marriage for Zeid, she, supposing he had asked her for himself, at once consented. But on understanding afterwards that he had been asking her for Zeid, she refused, for she was a lady of beauty, the Prophet's first cousin, and of a determined aristocratic

nature. She said to his Excellency, 'O Apostle of God, I do not want Zeid, for he is a liberated slave.' Her brother also, agreeing with her, did not accept him, although that prince had bought, liberated, and adopted him before the appearance of the prophetic mission. When the Prophet said to her, 'Thy refusal is useless: thou must accept him,' she replied, 'O Apostle of God, give me some time to think the matter over.' Then a verse was sent down, enjoining compliance with the will of God and His apostle; and Zeinab said, 'O Apostle of God, if it is really thy will that Zeid should be my husband, I will make no more objections, but accept him.' Thereupon his Excellency gave her to his adopted son Zeid, and also added a dowry.

Upwards of a year after their marriage the Most High made known to His Prophet that in His foreknowledge it had been decreed that Zeinab should be one of the Prophet's own wives. Then a coldness arose between Zeid and Zeinab, as it sometimes happens between husband and wife. This went so far that Zeid, in anger, repaired to the Prophet to complain of Zeinab, saying, 'O Apostle of God, I wish to divorce Zeinab, because she is so violent and reproachful towards me.' His Excellency replied, 'Keep thy lady, and fear God.' When afterwards God made known to him that Zeinab was to become his own wife, that Excellency's blessed mind desired Zeid to divorce Zeinab. But he was ashamed to command him to do so, fearing the tongues of the people, lest they should say, 'He has taken his adopted son's wife.' For in the time of ignorance they regarded the marriage with an adopted son's wife as illegal as that with the wife of a natural son. But Zeid came again before his Excellency, and said, 'O Apostle of God, I have divorced Zeinab.' A verse also was sent down rebuking Mohammed for having concealed in his mind that which God wished to have manifested, and for having been afraid of the tongues of men, when he said to Zeid, 'Keep thy lady, and fear God.' It is reported that Aisha the faithful remarked, 'If Mohammed had wished to conceal anything of the Koran, he would surely have concealed this verse.'

As soon as Zeinab's legal time of waiting was over, the Prophet said to Zeid, 'Go thou and ask Zeinab in marriage for me.' The reason why he selected Zeid for this service was, lest the people should think the affair had been brought about by compulsion, without Zeid's free consent; and also that he himself might have a proof of Zeid's agreement and of his not retaining any more love for Zeinab. When Zeid, in the discharge of this commission, reached Zeinab's house, he found her engaged in making the dough

for baking bread. He narrates: 'She appeared to me so great and dread, that I was unable to look at her, and first turned back involuntarily. Then I came a second time, and said, "Good news for thee, O Zeinab: the Apostle of God has sent me to thee to ask thee in marriage for him." Zeinab replied, "I cannot give an answer in this matter before having consulted with my brother."' Then she arose, went to the place of prayer, performing two genuflexions of service, at the close of which she offered up this petition: 'O God, Thy Apostle seeks me in marriage: if I am worthy of him, give me to him in wedlock!' The petition was at once answered by the coming down of this noble verse: 'When Zeid had decided to divorce her, we married her to thee, so that it might not be reckoned a guilt for the believers to marry the wives of their adopted sons.' It happened whilst the Prophet had a conversation with Aisha in her own apartment, that suddenly symptoms appeared in him of the coming down of a revelation, which was made known in an instant. For his Excellency began to smile, and said, 'Who will go and take the joyous news to Zeinab that God has given her to me for a wife?' and saying so, he recited the above verse. His servant Selmi instantly ran to take the good news to Zeinab. She rewarded him with the present of one of her own gold ornaments; and vowing that she would fast for two months, she prostrated herself, and gave thanks to God.

Aisha the faithful said to herself, 'Zeinab is a beautiful lady, and was wedded to his Excellency in heaven: surely she will boast of a superiority over us on both these accounts.' So without asking permission of the Apostle of God, she went to Zeinab's apartment; and finding Zeinab's head uncovered, she said to the Prophet, 'O Apostle of God, thou hast paid a visit, without asking in marriage, and without witnesses.' His Excellency replied, 'The Giver in marriage was God, and the witness Gabriel.'

The Prophet had a wedding-feast prepared, in which he regaled the people with meat and bread. It is recorded that Uns Ibn Malik narrated: 'My mother, Om Selim, cooked a dish for Zeinab's wedding-feast, consisting of dates, butter, and bread, just enough to suffice for the Prophet and his household. She put it into a basin and requested me to take it to the Prophet, with her salutation; and to apologise for the smallness of the quantity, there being a famine in Medina in those days. When I had discharged this errand, his Excellency said to me, "Go now and invite such and such people," mentioning a great many by name; "and call also any whom thou mayest meet on the way." I did as I was bidden,

without raising the least objection, though wondering how he could invite so many people to so little food. Such a number of guests came, that the house and the hall and the private room became brimful.—There were altogether 300, or, according to another account, 71 or 72 persons.—Then his Excellency ordered the food to be brought forward, and having put his blessed hand upon it, invoked a blessing, and told the people to form themselves into circles of tens and to begin eating, saying first, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!" I observed, that the dates in the basin were multiplying as fast as the people ate them; and from the bottom of the basin butter was bubbling up, like water in a spring. All the people ate till they were satisfied, and there remained none who had not eaten. Then, on being told by that prince to take up the basin, I looked, but could not tell whether it was fuller at that moment, or when I had brought it. I handed the basin to Zeinab, who likewise ate of it; afterwards I took it back to my mother and told her what had taken place. She replied, "My son, do not wonder: if the Most High had so willed it, the whole population of Medina might have eaten of this food till they were satisfied."'[1]

It is recorded that when the people had eaten the food, they occupied themselves with conversation, whilst Zeinab sat in a corner of the house, with her head turned towards the wall. His Excellency wished in his heart that the people might disperse and leave the house private; but he was ashamed to tell them to go away. Then he rose up and made himself ready to go out, hoping the people might understand that he wished them to leave. But they were so much engaged in conversation, that they did not take the hint. This was most annoying to that prince. At last he went out; and when the people saw this, they also left, except three men who remained sitting and talking. That prince, through exceeding modesty, refrained from telling them to their faces, 'Go away!' Then he went to the door of the dwelling of the mothers of the faithful and saluted them. They, after having returned his salutation, inquired of him, 'O Apostle of God, how didst thou find thy spouse?' Whilst this was taking place, one of the three persons left; and when his Excellency returned to Zeinab's apartment, he found the other two still sitting. So he turned back and occupied himself with something else. Not till after all this, did the two others take the hint and likewise go away. As soon as he was told that they had left, he returned to Zeinab's room. Uns says, 'I wished

[1] Plainly an intended parallel to the 'marriage of Cana in Galilee.'

to speak to that prince once more; but seeing the curtain already drawn, I turned away and went home. When I told these things to my brother-in-law, Abu Talha, he replied, "If things are as you say, then a writing will come down on the subject." It really came to pass as Abu Talha had surmised; for shortly after "the verse of the curtain" was sent down.'

It is said that when that prince had married Zeinab, the hypocrites of Medina made great use of their slanderous tongues, saying, 'Mohammed has taken his own son's wife.' Thereupon the following verses came down: 'Mohammed has not been the father of any one of you;' and, 'Name them after their own fathers; this will be more proper with God.'

In connection with Zeinab's virtues it is mentioned that on one occasion, when the Prophet was sitting amongst the emigrants, distributing booty to them, one of his pure wives sent to him, asking for one of the articles. He complied with the request, and likewise apportioned presents to all his other wives, except Zeinab. Upon this, Zeinab said to him, 'O Apostle of God, there is none amongst thy ladies to whom thou gavest no present except myself. To one thou gavest in consideration of her father; to others, in consideration of their brothers or relatives. It was, therefore, proper for thee to remember me also with a present, in consideration of Him who married and gave me to thee.' This word very much touched the Prophet, so that Omar rebuked Zeinab, saying, 'Why dost thou give pain to that prince?' She answered, 'Leave me alone, Omar: if this thing had happened to thy daughter Hafza, wouldest thou have been content then?' His Excellency also said, 'O Omar, leave her alone: for verily she is compassionate.'

It is also narrated that Zeinab once said to the Prophet, 'I possess several excellencies of which none of thy other wives can boast: we two have one grandfather, my wedlock took place in heaven, and in this our affair the agent and witness was Gabriel.'

Abd Allah Ibn Omar narrates: 'The Apostle of God once said to his ladies, "That one of you who has the longest arm shall speedily reach me."' Upon this, the mothers of the believers took a reed and measured their arms. It was found that Sevda's arm was the longest. Afterwards, when Zeinab was the first to succeed the Prophet in death, it became manifest that by length of arm was meant liberality in almsgiving: for Zeinab gave away as alms all the produce from the sale of her handiwork. She died 53 years old, A.H. 20. In the current books ten traditions are derived from her, of which two are generally received.

REMARK.—The preceding account of Zeinab's marriage with Mohammed is in itself both sad and droll, even without making allowance for expurgations to which it appears to have been subjected, in favour of the Prophet. But the following explanatory remarks which the Mohammedan compiler of the Rawzat ul Ahbab appends to his narrative show that he studiously discarded from his reports what he considered prejudicial to the character of his hero. The reasons which he assigns for his benevolent discrimination also fully confirm the view, expressed in the present work, of the great need there exists for using the Mussulman sources of history, respecting Mohammed, with great caution. The singular logic adopted by the Mohammedan authors in screening their prophet's life and conduct, can leave little doubt that, had our information been derived from impartial sources, Mohammed would appear before us in a far more unfavourable light. The instructive remarks with which the compiler of the Rawzat feels it his duty to favour his readers, and which plainly set forth the principles generally acted upon by the biographers, are as follows:—

'Be it known that some of the Commentators, Traditionists, Biographers, Jurists, and Historians narrate this story about Zeid and Zeinab in a different way, which a perfect Mussulman cannot follow, as regards his Excellency the Prophet. In the preceding narrative we have only written down what we found in the writings of the most approved Traditionists, Biographers, and cautious authors. Mussulmans, therefore, must not be staggered, if they find in other books what we have omitted, though the authors of those books may have been great men and belonged to the orthodox community. For it is best to follow truth. Sheikh Shihab ud Din says in some of his works that one has to take refuge with God (*i.e.* indignantly to turn) from what some believe concerning the Apostle of God in the matter of Zeinab, because the Most High always kept that prince, so that every one of his words and actions was true and pure. That prince never perfidiously looked at the illicit, his look being preserved pure not only from what is treacherous in itself, but even from what has the mere appearance of treachery. This is proved by the fact that at the conquest of Mecca, when Othman brought Abd Allah Ibn Saad, whose death had been decided upon, into the presence of the Prophet, soliciting an amnesty for him, the Prophet returned no answer, and did not give the amnesty, until Othman had repeatedly importuned him for it; and, after Othman and Abd Allah had left, said to those present, 'Why did ye not cut off the head of

that person?' Ibad Ibn Bishr answering, 'O Apostle of God, we were looking to the corner of thine eye for a sign, and if there had been one, we should have cut off his head at once,' the Prophet rejoined, 'It does not become any prophet that his look should convey treachery.' If, then, Mohammed regarded it treachery to give a sign with his eye, which would only have had the appearance of treachery, as the matter had been approved by him from religious motives, how can it be fit for Mussulmans to suppose that he allowed himself to look upon another man's wife? On the contrary, it is proper to believe that the desires of that prince remained within the bounds of what was right, and that lust had no power over him. His companion from amongst the Genii was subject and obedient to him, and did not impel him to any but good things. But as in the time of ignorance Zeid was called 'Zeid Ibn Mohammed,' because Mohammed had adopted him for a son; and as it was considered unlawful to marry the divorced wife of an adopted, no less than a natural, son, it behoved Divine Wisdom to forbid those views, and to overthrow those rules and customs in a more efficacious manner. It was for this purpose that, when Zeinab had been separated from Zeid, God married her in heaven to that Excellency and gave her to him. For if the early Mussulmans had not seen that prince marry the divorced wife of his adopted son, they would have been left in doubt and perplexity respecting such marriages.'

8. *Jowairia* was married by Mohammed A.H. 5, during his return from the Moreisi expedition, her husband having fallen in a fight against the Moslems. Her name was changed from Bere (=a wound), which was disliked by the Prophet. One morning he left her room whilst she was saying her prayers; and on coming back in the course of the forenoon, he still found her engaged in prayer. He asked her, whether she had been praying ever since he left, and on her answering in the affirmative, he said, 'Since I left, I have only spoken three times four words, but if they were put into a balance, they would outweigh all that thou hast been saying to-day.' Another time the Prophet went to her on a Friday, and finding her fasting, he asked her whether she had also fasted the day before, and intended to do so the next day. On her answering in the negative, he said to her, 'Then break fast at once.' From this the Ulemas infer, that it is not good to fast on Fridays only. She died in Medina, A.H. 50 or 56, being 65 years old. The honoured books contain seven traditions from her, of which four are genuine.

9. *Om Habiba* (also called Ramla and Hind) was first married to Obeid Allah, with whom she embraced Islam at an early period, and emigrated to Abyssinia, where she bore him the daughter Habiba. She narrates: 'Whilst in Abyssinia, I one night saw Obeid Allah, in a dream, exceedingly ill-favoured and unsightly. In the morning he said to me, 'O Om Habiba, I have examined all religions and not found a better one than Christianity. I also formerly held that religion, though afterwards chose Mohammed's; and now I wish to return to the religion of the Christians.' I replied, 'O Abd Allah, do not say so, for I saw a strange dream concerning thee to-night.' I told him the dream, but he gave no heed, and became a renegade to Christianity, took to drinking wine, and died in that state. Afterwards I had again a dream in which I saw some one who addressed me, 'O mother of the believers.' On waking I interpreted it to myself as an intimation that the Prophet was going to marry me. When my legal time of mourning was over, a female domestic was one day sent to me from the Abyssinian king, with the message 'I have received a letter from the Apostle of God in which he asks thee in marriage.' On hearing this, I was exceedingly delighted, and took off ornaments from my hands and feet to reward the messenger. Then I appointed Khalid Ibn Said for my Vakil, and was married to the Prophet by the Abyssinian king, receiving as my dowry 400 gold pieces (or, according to another account, 1000 dirhems)'.

When Om Habiba reached Medina, she became ennobled with the nobility of that Excellency's bed. She was at that time thirty odd years of age. It is reported that when her end approached, she asked pardon of Aisha and of Om Selma, saying, 'Amongst a man's wives discord will naturally arise: forgive all that happened to you through me.' They answered, 'May God reconcile us to each other! We have forgiven all that has happened.' Om Habiba rejoined, 'May God gladden you, as you have gladdened me!' She died A.H. 42 or 44, in Medina. The books of authority contain sixty-six traditions from her, of which two are generally received.

10. *Safia* (=Sophia) Bent Hoyyai, a Jewess of the tribe of Aaron. She belonged to the Nadhir kabile; and after having been separated from her first husband, Sallam Ibn Mishkam, she became the wife of Kinana Ibn er Rabbi, who was slain at the conquest of Khaibar. From amongst all the other captives the Prophet chose her for himself. As soon as she was brought before him, he ordered her to be taken to his tent. He soon went there himself to see her; and on saying to her, 'Thy father has always been hostile to me,

now God has slain him,' she replied, 'God does not upbraid any one for the sins of others.' Then he left her free to choose between going back to her people and turning Mussulman, to become one of his pure wives. She being a gentle and intelligent lady, answered, 'O Apostle of God, verily, I have a desire to become a Mussulman. I believe in thee, and in this state am I come to thee. I have no longer any connection with Judaism; I have no longer either father or brother amongst the Jews. By Allah! God and His Apostle are preferable to me to being set at liberty and rejoining my people.' These words pleased the Prophet so much, that he at once put her aside for himself and gave her her liberty for a dowry. When they quitted Khaibar, she was brought to ride on the same camel with the Prophet. He offered her his thigh, to assist her in mounting; but she had such regard to good manners, that, instead of stepping on his thigh, she mounted by only putting her knee against him. He covered her with his own cloth, and sat in front of her, so that all the people knew she was to be one of his pure wives. At the first halting-place, six miles from Khaibar, he wished to consummate the marriage with her; but as she was unwilling, and refused, he became very angry with her. At the next station he told Om Selim his wish, requesting her to make the necessary preparation. Accordingly she brought Safia into the tent, combed her hair, perfumed her, and gave her instruction what to do when the Prophet came near her. Safia acting as she was instructed, the marriage was consummated that night.

It is recorded that Abu Eyub, one of the Ansars, watched that whole night with a drawn sword before the tent; and when the Prophet, on seeing him in the morning, asked him for the reason, he replied, 'O Apostle of God, Safia is still a young lady; her father and husband have been slain: I therefore thought within myself, that it was best to remain near, so as to be ready for any eventuality.' The Prophet smiled, and blessed him for his care.

On being asked by Om Selim, how she had found the Prophet, Safia said, 'I found him pleasant. He was gay with me, and kept talking with me all night, till this morning. When he asked me, why I refused him in the previous station, and I answered, I was afraid some harm might happen to him, as the place was so near the Jews, he was pleased with the answer, and loved me all the more for it.' The same morning Mohammed also asked all his friends to bring forward all the eatables they could spare, and thus he had a wedding-feast prepared in honour of Safia.

It is recorded that, on arriving at Medina, Mohammed lodged

Safia in a room of Haritha Ibn Noaman's house. The renown of her great beauty spreading about, the wives of the Ansars went to see her. Aisha the faithful, likewise, disguising herself by putting a sheet around her and covering her face with a veil, went amongst other women to get a look at her. The Prophet, seeing her, recognised her at once; so, taking hold of her sheet, he said to her, 'O Anemone, how didst thou find Safia?' Aisha replied, 'I found a Jewish girl, sitting among Jewish women.'

It is recorded on the authority of Om Selim, that four of the Prophet's pure wives went disguised amongst the wives of the Ansars to see Safia, viz., Aisha, Zeinab, Hafza, and Jowairia. She heard Zeinab say to Jowairia, 'What I have seen is this, that before long this one will have superseded us all.' But Jowairia replied, 'It will not be so; for she belongs to a people whose women are not more fortunate than its men.'

Aisha the faithful narrated: 'Once that prince took us with him on a journey; and when Safia's camel was taken ill, so as to be unable to proceed further, he said to Zeinab, "How would it be, if thou wert to lend thy spare camel to Safia, till the next station?" But she replied, "I shall give nothing to that Jewess." This so offended his Excellency that for two or three months he forsook Zeinab, and never went near her.'

It is recorded that during that prince's last illness, when the mothers of the believers were gathered around him, Safia said, 'O Apostle of God, I wish I could have this illness in thy stead.' When the other wives heard this word, they winked to each other with their eyes; and on the Prophet observing it, he was very much displeased, and said, 'By Allah! Safia has been sincere in what she said.'

On one occasion, when the Apostle of God went to the apartment of Safia, he found her weeping. Asking her why she wept, she said, 'Because Aisha and Hafza trouble me, saying, We are better than Safia, being both his relatives and his married wives.' That prince said, 'O Safia, didst thou not say to them, In what way are you better than I, who have Aaron for a father, Moses for an uncle, and Mohammed Mustafa for a husband?'

On another occasion Aisha the faithful said reproachingly to Mohammed, 'Is it not enough for thee to acknowledge the defects of Safia, seeing she is such and such, that is, very short?' His Excellency replied, 'O Aisha, verily thou hast spoken a word which, if it had a colour and were thrown into the sea, would colour the entire ocean.'

Safia died, A.H. 36 or 50 or 52, or, according to another account,

during Omar's Califate. Ten traditions are derived from her, of which one is generally recognised.

11. *Meimuna* Bint el Harith, whose previous name was Bere, had in the time of ignorance been the wife of Masud Ibn Omar, and after their separation was married by Abu Dehm, or by Khuwaitab, or by Furuwet, or by Sibret, or by Abd Yalil. After her second husband's death, the Prophet desired her; and he married her, A.H. 7, during his return from the Omra expedition, in the station of Serf, not far from Mecca. It is a strange incident that Meimuna afterwards died in the same place, and was buried on the spot where her nuptial bed had been. The account concerning her, deserving preference to the rest, is this, that at the time the Prophet married her, there was no legal impediment in the way, but according to other accounts she was not lawful to him. It is said that Meimuna was that lady who made a present of herself to the Prophet. When the news reached her that the Prophet desired her in marriage, she was mounted on a camel, and at once said, 'I and the camel I am riding upon are God's and His Prophet's.' Then the verse came down, 'And a believing woman has made a present of herself to the Prophet.' But, according to another account, the lady who gave herself as a present to the Prophet was Zeinab Bint Jahsh, or Zeinab Bint Khazima, or a lady from amongst the Beni Amir.

Meimuna narrated as follows: 'One night, when it was my turn, the Apostle of God rose up from my side and went out. Then I rose up and locked the door. After a while his Excellency returned and knocked, but I did not open. When he swore at me, to open, I said, "O Apostle of God, thou goest to thy other wives in the night of my turn." His Excellency answered: "I did not go to them, but went somewhere else."'

According to some accounts Meimuna died A.H. 51, and according to others, A.H. 61 or 63 or 60. According to these latter it was Meimuna who died last of all Mohammed's wives, and not Om Selma. The traditions derived from her amount to seventy-six, of which seven are generally agreed upon.

The wives above mentioned are the eleven favoured ladies with whom the Prophet consummated marriage; and not one of the Biographers dissents from this statement. Only two of them, viz., Khadija and Zeinab Bint Khazima, departed this world during the Prophet's life, and after them that prince went to eternity, whilst the remaining nine were still living.

Besides these, there are thirty other ladies, with some of whom that Excellency contracted a marriage, without consummating it, whilst others he asked in marriage, without the engagement being carried out. One of them was *Fatima* Bint Dhahak, to whom the Prophet left the choice, after having married her, and who thereupon left him, preferring the world. She at last became so destitute that she had to gather camel-dung in the street for fuel. She used to say, 'Take a warning from my misfortune, because I preferred this world to God and His Apostle.'

Another was *Sena*, or *Saba*, or *Asma* Bint Zalat. Soon after she had been informed of the glad news that the Prophet had accepted her in marriage, she also received the sad tidings that the object of her joy had died.

Another was *Melika* Bint Kaab, on whose thigh the Lord of the world observed something white, when he was alone with her. This gave him a loathing, and he said to her, 'Dress again, and return to thy people.'

Another was *Asma* Bint Noaman. Her father, the chief of his tribe, on coming to the Prophet and professing belief in him, said: 'O Apostle of God, I have a daughter, the most beautiful of the women of Arabia. She is as yet without a husband, and has a strong desire to be ennobled with the nobility of thy bed.' The Prophet accepted her, and gave her father Noaman 12½ pounds of money for her dower. Noaman asked for a higher dowry; but on the Prophet assuring him, that he had not given more to any of his wives, nor asked more for his own daughters, he consented; and his daughter was sent for by one of the Prophet's confidential men. As soon as the fame of her beauty had spread in Medina, the ladies of the city came to see her. The mothers of the believers instructed one of the women to convey this message to her: 'Thou art the daughter of a chief: if therefore thou wishest to find more luck here, thou hadst better say to him, as soon as he is alone with thee, "I take refuge with God from thee!" for this will multiply his inclination and love towards thee.' According to another account, the Prophet's pure wives were very jealous of Asma from the moment she had arrived; and, feigning affection for her, sought to mislead her. Aisha said to Hafza, 'Do thou burn henna on her hands, and I will dress her hair.' So when her head was being dressed, one of them said to that unfortunate one, 'The Prophet exceedingly loves any woman, who, as soon as they are alone, turns her back upon him, and says, "I take refuge with God from thee!"' So when that prince was alone with Asma, and wished to kiss her,

that simpleton said, 'I take refuge with God from thee.' As soon as that Excellency heard her say this word, he rose up from her side, saying, 'Thou hast taken refuge in a safe place: arise and go back to thy father.' Then the Prophet sent her back to her tribe by the same man who had fetched her. When the Apostle of God afterwards became aware of the trick his wives had played to Asma, he said, 'They are like Joseph, and their cunning is great.'

Another was *Leili* Bint Khatim. Once when the Prophet was sunning his back, she went behind him, giving him a blow with her fist. On his turning round and asking for an explanation, she said, 'I am come to thee, in order to give myself up to thee, and that thou mayest marry me.' His Excellency replied, 'I accept thee for a wife.' But when she returned to her people and told them what had happened, they said to her, 'Thou hast not acted well; for thou art a jealous lady; but that Excellency has many wives, so thou wilt be sure to say to them what will make him angry and will lead him to curse thee. It will therefore be the best thing for thee to go to that prince and ask him to annul the marriage.' This was accordingly done, and Leili married some one else, by whom she had children. But one day, when she was taking a bath in one of the gardens of Medina, a wolf came and tore her in pieces.

Of those whom the Prophet asked in marriage, but did not obtain, was *Om Hani* or *Fakhta* Bint Abu Talib. He had asked for her already in the time of ignorance; but her father, his uncle, gave her to Habira, on the plea that he himself had taken a wife from their family. Afterwards she embraced Islam and became separated from Habira. Then his Excellency asked again for her, but she answered, 'O Apostle of God, by Allah, I loved thee even in the time of ignorance, and now since I am a Mussulman, why should I not love thee still? By Allah! I love thee more than my eyes and my ears; but I am a lady with orphan children. I fear that when I look after them, I cannot properly attend to thy service. If thou wert to come to my bed, thou wouldst find one child by my side and another on my bosom.'

Another was *Jumra* Bint Harith, whom the Prophet asked of her father. The latter replied, 'O Apostle of God, she has a disease,' although this was not the case. But when her father came home, he found her covered with leprosy.

That prince had also *Female Slaves*. The first of these was *Mary* Bint Simeon, a Copt, whom the King of Alexandria sent to

him for a present. She was a beautiful, fair lady, and, having embraced Islam, the Prophet kept her for concubinage. He fondly loved her, and his son Ibrahim was by her. She died, A.H. 16, during Omar's Califate.

The second is *Raihana* Bint Zeid, one of the captives of the Beni Nadhir, a Jewish tribe. The Prophet selected her for himself from amongst the other captives. He left her the choice between her own religion and Islam, and she chose the latter. He possessed her by the right of his right hand (*i.e.* by conquest). According to another account, adopted by Wakidi, he liberated and married her in Ramadan, A.H. 6.

The third was a beautiful female slave falling to his share of the war-booty.

The fourth was a slave whom Zeinab Bint Jahsh gave him for a present.

APPENDIX II.

MOHAMMED'S CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN.

BE it known that all his Excellency's children were by Khadija, except Ibrahim, who came from Mary.

Kasim was the eldest son of that prince, who, on this account, was surnamed 'Abu-l-Kasim,' *i.e.* the father of Kasim. Kasim was born in Mecca during the time of ignorance, and also died in the time of ignorance, after having entered upon the second year of his age.

Abd Allah likewise was born in Mecca, and died in his infancy. At that time the idolaters of Mecca boasted, saying, '*We* have sons by whom our name and fame will be perpetuated in this world; but Mohammed has no son left, and therefore his name and fame will perish.'

Ibrahim (Abraham) was born, A.H. 5, in Medina. The midwife on the occasion was the Apostle's liberated slave Selmi. She sent the good news of the birth by her husband, Abu Rafi, to Mohammed, who rewarded him by the present of a slave. The Prophet, that same night, also gave the child the name of Ibrahim. Gabriel came down and saluted that prince by saying, 'Peace be to thee, O thou father of Ibrahim!' which pleased him very much. On the seventh day after the birth, when the ceremony of the cutting of the hair with which he came into the world took place (*Akika*), the Prophet sacrificed a sheep, had Ibrahim's head shaved, and gave the equal weight of the hair, in silver, as alms to the poor, and then ordered the hair to be buried. It is reported that the ladies of the Ansar eyed each other from a desire of becoming Ibrahim's wet-nurse. Their object in this was, to take all care from his mother, so that she might give herself up wholly to the service of the Prophet; for they knew that his Excellency loved her exceedingly. The wet-nurse is stated to have been Om Berde, and according to another account, Om Seif.

Ibrahim lived about a year, dying A.H. 10. His death caused

the Prophet great sadness and many tears. When they brought the news to him that the child was in the agonies of death, he took the hand of Abd ur Rahman Ibn Awf, who happened to be with him, and went to Abu Seif's house, where he found the child lying in its mother's lap. He took it up in his arms; and as he thus looked upon it, tears flowed from his blessed eyes. Abd ur Rahman said, 'O Apostle of God, thou also weepest; didst thou not forbid us to bewail our dead?' He replied, 'O Ibn Awf, what thou now seest in me is compassion and tenderness for the dead, arising from the thought of what is befalling him.' Asama Ibn Zeid, on being told not to wail, answered, 'O Apostle of God, I wept, because I saw thee weep;' to which his Excellency remarked, 'Weeping is from compassion, wailing from Satan.' According to one account, Ibrahim was washed by the wet-nurse; according to another, by Fazl Ibn Abbas, Abd ur Rahman pouring on the water. The Prophet was present during the washing, and performed the funeral service; after which he had the grave levelled and water poured over it. Ibrahim's was the first grave in Islam on which water was poured.

It is reported that Mohammed said on the day of Ibrahim's death, 'If Ibrahim had remained alive, I would have made all his mother's relatives free, and would have exempted all the Kopts from tribute.' It is also established that he said, 'As my son Ibrahim quitted this world before his nursing was over, he will have a nurse, or, according to another account, two nurses, in Paradise, till the time of nursing is completed.'

Of Mohammed's DAUGHTERS.

Zeinab was the oldest, born in the time of ignorance, and afterwards married by her father to his nephew Abu-l-Aas. The latter was amongst the captives taken by the Mussulmans at the battle of Bedr. Zeinab being then in Mecca, gave up the necklace which she had received from her mother Khadija on her wedding-day, to be sent to the Mussulmans for the redemption of her husband. As soon as his Excellency saw the necklace, he became greatly moved, because it reminded him of Khadija; and he said to his companions, 'If you wish, you may give up Zeinab's captive and send her back the necklace.' Accordingly, this was done. Before Abu-l-Aas left, Mohammed addressed him thus, 'When thou hast reached Mecca, send me back my daughter Zeinab: for her Islam and thy unbelief have separated you from each other.' In com-

pliance with this stipulation, Abu-l-Aas sent Zeinab to Medina. She remained there separated from him, till later on he fell into the hands of Mohammed's soldiers, whilst he was returning from a mercantile journey. He begged Zeinab's and her father's pardon, had his goods restored to him, and embraced Islam. His wife rejoined him, by virtue of the first marriage, or, according to another account, by a fresh marriage.

Zeinab had two children by Abu-l-Aas: a boy called Ali, who died when he was nearly grown up; and a girl called Imama, whom the Prophet loved so much that once he kept her on his shoulder whilst performing his prayers, putting her on the ground at the prostration and taking her up again, when he raised his blessed head from the ground. She was afterwards married to Ali Ibn Abu Talib, after Fatima's death, who had counselled the marriage. Zeinab died A.H. 8. The Prophet ordered that she should be washed three or five or seven times, the last time with camphor; and that his own bathing-towel should be tied on to her winding-sheets.

Rakaia, Mohammed's second daughter, was born during the time of ignorance, in the thirty-third year of the Elephant, and was married by her father to Atiba Ibn Abu Lahab. But before the marriage was consummated, a verse was revealed against Abu Lahab, wherefore he insisted on his son divorcing Rakaia. It is also recorded that after Mohammed had received his apostolic mission, the Koreish, from their enmity to him, said to his sons-in-law Abu-l-Aas and Atiba, 'You have taken Mohammed's daughters and freed him from this care: if you desire our goodwill, you must divorce them, so that he may be occupied with his daughters and not with other matters; and we will give you instead any one of our daughters whom you may choose.' Abu-l-Aas declined; but Atiba said, 'If you give me Saad's daughter, I will divorce Rakaia.'

Accordingly, Atiba, about to start on a mercantile journey to Syria, with his father, first went to Mohammed, speaking against his God, and then called out, 'I have divorced Rakaia.' The Prophet replied, 'O God, set thou one of thy dogs at him.' When they had reached the Zarka station on their journey to Syria, a monk came from a neighbouring monastery and told them, 'This station is an abode of wild beasts: be on your guard!' Therefore Abu Lahab went round to all the people of the caravan, saying, 'Help us this night; for I fear for my son on account of Mohammed's curse.' So they brought all their merchandise together on a heap, and pre-

pared a place on its top for Atiba to sleep in. But in the night God sent a heavy sleep upon them. A lion came, first smelled at each one of them, without doing them any harm, and then, flinging itself upon the heap of merchandise, gave Atiba a blow with its paw which tore asunder his body and killed him.

Afterwards the Prophet gave Rakaia to Othman Ibn Afan, and they twice emigrated to Abyssinia. Rakaia being with child during the first emigration, suffered a miscarriage. Then she bore Othman a son, named Abd Allah, who died two years old, from the effects of his eye being picked out by a cock. Rakaia died A.H. 2, during the absence of her father at the battle of Bedr. When the ladies wept for her, Omar Ibn Khattab came and struck them with his fist, saying, 'Why do you weep?' The Apostle of God, seizing his hand, said to him, 'Beat them not, let them weep: but they must refrain from wailing and beating themselves.' When Fatima sat on her grave, by the side of the Prophet, and wept, he dried her tears with the end of his sleeve. As most narrators agree that the Prophet was from home when Rakaia died, the last-mentioned circumstance must either have happened at the death of another of his daughters, or else during one of his visits to the tomb, after his return from Bedr. But God knows best.

Om Kolthum or *Amina* was Mohammed's third daughter. She was at first married to Otba, Atiba's brother, who soon divorced her at the instigation of his father Abu Lahab. A year after Rakaia's death, the Prophet gave her to Othman Ibn Afan. According to some historians she bore him no children; and according to others, the children she bore died in infancy. She herself died A.H. 9. When her body had been brought to the grave, the Prophet asked, 'Which of you men did not approach last night?' and on Abu Talha answering, he did not, he commanded him to descend into the grave and bury her. He also ordered the grave to be smoothed down, but said, 'Know, that the dead derives no benefit from this; only it is more gratifying to the living.'

Fatima the brilliant, surnamed Om Mohammed, and also called the blessed, the pure, the intelligent, the content, the contenting, and the virgin, was Mohammed's fourth daughter. She was born in the thirty-fifth or the forty-first year of the Elephant, and is generally regarded as the Prophet's youngest daughter, though some say that Rakaia or Om Kolthum was the youngest. Ali Ibn Abu Talib married her A.H. 2, on his return from the battle of Bedr. At

the time of her marriage Fatima was fifteen or eighteen years old, or, according to other historical statements, twenty or twenty-four years. She gave birth to three sons and three daughters, namely, Hasan, Hosein, and Mohsan; Zeinab, Om Kolthum, and Rakaia,—of whom the third and the sixth died in their infancy. Zeinab was given in marriage to Abd Allah Ibn Jafar, and Om Kolthum to Omar Ibn Khattab; but they left no children. The only child of the Prophet whose issue survived, was Fatima. Once, when Aisha the faithful was asked who had been the best beloved of the Apostle of God, she answered, 'Amongst women, Fatima, and amongst men, her husband.'

Hadhifa el Yeman narrated: 'One day my mother scolded me on account of not having seen the Prophet for so long. I therefore went that morning to perform the prayers with him. After prayers he went to his room, and as I went after him, I observed some one walking before that Excellency and saying a few words into his ears, in a low voice. Mohammed asked me what I wanted; and on my answering, "O Apostle of God, I am come to crave pardon for my mother and myself," he said, "God has forgiven both thee and thy mother." Then he further questioned me, "Didst thou see that person who was walking before me?" and on my giving an affirmative answer, he continued, "This was an angel who had never before descended anywhere, but who now received permission from my Lord to come down: he, after saluting, told me that Fatima was to be the mistress of the ladies of Paradise, and Hasan and Hosein the Lords of the youths of Paradise."'

Uns Ibn Malik narrated that the Prophet once said, 'Of all the women of this world, the following are equal in rank: Mary, the daughter of Omran; Khadija, the daughter of Khuilid; Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed; and Pharaoh's wife Asia, the daughter of Mezahin.' It is also established that the Prophet said, 'Fatima is a piece of myself: whoever pains her, pains me; and whoever is angry with her, is angry with me.' According to another account he said, 'God is wroth with any one who bears anger to Fatima; and he is pleased with any one who takes pleasure in Fatima.'

One day the Lord of the world put the following question in an assembly of his companions, 'Tell me, what is the most proper thing for ladies to do?' But not one of those present could answer it. When Ali Ibn Abu Talib, on returning home, told this to his wife Fatima, she said, 'Why didst thou not answer, The best thing for ladies to do is, that neither they should see the faces of gentlemen, nor gentlemen their faces.' Then Ali returned to the Prophet

and gave him the answer which he had been taught by Fatima. Thereupon his Excellency remarked, 'Truly, Fatima is a piece of myself.'

On another day the Prophet, coming to Fatima's house, found her wearing a coarse garment of camel's hair, which brought tears to his eyes, and led him to say, 'O Fatima, patiently bear to-day this world's trouble and distress; for on the morrow of the resurrection the favours of Paradise shall be thine.'

Sheikh Nejm narrates in his commentary on the first Sura, that once the Prophet, in visiting Fatima, found her grieving and sad. On asking her the reason of this, she answered, 'O Apostle of God, I say it not by way of complaint, but as a mere statement of facts, that we nave now been three days without any food in our house. Hasan and Hosein having exhausted their patience, cry out with hunger; and seeing them weep, tears come to my own eyes, and Ali likewise has wept. To-day, when I heard Hasan and Hosein say, "Are there any other children who have to suffer hunger as we have?" my strength failed me, and the world turned dark before my eyes. O dear father, what sayest thou? Is it a shame if any one prays to the Most High with boldness?' His Excellency answered, 'No, my daughter; the Most High loves the boldness of His servants.' Fatima arose, took an ablution, said the legal prayers, and then sighed, and supplicated thus, 'O God, thou knowest that women have not the strength of a prophet. If there is a secret between thee and my father, I have no strength for it: either give strength for these troubles, or remove them from me!' After having said this, she fainted. Then came Gabriel, saying, 'O Apostle of God, arise, and look after Fatima.' When the teacher of the world came, he found his daughter lying in a fainting fit. He raised her head up, and on recovering consciousness she sat up, with her head bashfully inclined. He exhorted her to remember that God is the dispenser of favours; and laying his blessed hand on her bosom, added, 'O God, keep her safe from hunger!' Fatima said, 'After that prayer I never felt the pangs of hunger again.'

Fatima the illustrious died on the third of Ramadan, 6 or 3 months, or 40 or 29, or 35 or 24 days, after the death of the Prophet, being 28 years of age. She was buried the same day, Ali, or, according to another account, Abbas, conducting the funeral service. It is reported that on the following day, Abu Bekr and Omar, and all the other noble companions, blamed Ali, saying, 'Why didst thou not inform us, so that we also might have been ennobled

with the nobility of her funeral service?' Ali the favoured excused himself by saying that he had acted in accordance with a special request. It is reported that Fatima the illustrious had called Ali the favoured to her bedside, and laid this injunction upon him, 'When I am dead, bury me at night, so that no eye by which I cannot legally be seen, may see my corpse.' Eighteen traditions are derived from her of which one is generally accredited.

Fatima's two sons, *Hasan* and *Hosein*, are the two most renowned of Mohammed's grandchildren.

Hasan was in all his parts, from the chest upwards to the pate of his head, most like the Apostle of God. The learned biographers narrate that one day the Calif Abu Bekr observed Hasan at play with other boys, when he took hold of him, placed him on his shoulders, and said to him, 'O Hasan, thou exceedingly resemblest the seal of the prophets, but art unlike Ali.' Ali, hearing this, smiled, and said that Abu Bekr was right. Hasan died in Ramadan, A.H. 53.

The Hamadan Hafiz Abu-l-Ala narrated that when Ali, the Commander of the faithful, reached the land of the mercy of God (*i.e.* died), Hasan, the Commander of the faithful, ascended the pulpit and said, 'O ye people, to-night some one has departed from amongst you, whose like those who have been before you have never seen, and those who come after you will never see. A person who, when ordered by the Apostle of God to exterminate the rebels and enemies, was accompanied and assisted by Gabriel on his right side, and by Michael on his left, and who never turned back until victory was achieved; that person died in the same night in which likewise Moses, the son of Amran died, and in which Jesus, the son of Mary, ascended into heaven.'

According to some books, the people took the oath of allegiance to that Excellency immediately after this address, and according to others, just before. The prince who had the luck and blessedness of first laying hold on the skirt of that Excellency's allegiance, was Kais Ibn Saad of the Ansars. He said, 'I take the oath of allegiance to thee, O Commander of the faithful, on the Book of God, and on the Law of the best of created beings, and on the religious war against the enemies.' Hasan replied, 'Religious war against all sorts of opponents is enjoined in the Book of God and the Law of Mohammed the chosen; there is no need of proving this by special quotations.' From this expression the people inferred that that Light of the eye of the virgin (viz. Fatima) and that Lamp of the

assembly of the accepted ones, had no inclination to enter upon a struggle and murderous war against adversaries.

When Moawia, the son of Abu Sofyan, had received the tidings of his Excellency Ali's death, and of the people's oath of allegiance to his son Imam Hasan, he left a *locum tenens* at Damascus, and set out with 60,000 men for Persia, marching in the direction of Kufa. As soon as Hasan heard of this, he departed from Kufa with 40,000 men, and on the way ordered Kais Ibn Saad to join him with 12,000 horsemen. Having reached Madain, the Commander of the faithful ordered a halt, to rest his troops. Here he held a council, in which he said, 'O ye people, you have taken an oath of allegiance to me, to follow me in the case of war or peace. By that God whose power is supreme, I declare that I have no hatred or enmity against any man in this world.' From this word the people understood that his Excellency was going to make peace with Moawia and resign the Califate. A number of rebels said amongst themselves, 'He has turned infidel.' All the people became so enraged that they attacked Hasan, tore his clothes, and pulled away the carpet on which he was sitting. Most of the soldiers repented of the oath of allegiance which they had taken. His Highness mounted a horse and called out, 'Where are the people of Rebia and Hamadan?' They at once came forward to protect him, and conducted him back to Madain. Still, a rebel succeeded on the way in dealing him a blow and wounding his thigh, but was immediately cut down for the deed. The Commander of the faithful was taken to the white tower of Madain, wounded, and groaning with pain. But under the care of his surgeons he soon recovered.

Meanwhile Moawia had overtaken Kais, Hasan's commander-in-chief, at Ambar, and surrounded him. Abd Allah Ibn Amir, with a troop of warriors, came upon the soldiers of Imam Hasan, and called out aloud, 'O ye people of Irak, I am the advance-guard of Moawia's army; I am not come with the intention of fighting you, for at this very moment a great fight is going on at Ambar, and Moawia has surrounded Kais Ibn Saad. Give my salutation to Imam Hasan, and tell him that I swear by God to suspend hostilities, and not to shed the blood of himself and those who are with him.' When Imam Hasan's soldiers heard this word of Abd Allah, fear and terror seized their mind, so that no strength remained in their arms for fighting. The Commander of the faithful re-entered Madain, and Abd Allah went after him, surrounding the city. Hasan, on witnessing the fear and weakness of his companions,

sent word to Abd Allah that he was ready to relinquish the Califate upon certain conditions, and to deliver over the bridle of decision into Moawia's hands. The conditions were, that the Persians and Arabs who had adhered to Hasan should not be punished, but amnestied; that Hasan should receive the tribute of the province of Ahwaz; that, annually, 200,000 dirhems should be paid him from the public treasury; and that his Excellency the Imam should be distinguished above his family, as regards the privileges enjoyed by the Beni Hashim. As a further condition it is added by some, that Hasan's father, Ali, was thenceforth no more to be reviled; but this was only conceded in reference to assemblies in which Hasan himself was present.

Abd Allah Ibn Amir sent an account of this peaceable arrangement to Moawia, who conceded all Imam Hasan's requests. Moawia had a formal treaty of peace drawn up, in which he pledged himself with a strong oath, to carry out those requests inviolate; and after having it likewise signed and sealed by the chief men in Damascus, he sent it to Ibn Amir, to deliver it to Imam Hasan. The Imam gladly accepted the peace, and wrote to Kais Ibn Saad, 'Peace is concluded between myself and Moawia, therefore thou hast to give up all thought of fighting, and to relinquish the government to him.' As soon as this letter had reached Kais, he made its contents known to the chief men of his army, and added, 'You must now choose between two things: either you must fight Moawia, without the Imam, or you must bend your heads in obedience to Moawia. They choosing the latter alternative, Kais left them and returned to Hamadan.

Some also narrate, that Hasan especially insisted on the condition that Moawia should never appoint a successor, but leave it to the Mussulmans to choose after his death any one whom they might consider best fitted to become Calif. Likewise, that the family of Ali should never in any way be molested, and that Kais should expressly be included in the amnesty. When Moawia had accepted all these conditions, he entered Kufa with his Damascene army, and Imam Hasan took the oath of allegiance to him there.

Moawia also desired Hosein to come and take the oath of allegiance, but he declined; and Hasan advised Moawai not to compel him to do so, because he knew that he would rather die than take the oath of allegiance. Another account, according to which Hasan forced his brother Hosein to take the oath, is not credited by the Shiites. Kais had to be pressed by Hasan to take the oath: and when he thus came at last, Moawia said to him, 'O

Kais, I did not wish to become Sultan and thou be alive.' Kais replied, 'Nor did I wish to be alive and thou bear rule.' Those present prevented an open rupture, till the heat had cooled down on both sides. Hasan being supposed to be wanting in eloquence, Moawia requested him to mount the pulpit and give an address, in the hope that thus his unfitness for the Califate might be made obvious to the public. But he spoke so well, that his speech began to make an impression on the people, whereupon Moawia called out, 'It is enough now; come down from the pulpit.' After these things Hasan with his followers departed for Medina, and Moawia returned to Damascus.

According to one account, the Califate of Hasan lasted 6 months, and that of the previous four Califs, 29½ years, which explains the tradition, 'The duration of the Califate is 30 years.' It is reported that his Excellency the Imam was reproached for having made peace with Moawia, and that he was exhorted to re-assert his claims to the Califate by force of arms. But he steadfastly resisted, on the ground that the general opinion was opposed to a war, and that he himself wished to spare the blood of his partisans. Imam Hosein also agreed with this decision, saying, 'As long as Moawia lives, every one must remain at home, and draw his cloak over his head.' When, A.H. 41, about 600 rebels assembled at Nakhla, regarding it as a duty to fight against Moawia, the latter, on hearing it, requested Hasan to attack and destroy them. Accordingly he sent word to them, 'No one must rise in rebellion and shed blood on my account. All people know that I have resigned the Califate. If I had inclined towards war, I should have made war with Moawia at the first, but in order not to fight against Moslems and to preserve my followers from destruction, I have chosen the corner of private life, and turned the carpet of enmity.'

There is an account that one of the conditions of peace was this, that after Moawia's death, the appointment of a Calif should be dependent on Hasan's consent. Some considerable time after the conclusion of peace, Moawia determined to appoint his son Yezid as his successor, and to invite the people to take the oath of allegiance to him. But well knowing that he could not carry out this intention so long as Hasan was living, he spent whole nights in devising means for getting him out of the way. So he sent a messenger to Medina to promise to Hasan's wife, Jaada, a reward of 50,000 dirhems, and the hand of his son Yezid, if she would make use of her intercourse with Hasan for rubbing his limbs and

body with a poisoned handkerchief, forwarded to her for this purpose, and thus send him into eternity. The treacherous woman, closing with the offer, received the stipulated 50,000 dirhems, after Hasan's death; but Yezid, on being asked to marry her, replied, 'Jaada has not done her duty to the Prophet's grandson, how can she act well towards me? and how could any one now desire her for a wife?' There are also a class of people who say, the cause of that Excellency's death was poisoned drink; and others, that he had an illness, for forty days, of which he died. It is also reported that Hasan said during his illness, 'Twice before, they have given me poison to drink, and this is the third time.' It is likewise said, that poison had been given him six times, but that five times it did not kill him, and only the sixth time did its work.

When his brother Hosein visited Hasan in his last illness, and asked him to tell him by whom he had been poisoned, so that he might avenge him after his death, Hasan answered, 'O brother, neither our father Ali, nor our mother Fatima, nor our grandfather Mohammed the chosen, nor our grandmother Khadija the great, made denunciation; therefore, neither shall denunciation come from us, nor from any member of our family. When God pardons me, on the day of the resurrection, and does not also, for my sake, forgive the sin of the person who gave me poison, I shall not enter Paradise.' It is also recorded that Hasan, when visited on his deathbed by Hosein, said to him, 'O brother, when I am dead, bury me near the Apostle of God, if doing so does not cause bloodshed; but if it should, then bury me in the graveyard.' Hosein wished to bury him near the Prophet, but, finding the people opposed to this, had him interred in the graveyard. According to some account, a grave had already been dug near the Prophet's, when Aisha heard of it. She at once mounted a mule and rode to the spot, to prevent the interment. Ali's partisans said to her, 'O Aisha, before this, thou didst mount a camel and make war against his father Ali; to-day thou mountest a mule and preventest the grandson of the Apostle of God from being buried by his side.' But they could not prevail, because the people were divided into two parties; and even arrows were shot, some of which hit Hasan's dead body. Some also affirm that Aisha herself was willing, but that the governor of the town and Othman's partisans prevented the burial near the Prophet.

It is recorded that his Excellency Imam Hasan had the habit of *marrying* ladies and *divorcing* them again. Therefore the Commander of the faithful, Ali the favoured, said to the people,

'Do not marry your daughters to my son Hasan, for he is a taster and a divorcer,' *i.e.* when a lady whom he has married has gratified his taste for a few days, he is in the habit of divorcing her; but notwithstanding this, virgins and matrons much desired to be married to him, because they had heard that his Excellency the Prophet had frequently kissed the navel of that eye of the lamp of the family of Abd Menaf, in his infancy; and therefore they wished, with all their heart and soul, to bring their own body in contact with the spot which the blessed lips of the Prophet of God had touched, so that, by this means, they might be protected against the power of Hell-fire.

The *Mirat ul Kainat* (vol. i. p. 697) says, 'In all histories it is mentioned that his Excellency Imam Hasan was such an excessive *marrier* and *divorcer* that, during his father's lifetime, he successively married 90 or 110 ladies, and, notwithstanding his extreme good nature, divorced again, for a trifling reason, every one he had taken.[1] But his form and fashion being as "beautiful" as his name,[2] every lady separated herself for him with love and fondness. On the occasion of his Excellency Ali saying, "O ye people of Kufa, do not give your ladies in marriage to Hasan, for he is a divorcer," one of those present replied, "Yes, we will surely let him marry, for he takes no pleasure in continence, and has no aversion to divorce." Soon after this, he married another of their ladies, who showed her

[1] It must be specially remembered that this hero in the marrying and divorcing line was Mohammed's own cherished grandson. No better illustration than this can be required of the baneful fruits speedily borne by the Prophet's evil example and false teaching on the subject of matrimony. He encouraged a deviation from the Creator's primitive institution, by authorising his followers to have four married wives at one and the same time; and to make room, by means of divorce, for fresh marriages, as often as they might please, whilst he himself left at his death nine living widows, besides his concubines. Such carnal doctrine and practice could not but find a ready acceptance amongst his more sensually inclined admirers, and degrade the holy estate of matrimony into an instrument of immorality and lawlessness. If Hasan died A.H. 53, he can at most have been 50 years old, seeing that his parents only married A.H. 2, and yet he is reported to have successively married and divorced no less than 90 or 110 wives, so that, if he began to marry even at the unusually early age of 10, he must, for the space of 40 years, have married and divorced at the rate of two or three wives annually, but if, as the Mirat affirms, these 90 or 110 marriages and divorces took place before his father's death, their frequency was still more appalling. Yet this debauchee was declared by his Grandfather, the Prophet, as has been reported (p. 514), to be one of the Lords of the youths of Paradise! Such a life as his was matrimony only in appearance, but gross sensuality and abominable fornication in fact. Surely, both the doctrine and practice of Islam must alike fail to convince honest inquirers that it is an improvement on Christianity, or possesses a legitimate claim to supersede it.

[2] *Hasan*, in Arabic, signifies 'beautiful.'

gratitude to that outspoken person, by sending him the present of a hundred female slaves, each provided with a thousand pieces of silver.'

Hosein was born in Medina, A.H. 4, as a six months' child, and no other child was born with six months, except he and John, the son of Zacharias. From his chest to his feet he resembled the blessed body of the Apostle of God. It is said that the interval between Hasan's birth and Hosein's conception by Fatima the brilliant, was 50 days. The Apostle of God named him Hosein, and offered for him the Akika sacrifice. It is narrated of Asma Bint Amis that when Hosein was born, a year after Hasan, she took him to the Apostle of God, who embraced him in his arms, muttered a prayer into his right ear, and then another into his left, and, pressing him to himself, began to weep. On asking him for the reason of this, he told her, that Gabriel had just informed him that the child would soon be killed by the Prophet's own people, but he cautioned her, not to let Fatima know this, lest her feelings should be wounded, because she had only recently been confined. According to a story narrated by Om Salma, the Prophet one night disappeared from her chamber, and, after a long absence, returned bewildered and sad. Asking him for the reason, he said, 'To-night they took me to a place in Persia called Kerbela, and showed me Hosein killed by a party of my people. I took up a piece of earth into my hand, looking like blood; preserve it well, and when thou findest that it turns into fresh blood, then know thou that they have made Hosein a martyr.' She did as she was bidden. When, afterwards, Hosein went to Kufa on the morning of the 10th of Moharram, she found it as before; but looking again in the evening, she saw it had turned into fresh blood. She lamented a little, but soon refrained, lest the enemies of the family should exult. A little later the news arrived that Hosein and his family had attained to the glory of martyrdom.

It is narrated that one day the Apostle of God had Hosein sitting on his right thigh and his own son Ibrahim on his left, when Gabriel came and told him that God wished to take away one of the two, allowing him to choose which one to retain. His Excellency reasoned thus: If Hosein dies, myself, Ali, and Fatima will grieve; but if Ibrahim is taken, I alone shall suffer excessive grief; therefore I prefer Ibrahim's death. Three days later Ibrahim died, and whenever afterwards Hosein visited the Prophet, he saluted him thus, 'Welcome thou, for whose sake I have sacrificed my son Ibrahim.' Be it also known that, besides being equal to his ready-tongued brother in knowledge, meekness, perfection, virtue, and liberality, Hosein daily repeated a thousand genuflexions of prayers,

and was a friend of the great and the learned, and, like his brother, made 25 pilgrimages.

Hosein's martyrdom, by reason of which the world became dark, and angels, men, and genii mourned and wailed, is thus narrated: At the beginning of Rejeb, in the year 60 A.H., Moawia died at Damascus. Thereupon Damascus, Egypt, Haleb, with the greater part of Persia and Arabia, took the oath of allegiance to his son Yezid. But when Yezid sent a message to Medina for the same purpose, their Excellencies Hosein and Ibn Zobeir were not willing, and went to Mecca at the end of Rejeb. While there, Hosein received a writing from the leading men of Kufa, in which they invited him to come to them, so as to be made Calif over them. In order to test their sincerity he first sent his nephew Moslem to Kufa, and on hearing that 30,000 men were ready to receive him, he resolved to proceed thither and join them. Some of the great companions indeed tried to dissuade him from going; but he replied that he had received a command from the Prophet, who had appeared to him in a dream. He started with eighteen men of his own household and sixty of his other followers, including thirty-two noble companions. As soon as Yezid had learnt that Kufa was going to oppose him, he sent thither Obeid Ullah as governor. When he arrived, he and the thirty horsemen with him were at first surrounded by the Kufites; but he succeeded by some stratagem in dispersing the besiegers. He now had Moslem brought before him and immediately executed, whereupon all the people submitted themselves to his authority.

When Hosein heard this, on the way, he became troubled; but, being ready for his fate, he proceeded as far as the plain of Kerbela. Yezid had despatched a large body of troops to force Hosein into submission, by surrounding him and his party, and preventing them from taking water out of the river Euphrates. In case of his showing fight, he was to be slain. The soldiers boldly surrounded him in the plain for seven or eight days, till, according to the general report, on a Friday, which happened to be the Ashura fast, a severe fight and desperate conflict ensued, in a succession of single combats, from early morning until noon. Thirty-two combatants on horseback and forty on foot became martyrs, amongst whom there were two of Hosein's own sons, four were his brothers, five his nephews, and five his cousins; or, according to another account, twenty-three relatives, including his sons. After all these had fallen, Hosein himself mounted a horse, rushed upon his enemies, and fought desperately, till he succumbed to thirst and to seventy-two wounds,

thirty-three of which were inflicted by the sword, and the rest by arrows and javelins. Hosein was fifty-six years old when he died, and his only two sons spared, were an infant in arms and a lad who was lying in bed with an illness. The latter afterwards became such a devotee that he is reported to have usually repeated a thousand genuflexions of prayers during the night, and to have been surnamed 'the ornament of worshippers.' But the Califate remained in the hands of Yezid, the son of Omaia, son of Abu Sofyan, and had its seat, for some time, in the city of Damascus.

INDEX.

The Numbers refer to the pages.

AARON, 122, 308, 303, 505.
Abbas, 80, 107, 108, 109, 185, 201, 202, 204, 286, 293, 354, 370.
Abd Allah Ibn Abi Nejih, 292.
—— —— —— —— Omeia, 299.
—— —— —— Amir, 517, 518.
—— —— —— Abu Bekr, 113, 319.
—— —— —— Harith, 394.
—— —— —— Hudsafa, 332.
—— —— —— Jafar, 514.
—— —— —— Jahsh, 143.
—— —— —— Kaab, 357.
—— —— —— Masud, 358, 364, 370, 435.
—— —— —— Mohammed, 30, 34, 36, 250-253, 337, 510.
—— —— —— Obei, 127, 156, 157, 162-165, 171, 208.
—— —— —— Omar, 291, 296, 438, 500.
—— —— —— Rawaha, 200.
—— —— —— Selam or Salam, 130, 329.
—— —— —— Thamir, 8.
—— —— —— Zobeir, 494.
—— Menaf, 29, 250-253, 521.
—— Shems, 29.
Abdu-l-Massiah, 277, 278.
Abdu-l-Mottaleb, 30-35, 101, 255, 261, 266, 431, 433.
Abd-ur-Rahman Ibn Awf, 255, 381, 444, 510.
Abd ur (er) Rahman Ibn el Harith, 85, 293.
Aberdeen, Earl of, 474, 475.
Ablution, 66, 220, 273, 311, 328, 396, 401, 405-407, 410, 415, 421, 515.
Abraha, 8, 9, 31-33.
Abraham, 18, 21, 22, 133, 255, 265, 306, 308, 327, 331, 340, 341, 354, 377, 434, 493.
—— Faith or religion of, 24, 27, 52, 126, 129, 133, 137, 139, 331, 406.
Abrogate, Abrogation (annul), 212, 269, 326, 328, 418, 424, 425.
Abstinence, 379, 380.
Abu Abd Allah (*see* Khawat), 394, 395.
—— Afak, 169.
—— Amir, 25, 126, 135, 157, 432, 433.
—— Bekr, 83-85, 87, 98, 111, 113, 114, 190, 196, 232-240, 269, 315, 316, 319-321, 369-372, 391, 439, 442, 445, 473, 494, 516.
—— Bekr el Hudsali, 332.
—— Dhirr, 439, 444.
—— Eyub, 117, 183, 322, 504.
—— Hala, 488.
—— Hanifa, 417.
—— Haritha, 135.
—— Horeira or Huraira, 342, 368, 369, 464, 422, 428, 441, 444, 445, 489.
—— Imama, 445.
—— Jahl Ibn Hisham, 94, 98, 112, 142, 148, 292, 317, 320, 321. 445.
—— Kabis, 22, 337.
—— Karib, 4.
—— Lahab, 98, 99, 100, 101, 286, 296, 445, 511, 513.
Abu-l-Aas or As, 187, 511, 512.
Abu-l-Kasim, 291, 510.
—— Mohammed, 336.
—— Murra Seif, 10.

Abu Musa, 442.
—— Nasr (Khoja), 385.
—— Nawfal, 443.
—— Nehik, 446.
—— Obeida, 137, 143, 391.
—— Rafi, 352, 510.
—— Saad Khodri, 345.
—— Salma or Selmä, 160, 495.
—— Sayid, 363.
—— Seif, 511.
—— Sofyan Ibn Harb, 141, 145-148, 153, 156, 158, 161, 162, 164-168, 188, 192, 202, 205, 252, 439, 443.
—— Talha, 355, 500, 513.
—— Talib, 35, 43, 44, 74, 81, 86-88, 99-101, 267-269, 295, 427, 466, 488.
—— Thumama, 217.
—— Umama, 123.
—— Zama, 6.
—— Zuweib, 258.
Abyssinia, 6-9, 16, 88, 89, 98, 192, 195, 294, 333.
Abwa, 34, 141.
Acacia, 320.
Ad, 106, 270, 411.
Adam, 20, 21, 249, 250, 306, 307, 335, 336, 341, 399, 428.
—— kadmōn, 251.
Aden, 11, 16.
Adi, 214, 215, 224.
Adrianople, 481.
Adulterer, Adultery, 133, 329, 330, 420.
Aelius Gallus, 4.
Afrika, 63, 374, 453, 454, 478, 479, 484.
Ahmed, 275, 360, 430, 431.
Ahwaz, 518.
Aim. *See* Plan.
Aisha Bint Abu Bekr, 79, 80, 81, 117, 162-164, 222, 229, 232, 233, 237, 238, 316, 319, 358, 362-367, 371, 372, 377, 378, 391, 395, 415, 417, 420, 443, 489-494, 498, 503, 505, 507, 514, 520.
Aisha Bint Mohammed, 513.
Akaba, Aila, 210.
Akika, 398, 510, 522.
Akil Ibn Abu Talib, 438.
Akrima, 434.
Aksa, 304, 306.
Ala Ibn el Hadhrami, 224, 333.
Albania, 481.
Alexander, 133.
Alexandria, 194, 195, 289, 333.
Ali Ibn Abu Talib, 80, 81, 111-113, 149, 163, 166, 175, 181, 208, 213, 221, 224, 225, 235, 294, 317, 318, 353-355, 367, 368, 370, 371, 373, 382, 402, 439, 512-518, 520, 521.
Ali Ibn Abu-l-Aas, 512.
Allāhu ákbar, 353.
Allegiance, 104, 147, 236. *See* Oath of allegiance.
Alms, 213, 216, 224, 266, 323, 410, 413, 414, 418, 495, 500, 510.
Amalekite, 22.
Amarr, 154.
Amazon, 445.
Ambar, 517.
Ambassador, 16, 48, 64, 67, 71, 127, 133, 178, 192-195, 216, 218, 244, 251, 332, 384.
Amen, 408.
Amina Bint Wahb Ibn Abd Menaf, 36-43, 250, 253-256, 337, 341.
Amir Ibn Foheira, 113.
—— —— Rabia, 404, 405.
Amnesty, 202.
Amr Ibn Aas or As, 6, 166, 198, 200, 333.
—— —— El Hadhrami, 144.
—— —— Omeia, 332.
Anemone, 505.
Angel, 18, 150, 232, 248, 298, 299, 305-308, 310, 312, 313, 335, 337, 360, 361, 366, 367, 370, 390, 412, 424, 433, 445, 514.
Angora, 481.
Ansar (*see also* Helper), 106, 339, 504, 505.
Antichrist, Antichristian, 54, 68, 70, 135-138, 193, 219, 220, 284, 374, 452, 456, 457, 467, 468, 471, 474, 482, 484, 485.
Apostle of God (*see also* Prophet), 194, 217, 218, 248, 249, 252, 269, 272, 296, 301-303, 340, 423, etc.
Apostles, the Twelve, 193, 194, 284, 332, 346.
Apostasy, apostatise, 134, 144, 217.

Arab, Arab tribes, 13-16, 19, 74, 103, 104, 126-129, 140-143, 185, 188, 189, 211, 213, 214, 235, 239, 240, 354, 373, 433, 474-479.
Arabia, 3-16, 17, 18, 182, 193, 196, 227, 238, 256, 463.
Arim dzu Yezen, 16.
Armistice, 188-191.
Arrow, 33, 34, 142, 144, 149, 157, 166, 290, 442, 520, 523.
Arwa Ibn Zobeir, 491, 493.
Aryat, 8.
Asad Ibn Zorara, 117, 123.
Asaf, 353.
Asama Ibn Zeid, 541.
Ashur, 415.
Ashura, 130, 523.
Asia Bint Mezahin, 489, 514.
Asia (Asia Minor), 374, 478, 480, 481.
Aslamite, 208.
Asma Bint Abu Bekr, 113, 169, 319, 320, 366, 443.
—— —— Amis, 522.
—— —— Noaman, 507.
—— —— Zalat, 507.
Asrafel, 359, 370, 424.
Assanide, 278.
Assassin (Assassinate), 12, 160, 172, 173, 179, 188, 219, 226, 233.
Assim Ibn Amr, 276.
Assistant (*see also* Ansars *and* Helper), 105, 106, 111, 322, 323, 325, 339, 351, 357, 431.
Aswad. *See* El Aswad.
Ata Ibn Yesar, 356.
Atiba Ibn Abu Lahab, 512, 513.
Atika, 488.
Atonement, 34, 112, 130, 310, 333-336, 393, 412.
Attab, 237, 238.
Augury, 397.
Augustus, Emperor, 4.
Awf, 149.
Awsite, 116-118, 170, 176, 179.
Ayhala Ibn Kab, 218.
Azad, 277.
Az Ibn Wail, 96.
Azrael, 370.
Azruh, 210.

BABYLON, 215, 278.
Badzan, 11, 12, 224, 356.
Bagdad, 480.
Bahira, 44, 267-269, 346.
Bahran, 154.
Bahrein, 194, 214, 333.
Balka, 357.
Ban, 97-99, 210.
Banner, 142, 198, 200, 218, 301, 358, 427.
Barley-bread, barley-loaves, 349, 379, 380, 387.
Bashfulness of Mohammed, 382.
Bashir, 196, 198.
Bath (Bathe), 397.
Bedouin (*see also* Arab), 102-104, 151, 154, 156, 159, 160, 161, 164-168, 185, 189, 199, 207, 380, 381, 438, 440.
Bedr, 141, 146-153, 160, 162, 164, 170, 326, 331.
Beihara, 103, 104.
Beit Ullah, 19.
Bekia, 356.
Belgrade, 481.
Bell, 125, 384, 390, 477, 479.
Beni Abd Eddar, 112.
—— —— el Ashhal, 270.
—— —— Menāf, 292.
—— Adhl, 160.
—— Adi, 42, 116.
—— Amir, 199.
—— Amr, 103, 160.
—— Asad, 159, 165, 187.
—— Ashja, 165.
—— Beka, 347.
—— Bekr, 12, 201.
—— Dhamra, 141.
—— Fezara, 162, 165, 187.
—— Ghatafan, 154, 161, 165, 167, 180, 187.
—— Halal, 347.
—— Hanifa, 103, 217, 218, 240.
—— Harb, 444.
—— Harith, 216, 224.
—— Haritha, 157.
—— Hashim, 80, 295, 316, 518.
—— Hurak, 146.
—— Johaina, 142.
—— Kalb, or Kalbites, 103.
—— Keinōka, 118, 170-172.
—— Kinda, 103.

Beni Khoza, 190, 192, 201.
—— Koreiza, 118, 167, 168, 174-178, 271.
—— Leith, 198.
—— Lihyan, 160, 186.
—— Modlij, 141, 321.
—— Morra, 165, 199.
—— Mostalik, 162, 163.
—— Nadhir, 118, 153, 164, 172-174, 509.
—— Najjar, 116-118, 123.
—— Nar, 146.
—— Omeia, 444.
—— Saad, 38, 40, 215, 258, 260, 261, 340.
—— Saida, 235.
—— Salama, 157.
—— Salem, 116.
—— Sohaim, 220.
—— Soleim, 154, 160, 165, 187, 198.
—— Taghlib, 220.
—— Talab, 187.
—— Zeeb, 277.
—— Zuhra, 36.
Bequest of Mohammed, 231.
Bere, 496, 502, 506.
Beride Ibn el Khasib, 321.
Beshir Bint Ibn Saad, 349.
Beshr Ibn Moawia, 347.
Bilāl, 125, 364, 442.
Bird, 37, 136, 255, 258, 263, 291, 307, 308, 341.
Bishr, or Beshr, Ibn Bara, 184, 230, 327, 362.
Black Stone, 18, 21, 22, 197, 202, 292, 353, 355.
Blaspheme (Blasphemous), 87, 98, 245, 291, 292, 295, 296.
Blood, 86, 108, 112, 140, 145, 159, 203, 271, 321, 325, 330, 345, 352, 391, 522.
Bokhari, 315, 321, 325, 421, 428.
Book, 129, 130, 138, 237, 267-270, 273, 287, 298, 300, 331, 338, 415, 419, 420, 516.
Booty (*see also* Spoil), 145, 146, 155, 174, 177, 182, 186, 199, 423, 500, 509.
Borak, 305-309, 436.
Bosnia, 481.
Bosra, 37, 41, 267, 269.
Bowat, 141.
Brotherhood, 119, 120, 223, 318, 324-326.
Broussa, 481.
Buath, 118.
Bulgaria, 481.
Burial (Bury), 237, 330, 413, 510, 513, 515, 516, 520.

CAESAR, 433, 442.
Calamus, 403.
Calif (Califate), 143, 231, 236, 238-240, 251, 439, 473, 480, 481, 517-519, 523, 524.
Call, Caller (*see also* Hatif), 38, 258, 259, 261, 341, 349.
Call to Prayer, 125.
Camel, 31, 32, 34, 35, 46, 66, 113, 116, 117, 148, 149, 160, 167, 168, 179, 186-190, 216, 235, 292, 319, 346, 355, 378, 432, 433, 435, 439.
Camphor, 413, 512.
Capitation-tax, 210, 213, 219, 224, 476.
Captive (*see also* Prisoner), 145, 150, 151, 162, 177, 183, 187, 205, 208, 271, 509, 511.
Caravan, 43, 44, 97, 107, 140-148, 154, 155, 187, 213, 222, 268, 385.
Carnal disposition of Mohammed, 79, 80, 162, 183.
Carnelian, 251.
Carlyle, 454.
Carpet, 309, 312, 517, 519.
Cataleptic fits of Mohammed, 40, 41, 47, 56, 66, 67.
Cave, 59, 61, 65, 113, 237, 272, 288, 303, 319-321.
Charm (*see also* Incantation), 362, 404.
Chosroes, 10-13, 194, 256, 277, 278, 332, 433, 442.
Christ. *See* Jesus Christ.
Christian, 124, 126, 128, 133-139, 219, 220, 251, 252, 306, 399, 431, 432, 465, 471-477.
Christianity, 24, 55, 68, 70, 116, 124, 126, 128, 133-139, 219, 220, 238, 449-458, 465, 471, 484, 485.
Church, 135, 136, 220, 351, 450, 451, 457, 462, 465, 469, 475, 484.

Church, Mosque, 482.
Circumcision of Mohammed, 257, 341.
Clarendon, Earl of, 474, 475.
Clot, 340.
Collector, 224-226.
Collyrium, 396, 397, 402.
Companion, 86, 111, 123, 145, 193, 197, 216, 217, 237, 295, 300, 304, 310, 316, 319, 327, 332, 340, 346, 348, 352, 354, 358, 359, 366, 373, 378, 392-395, 491, 502, 514, 523.
Compromise of Mohammed with idolatry, 90-92, 94.
Conception of Mohammed, 337.
Confession of faith, 408.
Concubine (slave), 487, 508, 509.
Constantine IX., 481.
Constantinople, 374. 478, 479, 481, 482.
Conversion, 80, 93, 104, 106, 107, 192, 198, 202, 205, 209, 212, 213, 215-219, 299.
Convert, 77-86, 89, 124, 160, 204, 205, 474.
Cornelius Palma, 4.
Council of Nice, 466.
Courage and bravery of Mohammed, 382, 418.
Cucumber, 388.
Cup (Cupping), 403, 415.
Cure, 405, 412.
Curse, 98, 100, 137, 331, 337, 338, 354, 405, 411, 422, 496, 508, 512, 513.
Curtain, 248, 309, 313, 499, 500.

Dacius, 289.
Damascus, 255, 517-519, 523, 524.
Danube, 481, 483.
Dar el Harb, 483.
—— —— Islam, 484.
Darum, 357.
Date (Date-tree, Palm-tree), 114, 153, 167, 174, 175, 179, 235, 244, 315, 349, 379, 387, 388, 415, 435, 440-442, 499.
Dead Sea, 199, 200.
Death-struggle, 232, 233, 365, 370, 372, 374, 412.
Degree, 310-312, 363.
Deism (*see also* Monotheism), 62, 67, 84, 89, 109, 189.
Demon (*see also* Spirit), 60, 102, 183, 255, 277.
Deputation, 75, 87, 135, 181, 206, 211-215, 220, 352, 431.
Dervish, 313.
Destroyer. *See* El Mahi.
Devil (*see also* Satan *and* Demon), 92, 111, 112, 184, 222, 283, 336-338, 356, 390, 464.
Dhahak Ibn Sofyan, 395.
Dhimam Ibn Thalaba, 215, 216.
Dihye Ibn Khalifa, 332.
Ditch (Dyke), 157, 165-167, 177, 349.
Diviner, 270, 277, 279, 338, 339, 432, 433.
Divorce, 82, 83, 163, 490, 494-498, 512, 513, 520, 521.
Doalu Bu-kere, 63.
Dods, Dr. Marcus, 61.
Donkey, 39, 40, 260.
Dorner, Dr. J. A., 450.
Dower, Dowry, 420, 490, 493, 496, 497, 503, 504, 507.
Dream (*see also* Sleep), 15, 31, 56, 57, 63, 183, 191, 219, 256, 278, 316, 346, 372, 385, 401, 426, 428, 432, 433, 488, 490, 503, 523.
Dress of Mohammed, 383, 384.
Dropsy, 403.
Duma, 161, 210.
Duties peculiar to Mohammed, 417, 418.
Dzu-l-Karain, 289.

Eastern Church (Eastern Christendom), 450-452.
Eclipse, 411.
Egypt, 374, 444, 462, 478.
El Aswad (General), 31.
—— —— (rival of Mohammed), 218, 219, 225, 226, 356.
—— —— Ibn Abd Yaghut, 100.
—— —— Ibn el Mottaleb, 100.
—— Az, 100.
—— Bara, 108.
Elephant, 9, 34, 38, 190, 512, 513.
Elephantiasis, 216.
El Fatih, 482.

El Harith Ibn Abi Shamir, 100, 194, 333.
Elizabeth, Queen of England, 483.
El Kadr, 154.
—— Khattab, 25.
—— Mahi (the Annihilator), 38, 259.
—— Mottaleb, 30.
—— Nadhr, 98, 287.
—— Welid, 100.
—— Zobeir, or Zobair, 27.
Emerald, 255, 264, 305, 308.
Emigrant, Immigrant (*see also* Refugee), 89, 111, 119, 142, 143, 323.
Emir el Mumenin (Commander of the Faithful), 143, 517, 520.
Enchant (Enchantment), 291.
England, 483, 484.
Enoch, 308.
Euphrates, 35, 308, 523.
Europe, 453, 479, 483.
Eusebius, 462.
Eve, 250.
Excellencies of Mohammed, 422-446.
Expedition, warlike, 323, 324.
Eye, 188 (put out); 263, 404 (evil); 419 (treacherous); 425 (on shoulder); 343, 346, 364, 376, 421, 425, 436, 445, 446, 502, 505, 513, 521.

FACTORS of Mohammed's prophetship, 3-48.
Fadak, 181, 182.
Faid, 159.
Fair (*see* Market), 161.
Faith, 404, 405, 409.
Fakhta Bint Abu Talib, 508.
Famine, 426.
Farewell (Farewell pilgrimage), 223, 226, 354, 357, 358, 437.
Fast, 124, 130, 216, 352, 379, 410, 414, 415, 420.
Fatima Bint Abd Allah, 257.
—— —— Amr Ibn Aid, 35.
—— —— Dhahak, 507.
—— —— Khattab, 293.
—— —— Mohammed, 286, 345, 361, 420, 489, 492, 513-516, 520, 522.
Fazl Ibn Abbas, 511.
Feast (Festival), 23, 103, 119, 148, 188, 221, 324, 325, 352, 409, 410.
Fever, 120, 141, 227-231, 363, 364, 401, 402.
Fifth, 144, 150, 155, 177, 182, 205, 418.
Fihri, 141.
Fire (of Fire-worship and Hell), 256, 278, 313, 379, 434, 445.
First-fruit, 388.
Five daily prayers, 250, 314, 344.
Flight. *See* Hegira.
Forgiveness. *See* Pardon.
France, 479.
Friday, observance of, 409-416.
Funeral Service, 511, 515, 516.
Furkan, 307.

GABIE, 277, 278.
Gabriel, 21, 22, 58-60, 63-67, 92, 100, 134, 159, 175, 232, 249, 253, 264, 272-275, 282, 283, 288, 292, 300, 303, 305-309, 312-314, 317, 318, 327, 335, 344, 354, 359-361, 367, 370, 379, 380, 384, 487, 489, 491, 494, 498, 500, 510, 515, 516, 522.
Genealogy, 83, 252, 253, 491.
Genii, 248, 502.
Genuflexion, 327, 344, 409, 498, 522, 524.
Germany, 14, 452.
Ghalib, 196.
Ghamid, 329.
Gharanik, 91, 92.
Ghassan (Ghassanide), 4, 5, 199.
Ghatafan (Ghatafanite). *See* Beni Ghatafan.
Gift, 65, 422. *See also* Present.
Goddess, 282.
Gog and Magog, 289, 290.
Gön, 419.
Gospel, 138, 139, 193, 274, 307, 312, 431.
Grape, 388.
Grave, 105, 237, 370, 371, 373, 413, 490, 511, 513, 520.
Greek, 194, 269, 332, 445, 481.
Greeting, 398, 399.

HABAKKUK, 430.
Habira, 508.
Habits of Mohammed, 383-405.
Hadhifa el Yeman, 514.

Hadramaut, 215.
Hafiz Abu-l-Ala, 516.
Hair, 222, 355, 375, 376.
Hajaj Ibn Ilat, 184, 185, 443.
Hakim, 81.
Hala, 489.
Halima, 39-41, 187, 258, 260-266.
Hallel, 312.
Hallucinations of Mohammed, 56, 57, 64, 65, 67.
Hamadan, 517, 518.
Hamra, 158.
Hamza, 46, 93, 94, 142, 149, 158, 159, 353.
Hanif (Hanifite, Hanifism), 23-27, 38, 47, 50-55, 62, 78, 91, 96, 137.
Hanifa, 384.
Haram, 19-21.
Harem, 178, 183, 195, 416, 483.
Harith Ibn Abd Kulal, 194, 333.
—— —— Dhirar, 162.
Haritha Abu Zeid, 81, 82.
—— Ibn Noaman, 504.
Hasan Ibn Ali, 122, 378, 514-521.
Hashim, 29, 30.
Hassan Ibn Thabit, 256, 257.
Hatib Ibn Balta, 333.
Hatif (*see also* Voice), 258.
Haudsa Ibn Ali, 333.
Hawazin, 185, 199, 204, 205.
Hazim Ibn Aws, 445.
Headquarters of the Devil, 337.
Healing art, 436.
Heart (split and cleansed), 40, 41, 305, 340.
Heathenism (*see also* Paganism), 110, 128, 221, 458, 463, 467.
Heb Ibn Munhib, 277.
Hegel, Doctor and Professor of Philosophy, 178, 461, 470.
Hegira, 71, 111-115, 315, 335.
Hejaz, 5, 17, 142, 160, 183, 184, 186, 194, 402.
Hell (Hell-fire), 101, 151, 232, 248, 250, 308, 313, 323, 367, 402, 411, 414, 415, 442, 521.
Helper (*see also* Assistant), 105, 106, 111, 124, 142, 162, 228, 232, 235, 236, 323, 357.
Heraclius, Emperor, 5, 6, 194-196, 199, 206, 207.
Herat, 383, 432, 445.
Himyar, kings of, 7, 8.
Hind (female stag), 437.
—— Bint Abu Omia (*i.q.* Om Selma), 495.
—— —— Otba (Abu Sofyan's wife), 443.
—— Ibn Abu Hala, 487.
Hira, the kingdom of, 4, 5, 10, 12, 13, 16, 287.
—— —— mount, 25, 26, 58, 60-62, 102, 272, 303, 439.
Hitham Ibn Adi, 445.
Hobal, 18, 33, 260, 266, 353.
Hodeibia, 180, 190, 193, 332.
Holy Spirit (*see also* Spirit), 115, 272, 287, 288, 290.
Honein, 204, 205, 381, 382.
Honey, 309, 387, 403, 405.
Horse, 335 (cared for); 348 (prayed for), 341, 361, 382, 492, 493.
Horseman, 177, 178, 186-188, 199, 210, 212, 216, 321, 493.
Hosein Ibn Ali, 122, 378, 496, 514, 515, 518, 520, 522, 523.
Houri, 232, 367.
House, Holy House, 19-22, 251, 281, 309, 326-328, 353, 429, 463.
Huleil, 28.
Humility of Mohammed, 380.
Hunata, 31, 32.
Hungary, 483.
Hunger (Hungry), 379, 515.
Hyacinth, 21.
Hypocrite, 122, 123, 127, 132, 207 210, 234, 238, 327, 346, 366, 368, 410, 500.
Hysteria (Hysterical), 40, 42, 52, 56, 470.

Ibad Ibn Bishr, 501.
Ibn Abbas, 21, 150, 247, 258, 266, 328, 338, 341, 360, 364, 376, 408, 411, 423, 425, 438, 440, 443, 446, 493.
—— Akhtab, 327.
—— Azhar, 293.
—— el Haggaban, 270.
—— Hajir (Sheikh), 328.
—— Hisham, 6, 28, 252, etc.
—— Horeira, 442, 443.

Ibn Ishak, 6, 15, 56, 65, etc.
—— Khadl, 421.
—— Malik, 380.
—— Maslama, 185, 187.
—— Masud, 300, 301.
—— Selam, 329.
—— Shihab ez Zuhri, 333.
- Zobeir, 523.
Ibrahim Ibn Mohammed, 195, 488, 509-511, 522.
Idol, 18, 91, 92, 128, 197, 203, 204, 214, 216, 222, 260, 266, 337, 353, 431, 463.
Idolater, Idolatry, 17, 23, 28, 52, 53, 67, 75, 78, 107, 127, 141, 204, 212, 260, 266, 270, 510.
Illness, 356, 357, 359, 363.
Imam, 232, 306, 384, 397, 407-409, 417, 422, 517-519.
Imama Bint Zeinab, 512.
Imhani, 305.
Impale, 188.
Impediment of speech, 311.
Incantation (*see also* Charm), 230, 231, 405.
Infidel (Unbeliever), 227, 252, 279, 282, 317, 318, 321, 325, 354, 444, 483, 517.
Inspiration, 373, 405.
Intercession (Intercessor), 282, 336, 368, 374, 427.
Irak, 298, 496, 517.
Iram, 106, 270.
Irvet Ibn Zobeir, 260.
Isa (*see also* Jesus), 340.
Isaac, 341.
Isaf, 18, 34.
Isaiah, 430.
Ishmael Ibn Abraham, 18, 22, 212, 341, 354, 377.
Ishmael or Ismael (an Angel), 232, 307, 360.
Iss, 187.
333.
Italy, 14.

JAADA, 519, 520.
Jabir Ibn Abd Allah, 349, 435, 440, 441.
—— —— Simre, 346, 442.
Jacob, 377.
Jafar, 200.
Janissary, 483.
Jarba, 210.
Jealous (Jealousy), 127, 131, 179, 327, 443, 489, 495, 496, 507, 508.
Jeifar, 194, 333.
Jemil, 96, 97.
Jerir Ibn Abd Allah, 347, 348.
Jerusalem, 20, 130, 195, 289.
Jests and Jokes of Mohammed, 392, 394, 395.
Jesus Christ, 55, 68, 124, 193, 233, 237, 243, 274, 306, 308, 332, 341, 377, 430, 436, 447, 448, 458, 459, 468, 469, 516.
Jew, 7, 8, 54, 106, 115, 121, 122, 125, 128-134, 153, 157, 164, 167-185, 251, 252, 269, 306, 323, 327, 331, 399.
Job, 341, 377.
John Ibn Zakharia (the Baptist), 273, 308, 341, 522.
Jonas (the Prophet), 388.
Jorf, 228, 357.
Jorhamide, 22, 31.
Joseph, 308, 341, 354, 508.
Journey, 389, 390, 396.
Jowairia, 162, 163, 502.
Julian the Apostate, 467.
Jumra Bint Harith, 508.
Justinian, Emperor, 4.
Justin Martyr, 463.

KAAB, 107, 110.
Kaaba, 17-23, 51, 96, 97, 99, 188, 197, 202-204, 211, 251, 255, 261, 272, 292, 293, 297, 309, 327 328, 353, 354, 421.
Kabbala, 251.
Kab Ibn Ashraf, 172, 173, 179.
Kabile, 103, 104, 106.
Kadesia, 215.
Kais (of the Beni Kinda), 4.
—— Ibn Saad, 516-518.
Kalion, 289.
Karada, 155.
Kasim Ibn Mohammed, 510.
Katada Ibn Noaman, 445.
Kazman, 442.
Kefer, 267.
Kerbela, 522, 523.

Key, 341, 342.
Khadija Bint Khuilid, 45-47, 50, 59-61, 64, 77-80, 99, 274, 275, 487-489, 511, 514, 520.
Khaibar, 34, 153, 174, 179-185, 195, 230, 504.
Khalid Ibn Walid, 157, 198, 200, 202, 204, 210, 212, 216, 222, 224, 240, 330, 334, 353, 445.
Khanis, 494.
Kharrar, 142, 143.
Khazinat Ibn Zabit, 421.
Khazraj (Khazrajite), 108, 109, 118, 170, 171, 176, 179.
Khawat Ibn Jabir, 394.
Khawla, 79.
Khoza (Khozaite). *See* Beni Khoza.
Khuweiled Ibn Asad, 46.
Kibla, 20, 130, 133, 203, 326-328, 407, 410.
Kid, 440.
Kinana, 28, 29, 128, 503.
Kinda, 4.
Kingdom of God, 459, 460.
Kilabite, 196.
Kitabi Ahwal el Kiāmat, 250.
Knife, 387.
Kopt, 436, 511.
Koran, 98, 106, 137, 164, 193, 217, 278, 293, 300, 302, 338, 377, 391, 405, 408, 409, 423, 436, 471, 491.
Koreish (Koreishite), 22, 28, 29, 35, 97, 98, 101, 105, 108-114, 150, 153, 212, 231, 235, 281.
Korta, 185.
Kostus, 403.
Krehl, Dr. L., 17, 69, 128, 492.
Kufa, 517, 518, 521-523.
Kussei Ibn Kilab, 28, 298.
Kurz Ibn Jabir, 141.

LACTANTIUS, 462.
Ladder (to heaven), 307.
Lamb, 349.
Lamp, 251, 516, 521.
Land-tax, 477.
Lat, 18, 91, 92, 100, 216, 269, 281, 337, 431.
Laugh of Mohammed, 393, 395.
Law, 138, 139, 274, 275, 284, 406, 424, 425, 516.
Legacy, 231.
Leila, Bint Khatim, 508.
Leper, Leprosy, 216, 307, 404, 436, 508.
Letter, 193-196, 199, 217, 218, 256, 332, 361, 462, 472.
Liar, 87, 218, 219, 296, 297, 443.
Liberality of Mohammed, 380, 381.
Lie, 426.
Light of Mohammed, 245, 247, 253-256, 262, 336, 337, 377.
Lion, 513.
Lizard, 386, 387, 438.
Logos, 247, 251.
Lotus-tree, 440.

MAATH, Ibn Afra, 436.
Madain, 517.
Magi, 251.
Magic, 436, 437.
Magician, 252.
Mahra, 214.
Mahzama Ibn Nawfal, 439.
Majanna, 161.
Makna, 210.
Malik, Commander, 205, 224.
—— Ibn Sinan, 345.
Malta, 483.
Mamun, 33.
Manah, 18, 91, 92, 281.
Mantle, 183, 335, 381, 384.
Marab, 277.
Market (Marketplace), 92, 148, 177, 298, 329, 378, 429.
Marr ez Zahran, 201.
Martel, Charles, 479.
Martyr (Martyrdom), 76, 78, 184, 230, 248, 251, 357, 361, 362, 439, 444, 458, 463, 476, 522, 523.
Marry, marriage, 45, 46, 50, 79, 80, 82, 97, 185, 197, 250, 352, 416, 419, 420, 422, 488, 490, 491, 494-498, 500, 502-504, 506-508, 512-514, 520, 521.
Mary Bint Omran (the Virgin), 254, 489, 514.
—— the Kopt, 195, 488, 508.
Massacre, 151, 169, 172, 177, 179.
Masud Ibn Omar, 506.

Maūna, 160.
Measles, 354.
Meat, 387.
Mecca, 5-9, 13, 17-20, 35, 43, 49, 105, 152, 184, 191, 196, 200-203, 238, 353, 354.
Mediator (Mediation), 18, 68, 139, 335, 336, 374, 428, 463.
Medicine, 231, 401-405.
Medina, 43, 104-116, 153, 156, 165-168, 178, 235, 236, 316, 322, 427.
Meekness of Mohammed, 381.
Meimuna, 197, 229, 231, 347, 352, 506.
Meisara, 45, 46.
Meisered ul Fejr, 249.
Mejdi, 142.
Melika Bint Kaab, 507.
Melon, 388.
Mental qualities of Mohammed, 377-383.
Merit, Meritorious (reward), 230, 310, 312, 323, 328, 363, 364, 374, 417, 425.
Merwa (Mount), 272, 305.
Merwan Ibn Othman, 362.
Messiah (promised Prophet), 115, 122, 129-132, 139, 168.
Micaiah, 69.
Michael, 264, 305, 318, 359, 370, 516.
Milk, 39, 40, 261, 263, 309, 321, 388, 442.
Mina, 221, 222.
Miracle, 243, 244, 434-446.
Mirat el Kainat, 122, 521.
Mirror, 250.
Moadz, 226.
Moawia Ibn Abu Sofyan, 205, 517-519, 523.
Moawia Ibn Thor, 347.
Mohajir Ibn Omaia, 224, 333.
Mohammed, 1, 252, 254. *See* list of Contents at the beginning of the volume.
Mohammedanism, an historical power, 447-485.
Mohsan Ibn Ali, 514.
Mokawkas, 194, 333.
Monotheism, 25, 28, 53, 75, 105, 126, 281, 460, 461, 463.
Moon, 183, 262, 316, 372, 376, 437.
Moreisi, 162, 502.
Morrite, 196.
Moseilama, 217-219, 239, 240, 348, 356.
Moses Ibn Amran, 234, 274, 277, 300, 306, 308, 311, 313, 314, 368, 377, 430, 434, 436, 505, 516.
Moslem, 137, 148, 197, 202.
Moslem, proper name, 523.
Mosque, 117, 123, 132, 164, 176, 210, 214-217, 220, 232, 234-237, 322, 327, 328, 337, 354, 355, 371, 390, 407, 475, 481.
Motim Ibn Adi, 102.
Mountain (speaks), 438.
Muir, Sir William, 5, 12, 61, 68, 72, 280-282.
Mukheirik, 130.
Mukhtar Ibn Abu Abid, 443.
Muleih, 103.
Mundsir Ibn Sawa, 333.
Munzir (of Hira), 4, 194.
Musk, 159, 222, 262, 309, 313, 355, 371, 377.
Muta, 200, 207, 239.
Mythical, 245, 375, 377.

NABATHEA, 4.
Nadhir. *See* Beni Nadhir.
Naeman or Noaman Ibn Munzir, 277.
Naila, 18, 34, 353.
Najashi, 8, 194, 332.
Najran (Najranite), 8, 23, 135, 137, 138, 221, 224, 225.
Nakhla, 102, 143, 144, 190, 519.
Name, 249-252, 254, 335, 341, 430.
Namus, 59.
National (Nationality), 449, 457, 465-467, 485.
Nazr Ibn Babia, 432.
Needle, 346.
Nehavend, 279.
Nejashi. *See* Najashi.
Nejd, 112, 159, 160, 317.
Nejm (Sheikh), 515.
Nile, 308.
Nisibin or Nineveh, 300, 302.
Noah, 21, 341, 377, 424, 434.
Noaman (a Chief), 507.

Noamiyan, 395, 396.
Nushirvan, 278.

OATH (oath of allegiance), 107, 108, 212, 235-237, 284, 335, 393, 516-518, 523.
Obada, 171, 172.
Obeid Ibn Omair, 58.
Obeida Ibn el Harith, 142, 149.
Obeid Allah (or Ullah) Ibn Jahsh, 23, 24, 52, 503, 523.
Ohod, Battle of, 157-159, 356, 357.
Ointment, 222, 355, 396, 397.
Okaidir, 210.
Okasha, 187.
Okba Ibn Abi Mueit, 287.
Okla, 187.
Om (properly Omm) Berde, 510.
—— Bishr or Beshr, 230, 362, 365. Eswad, 490.
—— Habiba, 195, 201, 502, 503.
—— Hani, 314, 508.
—— Haram, 444, 445.
—— Jamila, 445.
—— Koltum, 269, 494, 513.
—— Seif, 510.
—— Selim, 498, 504, 505.
—— Selma, or Salma, 160, 352, 405, 437, 491, 492, 495, 496, 503, 522.
Omaia Ibn Zalt, 25-27.
Oman, 194, 214, 333.
Omar Ibn Aas, 334, 335.
—— —— Akhtab, 446.
—— —— Khattab, 74, 84, 95-97, 125, 150, 182, 191, 196, 232, 234-237, 292, 293, 303, 314, 354, 366, 368, 369, 384, 391, 439, 441, 442, 475, 494, 500, 513, 514.
—— —— Om Selma, 496.
Omeima, 23.
Omeir, 149.
Omra, 349, 506.
Omran Ibn Hasin, 382.
Onion, 386.
Orain, 187.
Osama Ibn Zeid, 227, 228, 239, 357, 358, 370.
Osfan, 186, 189.
Osheira, 141.
Otba Ibn Abu Lahab, 513.
Otba Ibn Rabia, 90, 145, 291.
Othman Ibn Abu-l-As, 257.
—— —— Afan (son-in-law of Mohammed), 85, 150, 192, 204, 208, 354, 384, 439, 443, 494, 501, 513, 520.
—— —— el Huweireth (Hanif and Christian), 5, 6, 23, 24, 50, 52, 192.
—— (Ottoman), 481.
Owalite, 196.
Oyeina, 162, 167, 186.
Ozza, 18, 91, 92, 216, 269, 281, 337, 431.

PAGAN, Paganism (*see also* Heathenism), 128, 450, 452, 464.
Palestine, 357, 374.
Palm, Palm-plantation (*see also* Date), 7, 172, 174, 179.
Paraclete, 139, 275.
Paradise, 149, 248-253, 270, 307, 308, 311, 312, 336, 338, 359, 364, 367, 399, 411, 413, 420, 426, 427, 442, 446, 493, 511, 514, 515, 520.
Paran, 430.
Pardon (forgive), 310, 330, 335, 336, 357, 361, 362, 374, 383, 386, 406, 408, 414, 415, 424, 514, 520.
Peace, 408.
Peacock, 250.
Pearl, 7, 80, 163, 249, 250, 273, 308, 312, 361, 489.
Pebbles praise God aloud, 439.
Pen, 247-250.
Persecution of Mohammed, 85-88, 92, , 98, 381, 462-464.
Persia (Persian), 10-13, 74, 195, 211, 240, 256, 387, 393, 433, 467.
Personal (Personality), 457-459.
Pharaoh, 252.
Physical qualities of Mohammed, 375-377.
Pigeon, 320, 321.
Pilgrim (Pilgrimage), 8, 19, 21, 22, 144, 179, 180, 188, 191, 196-198, 211, 216, 220-223, 286, 328, 332, 351, 352, 354, 356, 413, 522.

Pillar, 18, 197, 291, 292, 355.
Plan of Mohammed, 14-16, 48-52, 74-76, 90, 104, 109, 116, 119, 145, 146, 153, 156, 173, 178, 181, 186, 193, 207, 209, 215, 220, 225, 226, 234, 238, 240, 469, 472-479.
Pleurisy, 230, 231, 365, 403.
Pliny, 463.
Plunder (*see also* Spoil), 140, 145, 157, 161, 186, 240.
Poet, Poetry, 26, 31, 87, 169, 291, 296, 394, 419, 491.
Poison, 183, 184, 230, 362, 365, 436, 520.
Policy, Politics, 13, 14, 75, 152, 153, 162, 170, 189, 190, 236, 450, 467, 473, 475-479, 481-485.
Political, 5, 15, 16, 35, 48-51, 74, 75, 105, 108, 110, 115, 189, 190, 212, 466, 467.
Poll-tax (*see also* Capitation), 477.
Pond of Nectar, 368, 415, 428.
Poor-rates, 124.
Possession, Possessed (Demoniac), 41, 64, 87, 90, 265, 296-297.
Prayer, 124, 250; (five) 271; (for rain) 273, 310, 312-314, 328, 344, 356; (for the dead) 406-411, 417, 426.
Precursor, 273, 364, 365.
Pre-existence, 246-252.
Present (Bribe), 205, 206, 214, 231, 238, 318, 381, 395, 396, 426, 491, 500, 506, 509, 521.
Prey (*see also* Plunder, Spoil), 145, 172.
Prisoner (*see also* Captive), 145, 150, 151, 153.
Prophecy, 15, 16, 46, 215, 277, 424, 428-433.
Prophet (Prophetship), 2, 3, 11, 12, 16, 27, 46, 72, 181, 188, 189, 201, 207, 214, 226, 227, 233, 241, 243, 245, 249-251, 269, 276, 279, 281, 287, 301, 306, 353, 359, 373, 377, 378, 423, 424, 429.
Protestants within Islam, 26, 27 *note*.
Providence (Providential), 16, 39, 450-456, 468.
Pulpit, 228, 357, 409, 411, 516, 519.
Pumpkin, 388.
Purification of heart, 40, 41, 257, 263-265, 305, 307, 340-343.

RABBI, 130-132, 270, 287, 331, 338.
Rabia Ibn Nazr, 15, 16.
Rafi Ibn Kharija, 331.
Rahman, 93, 299.
Raihana Bint Zeid, 509.
Raji, 160.
Rakaia Bint Ali, 514.
—— —— Mohammed, 512, 513.
Ramadan, Ramazan, 58, 352, 414-416, 515, 516.
Ransom (of Captives), 151, 153.
Raven, 445.
Rawzat ul Ahbab, 20, 22, 57, 247, 375, 427, etc.
Raya, 477.
Reason (Logos), 247.
Rebia, 517.
Redcliffe (Lord Stratford de), 474, 475.
Redeem, Redemption (*see also* Ransom), 145.
Redif, 400.
Refugee, 119, 120, 124, 141, 146, 152, 158, 162, 174, 228, 231, 235, 236, 323, 325, 351, 357.
Rejeb, 143, 144, 327, 523.
Religion, 18, 124, 125, 165, 182, 189, 190, 206, 211, 215, 221, 223, 231, 269, 295, 303, 324, 327, 331, 337, 406, 447, 448, 456, 464, 470.
Remedy, 405.
Renegade, 475.
Resident (Collector), 224-226.
Resurrection, 24, 52, 112, 127, 159, 203, 219, 237, 248, 259, 270, 303, 374, 426, 427, 437, 443, 515.
Retreat, 416.
Revelation, 19, 65-67, 98, 100, 118, 125, 145, 164, 175, 234, 287, 288, 326-328, 331, 405, 448, 463, 469, 491, 498, 470.
Reward (*see also* Merit), 414, 415.
Riding of Mohammed, 400, 401.
Rika, 161.

Rival (Rival-prophet), 68, 70, 104, 111, 165, 178, 217-219, 225, 226, 239, 240.
River of Paradise, 308.
Rock, 307.
Rolls of Abraham, 429.
Rome (Roman empire), 4-6, 195, 199, 206, 209, 211, 226, 229, 240, 449, 458, 462, 464.
Ruby, 255, 272, 273, 361.

SAAD IBN MOADZ, 176, 177.
—— —— Ubada, 235, 236.
—— —— Abu Wakkas, 85, 86, 142, 145, 279.
Sabi, 96.
Sabur, 16.
Sacrifice, 7, 18, 24, 33, 34, 130, 180, 187, 189, 222, 253, 260, 266, 318, 351, 355, 398, 410, 417, 522.
Saddle of Paradise, 305.
Safa, 88, 272, 285, 293, 305.
Safia, 182, 183, 422, 503-505.
Safra, 146.
Safwan, 141, 163.
Said Ibn Mina, 257, 349, 368.
Sajah, 356.
Sak, 432. *See also* Shik.
Sakran Ibn Omar, 490.
Salama Ibn Wakash, 270, 271.
Salih (the Prophet), 435.
—— Ibn Keisan, 344.
Sallam Ibn Mishkam, 179, 503.
Salma, 29, 30, 116.
Salman, 165, 166.
Salutation, 398, 399.
Samawa (Wady), 256, 278.
Samarkand, 432.
Sana, 8, 10, 219, 356.
Sanctuary, 7, 17-19, 28, 32, 35, 47, 48, 50, 62, 87, 190, 197, 202, 204, 211, 213, 223, 310, 353, 420, 469.
Sandal, 110, 378, 385, 395, 400, 443.
Sarif, 352.
Satan (*see also* Devil), 184, 230, 264, 281, 282, 307, 317, 337, 365, 385, 386, 426, 511.
Satih, 15, 16, 277-279, 432.
Sawa, 256, 278.
Sawik, 154.
Scharling, Prof. Dr. C. H., 458.
Scorpion, 313, 320, 405.
Seal, 143, 193, 384.
Seal of Prophetship, 44, 143, 249, 260, 264, 268, 269, 343, 366, 377, 384, 433.
Sehil Ibn Beiza, 302.
Sehl Ibn Hanif, 404, 405.
Seid Ibn Zeid, 95, 293, 439.
Seif, Ibn Yazan, 431.
Seil, 277.
Selam, 413.
Seldjuk, 480, 481.
Selit Ibn Amr, 333.
Selmi, 498, 510.
Senna, 403.
Sepulchre (*see* Grave, Tomb), 373.
Serf, 506.
Sermon, 284-286, 322, 323.
Serpent, 113, 302, 313, 320, 445.
Servia, 481.
Service, 406-416, service of danger, 161.
Seth or Sheth, 21, 250, 253.
Seven classes of men, 337.
Seven Sleepers, 288, 289.
Sewda or Sevda, 79, 117, 490, 500.
Shaaban, 414, 415.
Shafii (Shafiite), 384, 416, 417, 419.
Shahr, 224, 356.
Shechina, 21, 22, 343.
Shefa Bint Awf, 255, 259.
Sheep (speaking, etc.), 261, 263, 321, 339, 378, 380, 387, 388, 441.
Sheiba, 30.
Shihab ud Din, 501.
Shik (soothsayer), 15, 16.
Ship, 444, 445.
Shiruweih, 11, 12.
Shokran, 370.
Shooting-star. *See* Star.
Shuja Ibn Wahb, 333.
Sick-visits of Mohammed, 412.
Sidra, 359.
Siege, 166, 167, 173-176, 185, 205, 482, 483.
Silk-robe (Silk), 273, 342, 384.
Sin, 70, 83, 115, 230, 310, 311, 314, 335, 336, 338, 383, 386, 424, 431, 451, 454, 455.

Sincerity of Mohammed, 69, 70.
Sindis-silk, 367.
Slave (Slavery), 82, 138, 177, 178, 205, 380, 414, 415, 420, 444, 476, 508-510, 521.
Sleep (=dream), 147, 186, 421.
Small-pox, 9, 354.
Smith, R. Bosworth, 452-454.
Sneezing, 400.
Sohar, 371.
Soheil Ibn Amr, 238.
Soleim (Soleimite). *See* Beni Soleim.
Solomon, 306, 377, 422, 435, 493.
Son of man, 336.
Sorcerer, Soothsayer (*see also* Diviner), 15, 43, 64, 296, 320, 339, 432, 434.
Soul, 233, 422.
Spain, 478, 479.
Speech of Mohammed, 38, 393.
Spider, 320.
Spirit, the (*see also* Holy Spirit), 287, 411, 425.
—— (=soul), 248, 251, 307, 367, 423.
—— (=demon), 34, 41, 60, 270, 283, 284, 300-302, 312, 337-339, 405, 424, 432, 433, 446.
Spoil, 143-145, 150, 153-155, 174, 177, 180, 182, 185-187, 199, 205, 243, 418, 420.
Sprenger, Dr. A., 25, 42, 53, 66, 84, 287.
Spy, 146, 147, 167, 227.
Stag (speaks). *See* Hind.
Standard, 207, 227, 253, 427 (of army); 128, 447, 448, 466 (of religion).
Star (Shooting-star), 257, 262, 270, 316, 338, 339, 424.
Stone (speaks and swims), 57, 268, 434.
Stoning, 222, 223, 337 (the devil); 329, 330 (adulterers).
Suicide contemplated by Mohammed, 65.
Sultan, 251.
Supererogatory (Supererogation), 311, 414-417, 425.
Superstitious (Superstition), 146, 150, 385-387, 389, 390, 397, 401, 404, 409, 410, etc.
Suraka, 321.
Suweilim, 208.
Swear, 373, 393, 423, 393, 517.
Synagogue, 331.
Syria, 37, 41, 45, 81, 145, 155, 161, 172, 174, 182, 187, 199, 209, 214, 224, 228, 238, 269, 278, 292, 298, 340, 431, 432.

TABARI, 282, 283.
Table, 386.
Tablet (Preserved), 247-250, 336.
Tabuk, 206, 207, 209, 210, 302, 335, 441.
Tahannuth, Tahannuf, 58, 61, 62, 272.
Taif, 102, 204-206, 440.
Taima, 181, 182.
Talha Ibn Abd Allah, 425.
—— —— Khoweilid, 356.
—— —— Obeid Allah, 85.
Talisman, 222.
Talmud, 251, 309.
Tanijat el Murat, 142.
Tartar, 478, 480, 481.
Tax, tribute, 138, 213, 214, 224.
Teham, 266.
Teman, 430.
Temple of Mecca (*see also* Kaaba), 17, 32, 145, 189, 197, 202, 212, 291, 305, 306, 320, 353.
Temptation, 280-282.
Tent, 167, 168, 183, 249, 308, 312, 416.
Teyemmum, 407.
Tertullian, 463, 479.
Testament, 231.
Thabit Ibn Kis, 444.
Thakifite. 102, 205, 206, 214, 443.
Thaur Ibn Yezid, 113, 319, 320, 340.
Theodosius, 289.
Throne, 65, 248-250, 309, 311-314, 335, 339, 431.
Thumama Ibn Uthal, 194, 333.
Thunderstorm, 411.
Tigris, 256, 278.
Tithes, 214, 218.
Tobba, 15.
Toleiha, 159, 239.
Tomb, 237, 373, 374.
Torah, 329, 331, 429, 430.

Tours, 452, 479.
Tradition, 77, 244, 245, 247, 257, 279, 293, 310, 375, 377, 385, 396, 397, 481, 489, 490, 493, 495, 496, 502-506, 516, 519.
Trajan, 4, 463.
Travelling, 389, 390.
Treasurer of Paradise, 427.
Treaty, 120, 121, 126, 138, 141, 152, 191, 192, 210, 216, 217, 219, 220, 325, 518.
Tree, 151, 174, 203, 244, 250, 259, 268, 301, 308, 309, 314, 346, 433, 438, 439, 440.
Trinity, 136.
Trumpet, 125.
Turban, 150, 175, 384.
Turk, 1, 443, 474, 479-484.
Twelve (from men and spirits), 284.
Twin, 250.

ULEMA, 251, 257, 304, 310, 328, 374, 387, 402-404, 406, 409, 410, 416-418, 502.
Unity (Divine), 274, 334, 337.
Uns Ibn Malik, 257, 377, 381, 382, 434, 442, 444, 498, 499, 514.
Urwa Ibn Zobeir, 344.

VEI (syllabic writing), 63.
Veil, 95, 171, 250, 255, 318, 343, 424, 505.
Victory (Victorious), 191, 222, 223, 341, 423.
Vienna, 482, 484.
Vigil, 417.
Vine, 411.
Virgin (Mary), 18, 23, 382, 431, 482; (Aisha) 79, 83, 491; (Fatima) 513, 516.
Vision. *See* Hallucination.
Voice (*see also* Call and Hatif), 37, 57-59, 63, 65, 255, 258, 260, 266, 301, 335, 336, 342, 361, 367, 368, 371, 373, 374, 379, 408, 426, 437, 439, 444.
Vow, 33, 34, 107, 153, 186, 187, 353, 368, 371, 429, 498.

WADDAN, 141.
Wadi el Kora, 172, 181, 182, 187.
War (War-expedition), 4, 6, 109, 111, 121, 140-152, 157, 158, 167, 170-178, 189, 195, 201, 207, 208, 226, 227, 239, 317, 323, 324, 335, 352, 357, 418, 424, 444, 468, 472, 475, 476, 516.
Wahab Ibn Minbeh, 430.
Wahb, 36, 250.
Wakidi or Wakidy, 52, 142, 319, 490, 509.
Walk of Mohammed, 400.
Waraka Ibn Nawfal, 23, 24, 46, 47, 52, 59, 273-276, 295, 488.
Warner, 298, 429.
Wash (*see* Ablution), 386.
Wedding-feast, 197, 352, 496, 498, 499, 504.
Weep, 35, 99, 151, 293, 308, 316, 345, 359, 364, 367, 370, 382, 393, 438, 505, 511, 513, 515, 522.
Wehrez, 11.
Weigh, 40, 340.
Will, last, 231.
Wine, 148, 271, 292, 309, 337, 339, 404.
Witness (Witness-bearer), 374, 421, 422, 426, 429.
Wives of Mohammed, 95, 117, 160, 192, 221, 229, 230, 231, 233, 390, 392, 416, 418, 425, 487-506, 508.
Wolf, 439; (speaks) 508.
Woman, 39, 95, 107, 157, 176, 177, 183, 202, 204, 205, 207, 215, 216, 250, 258, 260, 306, 313, 329, 330, 337, 412, 422, 483, 514, 515.
Wonder (*see* Miracle), 243.
World (in an ethical sense), 306, 507.
Service), 312.

YAHYA Ibn Abbad, 370.
—— —— Urwa, 296.
Yakub Ibn Otba, 9.
Yathreb (*see also* Medina), 104, 257.
Yawning, 400, 428.
Yazid, 205.
Yemama, 93, 194, 217-219, 240, 299, 333, 356.
Yembo, 141.

Yemen, 8, 9, 11, 13, 23, 194, 209, 214, 225, 333, 432.
Yesid Ibn Abi Habib, 333.
Yezdejerd, 279.
Yezid Ibn Moawia, 519, 520, 523, 524.
Yohanna, 210.
Yusuf dzu Nowaz, 8.

ZAFIRAN, 146, 147.
Zarandi, 256.
Zarka, 512.
Zat Atlah, 199.
Zeid, Ibn Amr, 23-25, 28, 52-54, 62.
—— Ibn Haritha, 53, 81-83, 95, 102, 155, 164, 187, 199, 206, 209, 228, 496-498, 501.
Zeid, Ibn Thabit, 329.
Zeinab (a Jewess of Khaibar), 183, 184.
—— Bint Ali, 514.
—— —— Jahsh, 82, 164, 422, 496-502, 505, 506, 509.
—— —— Kazima, 495, 506.
—— —— Mohammed, 511, 512.
Zeiyad Ibn Abd Allah, 347.
Zemzem, 31, 33, 429.
Ziyad, 224.
Zobeir, 85.
Zohaib, 96.
Zuhri, 368.
Zu (or dzu) Karad, 186.
—— —— Kassa, 187.

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