

THE
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT
OF THE QUR'ÁN

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INTRODUCTION

THIS work does not profess to be a life of Muḥammad. It is a history of the development of the Qur'án, showing how its gradual formation was determined by the events of the Prophet's life. Treated in this way, the Qur'án reveals his change of position towards the various classes of persons with whom he was brought into contact, and by the aptness of its injunctions, its apologies, its denunciations, we are enabled to see how admirably this 'piecemeal' revelation was fitted to meet the requirements of Islám as they arose.

For the dates and the order of the Súras, or chapters of the Qur'án, I have followed Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorans*, which seems to me to be the best and most authoritative book on the subject. The following table shows the order in which Nöldeke arranges the Súras. He divides the Meccan ones into three groups, the earlier, middle, and later periods, and places all the Madína Súras in a fourth group.

MECCAN SURAS

First Period.—From the first to the fifth year of the Prophet's Mission. A.D. 612-17.

96, 74, 111, 106, 108, 104, 107, 102, 105, 92, 90, 94, 93, 97, 86, 91, 80, 68, 87, 95, 103, 85, 73, 101, 99, 82, 81, 53, 84, 100, 79, 77, 78, 88, 89, 75, 83, 69, 51, 52, 56, 70, 55, 112, 109, 113, 114, 1.

Second Period.—The fifth and sixth years of the Prophet's Mission. A.D. 617-19.

54, 37, 71, 76, 44, 50, 20, 26, 15, 19, 38, 36, 43, 72, 67, 23, 21, 25, 17, 27, 18.

Third Period.—From the seventh year to the Hijra. A.D. 619-22.

32, 41, 45, 16, 30, 11, 14, 12, 40, 28, 39, 29, 31, 42, 10, 34, 35, 7, 46, 6, 13.

MADINA SURAS

From the Hijra to the end. A.D. 622-32.

2, 98, 64, 62, 8, 47, 3, 61, 57, 4, 65, 59, 33, 63, 24, 58, 22, 48, 66, 60, 110, 49, 9, 5.

In the quotations from the Qur'án I have used the translations of Rodwell and of Palmer and occasionally those of Sale and also of Lane. I have compared these with the Persian translations of Husáin and of Sháh Walí Ulláh Muḥaddath and also with the Urdu translations by 'Abdu'l-Qádir, Dr. Nadhir Aḥmad Khán and Aḥmad Sháh.

The Traditions (Aḥádith) of Bukhári and of Ṭirmiḍi have been consulted.

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THE Historical Development of the Qur’án

CHAPTER I

THE MECCAN PERIOD

A COMPARISON of the historical facts in the life of Muḥammad with the various portions of the Qur’án connected with them is necessary, if that life is to be intelligently understood. Another and equally important result of such comparison is that it shows the gradual way in which the Qur’án came into existence and how admirably the revelations fitted in to the local circumstances, and gave what was claimed to be divine authority and support to the varied actions of the Prophet. In this way alone could his change of policy be justified and he himself be protected from the charge of time-serving and inconsistency.

The arrangement of the Súras, or chapters in the Qur’án, is not chronological. The longest Súras are placed first in the book. Thus, to take the Qur’án and read it straight through throws no light on the life and work of the Prophet, but simply bewilders the reader. Maulavi Muḥammad ‘Alí, a Qádiáni commentator, asserts that the whole Qur’án was committed to writing during the Prophet’s life-time and that the present arrangement of chapters and verses was made under the

Prophet's own superintendence.¹ If this is so, it is difficult to say why recensions were necessary under Abú Bakr and 'Uthmán and what Zaid's work really was; nor is it easy to conceive that so capable a person as Muḥammad would have left his book in so unintelligible a form. It seems more correct to say that the Qur'án in its present form is a genuine reproduction of Abú Bakr's recension. 'Uthmán, after issuing his revised edition, 'caused all the remaining editions to be destroyed.'² This was unnecessary, if Muḥammad compiled and left a correct copy. The Arab and Persian commentators have arranged the Súras in some definite order, and Muir and Nöldeke have also attempted to place them in chronological sequence. There are differences of opinion as to the exact date of some Súras, and of portions of others which are certainly composite; but for all practical purposes we can now arrange them in some sort of consecutive order.

In the following pages, I try to show how the Súras when thus placed in their true chronological order cast much light on the policy, the teaching, and the actions of the great Arabian Prophet.

The first words revealed are those which the Prophet heard in the cave of Mt. Hírá', situated about three miles from Mecca, and now recorded in the Súratu'l-'Alaq (xcvi) 1-2³ :—

¹ *Holy Qur'án* pp. xxx-xlii.

² Sir 'Abdu'r-Raḥím, *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 20.

³ Throughout the roman numerals in brackets refer to the number of the Súra in the Qur'án, and the figures to the verses.

Recite thou in the name of thy Lord who created,
Created man from clots of blood.¹

Zamakḥshari says that Ibn 'Abbás and Mujáhid also agreed with this view; but that many commentators hold the Súratu'l-Fatiḥa (1) was the first portion revealed; others again say it was Súratu'l-Qalm (lxviii).

It is said by some that the words in the Súratu'sh-Shu'ará' (xxvi) 214,

Warn thy relatives of nearer kin,

contain the first call to preach; but the objections to this view are, that the context 'kindly lower thy wing over the faithful who follow thee' (215), and the words 'who seeth thee when thou standest in prayer and thy demeanour among those who worship' (218-9), both presuppose the existence of a small Musalmán community. The style of the Súra, too, is not that of the earliest period, and such combinations as الْعَزِيزُ الرَّحِيمُ the Mighty, the Merciful and السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ the Hearer, the Knower belong to the later Súras.

اقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ عَلَاقٍ¹

From the use of اقْرَأْ here it is sometimes said that Muḥammad must have been able to read, but قَرَأَ means more generally to recite, and in the cognate dialects to call out, to proclaim. Thus نَذَرَ to cry out as a prophet. In Isaiah xl. 6 we have :

קוֹל דְּמַרְכָּלִי וְקוֹל דְּמַרְכָּלִי

'The voice said "Cry," and he said, "what shall I cry?'"² See Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qoráns*, pp. 9-10.

This Súra is a good illustration of a composite one for from verse six onwards the revelation belongs to the later Meccan period and refers to the opposition of Abú Jahl. v. 6, and those associated with him, v. 16.

Then followed a period, called the Fatra, during which no revelations came.¹ It is said to have lasted three years. During this time the mind of the Prophet was in much suspense and he even doubted his call to a divine mission. The Quraish, a leading tribe in Mecca, to which the Prophet himself belonged, did not all this while actively oppose Muḥammad; they looked upon him as a madman, and in the East madness is often supposed to be accompanied with a sort of inspiration. In religious matters, the Meccans were not narrow-minded, nor was their religion exclusive. They tolerated the various creeds then accepted in Arabia and opened the Ka'ba to men of all sects. Waraqa, the cousin of Muḥammad, one of the Ḥanīfs, embraced Christianity, but no one blamed him or interfered with him on that account. So at first they treated Muḥammad with good-humoured contempt. The opposition against him was aroused when he set up his own teaching as the exclusive way of life and explicitly and implicitly condemned all other religions. So long as he kept to general statements, such as exhortations to lead good lives, or allusions to the Last Day, the people of Mecca cared little; but, when he began to attack the idolatry of the Ka'ba, the case was quite altered and active opposition commenced. The chief cause of this was the intense dislike they had to the changing of what had been long established. They had great reverence for the religion which made Mecca a sacred centre for the Arab people. As yet they

¹ For the manner in which inspiration is supposed to have come, see *The Faith of Islām* (4th ed.), pp. 71-2.

had no idea that Muḥammad would, by adopting into Islām much of the old pagan ceremonial of the Ka'ba, conserve that feeling. Then he worked no miracles. They had only his own word in support of his claim.

It would not be difficult to show that he was, from the first, influenced by patriotic motives and that he had a politico-religious system in view. Ibn Ishāq tells us that, as Muḥammad owed the amount of toleration he enjoyed solely to the support of his relatives, the elders of the Quraish begged his uncle Abú Ṭālib to arrange some way of peace by mutual concessions. Abú Ṭālib thereupon asked him to make some concession and stated that the Quraish would also do the same. To this Muḥammad replied: 'Well then, give me a word whereby the Arabs may be governed and the Persians subjugated;' ¹ and added, 'Say there is no God except Allāh and renounce what you worship beside Him.' In other words, accept my teaching and Arabia shall be united and her enemies subdued. The Meccans realized the danger and replied: 'We are not sure whether the dominion will not be taken from us.' The political factor in the inception of Islām has been far too much overlooked.² The result of the battle of Múta (A.H. 8), for example, was disastrous from a military point of view; but it exalted Muḥammad as the champion of a national idea and so produced

¹ Quoted by Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 74.

² Nowhere in the life of Muḥammad can a period of turning be shown; there is a gradual changing of aims and a readjustment of the means of obtaining them. Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism*, pp. 37-8.

a good effect.¹ The men of Mecca saw that acceptance of Muḥammad's teaching might mean war and possible defeat, and this feeling no doubt added strength to their increasing opposition. They now called him liar, sorcerer, poet, soothsayer, demoniac. Even at the door of the Ka'ba, they assailed him. Once he lost his temper and said: 'Hear, ye Quraish, I come to you with slaughter,'² a threat which he was not able to carry out for many years; but the Quraish could not know this and so the next day they attacked him again. Abú Bakr had to come to his aid, and there 'was no man that day,' says Ibn Isháq, 'free or slave, who did not call him a liar and insult him.' All through these troubles his uncle Abú Tálíb, though not at all convinced of the truth of his nephew's claims, was his steady protector. The Quraish urged him to withdraw his protection, but all that he would do was to remonstrate with his troublesome nephew thus: 'Spare me and thyself, and do not burden me with more than I can bear;' but Muḥammad was firm, and so his uncle, true to the ties of relationship, dismissed the deputation and told him to go on, adding these words, 'By Alláh, I shall in no wise surrender thee to them.'

The conception of Muḥammad as a poor man, a mere camel driver, forcing his own way, unaided,

¹ He did unite Arabia in religious matters, but he failed to suppress the rival factions of the Muḍarites and the Yeme'ies, which continued and for centuries wrought evil in Islám. See Sell *The Umayyad and 'Abbasid Khalifates* (C. L. S.), pp. 2-3.

² Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 87. This little incident also shows that from the first he had thoughts of political power.

against strong opposition is unfounded. He belonged to one of the most distinguished tribes in Arabia, and was a member of a highly aristocratic family. His relations were men of great political and social influence and that was used for his personal protection. If that support had not been given, Muḥammad might have failed under the pressure of opposition and Islám might never have come into existence.

Some of Muḥammad's followers, such as Abú Bakr and others who could claim connexion with some influential family in Mecca, though despised and insulted, were free from personal danger. The strong family affection was a safeguard against the serious molestation of any member of it, even though he had joined the new teaching; but, if Muḥammad and some of his adherents were thus protected, it was otherwise with his followers who were gathered out from the slaves and the lower class of Arabs¹ for whom there was no powerful protector from amongst the leading members of the great Meccan families. They were cruelly tortured and imprisoned. Muḥammad was much concerned at this, and even encouraged them to dissemble in order to escape torture. One day he met a man called 'Ammár bin Yásir who was weeping. In reply to Muḥammad's enquiries, he said, 'Oh Prophet, they would not let me go till I had abused

¹ This was one of the objections urged against his claims by the Quraish:—

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

thee, and spoken well of their gods.' Muḥammad said: 'But how dost thou find thy heart?' 'Secure and steadfast in the faith.' 'Then,' continued Muḥammad, 'if they repeat their cruelty, repeat thou also thy words.' The case of such unwilling deniers of the faith is provided for in the Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi) 108, which is said to have been revealed after, the interview with 'Ammár bin Yásir.¹

Whoso, after he hath believed in God, denieth Him, if he was forced to it and if his heart remain steadfast in the faith, *shall be guiltless.*²

About this time, when the Prophet's mind was full of anxiety, the two short Súras, the Súratu'd-Duhá (xciii)³ and the Súratu'l-Inshiráh (xciv), both addressed directly to Muḥammad himself, and Súratu'l-Káfirún (cix) and Súratu'l-Ikhlás (cxii), addressed to the people, were revealed for his consolation:—

¹ *Tafsír* of 'Abdu'lláh bin 'Abbás and the *Khulásatu't-Tafsír*, vol. ii, p. 578, where the story of the early persecutions of the Muslims is related.

² The commentators add the words in italics, which are not in the Arabic text, but are required to complete the sense. Thus, *أمن غضب مني*—'Free from this wrath' (*Khulásatu't-Tafsír*, vol. ii, p. 578). 'For him there is no calling to account.' See *Translation of the Qur'án* by Naḡhir Aḡmad.

³ Tirmidhī records a Tradition to the effect that the Quraiṣh said that God had forsaken the Prophet. Then Gabriel brought this Súra:—

By the noon-day brightness,
And by the night when it darkeneth,
Thy Lord hath not forsaken thee, nor hath
He been displeased.

So the Prophet was comforted.

Jámī'u't-Tirmidhī, vol. ii, p. 469.

By the noon-day 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 than the past.
(xciii) 1-4.

Have we not opened thine heart for thee ?
And taken off from thee thy burden,
Which galled thy back ?
And have we not raised thy name for thee ?
Then verily along with trouble cometh ease.
But when thou art set at liberty, then prosecute
thy toil,
And seek thy Lord with fervour. (xciv.)
Say : O ye unbelievers !
I worship not that which ye worship,
And ye do not worship that which I worship
I shall never worship that which ye worship
Neither will ye worship that which I worship.
To you be your religion ; to me my religion. (cix)
1-6.¹
Say : He is God alone ;
God the Eternal !
He begetteth not and He is not begotten ;
And there is none like unto him. (cxii) 1-4.

Thus, in a period of depression, the Prophet was encouraged by direct messages to himself to protest

¹ The Súra is said to have been revealed when some Meccan leaders, Abū Jahl, 'Ás, Walid and others suggested a compromise to the effect that the God of Muḥammad should be worshipped at the same time as the Meccan deities, or alternately each year. Muḥammad did not fall into the snare, and in this Súra distinctly rejected the old idolatry. Soon after in Súratu'l-Ikhlás (cxii) he gave the most emphatic testimony possible to the Unity of God.

The term *dín* for religion here occurs for the first time, and is applied both to Meccan paganism and to Islám ; afterwards it was restricted to the latter. This apparent recognition of the ancient religion is now disallowed as the words are abrogated by the *آية السيف*—verse of the sword. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 5. *Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. ii, p. 476.

against idolatry and by the deepening of his faith in the contemplation of the Unity of the Godhead.

The first Súra of a continued series, after the Fatra was over, is the Súratu'l-Mudaththir (lxxiv)¹ after which there was no more cessation of the revelations. This Súra came at a time when the Prophet was mocked and jeered at, charged with being a mere poet, or a soothsayer, misleading others with his rhapsodies. It is a clear indication to him to go straight on with his mission, and a command to preach :—

O thou, enwrapped in thy mantle !
Arise and warn !
Thy Lord—magnify Him !
Thy raiment—purify it !
The abomination—flee it ! 1-5.

The people of Mecca were obdurate and the leader of the opposition was, according to the commentators Ibn 'Abbás and Baiḍáwí, Walíd bin Muḡhaira, the chief of Mecca. He is referred to in these vindictive verses :—

Leave me alone to deal with him whom I have
created,
And on whom I have bestowed vast riches,
And sons dwelling before him,

¹ The general consensus of Muslim commentators is that this Súra was the first one revealed after the Fatra, and the verses 1-7 clearly support that view, as the Arabic in verse 8 for a 'trump on the trumpet' (نقر في الناقور) is peculiar to early Súras. At the same time, the Súra is a composite one, for the eleventh verse, 'Leave me alone to deal with him whom I have created,' points to an unbelieving opponent. This is said to be Walíd bin Muḡhaira. The verses 31-4 seem to refer to opponents at Madína, Jews, unbelievers, hypocrites and idolaters, classes often grouped together there, and so these verses must have been inserted in the Súra at that later date.

And for whom I smoothed all things smoothly down ;
Yet desireth he that I should add more !
But no ! because to our signs he is a foe,
I will lay grievous woes upon him :
For he plotted and he planned !
May he be cursed ! 11-19.

He had said that the words of the Prophet were those of a mere man and were spoken under the influence of magic. Then follows the condemnation :—

We will surely cast him into hell-fire,
And who shall teach him what hell-fire is ?
It leaveth nought, it spareth nought,
Blackening the skin. 26-9.¹

This same person is referred to in Súratu'l-Qalam (lxviii) as,

The man of oaths, a despicable person,
Defamer going about with slander. 10-11.
Who, when our wondrous verses are recited to him,
saith,
'Fables of the Ancients,'
We will brand him in the nostrils. 15-16.

Another bitter opponent of Muḡammad was his uncle 'Abdu'l-'Uzza, known as Abú Lahab, who was instigated by his wife to reject Muḡammad's claim. Both uncle and aunt are fiercely condemned in an early Meccan chapter, Súratu'l-Lahab (cxi) :—

Let the hands of Abú Lahab perish and let himself
perish !
His wealth and his gain shall avail him not,
Burned shall he be at the fiery flame,

¹ In the Meccan Súras the punishment of hell is directed against those who did not believe in the claims of Muḡammad ; it is not decreed against sin in general.

And his wife laden with fire-wood,
On her neck a twisted rope of palm fibre.¹

Súratu'l-Humazah (civ) is directed against a rich man named Akhnas ibn Sharíf,² and clearly belongs to this period, though Nöldeke mentions, but without approval, that some Muslim authorities consider it a Madína one :—

Woe to every backbiter, defamer !
Who amasseth wealth and storeth it against the future !
He thinketh surely that his wealth shall be with him for ever.
Nay ! for verily he shall be flung into the crushing fire ;
And who shall teach thee what the crushing fire is ?
It is God's kindled fire,
Which shall mount above the hearts of the damned.
1-7.

In a late Meccan Súra, a number of persons are referred to as refusing to listen and to have become

¹ If all that tradition relates about Abú Lahab is correct, this Súra becomes of much interest and value as showing how the special circumstances in which Muḥammad was placed influenced even the very words used in the Qur'án. Thus, it is related that Muḥammad one day called his kinsmen together to hear his claims. Abú Lahab became very angry and said : ' Hast thou called me for this ? Mayest thou perish ! ' Then taking a stone in his two hands, he threw it at Muḥammad. So his hand was to perish. His wife Umm Jamíl put thorns on a path over which the Prophet walked. Then one day as she was going along with a bundle of fire-wood, the rope around it twisted round her neck and she was strangled (*Raudatu's Sa'á*, Part ii, vol. i, p. 161 ; *Khaláṣatu't-Tafásír*, vol. iv, p. 126). Verse four may also mean that in hell she must gather wood for the fire. See Baiḍáwí *ad. loc.* Maulavi Muḥammad 'Ali says, she used to gather thorns bound with a rope, which she brought on her own head to spread in the Prophet's way' (*Holy Qur'án*, p. 1234). The words *أَتَتْ نَارَ لَهَابٍ* Dháta lahabin, which mean ' fiery flame,' are a play on the name of Abú Lahab, or ' Father of flames' (*Tafsír-i-Husaini*, p. 477).

² Baiḍáwí, vol. ii, p. 416.

so obdurate that, even after punishment, they would be unconvinced. The words are :—

Some among them hearken unto thee ;¹ but we have cast a veil over their hearts that they should not understand it (Qur'án) and a weight into their ears ; and though they should see all kinds of signs, they will refuse all faith in them until when they come to thee, to dispute with thee. The infidels say, ' Verily, this is nothing but fables of the ancients.' And they will forbid it and depart from it, but they are only the authors of their own perdition, and know it not. Súratu'l-An'am (vi) 25-6.

Abú Jahl,² another bitter opponent, is referred to in Súratu'l-'Alaq (xcvi) :—

Nay, verily, man is insolent,
Because he seeth himself possessed of riches. 6-7.

It is said by Baiḍáwí, that he threatened to put his foot on the neck of the Prophet, when he was prostrate in prayer.

Again in the Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) we read :—

A man there is who disputeth about God without knowledge or guidance or enlightening Book.

This is a Madína Súra and so the reference is historical and retrospective, but that is not uncommon in the later Súras. In another late Madína Súra we have :—

¹ The persons referred to are Abú Sufyán, Naḍhír, Walíd, 'Utba, Shaibu and others. They asked Naḍhír if he understood what Muḥammad was saying. He replied that he did not ; he only saw that he moved his tongue and told foolish stories. The reference in the next verse is to these same persons who forbade people to become Muslims, or to Abú Tálib, who forbade the enemies of Muḥammad, his nephew, to injure him, but would not himself accept Islám. Baiḍáwí, vol. i, p. 287.

Tafsír-i-Husaini, vol. i, p. 167.

² Baiḍáwí, vol. ii, p. 411. Abú Jahl was killed at the battle of Badr.

And be not like those Meccans, who came out of their houses insolently and to be seen of men and who turn others away from God. *Súratu'l-Anfál* (viii) 49.

Against all this opposition, Muḥammad is instructed in the *Súratu'l-Qalam* (lxviii) to say of himself, as from God :—

Thou, by the grace of thy Lord, art not possessed. 2.

During the next year or two the theory of divine inspiration becomes more fully developed and the infallibility of the Prophet more strenuously asserted. The revelations as they come are not only declared to be the very words of God himself, but their original is said to be in Heaven :—

Yet it is a glorious *Qur'án*,¹

Written on the preserved Table. *Súratu'l-Burúj* (lxxxv) 21.

This table is the *Lauḥu'l-Maḥfúz*, or preserved table, kept near the throne of God. The *Qur'án*

Is an admonition in revered pages ; exalted, pure ;

Written by scribes honourable and just. *Súratu'l-'Abasa* (lxxx) 13-14.

The commentator *Zamakhsharí* explains this thus : ' Being transcribed from the preserved table, kept pure and uncorrupt from the hands of evil spirits, and touched only by the Angels.' *Baiḍáwí* says : ' Angels wrote it, or prophets transcribed the book from the (preserved) table, or by revelation, or the scribes wrote it by the revelation between God and His Prophet.'²

¹ ' Unique in arrangement and meaning.' *Baiḍáwí*, vol. ii, p. 391.

² كَتَبَتْ مِنَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ أَوْ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ يَنْتَسِخُونَ الْكِتَابَ مِنَ الْوَجْهِ أَوْ الْوَجْهِ أَوْ مَسْفَرَاتِهِ يُسْفَرُونَ بِالْوَجْهِ بَيْنَ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ. vol. ii, p. 387.

The opposition was now very severe and is met by denunciations of the strongest kind in the *Súratu'l-Mursalát* (lxxvii), an early Meccan one. No less than ten times in a chapter of fifty short verses are the words repeated :—

Woe be on that day to those who charged with imposture !

The active form of the opposition seems to be referred to in the thirty-ninth verse, in which a sort of challenge is set forth :—

If now ye have any craft, try your craft on me.¹

The denunciations close with the fierce command :—

Begone to that hell that ye called a lie,
Begone to the shadows that lie in triple masses,
But not against the flames shall they help or shade you. 25-31.

The next *Súra*, *Súratu'n-Naba'* (lxxviii) is in the same strain of bitter invective :—

Hell truly shall be a place of snares,
The home of transgressors,
To abide therein ages ;
No coolness shall they taste therein nor any drink,
Save boiling water and running sores ;
Meet recompense !
For they looked not forward to their account ;
And they gave the lie to our signs, charging them with falsehood ;

¹ So in the *Súratu'l-Táariq* (lxxxvi) we have the following words :—

They plot against thee
And I will plot against them.
Deal calmly, therefore, with the Infidels. 15-17.

Some authorities, however, place this *Súra* later on, about the time of the first emigration to Abyssinia.

But we noted and wrote down all :
Taste this then, and we will give increase of nought—
but torment. 21-30.

Súratu'l-Burúj (lxxxv) refers to the persecutions suffered by the early Muslims¹ and to the punishment of those who vex the believers. For them there is waiting the torments of hell, and 'the torment of the burning.' To confirm all this denunciation of those who opposed the Prophet, his hearers are reminded that the words are not his, but are those of the 'glorious Qur'án, written on the preserved table,' that is, the very words of God Himself.

These more general statements of the future lot of the impenitent sometimes gave way to the threat of a temporal calamity. Just as in ancient times God, before he destroyed a city, sent first a prophet to warn it, so it was now :

We never destroyed a city which had not first its warners

With admonition ; nor did we deal unjustly. Súratu'sh-Shu'ará' (xxvi) 208-9.

We never destroyed a city whose term was not prefixed.

No people can forestall or retard its destiny. Súratu'l-Ĥijr (xv) 4-5.

In such sort have we influenced the heart of the wicked ones,

That they will not believe it till they see the grievous chastisement ;

And it shall come upon them on a sudden when they look not for it. Súratu'sh-Shu'ará' (xxvi) 201-2.

¹ Unless *vv.* 8-11 are of later date which a difference of style may show.

The people of Mecca may, for a time, have been stirred by the constant reiteration of an impending local danger but, as time passed by and no calamity came to them, they passed from curiosity to incredulity. They challenged Muḥammad's message, derided his denunciations and demanded miraculous signs of his authority.

They said :—

By no means will we believe in thee till thou cause a fountain to gush forth for us from the earth,

Or till thou have a garden of palm-trees and grapes, and thou cause forth gushing rivers to gush forth in our midst ;

Or thou make the heaven to fall on us, as thou hast given out, in pieces ; or thou bring God and the angels to vouch for thee. Súratu Bani Isrá'il (xvii), 92-5.

The unbelievers say, 'Why hath not a sign been given him by his Lord.' Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 8.

Muḥammad had to acknowledge that he had no such credentials, but he brought revelations to show that the absence of this power was part of God's purpose in dealing with these rebellious people of Mecca.

Thus, in order to show that what he deemed mere idle curiosity could not be gratified, we have :—

We will not send down the angels without due cause. Suratu'l-Ĥijr (xv) 8.

If they would not believe from the example of those who had gone before, if they now deliberately rejected the warning and the warner, then nothing

else would help them, for in the same Súra (xv) it is written :—

Even were we to open a gate in Heaven, yet all the while they were mounting up to it,
They would say: it is only our eyes are drunken, we are a people enchanted. 14-15.

The strongest passage of all on this subject is one at the close of the middle Meccan period, where the reason assigned is that it was quite useless to give Muḥammad the power of working miracles,¹ for such a gift had practically produced no result in the case of former prophets :—

Nothing hindered us from sending thee with miracles, except that the people of old treated them as lies. Súratu Bani Isrá'il (xvii) 61.

They pressed their point, and, as we shall see later on, he had to maintain that the Qur'án was the one special miracle which attested his mission.

The Meccans looked upon the doctrine of the resurrection of the body as pure imagination, and when revelations concerning it were announced, treated them as made up by Muḥammad from information gathered from the foreigners at Mecca. They spoke of them as 'Fables of the Ancients,' or as the effusion of a poetical imagination. In the Súratu't-Tatfíf (lxxxiii)² delivered in the earlier part of the Meccan period of the Prophet's career, we read :—

¹ I need scarcely say that the fact that he worked no miracles, though recorded so clearly in the Qur'án, is not accepted by Muslim theologians.

² Some commentators consider this to be a Madína Súra, some that it is a late Meccan one; but Muir and Nöldeke place it about the fourth year of the ministry at Mecca.

Woe, on that day, to those who treated our signs as lies,
Who treated the day of judgment as a lie!
None treat it as a lie, save the transgressor, the criminal,
Who, when our signs are rehearsed to him, saith,
'Tale of the Ancients'
Yes; but their own works have got the mastery over their hearts,
Yes; they shall be shut out as by a veil from their Lord on that day;
Then shall they be burned in hell-fire;
Then it shall be said to them, 'This is what ye deemed a lie.' 10-17.

A little later on at Mecca, Muḥammad discouraged poetry in the words :—

It is the poets whom the erring follow. Súratu'sh-Shu'ará (xxvi) 224.¹

He also at this time rebutted the charge of being a mere poet, thus :—

We have not taught him (Muḥammad) poetry, nor would it beseem him. This (book) is no other than a warning {and a clear Qur'án. Súratu Ya Sín (xxxvi) 69.

If he were a poet or composed poetry it might appear as if the Qur'án were his own composition and not the direct words of God. These emphatic assertions are intended, it is said, to confound the infidels who made such a false charge. Apparently his opponents were not satisfied, for somewhat later

¹ 'Muḥammad at one time employed poets to defend himself and his religion from the satires of other poets. These productions were recited at the fair at Okatz. Subsequently he suppressed them as they led to inconvenient discussions.' Rodwell's *Qur'án*, p. 120.

on, though still at Mecca, we find the same charge repeated in *Súratu'l-Furqán* (xxv) :—

And the infidels say, 'The Qur'án is a mere fraud of his own devising and others have helped him with it, who had come hither by outrage and lie.'

And they say, 'Tales of the Ancients'¹ that he hath put in writing, and they were dictated to him morning and evening. 5-6.

They must also have looked upon him as a *Káhin*,² or soothsayer. See *Súras* lii. 29 and lxix. 42.

The *Súras* of the early Meccan period exhibit the dark feelings and suspicions of the Prophet, though the language is often very fine and the rhetorical cadence is full of poetic colour. The oaths with which he strengthens his teaching are very characteristic. The strong and comminatory attacks on his adversaries, of whom he even singles out some, are a marked feature of this period of his career. These *Súras* are the finest in the whole Qur'án and in them the passionate agitation of the Prophet appears at its height.

A conciliatory appeal is now made to the Meccans on the ground of their privileges :—

Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the army of the Elephant ?

Did he not cause their stratagem to miscarry ?

And he sent against them birds in flocks,

¹ أساطير الأولين

² 'The *Káhins* were soothsayers, connected with a sanctuary . . . all mysterious and obscure things seem to have been referred to them. They foretold the future and the unseen. Muhammad's first utterances were in genuine *Káhin* form and *Káhin* spirit.' Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life of Islám*, pp. 29, 31. See, Sell, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 38.

Claystones did they hurl upon them,
And he made them like stubble eaten down. *Súratu'l-Fil* (cv) 1-5.

This is an allusion to the deliverance of the inhabitants of Mecca from the army of the King of Abyssinia, sent to destroy the Ka'ba in the year when Muhammad was born. The plague, which in quite a natural way destroyed so many of the enemy, is here represented as a miraculous interposition of Providence.

In the *Súratu'l-Quraish* (cvi) there is an allusion to the sacred Ka'ba and the inviolability of its territory :—

Let them worship the Lord of this house, who hath provided them with food against hunger,
And secured them against alarm. 3-4.

In *Súratu't-Tín* (xcv) a similar appeal is enforced with an oath :—

I swear by the fig and the olive
By Mount Sinai
And by this inviolable soil. 1-3.

The commentators, Ibn 'Abbás and Ḥusain, say that the fig and the olive stand for two hills near Mecca, Tina and Zita, famed for their trees, or for the mosques of Mecca and Damascus. The view put forth by Baiḍáwi and Zamakhshari that they stand for what is nourishing and wholesome is more reasonable. An extraordinary and fanciful explanation is given by Maulavi Muhammad 'Alí. He says the fig represents Judaism, now passed away, for Christ said to the barren fig tree (*Matt.* xxi. 19) 'Let no fruit grow on thee,

henceforward and for ever.' The olive stands for Islám, for as the olive produces oil for light, so Islám is the light of the nations. This is a good illustration of the author's vivid imagination and is opposed to all accepted interpretations.

A little later on we have in *Súratu't-Ṭúr* (lii) :—

By the mountain
And by the Book written,
On an outspread roll
And by the frequented house. 1-4.

In this way, in the early part of his Meccan career, the Prophet praised and honoured a place dear to the Meccans.

Then follows an appeal of a different description : an appeal to the lower instincts of human nature. The delights of heaven, the bridal couches, the choice wines, the perfume of musk are now portrayed for the encouragement of the dispirited band of the faithful, one of whose chief delights in Paradise will be to lie on these bridal couches and laugh the infidels to scorn ; a passage explained by some commentators thus : ' A door will be opened between heaven and hell and the damned will be called to the open door ; they will run with the alacrity of hope, but just as they get to it, it will be shut in their faces and the saved, enjoying the carnal pleasures of Paradise, will add to their joy by laughing heartily at the sad disappointment of the lost.' At this period, the most graphic descriptions are given of heaven and hell, not only to support the courage of the early Muslims under their trials, but also to terrify their opponents. The joys of Paradise are rest and ease, robes of silken

textures, wines and scents, with attendants of rare beauty. All these are to be enjoyed in scenes which add to the delight of the senses. To complete the attraction, there is :—

For the God-fearing a blissful abode,
Enclosed gardens and vineyards
And damsels with swelling breasts, their peers in age,
And a full cup. *Súratu'n-Naba'* (lxxviii) 31-4.
And theirs shall be the *Húris* with large dark eyes,
like pearls hidden in their shells.
Of a rare creation have we created the *Húris*,
And we have made them ever virgin. *Súratu'l-Wáqí'a*
(lvi) 22, 34-5.
On couches, ranged in rows, shall they recline
And to the damsels with large dark eyes will we wed
them. *Súratu't-Ṭúr* (lii) 20.

In a *Súra* a little later on, about the middle period in Mecca, we have :—

A state banquet shall they have
Of fruits ; and honoured shall they be
In the gardens of delight,
Upon couches face to face.
A cup shall be borne round among them from
a fountain,
Limpid, delicious to those who drink ;
It shall not oppress the sense, nor shall they be
drunken.
And with them are the large-eyed ones with modest
refraining glances. *Súratu's-Şáffát* (xxxvii) 40-7.

Gibbon sarcastically remarks on these statements, that ' *Muḥammad* has not specified the male companions of the elect, lest he should either alarm the jealousy of the former husbands, or disturb their felicity by the suspicion of an everlasting marriage.' Faithful women as well as faithful men will renew

their youth in heaven. Justice seems to demand that women, therefore, should have the same liberty as men, but Muḥammad shrank from this legitimate conclusion to his teaching.

The question naturally arises whether these statements were meant to be literal or allegorical. No doubt Muslim mystics¹ and philosophers have refined them away into allegory, and such a course naturally commends itself to men of high moral tone in modern Islāmic society, where it has been

¹ Syed Amīr 'Alī in the *Spirit of Islām* says: 'The Hūrīs are creatures of Zoroastrian origin, so is paradise, whilst hell in the severity of its punishment is Talmudic. The descriptions are realistic, in some places almost sensuous; but to say that they are sensual, or that Muḥammad, or any of his followers, even the ultra-literalists, accepted them as such, is a calumny, p. 394.

It is interesting to note how this admission of the human origin of this part of the Prophet's teaching completely disposes of the dogma of the eternal nature of the Qur'ān and of its claim to be an inspired book in all its parts.

Maulavi Muḥammad 'Alī (*Holy Quar'ān*, p. 1009) in a note on Sūratu't-Tūr (lii) 20 says that حور عین means 'pure beautiful ones' and that they are ' plurals of words applying to men as well as to women, as also to qualities and good deeds' and that they here refer to ' heavenly blessings which the righteous women shall have along with the righteous men.' ' Womanhood stands for a symbol of purity and beauty' and so as 'purity of character and the beautiful deeds of the righteous' are here referred to, these ' blessings are described in words which apply to women.' It is a clever apology, but not orthodox nor convincing. This divergence from the ' received view' however does credit to the author's moral sense.

The accepted interpretations are:—

The *Tafsīr Husaini* translates the words by

زنان سفید روی کشاده چشم—'bright-faced, large-eyed, women.'

The *Khulāṣatu't-Tafsīr* has

ہمیں سے ہم کو نکاح کر دیا ہم نے حور خوش چشم—'we marry them to beautiful-eyed Hūrīs. So also Ibn 'Abbas.

The *Maḡhāl Tarjuma* has. ہم سے ہم ان کی ہر ایک سے ہمیں نکاح کر دیا ہم نے—'we will marry them to large-eyed Hūrīs.

The Urdu translators Naḡhīr Aḡmad and Aḡmad Shāh so interpret it.

Zamaḡhshari has ہمیں سے ہم ان کو—'we joined them to Hūrīs.

influenced by Christian thought and western culture; but it is difficult to believe that Muḥammad so intended his words to be taken, or that his hearers so understood them. Muḥammad's mind was intensely practical and not in the least given to mysticism. In the arrangements of the world and in the affairs of men he saw no difficulties and no mystery. The punishments of hell are material, no orthodox Muslim attempts to allegorize them; why then should the material joys of paradise be set aside? It must, however, be noted that these descriptions of a voluptuous paradise are given at a time when Muḥammad was living a chaste and temperate life with a single wife. This is urged as a plea in support of the allegorical view; but it must be borne in mind that, though Muḥammad was undoubtedly fond of and faithful to Khadīja,¹ yet he was subject to her. She was the master, she had raised him from poverty, given him a position, placed him in comparative affluence; but she kept her fortune in her own hands. Muḥammad had not, even assuming that he wished so to do, the means of granting dowries, or of, in any way, obtaining other wives. That his moderation then was compulsory seems to some critics evident from the fact that as soon as he was free he gratified his

¹ It is said that Khadīja was alarmed when she was told that her parents were in hell, lest her deceased sons should be also there, a statement which would not have commended the new religion to her; but her fears were allayed by the revelation:—

To those who have believed, whose offspring have followed them in the faith, will we again unite their offspring. Sūratu't-Tūr (lii) 21.

This was an apt statement, and, as her son's salvation depended on her belief, it helped her so to do. The story is told by Musnad and is quoted by Mārgoliouth, *Mohammed*, p. 93

wishes to the full. Muḥammad after *Khadija's* death was, according to the *Raudatu'l-Aḥbāb*,¹ very much dejected when a friend said, 'Why do you not marry again?' he replied, 'Who is there that I could take?' 'If thou wishest for a virgin, there is 'Āyisha, the daughter of thy friend Abū Bakr; and if thou wishest for a woman, there is Sauda who believes in thee.' He solved the dilemma by saying, 'Then ask them both for me.' Two months after the death of *Khadija* he was married to Sauda and betrothed to 'Āyisha, then a girl of six years of age, whom three years after he married. Still it may be said, how is it that in the later *Sūras* these vivid descriptions of the carnal joys of Paradise are not given?² One reason sometimes assigned is that his followers in *Madīna*, no longer being a persecuted people, did not need this encouragement; but there is also another explanation which has been given. 'The more probable cause, assuredly, is satiety. The pleasures which appeared so intense when out of reach, that Muḥammad could think of no reward so fitting for the believer in Paradise, palled as soon as they were enjoyed without restriction.'³

¹ Quoted by Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 79.

² In the *Madīna Sūras*, extending over a period of ten years after the *Hijra*, or flight from Mecca, women are only twice referred to as forming one of the joys of heaven and then as wives, not as concubines:—

Therein shall they have wives of purity. *Sūratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 23.
Therein they shall have wives of stainless purity. *Sūratu'n-Nisā'* (iv) 60.

Either closer contact with Jewish morality in *Madīna* repressed the sense of the sensual Paradise, the representation of which was used at Mecca with so much force, or it was not necessary now to thus encourage the Muslims, by holding out to them those prospects of enjoyment in Paradise which they could on earth enjoy to the full.

³ Osborn, *Islām under the Arabs*, p. 36.

In the second part of the Meccan period we have vivid descriptions of hell and its punishments. The inhabitants of hell are constantly tortured; they are dragged by the scalp and flung into the fire where boiling water will be forced down their throats and garments of fire fitted on to them; they will be beaten with iron maces and each time they try to escape they will be dragged back again, with the words:—

How wretched shall be the people of the left hand !
Amid scorching blasts and in scalding water,
And in the shadow of a black smoke
Not cool and horrid to behold. *Sūratu'l-Wāqī'a* (Ivi)
41-3.

In the third period of the Meccan ministry the same fierce denunciations are carried on, showing that up to its close this was the attitude of the Prophet towards his opponents:—

They hasten forward in fear; their heads upraised in supplication; their looks riveted¹ and their hearts a blank. Warn men, therefore, of the day when the punishment shall overtake them, and when the evil doers shall say, 'O our Lord! respitè us a little while;'

And thou shalt see the wicked on that day linked together in chains;

Their garments of pitch, and fire shall enwrap their faces. *Sūratu Ibrāhīm* (xiv) 44-50.

Those who treat 'the Book'² and the message with which we have sent our apostles, as a lie, shall know the truth hereafter,

¹ Osborn, *Islām under the Arabs*, p. 39

² The *Qur'ān* and books of preceding prophets.

When the collars shall be on their necks and the chains to drag them into hell ; then in the fire shall they be burned. *Súratu'l-Mu'min* (xl) 73-4.

As for those who have brought out evil, their recompense shall be evil of like degree, and shame shall cover them—no protector shall they have against God ; as though their faces were covered with deep darkness of night. These shall be inhabitants of the fire : therein shall they abide for ever. *Súratu Yúnus* (x) 28.

All this time Muḥammad constantly and continuously reiterated the statement that he was sent as a warner ; but the Quraish would not listen to his warning :—

Say, I am the only plain spoken warner. *Súratu'l-Hijr* (xv) 89.

They marvel that a warner from among themselves hath come. And the Infidels say, This is a sorcerer and a liar. *Súratu Šád* (xxxviii) 3.

A revelation of the Mighty, the Merciful that thou shouldst warn a people whose fathers were not warned. *Súratu Yá Sín* (xxxvi) 5.

Say, I only warn you of what hath been revealed to me. *Súratu'l-Anbiyá'* (xxi) 46.

These *Súras* are all of the middle Meccan period when the Prophet was extremely anxious to win over the Quraish. There is, however, a similar expression in a rather late *Madína Súra*, *Súratu'l-Fath* (xlviii) 8 :—

We have sent thee to be a witness, a herald of good and a warner.

The warning is said to be for a special purpose, 'that ye may believe on God and on His Apostle,' a combination of the objects of belief found almost

entirely in the later *Súras*. At Mecca Muḥammad was more modest.

There are two famous *Súras*, *Súratu'l-Falaq* (cxiii) and *Súratu'n-Nás* (cxiv), which, if Meccan ones, though this is not quite clear,¹ show that the Prophet used popular incantations and was so far time-serving ; or, at all events, was still governed by superstitious practices ; or that he was desirous of showing that he had power over the evil influences which his enemies sought to bring to bear upon him. It is said that a Jew, named Lubaid, assisted by his daughters, bewitched Muḥammad. Gabriel delivered him from the spell by reciting these two *Súras* ² :—

Say, I betake me for refuge to the Lord of the day-break.

Against the mischief of his creation ;

And against the mischief of the night when it overtaketh me ;

And against the mischief of weird women ;

And against the mischief of the envier when he envieth. *Súratu'l-Falaq* (cxiii) 1-5.

¹ Nöldeke says : ' It is very difficult to fix the date of these two *Súras* and we cannot be sure that they were delivered before the Hijra. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qoráns*, p. 85.

There are, however, similar expressions in undoubtedly Meccan *Súras* :—

If an enticement from Satan entice thee, then take refuge in God. *Súratu'l-Fuṣṣilat* (xli) 36.

When thou readest the *Qur'án*, ask refuge with God from Satan. *Súratu'n-Nahl* (xvi) 100.

These *Súras* are, therefore, most probably Meccan, belonging to a period when the Prophet had not yet cast off the superstitious practices of the Arabs. Many Muslim commentators, however, say Lubaid was a Jew at *Madína* and so place them after the Hijra. There is then no absolute certainty about their date.

² *Tafsír-i-Husaini* on *Súratu'l-Falaq* (cxiii). *Qur'án-i-Majid in loco*. 'Áyisha is reported to have said that whoever after the Friday *Namáz* repeats these *Súras* seven times will be preserved from all evils until the next Friday. *Khuláṣatu'l-Tafsír*, vol. iv., page 132.

Say, I betake me for refuge to the Lord of men,
 The King of men,
 The God of men,
 Against the mischief of the stealthily withdrawing
 whisperer,
 Who whispereth in men's breast
 Against jinn and men. Súratu'n-Nás (cxiv) 1-6.

These Súras are called the al-Ma'údhatain (المعوذتين), or preservative chapters, and are engraved on amulets as charms against evil.

Still, the promised allurements of Paradise and all the threatened terrors of hell and all this alleged supernatural power over witchcraft failed to win over the Quraish, and the Prophet, being then unable to protect his poorer followers¹ and unwilling to run the risk of their perversion, recommended them to emigrate to Abyssinia, a country at that time in close commercial relations with Arabia. The emigrants were few in number, but it was an evidence to the Meccans that their faith was real and that exile was preferable to possibly forced recantation. Some of the exiles joined the Christian Church in Abyssinia, for the antagonism of Islám to Christianity came at a much later period than

¹ At this time Islám was accepted as their religion by slaves who had either been carried away from Christian lands, or had been born of Christian parents at Mecca. They saw in Muḥammad a liberator and so they believed in his teaching and some died as martyrs to it. Nöldeke considers that verse ten of Súratu'l-'Alaq (xcvi), 'A slave of God when he prayeth,' refers to a slave convert; but the ordinary interpretation of it is 'A servant of God when he prayeth,' and it is said to refer to Muḥammad himself, in connexion with the threat made by Abú Jahl (*ante*, p. 13) that he would put his foot on the Prophet's neck when at prayer. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qoráns*, p. 66; *Tafsír-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. ii., p. 468; and also Baidáwi, vol. ii., p. 410.

this.¹ Had Muḥammad not found a few years later a home at Madína, he too might have gone to Abyssinia and some form of Christian heresy might have taken the place of Islám.

In three months the emigrants returned, for now there seemed to them a prospect of peace with the Quraish. The Meccans had no desire to lose a large number of citizens and the patronage of the King of Abyssinia seemed likely to give political power to Muḥammad's cause. On the other hand, Abyssinian influence might grow too strong even for him. Thus, there was a prospect of danger both to Meccans and to Muslims. If a compromise between the two parties could be arrived at, it would obviously be to their mutual advantage. Negotiations were opened and one of the leading men of Mecca was deputed to visit Muḥammad in order to induce him to come to some terms and to make some compromise. He said: '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 our 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

¹ In Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 85, we read:

Of all men thou wilt certainly find the Jews, and those who join other gods with God, to be the most intense in hatred of those who believe; and thou shalt certainly find those to be nearest in affection to them who say, 'We are Christians.'

This Súra, though a late one, is composite and this verse, evidently recorded in grateful recollection of the kindness shown to the exiles, must have been written after A. H. 3, when the enmity to the Jews was marked and before A. H. 8, by which time both Jews and Christians were denounced.

upon, thou mayest deem acceptable.' Then riches and honour were offered to Muḥammad. If only he would recognize the local deities, the Quraish would then also acknowledge Alláh to be a God and would worship him as one of their deities. It was a great temptation,¹ for Muḥammad had sought the conversion of his fellow-citizens. Only forty or fifty had responded to his call and of them some were now exiles. The Quraish seemed as hard and as obstinate as ever. All was dark and gloomy, but here was a chance of reconciliation and of gaining the assent of the opposing party to the claims of Alláh, though in a modified form. So the story goes that one day Muḥammad came upon a group of the leading men of Mecca near the Ka'ba. He joined them and in a friendly manner began to recite the opening verses of Súratu'n-Najm (liii). It began with a strong assertion of his own position :—

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

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

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

¹ See Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii., pp. 150-6.

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

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

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

Prostrate yourself then to God and worship. 62.

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

¹ Some Muslim historians and commentators try to explain this as a mere magical effect produced by Satan on the ears of the audience, and say that Muḥammad neither heard nor knew the words until Gabriel brought the message [Súratu'l-Hajj (xxii) 5] that it was the devil who uttered them. We read in the *Raudatu'l-Ahbáb*, ' When the Súra " By the Star " came down, the Lord of the World went to the holy house of prayer and read that Súra in the assembly of the Quraish. In reading it he paused between the verses, to enable the people to take them in and remember them entirely. When he reached the noble verse, " Do you see al-Lát and al-'Uzzá and Manát the third besides," then Satan found it possible to cause the stupefied ears of the Infidels to hear these words, " These are the exalted females, and verily their intercession is to be hoped for." On hearing these words, the Infidels were exceedingly delighted.' Some authorities deny the whole thing and say that it was an invention of the Zandíqs (infidels).

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

We have not sent an apostle or prophet before thee, among whose desires Satan injected not some wrong desire, but God shall bring to nought that which Satan had suggested. *Súratu'l-Ĥajj* (xxii) 51.¹

When God had thus restored the confidence of Muḥammad, it is said that He sent him the true revelation concerning the idols and that this is the text as we now have it in the *Súratu'n-Najm* (liii) :—

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

The Quraish were very angry and said, ' Muḥammad hath repented of his favourable mention of the rank held by our goddesses before the Lord. He hath changed the same and brought other

¹ This is a Madīna Súra and evidently refers back to the lapse at Mecca, and is a proof of its historical accuracy. Sale translates the words *إِذَا تَمَنَّى* by ' but when he read ' not as Rodwell does ' among whose desires.' In the *Tafsir-i-Husaini* they are translated *چون تلاوت کرد* ' when he read,' and are explained by a reference to this event at Mecca. A Persian translation by Sháh Walí Ulláh has *آرزو بخاطر بست* ' kept desire in his heart'; Baiḍáwī explains it thus : ' What he desired was perverted '—*زور فی نفسه ما بخواه*—

Nadhír Aḥmad translates the phrase by *جب امنے تمنا کی* ' When he desired.'

Ibn 'Abbás says it means *قراءة الرسول أو حديث النبي* ' the reading of an apostle or the saying of a prophet.' There is good authority for this rendering. Aḥmad Sháh has *جب اسنے کچھ چاہا* ' When he wished something.'

A Qādiāni commentator denies that the verse has any reference to the lapse at Mecca on the ground that if such a lapse took place, it is improbable that some years would pass before its being referred to as due to the instigation of the Devil. *Holy Qur'án*, p. 674.

words in their stead,' so they stirred up the people to persecute the faithful with still more vigour. However weak Muḥammad may have shown himself in this matter, he now and for ever broke with idolatry and began to declare the punishment due to idolaters. So in a Súra of this period we have :—

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

Moses is called in as a witness of God's displeasure at idolatry and is represented as saying to the children of Israel :—

Now look at thy god to which thou hast continued so devoted. We will surely burn it and reduce it to ashes. *Súratu Tá Há* (xx) 97.

Soon after his fall, Muḥammad received a revelation warning him against ever approaching near to such a compromise again :—

And, verily, they had well-nigh beguiled thee from what we revealed to thee and caused thee to invent some other thing in our name ; but in that case they would surely have taken them as a friend.¹ *Súratu Bani Isrá'il* (xvii) 75.

¹ Some authorities, however, hold that this refers to a temptation placed before the Prophet by the people of Tá'if when, in answer to his appeal to them, they required certain concessions, such as freedom from the legal alms and the stated times of prayer and permission to retain for a time their idol al-Lát ; or it may refer to the time when Tá'if was besieged, and if so the verses would belong to the eighth or ninth year of the Hijra and so be part of a Madīna Súra. (See Sale's *Preliminary Discourse*, Wherry's ed., p. 39). Zamakhshari is quoted as favouring this view (Rodwell p. 198), and Palmer says that this is the view of most commentators. Wāqidi's account of the negotiations agrees with this opinion. Another view stated in the *Tafsir-i-Husaini* is that it refers to the time ' when the Quraish came and said, " We will not allow thee to kiss the black stone until thou touchest our idols, if only with the tip of the finger"'

The intercession of idols is treated of and described as a thing absurd :--

What think ye of the gods whom ye invoke besides God. Show me what part of the earth they have created? Had they a share in the creation of the heavens? Have we given them a book in which they can find proofs? Nay, the wicked promise one another only deceits. *Súratu'l-Fâṭir* (xxxv) 39.

In this way were the Meccans admonished of the folly of idolatry. The circumstance which led to all these events was also used by the Prophet to justify a much stricter line of conduct in the future.

Thus Muḥammad quickly rose from his fall and re-established his position with his followers; but with the people at large it was very different. They could not accept the theory of Satanic influence described in the *Qur'án* as the cause of his fall, nor place any faith in a revelation so open to it. If the *Qur'án* were really God's message, surely this shifting about and this cancelling of verses were not divine. So they laughed to scorn all his efforts to make them give up their idol worship. To the charge of changing a verse, Muḥammad replied by another revelation on which the very convenient Muslim doctrine of abrogation is founded:¹—

(i.e., to show respect). His Excellency had a great desire to make the circumambulation of the Ka'ba, and thought deeply in his heart what would happen should I do this.

قریش بانحضرت گفتند که نمیکنداریم ترا که استلام حجر کنی تا وقتیکه مس
کنی بتان ما را و اگرچه بسر انگشت آمدن آنحضرت غایت شوق که بطواف حرم
داشت در خاطر مبارک حضور کرد چه شود اگرچه چنین کنم

Muir, however, considers the verses to refer to the great lapse at Mecca, which has been described.

¹ 'To withdraw a revelation and substitute another for it was, he asserted well within the power of God. Doubtless it was, but so

When we change one verse for another, and God knoweth best what he revealeth they say: 'Thou art only a fabricator!' Nay! but most of them have no knowledge. Say, the Holy Spirit hath brought it down with truth from thy Lord. That he may stablish those who have believed, and as guidance and glad tidings to the Muslims.

We also know that they say, 'Surely a certain person teacheth him.' But the tongue of him¹ at whom they hint is foreign while this (*Qur'án*) is in the plain² Arabic. *Súratu'n-Nahl* (xvi) 103-5.

obviously within the power of man that it is to us astounding how so compromising a procedure can have been permitted to be introduced into the system by friends and foes.' *Margoliouth, Alḥamūd*, p. 139.

Later on in *Súratu'l-Baqara* we have a definite statement (ii) 100 on abrogation. It is:—

'Whatever verses we cancel, or cause thee to forget, we bring a better or its like.' The Qādiāni commentators deny the doctrine of abrogation. They say that in the words quoted above the word *Aya* should not be translated by 'verse' but by 'communication' and that it means 'the Law of Moses' now abrogated. But as Muḥammad never forgot the Law of Moses, he cannot be said to have forgotten it. The great Imams and the commentators Baidāwi, Jalālain, Jalālu'd-Dīn, Ḥusain and others accept the doctrine. Professor Macdonald says that he cannot find in the works of any author one who 'denies the doctrine that one part of the *Qur'án* has been abrogated by another and that this has been the consistent agreement (Ijmā') of Islām from the first.' (*The Moslem World*, October, 1917, p. 620). It is thus clear that the orthodox interpretation of texts referring to abrogation must stand.

Möideke says:—

That God, the absolute ruler should alter His commands was not an idea repugnant to Muḥammad. The *Qur'án* contains very different directions, suited to varying circumstances, as to the treatment of idolaters.' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xvi, p. 599.

Baidāwi describes the varying circumstances as—*حسب الجوارید*—*Tafsir*, vol. i, p. 553.

On the whole subject, see *The Faith of Islām* (4th ed.), pp. 101-9.

¹ Zamakhshari and Baidāwi say that some refer this to Salmān, the Persian, but they give other names also.

² 'The meaning is that the style of the *Qur'án* is very eloquent. A foreigner does not know such a style and so much less can he speak it.' Nadhīr Ahmad

But the Quraish still mocked and said: 'Ah! this is he whom God hath sent as an apostle! Verily he had nearly seduced us from our gods, unless we had patiently persevered therein.' Indeed if it had not been for the powerful protection of Abú Tálíb, Muḥammad would have been in great danger now; but that generous-hearted uncle, though not always pleased with the actions of his nephew,¹ stood manfully by him and on one occasion, when there had been some suspicion of foul play, said: 'By the Lord, had ye killed him, there had not remained one alive among you.'

Muḥammad's position at Mecca, at this time, may be thus summed up. The Quraish were more hostile than ever to him, his followers were disheartened, the people generally were scornful or indifferent, though he himself was personally safe from danger, owing to the great influence of his uncle. To meet these adverse circumstances Muḥammad adopted two lines of argument. In the first place, he produced a whole series of revelations showing that former prophets had been treated just as he now was and that this adverse treatment was, therefore, a clear proof of his divine mission:—

Already have we sent apostles before thee, among the
sects of the ancients;
But never came apostles to them whom they did not
deride,

¹ He said, "What will the Arabs say of me?
That my own nephew has perverted me from my religion."
Muḥammad said, "O Uncle confess the faith to me,
That I may strive with God for thee."
He said, "Nay: it will be published by them that hear;
A secret known to more than two is known to everyone",
Jalálu'd-Dín, *Mafh navi*.

In like manner will we put it into the hearts of the
sinners (of Mecca) to do the same;
They will not believe on him. Súratu'l-Hijr (xv)
10-13.

The other argument was the continued and reiterated assertions of his divine call and of the truth of the revelations he gave forth. This period is also notable for the strong protest Muḥammad makes against all who opposed his claims.

The following verses show the way in which the treatment of previous prophets is used to prove his own claim to be a Prophet:—

The people of Noah, and 'Ad and Pharaoh, the
impaler, treated their prophets as impostors.
Súratu Sád (xxxviii) 11.

In Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi), which, though verse eight is said to belong to Madína, was delivered in the middle Meccan period, the Meccans are warned of the great danger in which their city lies, by a reference to God's treatment of other places:—

How many a guilty city have we broken down, and
raised up after it other peoples. 11.

Their gods are also challenged:—

Have they taken gods from the earth who can quicken
the dead? 21.

Have they taken other gods beside Him? Say, bring
forth your proofs (that they are gods). This is the
warning of those who are with me and the warning
of those who were before me. 24

Then follow references to God's care of preceding Patriarchs and Prophets of old, even down to Zacharias. God's favour to the Virgin Mary is referred to in a verse which teaches the immaculate

and miraculous conception of Jesus Christ.¹ Thus

وَالَّتِي أَحْصَمَتْ قَرْحَهَا فَنَفَخْنَا فِيهَا مِن رُّوحِنَا وَجَعَلْنَاهَا رَابِعًا لِّلْعَالَمِينَ

And her who kept her maidenhood, and into whom we breathed of our spirit, and made her and her son a sign to all creatures. *Súratu'l-Anbiyá'* (xxi) v. 91.

Naghír Ahmad in his Urdu translation explains the words, 'we breathed of our spirit,' to mean that 'she conceived without a husband,' and interprets the 'sign' as that of 'God's perfect power.'

Zamakhsári says: 'The meaning of the text is, "We breathed the spirit into Jesus within her, that is, we quickened him within her womb."'

معناه نفخنا الروح في حبلها أي أحييناه في جوفها

Of 'the sign' he says, it is Mary's giving birth to him whilst having no husband—*غير قرح*

In *Súratu Maryam* (xix), a *Súra* of the same period, we read of Mary:—

When she went apart from her family eastward, and took a veil to shroud herself from them: and we sent our spirit to her and he took before her the form of a perfect man.

She said, 'I fly for refuge from thee to the (God of Mercy if thou fearest him.'

He said: 'I am only a messenger of thy Lord to bestow on thee a holy son.' 17-19.

Some commentators translate v. 18 thus:—

I fly for refuge from thee to the God of Mercy. If thou fearest him, *begone from me.*

These words in italics are added and seem necessary to complete the sense.

Baiḍāwí says *عَلَمًا زَكِيًّا* 'holy son' may mean 'pure from sins'—*طاهرًا من الذنوب*

Zamakhsári defines 'holy' *زَكِيًّا*—*عَلَمًا زَكِيًّا* i.e. a son in whom there is no blemish or physical defect.

In these verses, the spirit is said to take the form of a man. From *Súratu'l-An'ám* (vi) 9 it appears that an angel if sent would take a human form; and so it is believed that it was Gabriel who was here sent to Mary.

Maulavi Muḥammad 'Alí says that this was a vision and not an actual visit.

A late Meccan *Súra* speaks of the child thus born as perfect:—

Yet when God had given them a perfect child they joined partners with Him in return for what He had given them. *Súratu'l-A'râf* (vii) 193.

The immaculate conception is again referred to in an early *Madína Súra* thus:—

Verily Jesus is as Adam in the sight of God, He created him of dust: He then said to him 'Be' and he was. *Súratu'l-Imrân* (iii) 52.

The Arabic is *يَسَىءُ مِثْلَ آدَمَ* *عِنْدَ اللَّهِ* *مِثْلَ آدَمَ* i.e., neither Adam nor Christ had a human father. *Baiḍāwí* comments on it thus. *أَنَّ شَأْنَهُ الْعَرِيبَ كَشَأْنِ آدَمَ*—'His nature (or rank) was extraordinary, like that of Adam.'

as all these men of old were the peculiar favourites of heaven, so now he, the greatest of the Prophets, was the special recipient of God's grace. As they were treated with scorn, so was he.

In the *Súratu'l-Qamar* (liv) stories of the prophets are repeated and an account of the opposition they met with is given. The general position is stated in:—

They have treated the prophets as impostors and follow their own lusts. 3.

They called Noah an impostor and rejected him; the people of Lot treated his warning as a lie. To the people of Pharaoh came the threatening but they too treated miracles as impostures. Then turning to the people of Mecca, *Muḥammad* says:—

Are you infidels, O Meccans, better than these?

Is there an exemption for you in the sacred Books? 43.

Taste ye the touch of hell. 48.

In the *Súratu'sh-Shu'ará* (xxvi) it is shown how Moses, Noah, Lot, and other prophets were treated with scorn and accused of imposture. These stories are related at great length and the conclusion drawn is that the opposition of the Meccans to *Muḥammad* is, judging from the past, just what a true prophet might expect; but this did not justify the conduct of the Meccans who are sternly rebuked in the words:—

Shall I declare unto you upon whom the devils descend. They descend upon every lying and wicked person. 221.

But all those who thus scoff and mock should take warning by the punishment which came to the

opponents of the prophets in former ages, for a time will come when the infidels shall :—

Know the time when they shall not be able to keep the fire of hell from their faces, or from their backs, neither shall they be helped !

But it shall come on them suddenly and shall confound them ; and they shall not be able to put it back, neither shall they be respited.

Other apostles have been scoffed at before thee ; but that doom at which they mocked encompassed the scoffers. *Súratu'l-Anbiyá'* (xxi) 40-3.

The *Súratu's-Şáffát* (xxxvii) seems to belong to a time when the opposition was not quite so active, a time when stolid indifference took the place of actual antagonism. It shows how the Meccan infidels followed in the steps of those who, in former ages, had rejected Noah, Moses, Aaron, Elias, Lot and Jonah, whose stories are told at some length. The Meccans excused themselves by saying :—

Had we a revelation transmitted to us from those of old,

We had surely been God's servants. 168-9.

The Prophet is then told to turn aside from them for a time and behold, for their doom is certain. 179-80.

A late Meccan *Súra* is in the same strain and the same retribution is described, and how even no place of repentance will be found :—

And when their apostles had come to them with the tokens of their mission, they exulted in what they possessed of knowledge : but that retribution at which they scoffed, encompassed them.

And when they beheld our vengeance they said, ' We believe in God alone, and we disbelieve in the deities we once associated with Him.'

But their faith, after they had witnessed our vengeance, profited them not. Such the procedure of God with regard to His servants who flourished of old. And then the unbelievers perished. *Súratu'l-Mu'min* (xi) 83-5.¹

He also points out how former prophets were aided in spite of all opposition :—

Our word came of old to our own servants the apostles,

That they should surely be the succoured,

And that our armies should procure the victory for them. *Súratu's-Şáffát* (xxxvii) 171-3.

So in like manner he would succeed.

Another striking *Súra* of the middle period is the *Súratu Şád* (xxxviii), the first ten verses of which were revealed on one of the occasions when the Quraish begged Abú Ṭálib to withdraw his protection from Muḥammad which he absolutely declined to do. This they did once about the year A.D. 615. Other Traditions refer it to a time when Abú Ṭálib was on his deathbed, in the year A.D. 620. The earlier date is the more probable one. In any case the Quraish are warned by the fate of the generations of scorners who have passed away, and are reproved in a passage of much force and vigour :—

By the Qur'án full of warning ! In sooth the infidels are absorbed in pride, in contention with thee.

¹ In speaking of other prophets Muḥammad rarely refers to their prophetic gifts ; but rather represents them as warning against idolatry and wickedness.

How many generations have we destroyed before them! And they cried for mercy but no time was it of escape!

And they marvel that a warner from among themselves hath come to them; and the infidels say, 'This is a sorcerer, a liar;

Maketh he the gods to be but one God? A strange thing forsooth is this!'

And their chiefs took themselves off. 'Go,' said they, 'and cleave steadfastly to your gods. Ye see the thing aimed at.

We heard not of this in the previous creed.¹ It is but an imposture;

To him alone of us all hath a book of warning been sent down?' Yes! they are in doubt as to my warnings, for they have not yet tasted of my vengeance. *Súratu Sád* (xxxviii) 1-7.

Another feature of the revelation of this, the middle Meccan period, is the constant assertion of the inspiration of the Qur'án. It is called the blessed Book, the luminous Book, the honourable

مَا سَمِعْنَا بَيِّنَاتٍ فِي الْمِلَّةِ الْآخِرَةِ ۚ

Muhammad puts this speech into the mouth of polytheists and thus ironically implies that Christianity teaches a plurality of gods.

In the *Tafsír-i-Husaini* the reference is explained to be to the Christian religion, which was the latest and which it is erroneously said accepted the doctrine of the Trinity only; but not that of the Unity.

ملت عيسى كه آخريون ملت است چه ايشان بتثابت قائل اند نه بتوحيد

Baidáwi says it refers to the religion of their ancestors, or to the Christian religion, the last of the religious.

Ibn 'Abbás says, 'we have not heard from Jews or Christians that God is one'—

ثم نسمع من اليهود والنصارى ان الله واحد

Zamakhsari says, 'It refers to the Christians, who are Trinitarians, not Unitarians; or it refers to the Quraish.

Mujáhid says it refers to the religion of the Quraish. *Khulāṣatu-t-Tafsír*, vol. iv, p. 44.

Qur'án. It is the Book from God, the best of all recitals He hath sent, a missive from on high:—

A blessed book have we sent down to thee, that men may meditate its verses, and that those endued with understanding may bear it in mind. *Súratu Sád* (xxxviii) 28.

Muhammad is bidden not to grieve at the hardness of heart of his hearers and is assured that his message is divine. These are the signs of the lucid Book:—

Haply thou wearest thyself away with grief because they will not believe.

Were it our will we could send down to them a sign from Heaven, before which they would humbly bow.

But from each fresh warning that cometh to them from the God of mercy they have only turned aside,

And treated it as a lie. *Súratu'sh-Shu'ará'* (xxvi) 2-5.

In the one hundred and ninety-second and following verses of this Súra there is a very strong assertion of the fact that Gabriel brought the Book down from heaven: but, as there is a reference to the Jews, this passage is considered by Jalálu'd-Dín as-Syúṭi to belong to the Madína period and so I do not quote it here. In other parts of this Súra, five of the older prophets are represented as saying 'Fear God and obey me;' and the conclusion drawn is that in like manner the Quraish should obey Muhammad, or suffer for their disobedience; and if they disobeyed him then he could, in the name of God, say,

I will not be answerable for your doings. 216.

The fragmentary nature of the revelations was useful, as it enabled the Prophet to meet with a

supposed divine opinion the varying events of each day; but it needed some authority to justify it. This is found in the verse :—

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

In Súratu't-Ṭúr (lii) the charge of forgery is met and the supernatural nature of the Qur'án is asserted :—

Will they say, 'He hath forged it himself?' Nay,
rather is it they that believe not.
Let them produce a discourse like it, if they speak the
truth. 33-4.
Have they such a knowledge of the secret things that
they can write them down? 41.
Verily, there is a punishment for the evil-doers. 47.

Súratu'l-Háqqah (lxix), which belongs to the first Meccan period, contains one of the strongest denials of forgery to be found in the Qur'án :—

It needs not that I swear by what ye see, and by what
ye see not,
This verily is the word of an Apostle worthy of all
honour,
And that it is not the word of a poet;²
How little do ye believe!

¹ Baidáwi explains 'piecemeal' (تجزئاً) as على حسب الجرادث 'according to circumstances.' This was a convenient theory, as it allowed a revelation to be produced when needed. The giving it by 'slow degrees' and 'piecemeal' may also have been for the convenience of the hearers. In Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 34 such a mode of revelation is said to have had for its object the confirming of the Prophet's mind.

² In the Súratu'sh-Shu'arú' (xxvi) 224-5, called 'The Poets,' Muḥammad said that the poets who wrote against him were mad :—
It is the poets whom the erring follow
Seest thou not that they wander as bereft of senses, 224-5,

Neither is it the word of a soothsayer—
How little do ye receive warning!
It is a missive from the Lord of the worlds.
But if Muḥammad had fabricated concerning us any
sayings,
We had surely seized him by the right hand and had
cut through the vein of his neck;
Nor would we have withheld any of you from him.
38-47.

In other words, the restraining influence, we (God) had upon you (the Quraish), preventing you from doing harm to the Prophet, would have been withheld. So anxious was Muḥammad, at this period, to combat the idea that he was a mere poet and that the Qur'án was the product of his poetic genius, that in the Súra just quoted he makes God declare that it is not so. This is the most impassioned assertion of the divinity of the Qur'án to be found in that book. The very force and earnestness of it seem to betray doubt in the mind of Muḥammad. It does not show forth the confident assurance of a man who fully believed in what he said. The calm dignity of a prophet of God is entirely lacking here. A few out of the many other passages are :—

On the other hand, Muḥammad employed poets to defend him and his religion. Such poets are not to be blamed. They are, according to Baidáwi, referred to as those :—

Who defend themselves when unjustly treated, and they who
treat them unjustly shall know hereafter with what treatment
they shall be treated. 228.

The latter clause, according to Mu'álim, 'refers to the opponents of the Prophet' :—

به اشارة هي رسول الله كى هجو كرتيه والون كى طرف

Khulāṣatu-t Tafāsīr, vol. iii, p. 388.

It needs not that I swear by the stars of retrograde
 motion,
 Which move swiftly and hide themselves away,
 And by the night when it cometh darkening up,
 And by the dawn when it brighteneth,
 That this is the word of an illustrious messenger,
 Endued with power, having influence with our Lord of
 the throne,
 Obeyed there by angels, faithful to his trust,
 And your compatriot is not one possessed by jinn.
 Súratu't-Takwír (lxxxix) 15-22.
 The Qur'án is no other than a revelation revealed
 to him,
 One terrible in power taught it him.¹ Súratu'n-Najm
 (liii) 5.
 It needs not that I swear by the setting of the stars,
 And it is a great oath, if ye know it,
 That this is the honourable Qur'án,
 Written on the preserved table.
 Let none touch it but the purified. Súratu'l-Wáqi'a
 (lvi) 74-8.
 We ourselves have sent down to thee the Qur'an as a
 missive from on high. Súratu'd-Dahr (lxxvi) 23.
 By the luminous Book!
 We have made it an Arabic Qur'án that ye may
 understand;
 And it is a transcript of the archetypal Book² kept
 by us.

¹ The commentators say that this is Gabriel.

² أم الكتاب mother of the Book. Husain says:—

در اصل همه كتب سماوی یعنی در لوح محفوظ که ایمن است از تغییر

'The original of all the heavenly books is kept safe from change in the preserved table.' *Tafsir-i-Husaini* vol. ii, p. 300.

Baidāwi calls it *الكتب السماوية*—'the original of the heavenly books.' We are not told what the original language is, but only that it is 'lofty, wise,' which is interpreted to mean that it is the most glorious of books and that it is wise in its diction, perspicuous and not cancelled by any other.

It is lofty, filled with wisdom. Súratu'z-Zukhruf (xliii)
 1-3.
 And the infidels say, 'This Qur'án is a mere fraud of
 his own devising, and others have helped him with
 it, who had come hither by outrage and lie.'
 And they say, 'Tales of the Ancients that he hath put
 in writing! and they were dictated to him morning
 and evening.'
 Say: 'He hath sent it down who knoweth the secrets
 of the Heavens and of the Earth.'
 Then said the Apostle, 'O my Lord! truly my people
 have esteemed this Qur'án to be vain babbling.'
 Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 5-7, 32.
 Will they say, he has forged it? Nay it is the truth from
 the Lord that thou mayest warn a people to whom
 no warner hath come before thee, that haply they
 may be guided. Súratu's-Sajdah (xxxii) 2.
 Say, the Holy Spirit hath brought it down
 With truth from thy Lord. Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi) 104.
 Súratu'z-Zumar (xxxix) was probably revealed
 about the time of the first flight to Abyssinia. It
 emphasizes the statement that the Qur'án came
 direct from God, and records the terrifying effect
 of such a mode of revelation:—

We have sent down to thee this book with the truth,
 serve thou God then. 2.

The best of recitals hath God sent down, a book in unison
 with itself, and teaching by iteration.¹ The very
 skins of those who fear the Lord do creep at it. 24.

¹ The expression *مثنائى* (literally by twos, in pairs,) is translated by Sale as 'containing repeated (admonition);' by Palgrave and by Palmer as 'repeating;' by Rodwell as in the text. See Súratu'l-Hijr (xv) 87, and the note thereon in Rodwell's Qur'án, p. 126. An Urdu translation gives *طرح تکرار کیا*—'a claimant narrated in diverse ways.' The same word is used in Súratu'l-Hijr (xv) 87, 'we have already given thee the seven verses of repetition' (*مثنائى*). This refers to the seven verses of Súratu'l-Fātiḥa which are to be repeated frequently.

The above illustrations of the lines of defence adopted by Muḥammad for himself, based on the alleged similarity of the treatment accorded

On the whole passage in the text کتابا متشابهها مثانی the commentator Ḥusain remarks in Persian :—

کتابی مانند یکدیگر یعنی قرآن که بعضی از آن مشابه بعضی است در اعجاز
یا در جودت لفظ و صحت معنی یا برخی از آن مصدق برخی دیگر است و در آن
تناقض و اختلاف نیست

مثانی ... دوباره و دو تو کرده یعنی مشتمل است بر زوجات چون امر و نهی
و وعده و وعید و ذکر و فکر و رحمت و عذاب و بهشت و دوزخ و مومن و کافر
which runs as follows :—The Qur'ān, some of which resembles other
parts in miracles, or in the suitableness of its words and sound
meaning, or one part of it verifies some other part, and there is no
disagreement and difference in it. Mathāni is said to mean—two
times or twofold, i.e. the Qur'ān contains pairs (of expressions)
such as command and prohibition, promise and threat, speech and
thought, mercy and anger, heaven and hell, believer and infidel.
Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī, vol. ii, p. 262.

Zamakhshari refers to the twofold form of its commands and
prohibitions; promises and threats. أو امر و نواهیة و وعده و وعیدة

Nadhīr Aḥmad in his Urdu translation has, '—کے لئے بار بار دہرائی گئی ہیں
In order to make it understood each
matter is repeated again and again.'

In a note he seems to refer it to the descent of the Qur'ān at
various times and considers this to be a great proof of its divine
nature.

Rabbi Geiger considers that the perplexity about the word arises
from the fact that it is considered an Arabic one and has not been
traced back to its source מִשְׁנָה. The Jewish law was divided into

two parts, the written and the oral teaching. The latter part was
called Mishnah and so in time the whole collection of oral teaching,
or Tradition, was called by the same name. Then an etymological
error crept in and Mishnah was derived from a word meaning 'to
repeat,' and so was applied to the act of the repetition of the written
teaching and not to the collected body of Tradition. The Arabian
Jews made the same mistake and so we get mathāni. Then Muḥam-
mād, if he used the word correctly, put the Qur'ān in the place of
the whole Jewish teaching, the Mishnah, and did not refer to repeti-
tion at all. So, at least, one Arabic commentator admits for,
according to Rabbi Geiger, Ṭā'ūs said, 'the whole Qur'ān is
mathāni'—

وقال الطائوس القرآن كله مثاني

See Geiger, *Judaism and Islām* (S.P.C.K., Madras) p. 43.

The fear caused to men by the revelation is not surprising, when
it is believed that in heaven the effect of it (وحی) is that nature is
convulsed, that angels become senseless, and that Gabriel is the first
one to return to consciousness. For further details, see *Khulāṣatu-l-*
Tafsīr, vol. iv, p. 75.

to other prophets and the constant iteration of
the claims of the Qur'ān to be a divine revelation,
are but a few of the many utterances on this subject,
and the general impression left upon the mind of
the reader is that they are the outward expressions
of a man whose own mind was not at ease and who
sought by the very frequency and force of his
assertions not only to silence his adversaries, but
also to give confidence to his own mind and to
confirm the faith of his followers.

Early in his Meccan career the Prophet challenged
the production of a book like the Qur'ān :—

Will they say, 'He hath forged it himself? Nay, rather
it is that they believe not.

Let them produce a discourse like it, if they speak the
truth.' *Sūratu't-Ṭūr* (lii) 34-5.

Sūratu Bani Isrā'il ¹ (xvii), one of the latest of the
second period of the Meccan Sūras, continues the
challenge :—

Say, verily, were men and jinn assembled to produce
the like of this Qur'ān, they could not produce its
like, though the one should help the other. 90.

A little later on we find :—

If they shall say, 'The Qur'ān is his own device,' say .
then bring ten Sūras like it of your own devising,
call whom ye can to your aid beside God. *Sūratu*
Hūd (xi) 16.

So convincing was this argument considered to
be that we find it used also at Madīna :—

If ye be in doubt as to that which we have sent down
to our servant, then produce a Sūra like it. *Sūratu'l-*
Baqara (ii) 21.

¹ This Sūra is a composite one; vv. 75-82 must belong to Madīna.

This was a dangerous thing to attempt to do. Nadhír ibn Háritha, who had travelled in Persia, accepted the challenge to produce anything as good and either versified, or put into rhyme, the tales of the Persian Kings, which Firdausi, some four hundred years later, rendered immortal. These tales he read out at meetings, similar to those in which Muḥammad published the Qur'án. Then in a late Meccan Súra this révelation came :—

A man there is who buyeth an idle tale, that in his lack of knowledge he may mislead others from the way of God and turn it to scorn. For such is prepared a shameful punishment. Súratu Luqmán (xxxix) 5.

Nadhír was taken prisoner at the battle of Badr. Ransom was refused and he was put to death.¹

Muḥammadans now assert that this challenge has never been taken up and that no Arab then nor since has produced anything equal to it; but the claim is overstated, for the challenge was not to produce something equal to the Qur'án in rhetoric or poetry, but with regard to the subject matter, the unity of God, future retribution, and so on.² Now, from the nature of the case the Quraish could not do this. They could not produce a book, showing as the Qur'án did the unity of God, for as pagans they did not believe in such a dogma. Had

¹ Baiḏáwī, vol. ii, p. 112. Margoliouth, *Muḥammad*, pp. 135, 266.

² Maulavi Muḥammad 'Alī says that its unequalled superiority consists in the effect it produced and that no other book has done, or could do the like, that every word of it gives expression to the Divine majesty and glory in a manner which is not approached by any other sacred book (*Holy Qur'án*, p. 19). This Qádiáni commentator is so given to exaggerated statements, that they are of no critical value.

they tried to produce a book on these lines it would only have been a copy of his work, and copies fall short of the original; in fact, Muḥammad had already occupied the ground. As no one could reproduce the individuality of Muḥammad, stamped upon his book, he could safely challenge any one to produce its like. If the superiority claimed is in the form and expression, then Baron de Slane's remark seems to the point. He says that, if we now examine the Qur'án by the rules of rhetoric and criticism accepted in Muslim Colleges, no doubt the Qur'án is a perfect model, for the principles of rhetoric are drawn from it. Palmer says: 'That the best of Arab writers has never succeeded in producing anything equal in merit to the Qur'án itself is not surprising. They have agreed beforehand that it is unapproachable, and they have adopted its style as the perfect standard: any deviation from it therefore must of necessity be a defect.'¹ The acknowledged claims of the Qur'án to be the direct utterance of the divinity have made it impossible for any Muslim to criticize the work, and it became, on the contrary, the standard by which other literary compositions had to be judged. Grammarians, lexicographers, and rhetoricians started with the presumption that the Qur'án could not be wrong, and other works, therefore, only approached

¹ 'That the adversaries should produce any sample whatever of poetry or rhetoric equal to the Qur'án is not at all what the Prophet demands. In that case he would have been put to shame, even in the eyes of many of his own followers, by the first poem that came to hand. Nevertheless it is on a false interpretation of the challenge that the dogma of the incomparable excellence of the style and diction of the Qur'án is based.' Nöldeke, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xxi, p. 601.

excellence in proportion as they, more or less, successfully imitated its style.'¹ There is, however, by no means a consensus of Muslim opinion as to wherein this alleged superiority exists. Some say it lies in its eloquence, or in its subject-matter, or in the harmony of its parts (*kitában mutashábihá*).² The sect of the Mu'tazilís hold that if God allowed it men could produce a Súra equal to it in eloquence and arrangement.³

As the i'jáz, or miraculous nature of the Qur'án, is not dependent on the much-disputed question of its eternal nature, it follows that all classes and sects of Muslims accept as a cōgmatic truth the miracle of the Qur'án.

Súratu'sh-Shurá (xlii), a late Meccan one, shows that the charge of forgery was kept up by the Meccans to the last days of the Prophet's residence there. Thus:—

Will they say he hath forged a lie of God? If God pleased, He could then seal up thy very heart. 23.⁴

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vi, pp. lxxvi.

² Muir, *Beacon of Truth*, p. 26.

³ Shahrastání, *al-Millat wa'n-Nihal*, p. 39 and Nöldke's *Geschichte des Qurans*, p. 44.

⁴ The interpretation of this verse is not easy. It probably means God could, if thou didst such a thing, take away thy prophetic mission, or if the accusation is false seal up thy heart, that is, strengthen it to bear this unmerited calumny. Husain explains 'seal up thy heart,' *يختتم على قلبك* as follows:—

* مهر نهد بر دل تو اگر افترا کنی یا مهر نهد بر دل تو بصبر و هسکيبائی تا از آزار و جفای ایشان متضرر نشوی

'He will seal up thy heart, if thou inventest lies, or will seal thy heart with patience and long-suffering that thou mayest receive no injury from their wrath and anger.' *Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. ii, p. 295.

'He can withhold from thee, the Qur'án and wahí (inspiration), or give thee patience that their troubling does not distress thee.' Baidáwí, vol. ii, p. 230.

Nadhír Ahmád explains the sealing of the heart to mean that the Prophet could not do such a thing.

It was at this period of the Prophet's career that a connexion sprang up between Muḥammad and the followers of the Jewish religion. During the Meccan period it seems quite clear that he looked upon both Christianity and Judaism as co-ordinate religions, the followers of which would in them find salvation, and even later on in Madína he could say:—

Verily, they who believe (Muslims), and the Jews and the Šábians and the Christians,—whosoever of them believeth in God and in the Last Day and doeth what is right, on them shall come no fear, neither shall they be put to grief. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 59.

In one of the latest Meccan Súras, he even says that the Jews were very glad when they heard of his revelations:—

They¹ to whom we have given the Book rejoice in what hath been sent down to thee. Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 36.

But although there was during the Meccan period an apparent friendliness with the Jews, yet Muḥammad even then had begun to hint at the subordinate nature of Judaism, a point in his teaching more fully worked out in Madína. Still, in two Súras of the middle Meccan period the absolute nature of the claims of Islám are asserted:—

Truly this, your religion, is the one religion. Súratu'l-Mu'minún (xxiii) 54.

¹ That is the Jews, who, at this period of Muḥammad's prophetic functions, must have been highly gratified at the strong leaning towards, and respect for, their scriptures and histories, which is shown in the later Meccan Súras. Rodwell, *Qur'án*, p. 427.

Baidáwí is more definite. He says that the passage refers to the Jews and Christians who became Muslims. They were 'Abdu'lláh ibn as-Salám, Najáshi and others, eighty men in all, of whom forty were from Najrán, eight from Yemen and thirty-two from Abyssinia. They were glad with what they found in accordance with their own book, vol. i, p. 483.

Of a truth this, your religion, is the one religion and I am your Lord; therefore serve me. *Súratu'l-Anbiyá'* (xxi) 92.

The references to Old Testament history are now many and varied. It is said that the object of the *Qur'án* is not only to attest its own divine origin, but also to confirm what had gone before.

Before the *Qur'án* was the book of Moses, a rule and a mercy, and this book confirmeth it (i.e., the Pentateuch) in the Arabic tongue. *Súratu'l-Aḥqáf* (xlvi) 11.

It is alleged that the Jews with whom Muḥammad at Mecca was friendly said to him that God was often called the Merciful (ar-Raḥmán) in the Pentateuch, and that they noticed he did not use the term. Then the verse came:—

Call upon God (Alláh), and call on the Merciful (ar-Raḥmán), by whichsoever ye will invoke Him. He hath most excellent names. *Súratu Baní Isrá'íl* (xvii) 110.

The title ar-Raḥmán was dropped in the later *Súras*,¹ evidently from the fear lest Alláh and ar-Raḥmán should be supposed to be two distinct Gods; a danger against which they were warned in the verse:—

For God hath said, 'take not to yourselves two gods for He is one God.' *Súratu'n-Naḥl* (xvi) 53.

The Quraish also objected to the term and according to the *Qur'án* said:—

Who is the God of Mercy (ar-Raḥmán) shall we bow down to what thou biddest? *Súratu'l-Furqán* (xxv) 61.

¹ The use of the term ar-Raḥmán is, therefore, one of the internal evidences of the date of a *Súra*.

When the Quraish said: 'Shall we abandon our gods for a crazed poet?' the answer is: 'Nay! he cometh with truth and confirmeth the sent ones of old,' that is, according to the commentators, the prophets who preceded him:—

To the children of Israel gave we of old the Book, and the gift of prophecy. . . .

Afterward we set thee over our divine Law: follow it then and follow not the wishes of those who have no knowledge. *Súratu'l-Játhiya* (xlv) 15-17.

There are many such expressions showing that Muhammad now gained some general knowledge of the ancient history of the Jews. There is no evidence that he ever had the Bible before him.¹

¹ There can be no doubt that Muḥammad did not himself read any Jewish or Christian books. Hence the Old Testament Traditions in the *Qur'án* resemble more the embellished Haggada tales than they do the original, while the New Testament Traditions are quite legendary and are similar to the reports of the Apocryphal Gospels. (Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. 6.) The term *الذِّي الْأُمِّيَّ* [*Súratu'l-A'râf* (vii) 156, 158], 'the illiterate Prophet' bears on this point. In *Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 73 also we read *وَمِنْهُمْ أُمِّيُونَ* 'and amongst them (Jews) are illiterates,' that is, those who are unacquainted with the Book (Pentateuch), and so the term clearly refers to those who did not know the Scriptures. So, with reference to Muḥammad, the term *الذِّي الْأُمِّيَّ* simply means that he had no previous acquaintance with the Bible and not as Muslims say that, being an ignorant man, he had not the learning required to compose such a book as the *Qur'án*, which must, therefore, be the words of God. See *Faith of Islām* (4th ed.), pp. 18-21. It does not touch the question of his power to read, or show that he was in the general sense of the term an ignorant man. (Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. 11.) See also an interesting note in Geiger's *Judaism and Islām*, p. 20.

The only text from the Old Testament quoted in the *Qur'án* is:—
Since the Law was given, have we written in the Psalms that, My servants, the righteous, shall inherit the earth. *Súratu'l-Anbiyá'* (xxi) 105.

This is taken from Psalm xxxvii. 24: 'The righteous shall inherit the land.'

Indeed the narratives he gives are not in accordance with Biblical statements, but do conform to Jewish legend and Rabbinical fable. It seems clear that he had some Jewish acquaintances from whom he gathered the material, afterwards worked up into the form in which it now appears in the Qur'án. 'The mixture of truth and fiction,' says Muir, 'of graphic imagery and of childish inanity, the repetition over and over again of the same tale in stereotyped expression, and the constant elaborate and ill-concealed effort to draw an analogy between himself and the former prophets, by putting the speech of his own day into their lips and those of their pretended opposers, fatigue and nauseate the patient reader of the Qur'án.'¹

The point, however, to be noticed is that all this information is produced as evidence of direct inspiration. Thus:—

I had no knowledge of what passed among the celestial chiefs (angels) when they disputed: verily it hath been *revealed* to me only because I was a public preacher. Súratu Şad (xxxviii) 70.

This story of the creation of man which follows was probably obtained from the Jews, but the knowledge of it is adduced as a proof of his divine

The Qádiáni commentator, Muḥammad 'Alí, gives three possible meanings of the term—(1) one who could neither read nor write; (2) one from among the Arabs; (3) one from Mecca—the Ummu'l Qurá, or metropolis of the Arabs (*Holy Qur'án*, p. 361.) On Súratu'l-'Ankabút (xxix) 47 he says that Muḥammad could neither read nor write. This he argues is a proof 'of the divine origin of his teaching and differentiates him from all other prophets and makes him superior to all of them.' *Op. cit.* p. 784. It may be admitted it makes him different; but how ignorance can make him superior is difficult to understand.

¹ Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii., p. 185.

apostleship. We also read of the history of Joseph that it came by inspiration of God:—

In revealing to thee the Qur'án, one of the most beautiful of narratives will we relate unto thee. Súratu Yúsuf (xii) 3.

And then follows the story of Joseph, as told in Jewish legends; but a divine origin is claimed for this account of it:—

This is one of the secret histories which we reveal unto thee. Súratu Yúsuf (xii) 103.

The people of Mecca would not, however, believe in the supernatural source of these matters and said:—

Surely, a certain person teacheth him. Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi) 105.

To this accusation the Prophet in the same verse replies that the tongue of him at whom they hint is foreign¹ and the Qur'án is Arabic; to which the retort was easy, that he supplied the material and that Muḥammad worked it up in an Arabic form. Again and again Muhammad had to rebut statements such as this:—

The Qur'án is a mere fraud of his own devising and others have helped him with it. Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 5.

¹ عَجَمِيّ which Husain says means 'without eloquence.' 'Now,' he adds, 'the speech of the Prophet was eloquent as to matter and style, (در فصاحت و بلاغت), so how could he have learned the Qur'án from such a man?'

Ibn 'Abbás says that, عَجَمِيّ means a Hebrew. There is a very full note on this verse by Wherry, *Commentary on the Qur'án*, vol. iii p. 45.

Verses 111, 119-20, 125 are clearly Madína ones, and so Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi) is a composite one.

The Quraish stood firm in their convictions and persisted in calling all this Jewish history, and so the next verse reads :—

Tales of the Ancients that he hath put in writing and they were dictated to him morning and evening. 6.

The Quraish now adopted another course. They cut off the family of Muḥammad from all social intercourse with the rest of the people, or, in modern language, boycotted it, and for a while Muḥammad and his kinsmen were confined to an isolated quarter of the city. At length, however, some of the Quraish began to relent, but just at this time Muḥammad lost by death Abú Ṭálib, his protector, and five weeks later *Khadíja*, his wise and loving wife. This brought matters to a crisis. The Prophet, saddened, lonely and well-nigh hopeless, thought he would try whether the people of Tá'if, a city about seventy miles east of Mecca, would receive the man whom Mecca rejected. Accompanied by the faithful Zaid, Muḥammad entered the city, waited on the chief men and explained his mission, but they would neither receive him nor accept his teaching. After ten days, he was stoned and so, wounded and weary, he had to flee away from the city. About half way on the return journey he halted in the valley of *Nakhla*. Excited by all he had gone through, saddened at the rejection of his message by men, he saw, in imagination, crowds of Jinn (Genii) embracing the faith.

Then Súratu'l-Jinn (lxxii) was revealed¹ :—

Say : it hath been revealed to me that a company of

¹ Rodwell, *Qur'án*, p. 157, note 3. For a good account of this journey, see Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii, pp. 200-7.

Jinn listened, and said, ' Verily, we have heard a marvellous discourse ' (Qur'án) ;
It guideth to the truth wherefore we believed in it. 1, 2.
When the servant of God stood up to call upon Him,
the Jinn almost jostled him by their crowds. 19.

This eager acceptance by the Jinn of his message was a very great consolation to the Prophet, after the contemptuous indifference shown to him and to it by men. This event is referred to in one of the latest Meccan Súras :—

And remember, when we turned aside a company of Jinn to thee, that they might hearken to the Qur'án. Súratu'l-Aḥqáf (xlvii) 28.

Still the mission was a failure. It was a great and striking effort, but it did not command success. As Muir well says, ' There is something lofty and heroic in this journey of Muḥammad to Tá'if; a solitary man, despised and rejected by his own people, going boldly forth in the name of God, like Jonah to Nineveh, and summoning an idolatrous city to repentance and to the support of his mission. It sheds a strong light on the intensity of his own belief in the divine origin of his calling.' He returned to Mecca, but found the opposition of the Quraish as strong as ever. It was now quite clear that either he or they must give way, and gradually the idea of retiring altogether from Mecca suggested itself to the mind of the Prophet.¹ The failure at

¹ This is hinted at in a late Meccan Súra, Súratu'l-'Ankabút (xxix) 56 :—

O my servants who have believed ! Vast truly is my earth ; me, therefore, do ye worship me.

Rodwell comments on this thus : ' That is, you may find places of refuge where you may worship the true God in some other parts of the earth, if driven forth from your native city. This verse is very

Mecca was complete. The Prophet had on his side high family connexions, relationship with the guardians of the Ka'ba, many personal virtues, indomitable patience, uncompromising fearlessness and fervid eloquence, and yet he succeeded in getting only a very small band of followers. His mission at Mecca was a complete failure. The time had come to try elsewhere.

The city of Yathrib was not unknown to Muḥammad. His grandfather and his great-grandmother were natives of the place and his father was buried there. There was a good deal of rivalry between Yathrib and Mecca and a man despised in the latter place would not thereby be at a disadvantage in the former. Then, for more than one hundred years there had been a blood feud between the men of the two great tribes who dwelt in Yathrib, and just now there was a disposition to put a stop to these dissensions by selecting some one person as a king or ruler. 'Hence the soil of Yathrib was thoroughly prepared for Islām. In a healthy community like that of Mecca it gained no hold; but in one that

indicative of a late Meccan origin. Flight from Mecca must have been imminent when Muḥammad could write thus.' Rodwell, *Qur'ān*, p. 329.

Husain interprets *أَرْضِي رَاسِعَةً* 'vast earth' as :

زمین کشاده است هجرت کنید از موضع خوف بمنزل امن

'The earth is wide, flee from a place of terror to a place of safety'. *Tafsir-i-Husaini*, vol. ii, p. 173.

'Abbās says that some consider it to be a special reference to Madīna, and others say: 'It was given to console the faithful at Mecca at a time when they were oppressed, and the divine command (فرضیت) to fight the infidels had not yet been given, and so it is a command to flee.' *Khulāsatu-t-Tafsīr*, vol. iii, p. 471.

From all this it is clear that Muḥammad was now thus preparing his followers for flight.

was ailing from long years of civil strife, it could spread apace.'¹ There was also a strong Jewish colony there which prepared the way for religious reform. The people of Mecca were utter materialists and could not rise to the spiritual part of the Prophet's teaching. In Yathrib it was different;² long intercourse with Jews had made such subjects as the unity of God, revelation through prophets and a future life more or less familiar to the inhabitants of the city. Islām owes much to Yathrib. It saved Muḥammad from passing away as a mere enthusiast, rejected and disowned by his own people. It 'became the real birthplace of Islām, the cradle of its political power and the centre of its conquests throughout Arabia.' It is thus justly named al-Madīnatu'n-Nabī, the city of the Prophet, and its converts are truly termed the Anṣār,³ or helpers of Islām. The state of feeling in Madīna and the general position of affairs there presented just the circumstances which were calculated to relieve the despondent mood of the Prophet. He was sad, dispirited and worn out by the failure of all his efforts and the persistent opposition of the

¹ Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, p. 198.

² 'On the other hand, Muḥammad had to encounter in Madīna difficulties which at Mecca he had never experienced. The ignorance of the Qurāish had enabled him to give what account he pleased of the Sūras he recited to them. When he asserted that his foolish and extravagant legends about Noah, Abraham and others had been made known to him by the Archangel Gabriel and that they were identical with similar stories in the sacred book of the Jews, the Meccans lacked the knowledge to prove their falseness. At Madīna, he was confronted by the very people and the very books to whom he had made appeal to confirm the veracity of his mission.' Osborn, *Islām under the Arabs*, p. 43.

³ Some authorities say the name refers to (1) those who became Muslims before the change of the Qibla; (2) those who took part in the Treaty of Ḥudaibiya.

Quraish. No wonder that thoughts of a change of abode began to fill his mind. They find expression in a Súra of this period¹ :—

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

The latter words refer to the Hijra, or flight from Mecca, and so the Prophet's subjective feelings received the sanction and authority of an outward revelation.

In the year A.D. 620, about the time of the annual pilgrimage of the pagan Arabs to Mecca, Muhammad noticed a small company of strangers from Madína. He said to them, 'Who are you?' They replied, 'We are Khazrajites,' one of the leading Madína tribes. They added, 'We come from a people amongst whom there is much ill-will and enmity; perhaps God will *invite* 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

¹ This Súra contains some Madína verses, for in verse ninety-one we have the usual charge against the Jews of concealing portions of their scriptures. This charge was not usual at Mecca but it was common in Madína. In verse ninety-two we also read of the Qur'án :—

And this Book which we have sent down is blessed, confirming that which was before it, and in order that thou mightest warn the mother city and those who dwell around it. Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 92.

Sale translates أمّ القریٰ—mother of the city—as metropolis of Mecca, and has the authority of some commentators for it, but from the context it seems better to refer it to Madína. Anyhow, Muhammad did not, except in the futile expedition to Tá'if (*ante*, p. 61), preach or wara those who dwelt around Mecca.

It was common now to put back into earlier Súras verses revealed later on. See Wherry's *Commentary on the Qur'án*, vol. ii, p. 182, and Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii, p. 268.

than thou.' In reply to a further question they said that they were friends of the Jews, whereupon Muhammad propounded to them the doctrine of Islám and read portions of the Qur'án. It would appear that some of the Madína people whom the Prophet now met were Jews¹ for in the Súratu Yúnus (x), a late Meccan one, we have :—

They have charged with falsehood that which they comprehend not, and the explanation thereof hath not yet come unto them. In like manner did those who were before them (charge their messengers) with falsehood: but see what was the end of the unjust. 40.

So also in the Súratu'l-Aḥqáf (xlvi), also a late Meccan one we read :—

If this Book be from God, and ye believe it not, and a witness² of the children of Israel bear witness to its conformity (with the Law) and believe thereon while ye turn away scornfully? Verily God guideth not unjust people. 9.

It had so happened that when oppressed by the Khazrajites the Jews, looking forward to the advent of their Messiah, had said: 'The time is nigh when a prophet will arise: we shall follow him and with his help destroy you.' On hearing Muhammad's claim to be a prophet, these men of Madína thought

² This has led some persons to consider that verse forty or even the whole Súra was revealed in Madína.

³ 'Whether this witness and other Jewish supporters of Muhammad were among his professed followers, slaves perhaps, at Mecca, or were casual visitors from Israelitish tribes, or belonged to the Jewish inhabitants of Madína (with the inhabitants of which city the Prophet was on the point of establishing friendly relations), we cannot do more than conjecture.' Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii, p. 185.

Mu'alim says that this witness was a learned Jew, called 'Abdu'lláh bin Salám, who became a believer in Madína. Kabír says that the verse is a Madína one and so the witness must have been a Jew there. *Khuláṣatu'l-Tafáṣír*, vol. iv, p. 201.

that this might be the prophet whom the Jews expected and considered that it would be politic to anticipate them and to secure him for their side. So it came to pass that they listened to Muḥammad, believed in him and accepted Islám. In reply to Muḥammad's request for protection at Madína they pointed out that, as there was much disunion and discord amongst them, it would be better for them to return now and to invite the people to accept the faith and that, if God united them in it, they would then return to Mecca at the next annual pilgrimage and report the result.¹ According to Jalálu'd-Dín as-Syúfi, Muḥammad related to these converts the Súratu'l-Yúsuf (Joseph), noted as being the only one in which only one subject is treated of throughout. The people of Madína knew something about Joseph from their Jewish neighbours, and now Muḥammad repeats it to them in full detail to show that knowledge of the past was given to him by God. The whole account is a travesty of the Mosaic account and bears the mark of having been received at second-hand from ignorant persons, acquainted only with the loose traditional stories. During the year the small body of converts in Madína stood firm and, when the time for the pilgrimage came round again, there were twelve Anṣár² amongst the Madína pilgrims. They met the Prophet and took the following oath of obedience to Muḥammad and his teaching: 'We will not worship any but the One God: we will not steal, neither will we commit adultery, nor

¹ Mirkhund, *Rauḍatu'ṣ-Safá*, Part ii, vol. ii, p. 220.

² Literally, 'helpers,' a name given to the Madína converts.

kill our children; we will not slander in anywise; and we will not disobey the Prophet in anything that is right.' This is known as the 'First pledge of 'Aqaba,' and, as it contained no promise to defend the Prophet, it is called the 'Pledge of Women,' as being the only one women ever took. They then returned to Madína as ardent disciples, and such large numbers attached themselves to the new teaching that they had to send to Mecca to get a special instructor. Mus'ab¹ was sent and Islám then took root in Madína. The year was one of patient waiting. The Prophet evidently despaired of making any further progress at Mecca. His hopes were placed on his new converts at Madína. He determined to leave the Quraish severely alone and received in the last but one Súra revealed in Mecca definite instructions to do so:—

Follow that which hath been revealed unto thee from thy Lord: there is no god but He, and retire from the idolaters.

If God had so desired, they had not followed idolatry, and we have not made thee a keeper over them, neither art thou over them a guardian.

And revile not those whom they invoke besides God, lest they revile God in enmity from lack of knowledge. Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 106-8.

But if there was now no aggressive work carried on, there was no lack of confidence in the ultimate result and in the full assurance of victory over the obstinate inhabitants of Mecca. Thus:—

The unbelieving (nations) said to their apostles, 'We will surely expel you from our land, or ye shall

¹ Mus'ab was a convert, who had suffered persecution. He was devoted to the cause of the Prophet, by whom he was much beloved.

return to our religion.' Then their Lord spake by revelation unto them, saying, ' Verily we shall destroy the unjust.'

And we shall cause you to inherit the land after them ; this shall be for him that feareth my appearing and feareth my threatening.

So they asked assistance of the Lord and every tyrant and rebellious one was destroyed. *Súratu Ibráhím* (xiv) 16-18.

In the midst of all this silent and possibly dejected state, when the result of thirteen years of constant work seemed likely to lead to nothing but practical banishment, Muḥammad dreamed a dream, and passed, at least in imagination, to the temple at Jerusalem where angels, patriarchs and prophets met him, and from thence to the highest heaven and the presence of God himself :—

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

And remember when we said to thee, verily thy Lord is round about mankind ; we ordained the vision which we showed thee and likewise the cursed tree. 62.¹

This event has afforded to the imagination of poets and traditionists ample scope for the most vivid descriptions of what the Prophet saw and heard.² It is manifestly unfair to look upon these

¹ Muḥammad 'Ali says that the ascension was spiritual not bodily. The cursed tree is called *Zaqqúm* in *Súra xxxvii*. 60 and is the food of sinners in hell. This commentator then makes the curious deduction that this vision shows the triumph of Islám and the defeat of its enemies.

² For a full description of these marvels, see Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, pp. 304-14 ; also, Deutch, *Literary Remains*, pp. 99-112.

extravagant embellishments as matters of necessary belief. The most intelligent members of the modern school of Indian Muslims look upon the *Mi'ráj* as a vision, though the orthodox utterly condemn such a view.¹

When the next period of the pilgrimage came round, Mus'ab brought a full report of the great success he had met with in Madína. On the last night of this pilgrimage Muḥammad met his Madína converts. Seventy-three men and two women were present. Muḥammad gave them an address and asked them to pledge themselves to defend him. This they did, and this pledge is known as the 'Second pledge of 'Aqaba.' The nature of the compact will be seen from what follows. Muḥammad said,² 'Swear that you will preserve me from everything from which you preserve your own wives and children.' One of the leaders replied, 'Yea, by Him who hath sent thee, a Prophet with truth, we shall protect thee as our bodies : receive our allegiance, O Prophet of God ! By Alláh ! we are the sons of war and men of arms which we, the valiant, have inherited from the valiant.' Another said, 'O Apostle of God, there

¹ 'All that Muḥammadans must believe respecting the *Mi'ráj* is that the Prophet saw himself, in vision, transported from Mecca to Jerusalem and that in a such a vision he really beheld some of the greatest signs of his Lord.' Syed Aḥmad, *Essays*, vi. p. 34.

Muḥammad 'Ali's view is that it refers to the flight from Mecca, i.e. from the Ka'ba to the Mosque about to be built at Madína. *Holy Qur'án*, p. 561.

The orthodox view is that he who denies the actual bodily migration from Mecca to Jerusalem is a *Káfir* (infidel), as he denies the statement of a نبي, or plain statement of the Qur'án ; he who denies the further ascension to heaven and the account recorded in the traditions is a فاسق (sinner), though he is still a Muslim. See *The Faith of Islám* (4th ed.), p. 309.

² *Mirkhúnd, Raudatu's-Safá*, Part ii, vol. i, p. 229.

are ties between us and others,' meaning the Jews, 'which now we shall have to tear asunder; but if we do this and God gives thee victory, wilt thou then leave us again and return to thy own home?' Muḥammad replied, 'Your blood is my blood; what you shed, I also shed; you belong to me and I belong to you; I fight whomsoever ye fight, and I make peace with whomsoever ye make peace.'¹ This shows that the politico-religious development of his system had now advanced a stage farther in the Prophet's mind, and his long-felt desire to unite the Arab people in a political whole seemed nearer its fulfilment. This compact was a civil and political one, defensive and offensive, based on the rejection of idolatry, acceptance of Islām and obedience to the will of the Prophet. 'On the first pilgrimage his sympathisers from Madīna had only to avow the fealty of women: but on the second, when such further progress had been made that their number exceeded seventy, they had to promise the fealty of men and warriors.'² This compact is not a change of front, it simply embodies the growing development of the principles of Islām from the first, and forms a definite starting point for the national and foreign conquests it was now about to enter upon.

The last Súra delivered at Mecca is Súratur-Ra'd (xiii). It deals entirely with the Quraish and is the Prophet's last word there with them. It has been well called the 'Chapter of Apologies,' as it

¹ Ibn Ishāq, quoted by Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 325.

² Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 107.

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

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

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

Chastisement awaiteth them in this present life and more grievous shall be the chastisement of the next. 3-4.

The words 'withdraw from them who join other gods with Him' [Súratur-l-An'ám (vi) 106] are said to be a command to leave Mecca.

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

A few days after this, Muḥammad gave the command to his followers saying, 'Depart unto Madīna for the Lord hath verily given you brethren in that city, and a home in which ye may find refuge.' In the course of two months nearly all had emigrated. The Quraish were very much concerned at all this and, as Muḥammad still remained behind, were much perplexed at the state of affairs and wondered what would come next. They determined that a deputation should wait on him, but he, fearing some plot, stole away from his house, joined Abú Bakr and, as night drew on, left the city. The

action of the Quraish is recalled to mind and referred to in an early Madína Súra :—

And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted¹ against thee, to detain thee prisoner, or to kill thee, or to banish thee : they plotted, but God plotted, and of plotters God is the best. Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 30.²

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

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

The 'second of the two'—*thání athnain*—became one of the honourable titles of Abú Bakr.³ Muḥam-

¹ Sale following some of the Traditionists says that the Quraish plotted to kill him ; but the Traditions seem to have grown out of the verse. 'A resolution so fatal would unquestionably have been dwelt on at length, both in the Qur'án and in the Traditions, and produced as a justification of all subsequent hostilities.' Wherry, *Commentary on the Qur'án*, vol. i, p. 84. See also Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii, p. 125.

² In a late Meccan Súra Muḥammad referred to the plot against a prophet *Ṣálih* :—

They devised and we devised a device and they were not aware of it.

And see what was the end of their device. We destroyed them and their whole people.

And for their sins these their houses are empty ruins : verily in this is a sign to those who understand. Súratu'n-Naml (xxvii) 51-3.

This was no doubt meant as a warning to the Quraish who were then his bitter opponents.

³ The Sunnis who highly esteem Abú Bakr say that verse fourteen of Súratu'l-Aḥqáf (xlvi), a late Meccan one, refers to him :—

We have commanded man to show kindness to his parents. His mother beareth him and bringeth him forth with pain, and his bearing and his weaning is thirty months : until when he attaineth strength and the age of forty years he saith, 'O Lord give me inspiration, that I may be grateful for thy favour wherewith Thou hast favoured me and my parents.'

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

Up to this time the Qur'án continues, as we have seen, to be made up of arguments in refutation of idolatry and of fierce denunciations of the Meccan people, who were not met with rational arguments, for Muḥammad enveloped himself in his prophetic dignity, and in the name of Alláh poured forth maledictions upon his opponents and condemned them to be roasted in hell. At Mecca it deals with

According to the commentator Ḥusain, Abú Bakr embraced Islám in his thirty-eighth year, and his father and mother were also converted, and in his fortieth year he said, 'O Lord give me inspiration, that I may be grateful.' The favours are described as the gift and blessing of Islám. *Tafsír-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. ii, p. 321.

Rodwell considers that this explanation of the verse was invented after Abú Bakr became the *Khalifa*. Nöldeke is doubtful about it.

¹ See Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, pp. 315-21.

God's attributes of omnipotence, omniscience and unity; with vivid pictures of the pains of hell and of the joys of Paradise, with legendary stories of preceding prophets and strong self-assertions of Muḥammad's claims, and with its own divine nature. The positive precepts are still very limited; the times of prayer, certain rules about food,¹ and prohibitions regarding certain ancient and indecent rites connected with the circumambulation of the Ka'ba,² but the ritual is not yet elaborated. The social system and the laws of Islām are not as yet fixed in their rigidity. The Madína Súras address the Muslims less on dogma than on the laws which should guide them in their daily lives. The Qur'án, as a whole, is not formed on any fixed plan, but just follows the needs and suggestions of the day and the circumstances of the hour. The fervid eloquence of the preacher is now absent, and the dictates of the practical administrator takes its place. The Prophet deals now with questions of social life, domestic details, peace and war. It may be called by contrast the legal section of the Qur'án. The style, generally speaking, is that of the third Meccan period and with a few exceptions is not rhetorical. The Súras are long and probably consist of shorter exhortations and statements made on different occasions, and then afterwards arranged in a Súra, but apparently on no definite plan or system.³

¹ Súratu Tā Hā (xx) 130. Súratu'r-Rúm (xxx) 17, Súratu Húd (xi) 111, Súratu'l-Au'ám (vi) 146-7 and Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi) 119, but this last may be a Madína verse.

² Súratu'l-A'rāf (vii) 27-33.

³ For an account of the recensions of the Qur'án and its 'various readings' see Sell, *Recensions of the Qur'án* (C.L.S.), pp. 1-10, 15-19,

CHAPTER II

THE MADÍNA PERIOD

IN the year A.D. 622, probably in the month of June, Muḥammad made his public entry into Madína,¹ accompanied by about one hundred and fifty persons. The people were willing to receive him though they were not at one as regards his claim to be a prophet. Owing to their clannish spirit and the tribal feuds existing among them, Muḥammad wisely held himself aloof from all their parties and selected, under divine guidance it is said, an isolated neutral spot for his future abode.² He also soon erected a mosque in this same place, which thus became the centre of Islām and from which proceeded in due course many political and military orders.

The Muslim community was made up of two parts, one consisted of the Immigrants from Mecca, called the Muhájirún; the other of the first Madína converts, who were called the Anṣár or Helpers.

The Muhájirún are said to be referred to in Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi)³, 43, 111 :—

As to those who when oppressed have fled their country
for the sake of God, we will surely provide them

¹ In after years, the Imám Málik and others maintained that Madína was superior to Mecca. See Ibn Khaldún, vol. ii, p. 270.

² The Anṣár seized the bridle of his camel and entreated him to stay and reside with them. He said: 'Let the camel go on, for she will obey the order of God.' Mas'údi, *Murúju' dh-Dhahab*, vol. iv, p. 139.

³ This Súra, however, is a late Meccan one, so if the reference is correct these verses must have been placed in it after the Hijra; those

a goodly abode in this world, but greater the reward of the next life, did they but know it. 43.

To those who after their trials fled their country, then fought and endured with patience, verily thy Lord will in the end be forgiving, gracious. 111.

The climate of Madína did not suit the Immigrants who longed for their native air, and so it was necessary to induce them to settle down by bringing them into greater unity with the Anṣár. A feast of fraternity was made between the Muhájirún and the Anṣár, and about fifty men from each party entered into a bond of brotherhood so close that in the event of one dying his adopted brother became his heir. This custom lasted about a year and a half, after which it was not needed and the usual law of inheritance was carried out.

The next step was to form a constitution, and a treaty offensive and defensive between all the Muslims (into which Jews for war purposes were admitted).¹ The general purport of it was that they

who deny this say that, the reference is to the refugees who went to Abyssinia (*ante*, p. 30). The commentator Ḥusain says that the reference in verse forty-three is to the flight to Abyssinia, but that the 'goodly abode' is Madína and that the flight referred to in verse one hundred and eleven is the Hijra:

لَّذِينَ هَاجَرُوا مِنَّا فِي الْبَيْتِ الْمَكِّيِّ

Other verses in this Súra, such as 115-17, 119, are evidently Madína portions.

The Muhájirún are also referred to in the seventy-third verse of the Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) as having the rights of kinship, but by that time such a bond was no longer needed, and so in verse seventy-six such rights are cancelled, where in contrast with the Muhájirún and the Anṣár those who have real blood relationship are to be preferred. The commentator Ḥusain on this verse says:—

این آیه ناسخ توارث آن جماعت است که بسبب هجرت و نصرت میراث میگیرند

'This verse abrogates the inheriting of those who, on account of the Hijra and the victory, had obtained an inheritance.' Vol. i, p. 246.

¹ Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 78 is said to refer to this.

were to help one another, to avenge even on a believer the slaughter of a believer, to pay their own expenses in war, to hold Madína sacred and inviolable, to receive privileges for those under their protection, and in all matters of dispute to submit to the decision of the Prophet. The Jews were allowed to retain their own religion, but were not permitted to go to war without the express sanction of Muḥammad. He thus, at this early stage, became the dictator in all matters, religious, civil and military, and made use of the Jews as auxiliaries in war. At this period, however, he did all he could to conciliate them. Margoliouth gives several instances from Muslim authorities which show this.¹ When the chief of the Bani Najjár died, the Jews came to Muḥammad and asked him to appoint a successor. He said, 'You are my maternal uncles, I belong to you, I will be your chief.'²

It was at this time when Muḥammad was feeling his way in Madína that the famous verse, 'Let there be no compulsion in religion,'³ was revealed. Whether it refers to the attitude then to be adopted

¹ *Mohammed*, p. 226.

² Ibn Ishâq quoted by Koelle in *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 123.

³ Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 257. لَا إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ. This verse, however,

is much more liberal in appearance than in fact. It applies only to Jews, Christians, Parsees and Šábians, and to them only if they accept the position of *Dhimmi*s and pay the *jizya*, or poll-tax. As regards the pagan Arab tribes the verse is abrogated by the *آیه قتال*, the 'verse of the killing.' Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 187. They are to be killed unless they become Muslims, as the commentator Ḥusain (vol. i, p. 48) says in the following passage:—

اكراه نه بايد كرد هيچكس را از يهود و نصارى و مجوس و صابيان بدر آوردن

اسلام بشرط قبول جزیه گفته اند حکم این آیه بآیت قتال منسوخست از تمام قبائل عرب جز دین اسلام قبول نبود اما با دیگران قتال باید کرد تا مسلمان شوند

towards the pagans or the Jews of Madína, it is clear that it must have been said during this earlier part of his residence in that city. It could not have been delivered after the battle of Badr when its spirit was so completely set aside.

The state of affairs in Madína now is thus described by the historian Ibn Isháq, 'When Muḥammad had found a safe abode in Mecca, when his friends, the Immigrants, had united round him, and when the concerns of the Anṣár had been arranged, Islám became firmly established. Public prayers were performed, fasts and poor-rates were established, penal laws were executed, things lawful and unlawful were determined, and Islám gained strength amongst the tribe of the Anṣár.'¹ It had, in fact, become the chief power now in Madína, ruling over the Muslims in all matters, and powerfully influencing those who as yet held aloof from it.

But all its professors were not equally hearty and sincere. The ancient feuds were professedly forgotten, but it was not so in practice, and many a nominal believer was still influenced by the memory of former strife. Still, there was no actual

In the *Khulāṣatu't-Tafāṣīr* we read :—

جهاد و قتال اسلامى نهين هي كه خواد متخواد لركه مسلمان بنائے جاتين
بلکه اسلام نه لائين تو مطيح بنين

'Jihād and killing are not for this purpose that, willingly or unwillingly, people may be made Muslims, but if they do not embrace Islám they must be made submissive.'

Again, '—کافر اسير يا مرتد کا قتل کرنا عقوبت ہے' To imprison an infidel or to kill an apostate (from Islám) is by way of punishment. '*Khulāṣatu't-Tafāṣīr*, vol. i, p. 202.

Thus in no sense at all does this verse teach religious liberty, or establish freedom of thought; all that is gained by it is that certain classes may escape death by payment of a poll-tax and by abject submission to the terms of the established religion of the country.

¹ Quoted by Koelle in *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 124.

open opposition, but in the hearts of many men there were doubt and misgiving. They are described by Ibn Isháq as men 'who were in reality little removed from the idolatry of their fathers and the rejection of the true faith; only that Islám had by its prevalence overpowered them, the mass having already gone over to it. They, to save themselves from death, were compelled to accept Islám, at least in appearance; but in secret they were traitors, and their hearts were with the Jews in the rejection of the Prophet.'¹ Thus early was force employed and a profession of Islám used as a 'shield from death.' These men were called the Munáfiqún, or Hypocrites, and continued for a while to exercise an adverse influence. A few years later on, when Muḥammad's power increased, he openly denounced them. Súratu'l-Munáfiqún (lxiii), which is said to have been delivered about the year A.H. 6, contains the Prophet's final sentence against them :—

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

Their faith have they used as a cloak and they turn aside others from the way of God! Evil are all their doings. 1-2.

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

They say, 'If we return to the city, the mightier will assuredly drive out the weaker from it.' But might

¹ See Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 127.

is with God, and with the Apostle, and with the Faithful. Yet the Hypocrites understand not. 7-8.

The Jews in Madína were a large and important section of the community on whom, at first, Muḥammad placed great hopes, for to them the idea of a revelation was familiar. Muḥammad had maintained that Islám and the Jewish and Christian religions in their purity had one common source—the Books from heaven. He seemed to expect that the Jews would admit the divine origin of Islám and acknowledge that he was a divinely-commissioned prophet, at least for the Arab people. As we have already seen he admitted them to certain privileges, used them as confederates and allowed them religious liberty. Nöldeke¹ considers that verse forty-five of Súratu'l-'Ankabút (xxix), a late Meccan one, is a Madína verse and that it applies to this time. It reads thus:—

Dispute not with the people of the Book, except in kindly manner, except against such of them as deal evil with you.²

¹ Nöldeke, *Geschichtes des Qorans*, p. 116.

* لَا تُجَادِلُوا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ إِلَّا بِالَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ إِلَّا الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا مِنْهُمْ

This verse has caused much perplexity to the Muslim commentators. Husain says it refers only to those who were connected with Muḥammad by treaty or were tributaries to Islám, i.e., were Dhimmis. He writes thus:—

بأهل الكتاب يعني كسانيكه در عهد شما اند یا جزیه قبول کرده اند

'With the people of the Book, i.e., those who are in treaty with you, or pay the jizya (poll-tax).'

Some of the Arabic commentators look on this passage more as a proof of fear of the Jews than as a recommendation to mild dealing. Thus:—

كان أهل الكتاب يقررون التوراة بالعبرانية و يفسرونها بالعربية لأهل الإسلام
فقال رسول الله صلعم لا تمدقوا أهل الكتاب ولا تكذبوهم وتولوا أمنا بالله
و ما أنزل

However this may be, there is no doubt that now he was very anxious to gain their allegiance and so in several ways he strove to win them to his side. They turned towards Jerusalem in prayer, so did he; they observed the Feast of the Atonement on the tenth day of the month by sacrifice and fasting, he ordered his followers to do the same. Thus he made it easy for certain Jews to pass over to Islám. These men proved most useful, for they could supply him with much needed information about the ancient Scriptures and they led him to believe that there were in them passages relating to his advent.

'The possessors of the Scriptures (Jews) read the Law in Hebrew and explain it to the Muslims in Arabic: so the Prophet said: "Neither agree with the possessors of Scripture, nor call them liars, and say we believe on God and that which He hath sent down".'

Another account is that a Jew who had just passed by a corpse said to the Prophet:—

فقال يا محمد هل تتكلم هذا الجنابة فقال رسول الله صلعم أهدنكم أهل الكتاب فلا تصدقوهم ولا تكذبوهم وأكن قولوا أمنا بالله و ملائكته و كتبه و رسله فإن كان باطلا لم تصدقوهم و أن كان حقا لم تكذبوهم

'O Muḥammad, does this corpse speak?' He said, 'Neither agree with the possessors of the Scriptures, nor call them liars, but say, we believe in God, His Angels, His word and His Apostles. If what the Jews say is vain, do not confirm it; if it is true, do not give them the lie;' i.e., preserve a strictly neutral attitude.

Geiger, *Judaism and Islám*, pp. 15, 16.

Baiḳáwī (vol. ii, p. 98) admits that it is said to be abrogated by the fifth verse of Súratu't-Tauba (ix), the latest but one of all the Súras in the Qur'án, and that it was repealed when the breach with the Jews was quite complete. It is as follows:—

فَأَقْتُلُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ حَيْثُ وَجَدْتُمُوهُمْ

Kill those who join other gods with God wherever ye shall find them.

This is called the *آية السيف*, 'the verse of the sword.' It is difficult to see, since it refers to idolaters, or to Christians who were considered to be polytheists, how it can abrogate a verse directly connected with Jews.

This *آية السيف* is said to abrogate an early Meccan verse delivered when the Prophet's position was not secure. He then said to men who sought for a compromise, 'To you be your religion, to me be my religion'—Súratu'l-Kāfirún (cix) 6. This position could not be allowed when Islám was strong and hence the reason for the abrogation of such a liberal sentiment. (*Ante*, p. 9).

These men are constantly referred to as his 'witnesses.' But the great body of the Jews did not accept him nor admit his claim. The prophet for whom they looked was to come of the house of David. Thus they formed a standing protest against the position he assumed, which was that their own Scriptures testified of him. Still, as Islám grew, it was clear that all else must give way. Many pagan Arabs and some of the Jews left the city. Ibn Isháq says, 'Under these circumstances the Rabbis of the Jews became Muḥammad's enemies. They were filled with envy because God had chosen his ambassador from amongst the Arabs.' Some Jews, however, from fear accepted Muḥammad and the new religion. They are described by the Arab historian as those 'who sought shelter in Islám and accepted it only in appearance, whilst they were hypocrites at heart.' Thus there were Munáfiqún both amongst the pagan and the Jewish converts. The enmity of the Jews was as dangerous to him as that of the idolaters, since the former did him hurt not only in war and politics but by sharp criticism and pointed sayings concerning Islám. Seeing that it was hopeless to win over the Jews as a body, Muḥammad now changed his position with reference to them, and accused them of unbelief and of dishonesty in tampering with their Scriptures.

The Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) is almost the latest Meccan one, but verse ninety-one was evidently added at Madína:—

Say, who sent down the Book which Moses brought, a light and a guidance to man, which ye set down on

paper, publishing part, but concealing most: though we have now been taught that which neither ye nor your fathers knew? Say, Alláh; then leave them in their discussion to play. 91.

These words show that Muḥammad did not charge them with the corruption of the text, for that they 'set down on paper,' but with suppressing or concealing portions of it to evade his claims.¹ Súratu'l-Baqara (ii), the earliest Madína Súra, revealed in the early part of the second year of the Hijra,² embodies many revelations against the Jews. It is far too long for detailed study, but a few extracts from it and other Súras will make the matter clear:—

O children of Israel! remember my favour wherewith I showed favour upon you, and be true to your covenant with me; I will be true to my covenant with you; me, therefore, revere, and believe in what I have sent down confirming your Scriptures, and be not the first to disbelieve it (i.e., Qur'án), neither for a mean price barter my signs: therefore, fear ye me! and clothe not the truth with falsehood and hide not the truth when ye know it. 38.

¹ Rodwell says, 'Muḥammad rarely accused the Jews and Christians of corrupting, but often of misinterpreting, their sacred books in order to evade his claims. His charges, however, are vaguely worded and his utterances on this subject are tantamount to a strong testimony in favour of the unimpeachable integrity of the sacred Books, both of the Jews and the Christians so far as he knew them.' Rodwell, *Qur'án*, p. 434.

For the testimony of the Qur'án to the Scriptures, see *The Testimony of the Qur'án to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures* (Agra, 1856) and its Persian translation, *Shahádu't-i-Qur'áni bar Kutúb-i-Rabbáni*.

² Several portions of this Súra, however, are Meccan, especially the verses nineteen to thirty-seven. This is seen from the subject matter and also from the use of the term *يا أيها الناس*—'O men,' which occurs in verse nineteen. This is not the usual term used when addressing the people of Madína, which is *يا أيها الذين آمنوا*—'O ye who believe.'

This second Súra also contains a long passage recounting God's mercy to the Jews under Moses and in the wilderness. There is a verse in it which has given rise to much controversy :—

Verily they who believe (Muslims), and they who follow the Jewish religion and the Christians and the Šábians—whosoever of these believeth in God and the last day, and doeth that which is right, shall have their reward with their Lord: fear shall not come upon them, neither shall they be grieved. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 59.¹

This seems to show that all these religions are equally good, but this is not the generally received idea, for some commentators² say that the words 'believeth in God and the last day,' and doeth that which is right,' mean that non-Muslims must forsake their errors and become Muslims; others hold that the passage is abrogated by the verse :—

Whoso desireth any other religion than Islám it shall not be accepted of him, and in the next world he shall be of those who perish³. Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 79.

The general opinion of the commentators is that the Šábians were a tribe whose religion was a mixture of Judaism and Christianity; they worshipped one God, though some deny this, read the Psalms, prayed towards Mecca and worshipped angels. The meaning of the whole passage is said to be that :—

کوئی جو مسلمان یا کتابی یا غیر کتابی جب ایمان لائے اور اچھے کام کرے اس سے خوف نہیں

¹ Whoever, Muslim or Kitábi (i.e., Jew or Christian), or non-Kitábi, believes and does good works has no cause of fear.' *Khaláṣatu't-Tafásir*, vol. i, p. 40. Rodwell says the Šábians are the Mendaites, or so-called Christians of St. John. See Rodwell, *Qur'án*, p. 437. For a full account of the Šábians, see S. Lane-Poole, *Studies in a Mosque*, pp. 252-88.

² 'Doeth what is right' means enter Islám with sincere entrance'—دخول فی الاسلام دحولا صادقا—Baiḍáwi, vol. i, p. 64. See also Wherry, *Commentary on the Qur'án*, vol. i, p. 312.

وَمَنْ يَبْتَغِ غَيْرَ الْإِسْلَامِ دِينًا فَلَنْ يُقْبَلَ مِنْهُ وَهُوَ فِي الْآخِرَةِ مِنَ الْخٰسِرِيْنَ³

The hypocrisy of some of the Jews who had become Muslims is referred to in :—

When they fall in with the faithful they say, 'We believe,' but when they are apart one with another they say, 'Will ye acquaint them with what God hath revealed to you, that they may dispute with you about it in the presence of your Lord?' Understand ye their aim.¹

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

But there are illiterates among them who are unacquainted with the Book,² but with lies only and have but vague fancies. Woe to them who transcribe the Book corruptly³ and then say, 'This is from God,' that they may sell it for some mean price. Woe to them for that which their hands have written, and woe to them for the gains they have made.

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

But they whose gains are evil works and who are environed by their sins—they shall be inmates of

It is said that this verse abrogates all past religions and all which may arise in the future :—

اس نے اور تمام دینوں کو منسوخ کر دیا جو گزر گئے یا پیدا کئے جائیں

Khaláṣatu't-Tafásir, vol. i, p. 271.

'The text denies the acceptability of any religion which differs therefrom.' Baiḍáwi, vol. i, p. 164.

¹ One party of the Jews is represented as upbraiding the other for making known passages taken from the Scriptures which Muḥammad might use against them. Baiḍáwi and Jalálu'd-Dín say that the words 'hath revealed to you' mean 'was made manifest to you in the Taurát regarding Muḥammad.' The next verse shows that the charge against the Jews was that of *hiding* passages supposed to refer to Muḥammad, not of *corrupting* the text, in which, however no passages referring to Muḥammad can be found.

² The Pentateuch.

³ Another class of Jews opposed Muḥammad and wrote out passages from their traditional or Rabbinical books and tried to pass them off as genuine Scriptures. They are not charged with altering the text.

the fire, therein to abide for ever—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 71-5.

In other ways the Jews gave offence. Baiḍáwí says that Abú Bakr asked a Jew for a loan, saying 'Who will lend God a good loan?' The Jew said, 'If God wants a loan, then He must be poor.' Abú Bakr struck him and the Jew forthwith complained to the Prophet, but got no redress. Then this verse came :—

Now hath God heard the saying of those who said,
'Aye, God is poor and we are rich.' We will surely
write down their sayings and their unjust slaughter
of the prophets and we will say, 'Taste ye the
torment of the burning.' Súratu 'Áli 'Imrán (iii) 177.

The demand of the Jews for a prophetic sign is referred to in the following verse :—

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

The Jews said that the fire which descended from heaven on the altar of the Tabernacle (Leviticus ix. 24) and afterwards on the altar at the dedication of Solomon's Temple (2 Chronicles vii. 1) was constantly kept alive until the Chaldeans destroyed the Temple. They seemed to expect that a true prophet would re-kindle it.

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

Say, already have apostles before me come to you
with miracles and with that of which ye speak,
Wherefore slew ye them? Súratu 'Áli 'Imrán (iii) 180.

The commentators say that he here refers to Zachariah and Yaḥyá (John the Baptist)¹ and so argues that, if they slew prophets who had miraculous powers why should he gratify their wishes and cause fire to come down from heaven.

Those who did not admit that any part of the Scriptures referred to Muḥammad are thus addressed :—

Believe ye then part of the Book and deny part?²
But what shall be the need of him among you who
doth this, but shame in this life? And on the day
of the resurrection they shall be sent to the most
cruel of torments, for God is not regardless what ye
do. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 79.

They would not recognize the Qur'án as a book of authority, a state of obstinacy which called forth from the Prophet the bitter imprecation :—

The curse of God be on the infidels—Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 83.

He then goes on to say :—

For a vile price have they sold themselves, that they
should not believe in that which God sent down,
envious of God's sending down His grace on such
servants as He pleaseth, and they have brought upon
themselves wrath upon wrath³. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 84.

¹ Baiḍáwí, 'Abdu'lláh bin 'Abbás and Ḥusain.

² There were quarrels between two leading Jewish tribes, each claiming some Scriptural authority for their actions. Muḥammad rebukes them and bids them obey the *whole* of their Scriptures. This is a striking instance of the Qur'anic testimony to the authority of the Old Testament, whole and entire, as it then existed.

³ 'Wrath upon wrath' *يَقْتَبِ عَلَى ذَاتِهِ* is said by the commentator Mujáhid to mean that the first wrath lies on those who reject the Pentateuch, the second on those who reject Muḥammad. *Khalá-satu'l-Tafásir*, vol. i, p. 51.

The protection of God is promised to Muḥammad against all such as cut themselves off from him :—

If therefore they believe even as ye believe, then have they true guidance; but if they turn back then do they cut themselves off from you, and God will suffice to protect thee against them. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 131.

The accusation about hiding the testimony of the Scriptures to Muḥammad is made in :

Who is more in fault than he who concealeth the witness¹ which he hath from God? Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 134.

The next Súra in order is Súratu'l-Bayyina (xcviii) and here again the same charge is repeated :—

The unbelievers among the people of the Book and the polytheists did not waver until the clear evidence had come to them ;

A messenger from God, reciting to them the pure pages wherein are true Scriptures.

Neither were they unto whom the Scriptures were given divided among themselves, till after this clear evidence had reached them. 1-3.²

The commentator Husain says that the first wrath lies on those who reject Christ and the Gospels, and the other on those who reject Muḥammad and the Qur'án. Vol. i, p. 16.

كشعبي بانكار عيسى و انجيل و دشمنى بانكار محمد و قران

Baiḍāwī explains it as the punishment which follows on disbelief in Muḥammad, and in Christ, or on their saying that 'Uzair (Ezra) was the Son of God. Vol. i, p. 72.

¹ Baiḍāwī says it means 'the concealing of the divine witness that Abraham was a Hanif, superior to a Jew or a Christian.'

شهادت الله لأبراهيم بالحنيفية والبراءة عن اليهودية والنصرانية

Others say it refers to concealing witness about Muḥammad. The charge is of *hiding* passages not of *altering* the text.

2 پیش از بعثت انجفرت همه مجتمع بودند بر تصدیق رى و بعد از آنكه مبعوث شد متخلف شدند بعضى گرویدند دوى و بعضى كافر شدند

'Before the time of Muḥammad, they all looked forward to the coming of a prophet whom they would follow, but when he came they wavered and were divided in opinion ; some followed him, and some did not.' *Tafsir-i-Husaini*, vol. ii, p. 470.

The following verses continue the charge :—

And truly are there among them who torture the Scriptures with their tongues,¹ in order that ye may suppose it to be from the Scripture, yet it is not from the Scripture ; and they say, 'This is from God,' yet it is not from God ; and they utter a lie against God, and they know they do so. Súratu 'Āli-'Imrān (iii) 72.

In the latest Súra of all we have :—

They shift the words of Scripture from their places and have forgotten part of what they were taught. Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 16.

O people of the Scriptures ! Now is our Apostle come to you to clear up to you much that ye concealed of these Scriptures and to pass over many things. Now hath a light, and a clear Book come to you from God by which God will guide him who shall follow after His good pleasure to paths of peace, and will bring them out of the darkness to the light, by His will ; and to the straight path will He guide them. Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 18.¹

The charge in all these verses is not that of altering the written text of the Scriptures, but of hiding

¹ Baiḍāwī's comment is, 'turn them in reading and divert them from the revealed words to the fabricated.'

يقتلونها على بقراته فيميلونه عن المنزل الى المحرف

Again there is no charge of altering the text

² The accusation here is that the Jews 'concealed passages in the Pentateuch concerning the praises of Muḥammad and the verse of stoning, and that the Christians concealed the prophecy of Jesus given in the Injil concerning Aḥmad.' The phrase 'much that ye concealed' مِمَّا كُنْتُمْ تَكْتُمُونَ is explained to mean what has just been stated concerning Jews and Christians.

از آنچه هستيد كه آن را پنهان ميداريد من الكتاب از توريت چون نعمت محمد مصطفی و آيت رجم و از انجيل چون بشارت عيسى به احمد

Tafsir-i-Husaini, vol. i, p. 140. Baiḍāwī, vol. i, p. 251.

its truth, by which Muḥammad meant allusions to himself which he asserted were contained therein.

It is not stated that the Scriptures themselves are so corrupted as to cease to be genuine. Indeed the evidence is all the other way:—

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

It is said that this statement is exclusively for Jews and Christians and that for Muslims all other religions are abrogated by the verse¹:—

Whoso desireth any other religion than Islám, that religion shall not be accepted from him. Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 79.

In this way conservative Muslims excuse themselves from paying that attention to previous Scriptures which the Qur'án so clearly enjoins. Other statements in the Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) to this effect are:—

But, if the people of the Book believe and have the fear of God, we will surely put away their sins from them and will bring them into gardens of delight, and, if that they observe the Law and the Evangel and what hath been sent down to them from their Lord,² they shall surely have their fill of good things from above them and from beneath their feet. 70.

1 مَنْ يَبْتَغِ غَيْرَ الْإِسْلَامِ دِينًا فَلَنْ يُقْبَلَ مِنْهُ

² The general interpretation is that this refers to the Qur'án: if to other divine books, then it is said that, as they testify to the coming of Muḥammad, the reader must necessarily become a Muslim. It is not held that Jews and Christians accepting only the Old and the New Testaments can be saved. *Khalásatu't Tufásir*, vol. i, p. 549.

The point, however, to notice is that the Old and the New Testaments are here treated as co-ordinate with the Qur'án, and logically the Muslim should accept them all. Practically he does nothing of the kind. This verse is also of great importance, for being in the latest Súra it has run no risk of abrogation, and so stands as a permanent indictment against all Muslims who refuse to accept the teaching of the Bible,

Say, O people of the Book, ye have no ground to stand on, till ye observe the Law, the Injil and that which¹ hath been sent down to you from your Lord. 72.

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

And to thee have we sent down the Qur'án with truth, confirmatory of previous Scriptures and their safeguard.² Suratu'l-Má'ida (v) 52.

It is clear from this that the Scriptures had not been corrupted before the time of Muḥammad for the Qur'án confirms them; they cannot, from a Muslim standpoint, have been corrupted since for

¹ The Qur'án.

وَأَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ بِالْحَقِّ مُصَدِّقًا لِمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ وَمُهَيْمِنًا عَلَيْهِ

The word مُهَيْمِنًا is translated by Husain as نگاهبان, 'a guard.'

Thus:—

مُهَيْمِنًا عَلَيْهِ نَظَاهَانَسْتِ بِرِ كِتَابِ كِه مَحَافِظَتِ أَنْ مِيكَندِ از تَغْيِيرِ

'A guard over the Books which protects them from change.' *Tafsir-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p. 148.

Baidāwī says it is: 'a guardian over all the books'—

رَقِيبًا عَلَى سَائِرِ الْكُتُبِ

Another commentator says:—

اس آیت میں قرآن کی فضیلت تمام کتب آسمانی پر ثابت ہی اس لیے کہ اسے محافظ - امین - شاہد - امانت دار تمام کتابوں کا قرار دیا پس قرآن جامع و شامل ہی اور ہدایت میں کامل

'In this verse the superiority of the Qur'án over all heavenly Books is proved, for to it is the appointment given that it should be their guard, trustee, witness and trusty keeper; but the Qur'án is the compendium comprehending all and in guidance perfect. *Khalásatu't-Ta.ásir*, vol. i, p. 529.

A Qádiáni commentator says that the guardianship refers only to what is of permanent value and which has been preserved in the Qur'án and to nothing else. Other matters were corrupted. This is contrary to the view of accepted Muslim commentators, to whom, however, the leaders of the modern Qádiáni sect pay no attention.

the Qur'án has been their safeguard, their 'trustful keeper.' Thus Muslims who make rash statements on this subject not only show great ignorance of the Qur'án itself, but treat it with the utmost disrespect when they thus impute failure to it in this most important duty which it claims to fulfil.

If then the Scriptures have been corrupted the Qur'án has *failed of its purpose and has not been their safeguard*. The fact is, that Muḥammad had no real doubt about the authenticity and genuineness of the Scriptures, but now that he had no further use for the Jews it was necessary to discredit them and to show that they were not worthy of credit.¹ It is instructive to note that all these passages about the perversion of the meaning of the Bible and the charge of concealing its predictions *were revealed at Madína*.

The Jews having been thus rebuked and set aside as no longer likely to be useful or necessary, there was no object whatever in assimilating the customs and practices of Islám to those of Judaism; so the Qibla (i.e., the direction towards which the prayers should be said) was now changed back again² from

¹ This appears from a Tradition recorded by Bukhári: 'Do not ask about anything from the men of this Book.'

لا تسألوا أهل الكتاب عن شيء

The story goes that one day 'Umar got a book from a Jew or a Christian and read it to the Prophet, who became angry and ordered it not to be read. *Faiḍu'l-Báriz*, part 30, p. 29.

² The first change from Mecca to Jerusalem is not mentioned in the Qur'án, but it is supposed that the words of complaint in, 'The foolish ones will say, "What hath turned them from the Qibla which they need"', [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 136] refer to this.

The original is مَا وَلَّهُمْ مِّن قِبَلِهِمُ اللَّيْلَى كَانُوا عَلَيْهَا on which Jalálu'd-Dín says:—

لما هاجر امر باستقبال بيوت المقدس تألفا لليهود سنة أو مسجدة ههنا

Jerusalem to Mecca and, as usual, a revelation came to authorize the change.

It is immediately preceded by a long passage in the second Súra to show that the Ka'ba and the religion of Abraham, of which Islám is declared to be the revival, is better than the Qibla of the Jews and Judaism. The Christians, too, have a hint given them in the expression, 'The baptism of God have we received,'¹ that in the reception of Islám consists the true regeneration of man. Then the

¹ After the Hijra he ordered his followers to turn to the Temple at Jerusalem (بَيْتُ الْمَقْدِسِ); this, however, which was done to conciliate the Jews, held good for six or seven months only, and then he changed it.' See Geiger, *Judaism and Islám*, p. 14.

² The original in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 132 is simply مَبِغَتَ اللَّهِ 'Baptism of God.' Sale adds the words, 'do we receive' and Rodwell adds 'Islám,' and reads 'Islám is the baptism of God.' Palmer says it means the 'dye of God,' and that the word is a metaphor derived from dyeing cloth and must not be confounded with baptism. The commentators differ in their interpretation. Some say that it simply means دِينُ اللَّهِ, 'religion of God;' others that it means 'circumcision' and is meant to show the Christians that though they have substituted baptism for that rite, yet the Muslims also have a ceremony which purifies the recipient. By those who adopt this view مَبِغَتَ اللَّهِ is explained as:—

ختان است وآن تطهير مسلمان باهد

'Circumcision which purifies Muslims.' *Tafsir-i-Huseini*, vol. i, p. 23.

The word also means colour, and so some say that when a man was admitted into the Christian Church his clothes and person were coloured yellow; others that his children were baptized in yellow water. Then they go on to say that, when a man became a Muslim, he was purified from the contamination of idolatry and received, under the metaphor of dyeing, a sort of spiritual baptism. In these several ways, however, the commentators try to show that Christians have no rites superior to those of Islám, whether as to a Qibla or as to a baptism. *Khalāṣatu't-Tafsir*, vol. i, p. 80. Baiḍāwī agrees generally with the above.

Jalálu'd-Dín Rūmī (*Mathnawī*, Book ii) says: 'The baptism of God is (by) the dye of God's nature: all rites and ceremonies become of one colour in it.' This is the esoteric Sūfī conception of being immersed and obliterated in the Unity: all things and all beings are in that Unity of one colour and as one.

change of the Qibla is openly stated in the verses¹ :—

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

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

The Traditionists relate many stories connected with this event in the Prophet's life. One is, that 'when he found the Jews obstinate he said to Gabriel, "I wish God would change the Qibla to the Ka'ba ;" Gabriel replied, "Thou hadst better ask God thyself for thou art highly esteemed by Him." The Prophet after this always looked up to heaven, waiting for tidings to change the Qibla.'

The Ramaḍán fast,² also was now substituted for the one hitherto kept simultaneously with the Jewish fast.

As for the month Ramaḍán, in which the Qur'án was sent down to be man's guidance and an explanation

¹ Nöldeke gives several authorities for the statement that even in Mecca Muḥammad turned towards Jerusalem in prayer, but considers that these verses show that the Muslims in Madína did not like this custom and that therefore it was most probably a recent innovation. *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. 129.

² 'The fasting is obligatory throughout the whole month, as long as the sun is above the horizon, both eating and drinking are absolutely forbidden. In oriental heat this is a severe burden, some can readily believe that in the month of the fast, towards the end of the day, the majority of the faithful are thinking much more about the enjoyments of the coming night than about God and the hereafter.' Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 65.

of that guidance, and of that illumination, as soon as any one of you observeth the moon let him set about the fast. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 181.

A stern warning is given to the Jews in :—

Those who conceal aught that we have sent down, either of clear proof or guidance, after what we have so clearly shown to men in the Book, God shall curse them, and they who curse shall curse them. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 154.¹

Either in connexion with these charges or on more general grounds, some of the converts from Judaism desired still to observe portions of the Jewish Law. Húsain says that Ibn Salám and his friends were converts to Islám who still wished to keep the laws of the Pentateuch. They are thus rebuked and warned :—

O believers, enter completely into the true religion and follow not the steps of Satan, for he is your declared enemy ;²

But if ye lapse after that our clear signs have come to you, know that God is mighty, wise.

Ask the children of Israel how many clear signs we have given them ; but if any man alter the gift of God,³ after it shall have reached him, certainly God will be vehement in punishing him. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 204-5, 207.

¹ The book referred to is the Pentateuch. Those who conceal its meaning are to be cursed by God. 'Those who curse,' that is, angels, genii and men, will also curse them—*Tafsír-i-Húsaini*, vol. i, p. 26. *Tafsír-i-'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Abbás*, p. 29.

² Commentators say that by 'the true religion' is meant Islám ; by 'steps of Satan,' deceits of the devil, inducing the Jews to observe laws already abrogated—*وساوس شيطاني بأحكام منسوخة*—*Tafsír-i-Húsaini*, vol. ii, p. 35.

³ The *نعمة الله*, 'gift of God,' is said by some to refer to Muḥammad ; by others, and more correctly, to the Qur'án. Wherry, on the authority of the *Tafsír-i-Raufi*, refers it to Jewish Scriptures. *Commentary on the Qur'án*, vol. i, p. 315.

This antagonism between Muḥammad and the Jews was perfectly natural. Not only were they unable to admit his claims, but on one great principle of action they were fundamentally opposed. He, as we shall see, desired to conserve the old Arab customs and even allowed much of the old pagan ceremonial to remain in Islám; they were conservative upholders of the ceremonies of their revealed Law and of the customs based on the interpretations of it. The time had now come when the breach with Judaism must be complete, and Muḥammad made changes with, as is alleged by Arabian writers, the express object of abolishing from Islám resemblances to Judaism.¹

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

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

كراهة لموافقة النسي التشبية باليهود

quoted by Rabbi Geiger in *Judaism and Islám*, p. 157. The learned Rabbi proceeds to show in detail how many changes Muḥammad made. Amongst others he refers to the prayer (صلاة العشاء) after supper as contrary to the Talmudic orders.

The laws about women conform more to Arabian than to Jewish usage. The permission in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 183 is opposed to the directions of the Talmud.

The law laid down in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 230 is simply disgusting; so much so that Syed Amír 'Ali considers that it has been abrogated by the next verse (*Life of Muḥammad*, p. 248); but it is still the law of Islám. Sir 'Abdu'r-Rahim, says, 'The express object of the law in adding this condition is to discourage such divorces.' *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 337. This law Syed Amír 'Ali expounds in his learned work, *Personal Law of the Muḥammadans*, p. 335. As an historian he regrets the Qur'anic injunction and throws doubt upon its authority; but as the trained and practical lawyer he admits its obligation. The actual existing law on the subject is also given in Baillie's *Imameea*, p. 120, and in his *Hanifeea*, p. 292. It is, however, distinctly opposed to the Jewish law on the subject as stated in Deuteronomy xxiv. 1-4. It is a clear instance of the way in which Muḥammad now sought to differentiate Islám from Judaism,

Divine approval is also obtained for the retention of the pagan ceremonies of going round the hills Šafá and Marwa :—

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

It is, however, probable that these verses are interpolations here and that they were really revealed later on when the first pilgrimage was made.

This second Súra, Súratu'l-Baqara, then, throws a clear light on the changing policy of Muḥammad at this early period of his Madína career and is itself illustrated by the history of the period. It is also an excellent example of the way in which the revelations were timed to meet the exigencies of the varying social and political situations of the Prophet and his cause. It also shows that he had already, at this early stage of his residence in Madína, realized that open war with his countrymen was unavoidable and must soon come. At all events, it was time to prepare the minds of his followers for cares and troubles of this kind and to stimulate their zeal and courage by examples from Jewish history :—

Think ye to enter Paradise, when no such things have come upon you, as on those who flourished before you? Ills and troubles tried them. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 210.

Hast thou not thought on those who quitted their dwellings—and they were thousands—for fear of death? God said to them, 'Die'; then He restored them to life, for full of bounty towards man is God. But most men are thankless.

Fight for the cause of God. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 244-5,

This exhortation is followed by a description of the wars of Moses and of Saul. Muḥammad shows his ignorance of Old Testament history by confusing Saul and Gideon together. Still these examples of men of old served now to inflame the zeal of his followers.

The antipathy thus excited against the Jews increased after the battle of Badr, when, flushed with victory, Muḥammad called upon the Jews of the Bani Qainuqá' tribe to believe in Islám, lest God should visit them as he had done the Quraish in the recent battle.¹ They had boasted that in their case defeat would not have been so easy and that they could successfully have resisted the Muslims. So the revelation came :—

If thou fear treachery from any people throw back their treaty to them as thou fairly mayest for God loveth not the treacherous.

And think not that the infidels shall escape us.
Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 60-1.

They refused, and were all expelled from the country and their goods and property were confiscated. The Bani Naḍír were a wealthy people, one of whose chief Rabbis, Ka'b ibn Ashraf, had been friendly

¹ Margoliouth (*Mohammed*, p. 231) states that the Tradition (referred to *ante* p. 86) records that Abú Bakr wished to get a loan from these Jews, saying, 'Who will lend God a good loan?' 'If God wants a loan,' replied Pinehas, son of Azariah, 'He must be poor'. This was met by a blow. The Jew complained to Muḥammad, apparently denying that he said these words. Muḥammad seized the opportunity of justifying his conduct to the Jews, for Gabriel now conveniently brought the revelation :

Now hath God heard the saying of those who said, 'Aye, God is poor and we are rich.' We will surely write down their sayings, and their unjust slaughter of the prophets; and we will say, 'Taste ye the torment of the burning.' Súratu 'Áli 'Imrán (iii) 177.

with Muḥammad until the change of the Qibla was made, when he became his opponent. He was assassinated in July A.D. 624 with the connivance of Muḥammad. A few months after the battle of Uḥud, the whole tribe, in June 625, was thus addressed : ' Thus saith the Prophet of the Lord, ye shall go out of my country within the space of seven days; whosoever shall remain behind after that shall be put to death.' They declined, and said, ' We will not go.' The Jews unfortunately did not maintain this courageous spirit. They made no attempt at mutual resistance, and so were subjugated in detail. This is referred to in the verse :—

They (the Jews) will not fight against you in a body, except in fenced towns, or behind walls. Mighty is their valour amongst themselves, but their hearts are divided. Súratu'l-Ḥashr (lix) 14.

The Muslims justly showed contempt for their boasting and as they themselves were now powerful these Jews were exiled and their fertile fields and property were divided amongst the Muhájirún. The divine sanction for this proceeding is found in Súratu'l-Ḥashr (lix) thus :—

He it is who caused the unbelievers among the people of the Book to quit their homes and join those who had emigrated previously.¹

And were it not that God had decreed their exile, surely in this world would He have chastised them; but in the next the chastisement of fire awaiteth them.

Your cutting down some of the palm trees and sparing others was by God's permission and to put the wicked to shame. Súratu'l-Ḥashr 2, 3, 5.

¹ The Bani Qainuqá'.

It was quite contrary to Arab usages of war to destroy the palm-trees and it was prohibited by the Law of Moses (Deuteronomy xx. 19). So Muḥammad had by this revelation to justify his conduct after the deed was done. A special revelation also warranted him in giving great part of the booty to the Muhájirún :¹—

To the poor refugees also doth a part belong, who have been driven from their homes and their substance, and who seek favour from God and His goodwill and aid God and His Apostle. These are the men of genuine virtue. Súratu'l-Ḥashr (lix) 8.

As for those who have believed and fled their country, and fought on the path of God, and given the Prophet an asylum, and been helpful to him, these are the faithful : mercy is their due and a noble provision.

And they who have believed and fled the country since and have fought at your side, these also are of you. Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 75-6.

The Jews are also thus denounced and warned in these bitter cruel words :—

Verily, those who disbelieve in our signs, we will surely broil them in hell fire ; as often as their skins shall be well burned, we will give them other skins in exchange, that they may taste the torment—Súratu'n-Nísá'. (iv) 59.

The commentator Ḥusain (vol. ii, p. 396) says that certain of the Hypocrites (Munáfiqún) Ibn Ali, Ibn Bawal and others had promised to help the Bani Naḍír, but failed to keep their promise. They are

¹ The Muhájirún are also led to expect a great reward in the future life :—

Those who fled, and were turned out of their homes and suffered in my cause and were killed, I will blot out their sins from them and I will bring them into gardens beneath which rivers flow. A reward from God. Súratu Ali 'Imrán (iii) 194-5.

likened to Satan, who persuaded man to be an Infidel and said, 'I share not thy guilt' [Súratu'l-Ḥashr (lix.) 16]; and so Muḥammad justified his exclusion of these men from a share in the booty thus :—

Hast thou not observed the disaffected (Munáfiqún) saying to their unbelieving brethren among the people of the book, 'If ye be driven forth, we will go forth with you ; and in what concerneth you, never will we obey any one ; and if ye be attacked, we will certainly come to your help.' But God is witness that these are liars. Súratu'l-Ḥashr (lix) 11.

In the fifth year of the Hijra the Bani Quraiza, a large Jewish tribe, was exterminated. At the time of the siege of Madína by the Meccans they had great inducements held out to them to join with the opponents of Muḥammad and doubtless, like all Jews at this time, they were sullen and discontented. As a matter of fact they did not aid the besiegers, but remained quiet. They had also refused to aid the Bani Naḍír, but it was not remembered in their favour. Had they been braver and have stood by their brethren when attacked, these Jews could probably have made much better terms with Muḥammad.

Their presence in Madína may have been a source of political danger ; but still nothing can justify the savage treatment they received. They offered to emigrate ; they pleaded for their lives, but they pleaded in vain. They appealed to their Arab friends and allies, the Bani Aws, to intercede for them. They did this most earnestly. Muḥammad, to conciliate this powerful Arab tribe, suggested that a member of it should decide the case, thus adroitly shifting the responsibility from

himself: but he took good care that the choice of the referee should not rest with the Jews. Muḥammad chose Sa'd bin Mu'ádh¹ who had been formerly a friend of the Jews, but having just before been wounded in a skirmish, he was vexed with them for remaining quiet, instead of helping to repel the Meccans, and so had already reported unfavourably of them to Muḥammad. The decision now was a foregone conclusion. Sa'd decided that the men should be slain and that the women and children should be sold as slaves. Muḥammad declared the sentence to be 'the judgement of God.' The men were then taken to Madína and all slaughtered in cold blood in batches of five or six at a time in the presence of Muḥammad himself. The market-place at last was drenched with the blood of nearly eight hundred men. Under the personal direction of the Prophet trenches were dug in the market-place, to the brink of which the captives were led, then forced to kneel down and so were beheaded. Their bodies were then cast into the trenches and covered over. Some of the females were divided amongst the Muslims and the rest were sold as slaves. The fifth portion which fell to the Prophet's lot came to about two hundred women and children, who were sold to the Bedouins for horses and arms. A beautiful widow, whose husband had just been slaughtered, was reserved by Muḥammad for his own harem. Thus, when two tribes had been exiled and one exterminated, the power of the Jews was broken for ever in Madína, and Muḥammad was

¹ Mirkhúnd, *Rauḍatu's-Safá*, part ii. vol. ii, p. 475.

free to look farther afield for fresh conquests. There was a time when Muḥammad had desired the friendship of the Jews, but each victory won, and each lot of booty captured made him less dependent on them for recognition and for funds. 'The change from a basis of reason to a basis of force had taken place gradually, but now was finally achieved.'¹

Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii), in verses nine to twenty-seven, deals with the defeat of the besiegers of Madína in what is known at the 'battle of the ditch.' The two concluding verses of the passage make God responsible for the massacre of the Jews:—

He caused the people of the Book (the Jews) who had aided the confederates (i.e., Meccans) to come down out of their fortresses and cast dismay into their hearts; some ye slew, others ye took prisoners.²

And He gave you their land and their dwellings and their wealth for an heritage. Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxii) 27-8.

Raiḥána, the beautiful Jewess, whom Muḥammad reserved to himself, refused to marry him, saying, 'Nay, O Prophet, but let me remain as thy slave: this will be easier for me and for thee.' She also refused to abandon her faith. It is reasonable to

¹ Margoliouth, *Muḥammad*, p. 334.

² Commenting on this verse, Baiḍáwí says that it is related that Gabriel came to the Prophet in the early morning after the Meccans had been defeated and asked why he had put off his armour, whilst the angels had not removed theirs. He then told him to go after the Bani Quraiẓa and not to say the evening prayer till he could say it in the locality now occupied by these Jews (vol. ii, p. 126). Bukhári relates the same story, clearly indicating that Gabriel directed the attack on the Jews. Muslim repeats the account in another form (*Khalāṣatu'l-Tafāsír*, vol. iii, p. 544). Thus the early Muslims were taught to believe that this cruel massacre was carried out by the direct order of God.

suppose that she had some aversion to becoming the wife of a man, who had not only sanctioned but had been present at the cruel massacre of her husband and her relatives. She had no power to refuse the position of a slave; so Muḥammad took her as his concubine and justified his action by the verse:—

O Prophet! We allow thee thy wives whom thou hast dowered, and the slaves whom thy right hand possesseth out of the booty which God hath granted thee. *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 49.¹

Súras al-Ḥadíd (lvii), *al-Ḥaṣhr* (lix), *aṣ-Ṣaf* (lxi), *al-Jamua* (lxii), and *at-Taghábun* (lxiv) commence as songs of praise and were all delivered about this time to celebrate the subjection of the Jews and the infidels.

We must now go back a little and refer to the most important of the military efforts made by the Prophet. The battle of Badr, though it was not the first of his warlike expeditions, was the greatest of all that had yet been undertaken.² Previous to the engagement at Badr the Prophet himself headed four free-booting expeditions and three more were

¹ Syed Amír 'Ali says: 'I look upon the story of Raiḥána's becoming a left-handed wife of the Prophet as a fabrication' (*Life of Muḥammad*, p. 114). This repudiation of the offence by an author of the high character of Syed Amír 'Ali shows the gravity of it, but the fact is well attested, and the commentator Ḥusain, who is most careful and accurate, says that this passage does refer to the slave women 'Ṣafīyya and Raiḥána and those like them.' He says so distinctly in the words:—

چون مہیہ و رجائے و امثال ایشان

Tafsír-i-Ḥusaini, vol. ii, p. 204.

² Muḥammad heard that a rich Meccan caravan had gone to Syria. He ordered his followers to capture it on its return. He was the aggressor and his attempt at plundering it was the real cause of the battle. See Sell, *The Life of Muḥammad* (C.L.S.), p. 115; also Ṭabari, *Tārikhu'r-Rasūl*, (De Geoge's ed.) series 1, vol. iii, p. 1495.

conducted by his lieutenants,¹ but they failed of their object, for the Quraish received little harm and the Muslims gained little or no booty. The only relatively successful expedition was one conducted in the month Rajabu'l-Arab—a month sacred from time immemorial to peace and immunity from tribal attacks. In it a Quraish caravan at Nakhla was attacked and plundered and some prisoners were taken. The victory, however, did not compensate for the fear created in the minds of the Muslims by so daring a violation of Arab custom. At first Muḥammad denied that he had given any command for the attack to be made in that month, but, as the dismay still prevailed in the hearts of the people, a revelation came condoning the offence. Thus:—

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

Ibn Ishāq says this means, 'If you make war in the holy month, they keep you from the way of God, they are unbelievers and debar you from the holy temple. This is more serious before God than the death of some men whom ye have killed.' The Quraish were very angry and said, 'Muḥammad

¹ During the ten years of his residence at Madína Muḥammad organized thirty-eight military expeditions, and twenty-seven of these he accompanied in person as chief commander for the furtherance of the cause of Islām. Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Hishām, quoted by Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 324.

and his companions have desecrated the holy month by shedding blood, seizing goods and making captives in it;’ but this violation of the sacred months lost him no followers, for the actors in it retained four-fifths of the plunder for themselves.

These small warlike expeditions provided the booty which was so necessary, for the Muslims were then very poor.¹ They also prepared the way for greater efforts, and in the revelations of this period a distinct advance is made in inculcating the spirit of retaliation and in stirring up a feeling of military ardour. *Súratu’r-Ra’d* (xiii) is the latest Meccan one, but the forty-first verse belongs to the Madína period and must have been inserted in this *Súra* afterwards either by Muḥammad himself, or by compilers of the *Qur’án*. It refers to the encroachments of the Muslims over the territories of the pagan Arabs:—

See they not that we come into their land and cut short its borders? God pronounceth a doom, and there is none to reverse this doom. *Súratu’r Ra’d* (xiii) 41.

Súratu’l-Ḥajj (xxii) is most probably a Meccan one, but some verses are clearly of a later date and belong to Madína, such as:—

A sanction is given to those who because they have suffered outrages have taken up arms, and verily God is well able to succour them.

Those who have been driven from their homes wrongfully only because they say, ‘Our Lord is the God.’ 40-1.

¹ They were hewers of wood and drawers of water: Abí Bakr sold clothes; ‘Uthmán fruit and others were employed in servile occupations. For the original authorities in support of this statement, see Margoliouth, *Muḥammad*, pp. 234-8,

In the second year at Madína Muḥammad saw clearly that open war with his countrymen was now unavoidable. So in *Súratu’l-Baqara* (ii) the earliest Madína one, we read:—

War is prescribed for you, but it is hateful to you; yet haply ye hate a thing which is better for you. 212-3.

Fight for the cause of God. 245.

There are in the same *Súra* verses of a similar character, but they probably belong to a somewhat later period, the time of the first pilgrimage to Mecca in the year, A.H. 7, and if so, they refer to the people of Mecca only, and in their case only if they should prove faithless to the treaty of *Ḥudai-biyah*.¹ The verses are:—

Fight for the cause of God against those who fight against you; but commit not the injustice of attacking them first.² God loveth not such injustice.

And kill them wherever ye shall find them, and eject them from whatever place they have ejected you, for civil discord is worse than carnage. 187-8.

Fight, therefore, against them until there be no more civil discord,³ and the only worship be that of God,

¹ At the time of the first expedition against Mecca (A.H. 6) a treaty was made between them and Muḥammad by which there was to be peace for ten years; tribes were to be free to join either side, regulations as regards runaways and renegades were made; the Muslims were to depart now, but in the following year an unarmed body of Muslims was to be allowed to make the pilgrimage. This is referred to in *Súratu’l-Faṭḥ* (xlviii) 1:—

Verily, we have won for thee an undoubted victory. For a full account of the *Ḥudai-biya* affair and of the treaty there made see Mirkhund, *Rauḍatu’ṣ-Ṣafá*, part ii, vol. ii, pp. 494-504.

² At *Ḥudai-biya*, where the Muslims were encamped, their position, from a military point of view, was one of some danger. It was thus excellent tactics to advise the Muslims to remain on the defensive. The reference is purely to a local situation and its general application is clearly negatived in the following verses.

³ Rodwell, following Baiḍáwí, interprets this to mean ‘their driving you out of Mecca, or, the temptation to idolatry.’ Sale translates it

but if they desist¹ then let there be no hostility, save against the wicked. 189.

The warlike spirit is also stirred up by a reference to the wars of the children of Israel and of Saul who in one case is confounded with Gideon, showing that Muḥammad's knowledge of Old Testament history was very confused. The Israelites are represented as saying :—

Why should we not fight for the religion of God, seeing we are dispossessed of our habitations, and our children are driven forth.

How oft, by God's will, hath a small host vanquished a large host, and God is with the patiently persevering.

Such are the signs of God. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 247, 250, 253.

Thus, just as the small host under Gideon overcame the Midianites, so would the small host of Muslims overcome the Meccans, and such victories were God's signs or witnesses to the truths which His prophets inculcated. In this way and by such teaching Muḥammad encouraged his followers.

'temptation to idolatry,' and this agrees with the interpretation of the commentator Hūsain who says that *حَتَّى لَا تَكُونَ فِتْنَةً* 'until there be no more civil discord,' means :

تا آن شایسته که فتنه نه باشد یعنی از شرک اثر نماند

'Until that time when there shall be no tumult, i.e., no sign of polytheism.' Baiḍāwī also interprets it as 'shirk,' or 'polytheism.'

Other commentators seem to give it a much wider and more extensive scope. Thus, 'until they become Muslims or pay the poll-tax, do not put the sword in the sheath. Jihad will go on till the day of Judgement'—

جنب تک مسلمان نہوں یا جزیہ ندین تلوار میان مین نکرز الجہان مانہی
الی یوم القیامۃ

Khalāṣatu'l-Tafāsir, vol. i, p. 132.

¹ Baiḍāwī adds *من الشرك* 'from polytheism.'

Thus he justified the command :—

A sanction is given those who, because they have suffered outrages, have taken up arms and verily God is well able to succour them. Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 40.

An argument is based on the fact that as in other religions men had defended their places of worship, so Muslims should do the same :—

Those who have been driven out from their homes wrongfully, only because they say 'Our Lord is the God.' If God had not repelled some men by others, cloisters and churches and oratories and mosques, wherein the name of God is ever commemorated, would surely have been destroyed. And him who helpeth God will God surely help. Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) 41.¹

The Quraish had practically expelled the Muslims from Mecca and this may be said to justify the hostilities, but now the injunction passed beyond

¹ This passage is sometimes quoted to show that jihād, or religious war, is purely defensive, but it is really of local application. Muḥammad's object was to justify by the example of men of other creeds, his resistance to the Quraish and not to lay down a rule of tolerance for all time. This is the view of the commentators.

مقصود یہ ہے کہ یہودی کے زمانے میں ان کی مسجدیں اور نماز کے وقت میں ان کی مسجدیں اور اب ہماری مسجدیں مراد ہیں نہ کہ سب کی ہر وقت مقصود ہے

'The meaning is this that it refers to the synagogues in the time of the Jews, to the churches in the time of the Christians and to our mosques now, not that it refers to them all at all times.' (*Khalāṣatu'l-Tafāsir*, vol. iii, p. 249.) The whole passage is said to prove the 'eternal obligation of jihād.'—ہم پر دائمی فرض ہے

Again we read, 'After the abrogation of a religion the retention of its places of worship is in vain' (*Ibid*, p. 218). بعد منسوخی دین ان کے عبادتگاہ کا بٹا عہت ہے

As Islām is to abrogate all other religions, churches and synagogues should also go. The apparent tolerance of this verse is thus explained away. Although the whole Sūra is a late Meccan one, Nöldeke considers that *vv.* 39-42 are Madína ones delivered just before the battle of Badr.

that, and war was to be carried on until 'the only worship be that of God,' that is, until the Meccans embraced Islām. The true faith was to be established by the sword. No other forms of religion were to be tolerated at all. Still the people were timid and the 'Hypocrites' were opposed to this war policy. Then a little later on *Súratu Muḥammad* (xlvii) was revealed which urges the faithful to fight and threatens the cowards and 'Hypocrites' with the terrors of hell. Thus :—

When ye encounter the infidels, strike off their heads,
till ye have made a great slaughter amongst them,
and of the rest make fast the fetters.

And afterwards let there be either free dismissals, or
ransomings till the war hath laid down its arms.¹
. . . Whoso fight² for the cause of God, their work
He will not suffer to miscarry. 4-5.

¹ Nöldeke places *Súratu Muḥammad* after the battle of Badr. This supports the views of those commentators who take the command to kill as a general injunction to last till the war is over, which will not be till the Second Advent of Jesus Christ and the return of the Imām Mahdi, according to the tradition, 'Jihād will remain till the day of Judgement.'

Others say that it is abrogated, or that it was revealed before the battle of Badr, and so has only a local and limited application. This seems to be the view of the Hanīfites (Baidāwī, vol. ii, p. 321), whilst the Shī'ahs are said to favour the more general view. (*Tafsīr-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. ii, p. 362; *Khatāṣatu'l-Tafsīr*, vol. iv, p. 213.) 'Abbās explains, 'Till the war hath laid down its arms'—*حَتَّى تَقَعَ الْحَرْبُ*—*أَوْزَارَهَا* by. 'Till the infidels discard their polytheism'—*حَتَّى يَتْرَكَ لِكْفَارٍ*—but, as he refers the fourth verse to Badr, it is not clear whether he gives this fifth verse a local or a general application.

Zamaḥshari says war is to go on 'till polytheists are slain or made prisoners and lay down their arms;' but whether this is of local or general application is not clear. In the *Tafsīr-i-aḥmade* the words are said to be abrogated.

The *Maqḥūl Yarjūna* records a saying of Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq that if they remain polytheists, the Imam may give orders to behead them or to cut off their hands and feet and let them bleed to death.

² For fight (*قَاتِلُوا*) there is another reading (*قَتَلُوا*) are fought or are killed. The Qāris 'Aṣim of Kúfa and Abū 'Umar adopt the latter reading, all others reject it, so there is overwhelming authority for the first one—*قَاتِلُوا*—kill or fight.

Fight then against them till all strife be at an end, and
the religion be all of it God's—*Súratu'l Anfál* (viii)
40.¹

The timid are referred to in the verse :—

The believers say, 'Oh, would that a *Súra* were sent
down; but when a peremptory *Súra* is revealed,
whose burden is war, thou mayest see the diseased
of heart look toward thee, with a look of one on
whom the shadows of death have fallen.

Be not faint-hearted then: and invite not the infidels to
peace when ye have the upper hand. *Súratu Muḥam-*
mad (xlvii) 22, 37.

Thus was the ground prepared and the inhabitants
of Madína stirred up to take their part for the first
time in an aggressive war. The distress in Madína
was very great at this time, and supplies had to be
obtained from some source.² The immediate cause
of the battle of Badr (A.D. 624) was the desire of
Muḥammad to capture a rich caravan known to be
on its way from Syria to Mecca.³ It was escorted

*فَاتِلُوا حَتَّى لَا تَكُونَ فِتْنَةً*¹ 'Fight them till all strife be at an end'

that is, according to Ḥusain till 'no polytheists remain of the pagans or Jews or Christians.' *Tafsīr-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. i, p. 239.

Baidāwī says, 'Till no polytheism is found in them.' 'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās refers it to war against the Meccans. The *Khatāṣatu'l-Tafsīr* says, 'It gives an order for permanent jihād.'—*دوام جهاد كا*—*حَتَّى تَقَعَ الْحَرْبُ* but goes on to say that the order is *farḍ-i-kifāya*, i.e., not obligatory on every Muslim. It is further said that it is a muḥkam verse and so cannot be abrogated.

This is a strong comment, showing that war with non-Muslims is imperative and is to be continuous and that the use of force is justified,

until 'the religion be all of it God's'—*وَيَكُونَ الدِّينَ كَلِمَةً لِلَّهِ*

² For the original authorities on this point, see Margoliouth, *Muḥammad*, pp. 234-8.

³ In order to show that hostilities against the Meccans were justified this revelation came :—

God doth not forbid you to deal with kindness and fairness toward those who have not made war upon you on account of your religion, or driven you forth from your home. *Súratu'l-Mumtaḥina* (ix) 8.

by about forty armed men. Addressing his followers Muḥammad said: 'Let us take it by surprise, perhaps Heaven has given us this booty.' A body of three hundred and forty-seven men went forth on this looting expedition. The Anṣár were under no liability to go forth to fight, for in the first pledge of 'Aqabá, made when Muḥammad was first invited to Madína, no condition as regards fighting was laid down. But now attachment to his cause, devotion to his person, the love of adventure and the desire for plunder led many Anṣár to volunteer their services. On hearing of the danger the caravan was in, a large body of men set out from Mecca for its protection and it was with this relieving force that the battle of Badr was fought. This uncalled-for aggression on the part of Muḥammad has been apologized for on the ground that the Meccans made a raid against Madína. This is not the case. They came out solely to protect their property. The night before the battle it rained a little and Muḥammad dreamed that enemies were few in number. Both incidents are referred to in the Qur'án:—

When sleep, a sign of security from Him, fell upon you and He sent down upon you water from heaven that He might cleanse you, and cause the pollution of Satan to pass from you.

Remember, when God showed them to thee in thy dream as few; had He shown them numerous, ye would certainly have become faint-hearted, and would certainly have disputed about the matter; but from this God kept you. Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 11, 45.

The Quraish were utterly beaten and many prisoners were cruelly murdered by the Muslims. The

booty was very large and the division of it led to much dispute. A beautiful red vestment disappeared and some of the Munáfiqún said that Muḥammad had taken it, but this charge, according to Tirmidhí,¹ was rebutted by a special revelation:—

It is not for the Prophet to cheat.² Súratu 'Alí 'Imrán (iii) 155.

The Traditionist Ráwí says³ that to clear the Prophet of the imputation cast upon him this verse came:—

Shall he who hath followed the good pleasure of God be as he who hath brought upon himself wrath from God. Súratu 'Alí 'Imrán (iii) 156.

In order to put an end to the murmuring about the division of the spoil, the will of God was indicated in the following verses which were now revealed:—

They will question thee about the spoils; say, the spoils are God's and the Apostle's. Therefore, fear God and settle this among yourselves, and obey God and His Apostle, if ye are believers. Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 1.

Having thus laid down his absolute right to the booty, the Prophet somewhat modifies the claim and says:—

When ye have taken any booty, a fifth part belongeth to God and to the Apostle, and to the near of kin,

¹ Tirmidhí records a Tradition that, when the people said, 'Perhaps the Prophet has taken it' then this verse was revealed. *Jāmi' u'l-Tirmidhí*, vol. ii, p. 341.

² وَمَا كَانَ لِنَبِيِّ أَنْ يَقُولَ The Qāris (Qur'án readers) Nāfi', Ibn 'Amir, Ḥanẓala, Yāqūb and al-Kisā'ī support another reading—أَنْ يَقُولَ, that is, the verb is passive and means 'it is not proper for the Prophet to be found cheating.' Baiḳāwī, vol. i, p. 182.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Wáqi'ī*, p. 242.

and to the orphans, and to the poor and to the way farer, if ye believe in God and in that which we have sent down to our servant on the day of victory,¹ the day of the meeting of the hosts. Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 42.

This is the law of Islám on the subject to the present day.

The victory of Badr was needed to strengthen Muḥammad's position in Madína, which had now become much weakened by the small success of his previous warlike expeditions and no efforts were now spared to attribute this great success to miraculous intervention on the part of God. Thus :—

When ye sought succour of your Lord, He answered you, 'I will verily aid you with a thousand angels, rank on rank.'² And God made this promise as pure good tidings, and to assure your hearts by it ;

¹ All commentators refer this to the victory at Badr called the *يوم الفرقان*. This phrase is translated as 'day of grace,' 'day of victory,' 'day of destruction,' 'day of Badr in which was the separation of the good from the evil'—روز بدر که جدا شدن حق از باطل—درو بود

Rabbi Geiger shows that *فرقان* is derived from the Rabbinical Hebrew word *פְּרִיָּקָה* and means 'deliverance,' 'redemption,' and applies it in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 181 to the month of Ramaḍán, as the month of deliverance from sin and not, as is usually done, to the Qur'án, as that which illuminates and distinguishes.

See Geiger, *Judaism and Islám* (S.P.C.K. Madras), p. 41, and Rodwell's translation of the Qur'án, p. 176. Note ii.

Husain interprets the word *فرقان* thus :—

الفرقان — از حدود و احكام و مسائر شرائع دين كه جدا کننده است ميان حق و باطل

that is, 'The laws, regulations and all the laws of religion which separate the good from the evil'—*Tafsir-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p. 30.

² In a later Súra this number grew to three thousand—Súratu 'Ali 'Imrân (iii) 120.

for succour cometh from God alone.¹ Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 9–10,

Later on, this aid is referred to as a support to the Prophet's claim and as an encouragement and a warning to his followers.

Ye have already had a sign,² in the meeting of the two hosts. The one host fought in the cause of God and the other was infidel. To their own eyesight the infidels saw you twice as many as themselves,³ and God aids with His succour whom He wishes. And in this there is indeed a warning to those who have perception. Súratu 'Ali 'Imrân (iii) 11.

It was not ye who slew them, but God slew them, and the shafts were God's, not thine. Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 17.

Those who gave up their lives are spoken of as martyrs for God's cause.

Say not of those who are slain on God's path that they are dead: nay, they are living. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 149.⁴

¹ Baiḍáwí says that it is uncertain whether this is addressed to the Quraish, or the Jews or the believers in Madína. 'Abbás says it refers to the men of Mecca or of Madína.

² That is, in the battle of Badr there was a clear sign of the prophethood of Muḥammad. Thus Husain says of the words *كُنْ أَيْةً*—'To you was a sign'—that they mean—

شما را علامتی و نشانی درست بر نبوت محمد

'To you was a mark and good sign of the prophethood of Muḥammad'. *Tafsir-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p. 71.

³ In Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 46, the Muslims were said to be diminished in the eyes of the Meccans. The commentators admit the discrepancy and try to reconcile the statements by making the statement in Súratu 'Ali 'Imrân (iii) 11, succeed the one in Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 46. See Wherry on this subject, *Commentary*, vol. ii, p. 7.

وَلَا تَقُولُوا لِمَنْ يُقْتَلُ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتًا بَلْ أَحْيَاءُ

It is uncertain whether this verse refers to the battle of Badr or of Uhud. The commentator Husain says:—

در روز بدر جان شیرین بداد و از نعمت حیات و لذت نصیب دنیا محروم شد

Some of the Muhájirín, who had lost old Meccan relatives and friends in the conflict, saw that their kinsmen among the captives were sad. This feeling was strong amongst the women. Then this rebuke came :—

O ye who believe, verily, in your wives and your children ye have an enemy ;¹ wherefore, beware of them. Súratu't-Taghábun (lxiv) 14.

In the week following the battle of Badr, two of the most prominent offenders, Abú 'Afak and Ibn 'Aúf were assassinated. Men then criticized in private, but that was very soon forbidden :—

Hast thou not marked those who have been forbidden secret talk, and return to what they have been forbidden, and talk privately with wickedness and hate and disobedience toward the Apostle. Súratu'l Mujádila (lviii) 9.

The victory was gained by an inferior over a superior force, and the Quraish lost men who had been the Prophet's determined foes, and so the idea of divine interposition seemed quite a natural explana-

¹ In the day of Badr they gave their sweet life and were separated from the gift of life and the pleasant taste of the world.'

'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Abbás says the expression, 'slain on God's path' means 'slain in the obedience of God, in the day of Badr'—

فِي طَاعَةِ اللَّهِ يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ

A Tradition recorded on the authority of Muslim states : 'That the souls of martyrs in the presence of God enter into the bodies of green birds which wander about in Paradise and roost near the lamps around the throne of God.' (*Khaláṣatu't-Tafáṣír*, vol. i, p. 96.) This is also recorded on the authority of Ibn 'Abbás in the *Tārikhu'l-Wáqidi*, p. 242, with other Traditions concerning the blessed state of the martyrs.

¹ Baiḏáwí explains this as beguiling them from their obedience to God and from the duties of religion. Some commentators say it refers to the migration from Mecca which was not popular with certain families among the converts.

tion. It placed the Prophet in a position of security for the time, and enabled him, as we have seen, to carry out his policy, more fully developed after the battle of Badr, of entirely subduing the Jewish tribes for whose aid he had now no further need. The value of the spoils and of the ransoms of the prisoners proved most acceptable to the Muhájirín who thus became independent of the Anṣár. Prisoners who were too poor to pay a ransom in money did it by giving writing lessons, an art now fully appreciated by Muḥammad. [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 282-3.] The victory also made a great impression on the Bedouin tribes and caused them to become more inclined to come to terms with one who stood before them as a leader of a victorious military force. For the Prophet they cared little, but a successful warrior claimed their attention and respect. The claim to divine support when a victory was gained also increased the prestige and power of the Prophet ; but it was a dangerous assertion to make, or policy to follow, for when defeat came, the conclusion naturally drawn was that God had forsaken him. This is what actually occurred later on.

About a year after the battle of Badr, the Quraish smarting under the defeat determined to make another great effort to overcome their opponents. They collected a comparatively large army and in the spring of A.D. 625 drew near to Madína. The immediate reason for this was that Muḥammad continued his plundering expeditions. The merchants of Mecca found that their trade was in great danger. The ordinary western route to Syria was unsafe and so they sent a rich caravan by the eastern one.

The news of the change of route reached Muḥammad and he at once sent a band of a hundred horsemen in pursuit of it. The raid was successful and the merchandise and all who were in charge of it were brought to Madína. It was now clear either that the Muslims did not wish for peace, or that the Arab love of looting could not be controlled. The Meccans had to fight for their very existence as a commercial community and for freedom to carry on their daily business. The Meccans were fully justified now in taking vigorous action. The immediate cause of the battle of Badr was Muḥammad's attempt to capture a caravan; that of Uḥud his successful seizure of one. Muḥammad wisely wished to act on the defensive, but was overborne by the younger and more ardent of his followers, who represented to him that the Bedouin tribes, now beginning to be impressed with a sense of his power, would set down a defensive attitude to cowardice, and that doubt would also be cast on his previous claims to supernatural aid in times of danger. This had been so strongly urged as a proof of the divine nature of his mission that any action now, implying distrust in its recurrence, would be fatal to his prestige. So he gave way and agreed to give battle to the Quraish, saying, 'If ye be steadfast, the Lord will grant you the victory.'

Many single combats were fought, but when both sides became generally engaged the result was a very severe defeat for the Muslim forces. The Prophet himself also was badly wounded. This made him angry and he said: 'How shall the people prosper that have treated thus their Prophet,

who calleth them unto their Lord. Let the wrath of God burn against the men that have sprinkled the face of His Apostle with blood.'¹ The Quraish satisfied with the victory at Uḥud did not follow up their success, but retired to Mecca.² Thus ended the battle of Uḥud.

Tradition has raised the rank of the Muslims who fell at this battle to the position of martyrs; but the immediate effect of the defeat was most disastrous.³ The victory at Badr had been made the occasion of so great a claim to divine assistance that this defeat at Uḥud naturally led to the idea that God had now forsaken the cause. The Jews

¹ Wāqidi, quoted in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii, p. 175.

² Maulavi Muḥammad 'Alī in his commentary (p. 185) on the verse 'after the trouble God sent down security upon you' (Sūratu 'Alī 'Imrān (iii) 147) translates security (تَعَامُنَا) by 'a calm', because the enemy retired and so the Muslims were not really defeated. But the cause of retirement was not any doubt as to their power, or through fear. The Meccans were satisfied when they saw that they could and would protect their caravans. That done, they had no desire to further punish the Muslims.

Further, according to Wāqidi, the Meccans had heard the report that Muḥammad was dead and said, 'Since Muḥammad is dead, let us go back to our homes.' They retired because the object of their great victory was gained.

³ The Quraish took advantage of this spirit of depression and attempted to seduce the Muslims to renounce their faith in the Prophet, but he was quite equal to the occasion:—

O ye who have believed! if ye obey the infidels, they will cause you to turn upon your heels and ye will fall back into perdition.

Sūratu 'Alī 'Imrān (iii) 142.

Husain says that it was the Munāfiqūn who said to the true Muslims that the time of the Prophet had passed away, that the infidels had regained power, and that they should again turn back to their own old religion.

منافقا مومنانرا می گفتند که این زمان پیغمبر گشته شد و رأیت دولت کفار
امتتیا یافت شما را دیگر باره بدین خود رجوع باید کرد

Tafsir-i-Husaini, p. 75—

Baiḍāwī says it refers to the Munāfiqūn who said:—

ارجعوا الى اعرانكم و ادینكم و لو كان محمد نبیاً لما قتل

'Return to your brethren and your religion: if Muḥammad had been a prophet he would not have been slain.' Vol. i, p. 179.

indeed adroitly used this argument and said: 'How can Muḥammad pretend to be anything more than an aspirant to the *kingly* office? No true claimant of the *prophetic* dignity hath ever been beaten on the field, or suffered loss in his own person and that of his followers, as he hath.'¹ It required all the skill and address of the Prophet to meet the objections of the Jews and to remove the latent doubt in the minds of some of his followers. This he did by a very skilful production of revelations to explain that the defeat at Uḥud was due partly to their own dissensions, partly to disobedience to orders and their desire for personal safety. Thus he says:—

Already had God made good to you His promise, when by His permission ye destroyed your foes, until your courage failed you and ye *disputed about the order*² and *disobeyed*, after that the Prophet had brought you within view of that for which ye longed.

Some of you were for this world and some for the next.³ Then, in order to make trial of you, He turned you to flight from them. Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 145-6.

The defeat was said to have been sent as a test of their sincerity and of the soundness of their belief. Thus:—

If a wound hath befallen you, a wound like it hath already befallen others.⁴ We alternate these days

¹ Wáqidi, quoted in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii, p. 189.

² حکم رسول کے یا حکم سردار کے عبد اللہ بن جبیر —

³ Order of the Prophet or order of the chief 'Abdu'lláh bin Jabír.' *Khaláṣatu't-Tafásír*, vol. i, p. 311.

⁴ Baiḍáwí says: 'Some left their stations for plunder; some kept their places, observing the command of the Prophet.' Vol. i, p. 180.

⁴ Baiḍáwí, explains this thus: 'If they overcame you at Uḥud, you overcame them at Badr.' Vol. i, p. 177.

of success and reverses amongst men that God may know those who have believed, and that He may take martyrs from among you; but God loveth not them that do injury¹.

And that God may test those who believe and destroy the infidels. Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 134-5.

That which befell you on the day when the armies met was certainly by the will of God, and that He might know the faithful and that He might know the hypocrites. Suratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 160.²

With regard to the taunt of the Jews, a revelation came to show that other prophets had suffered reverses and that Muḥammad was no exception to this rule:—

Muḥammad is no more than an apostle: other apostles have already passed away before him; if he die, therefore, or be slain, will ye turn upon your heels? But he who turneth on his heels shall not injure God at all; and God will certainly reward the thankful.

No one can die except by God's permission, written down for an appointed time.³ Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 138-9.

¹ Baiḍáwí says: 'God does not really help the unbelievers but gives them the victory sometimes to tempt them and to try the believers.' Vol. i, p. 177.

² Baiḍáwí explains this verse thus: 'The day, that of Uḥud; the armies are those of the Muslims and the Meccans: the will of God, this ordinance or the leaving of the believers free; and all this that he might discriminate between the true Believers and the Hypocrites.' Vol. i, p. 183.

³ These verses refer to the supposed death of Muḥammad at the battle of Uḥud, and the argument is that even had it been so they should not depart from Islám. Other apostles had passed away, but their religions remained. The Traditionists relate that when Muḥammad fell to the ground wounded, the believers cried out: 'What if Muḥammad be dead! the Lord dieth not and verily His Apostle hath finished his work. Fight on for your Faith.' But the Munáfiqín said, 'Since Muḥammad is dead let us go back to our homes' (Wáqidi, quoted by Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii, p. 173). Baiḍáwí says that Mus'ab bin 'Umair, the Prophet's standard-bearer, was slain by Ibn Qami'a, who thinking he had slain the Prophet said: 'I have slain Muḥammad,' at which his followers took to flight till recalled by the Prophet's voice, saying: 'Servants of God, to me.'

How many a prophet have myriads,¹ fought with, yet they fainted not at what befell them on the path of God, nor were they weakened, nor did they make themselves abject, and God loveth the persevering. Súratu Āli 'Imrán (iii) 140.

The doctrine of predestination and the power of Satanic influence are also urged as an explanation:—

If God help you none can overcome you, but if He abandon you, who is he that shall help you

Some of the Munáfiqūn said: 'Had he been a prophet he had not been killed, return to your brethren and your religion.' See 'Abdu'l-Qádir's note to his translation of these verses of the Qur'án, and also the *Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p. 85.

When Muḥammad died, many could not believe it and it is said that Abú Bakr then quoted these verses in order to convince 'Umar and others that the Prophet was really dead. Some say that Abú Bakr composed them then for this purpose and afterwards got them inserted in the Qur'án. This is not at all likely.

¹ Another meaning of the word translated 'myriads' is learned, pious men, rabbis. The Arabic verse is

وَكَايِنَ مِنْ نَبِيِّ قَتَلَ مَعَهُ رَبِّيُونَ كَثِيرٌ

The commentator Muḥaddith translates this verse by

بسا پیغامبر کہ قتال کردند کفار ہمراہ او خا پرستان ہمایار

'Many a prophet has killed infidels and with him were many pious men.'

'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Abbás says: 'جمع كثیر'—'myriads' is جمع كثیر—'great crowd.' Husain says the words mean 'سپاہ فراران'—'an abundant force.'

The *Khaláṣatu'l-Tafsír* has 'Before Muḥammad there have been prophets, with whom pious men fought (i.e., aided them).' Vol. i, p. 308.

آپ سے پہلے پیغامبر گرتے جن کے ساتھ اللہ والے لڑتے

The Qáris Ibn Kathír, Náfí, 'Abú 'Amr and Ya'qúb read قَاتَلَ, 'was fought, or was killed,' for قَاتَلَ, 'fought or killed.' There is another reading قَتَلَ, 'were killed.' Baiḍáwí says قَتَلَ (qutila) 'was slain' may refer to the myriads, or the Prophet. If these readings which are given by Baiḍáwí are adopted, the meaning seems to be in the first case; 'How many a prophet has been slain when pious men were with him'; in the second case, 'How many a prophet have pious men been slain with.' The meaning of the verse then seems to be not the idea of a prophet fighting against myriads, but of pious men fighting alongside the prophet and killing the enemy, or being killed with him, or his being killed while they were with him.

thereafter? In God then let the faithful trust. Súratu Āli 'Imrán (iii) 154.

The meaning of this is, according to Baiḍáwí, if God helps you as He did at Badr you can conquer; if He leaves you as He did at Uḥud you will be beaten.

No one can die except by God's permission, written down for an appointed time.¹

Of a truth it was Satan who caused those of you to fail in duty who turned back when the hosts met. Súratu Āli Imrán (iii) 139, 149.²

No accident befalls on the earth, or on yourselves, but it was in the Book (of eternal decrees) before we created them. Súratu'l-Ḥadid (Ivii) 22.³

But after all, those who had been killed had gained a great reward; they were now martyrs, blessed in the realms above:—

Repute not those slain on God's path to be dead. Nay, alive with their Lord are they richly sustained.⁴

¹ The Traditionist Ráwí says that Satan assuming a human form cried out, 'Muḥammad is dead' and then the Companions dispersed on every side. *Tārikhu'l-Wāqidi*, p. 239.

² Baiḍáwí says: 'They disobeyed the Apostle in leaving their posts and hastening after the booty.' Vol. i, p. 181.

³ This is said by Nöideke to have been revealed at a period when Muḥammad was in distress, and this leads him to place the whole Súra after the battle of Uḥud. The Muslim commentators do not interpret the verse as if it applied to any special occasion, but give it a general meaning. Husain says it refers to famines, loss of property, sickness and poverty, all of which are decreed in the Preserved Tablet (أرج محفوظ) (*Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. ii, p. 381). But the object of the Súra is to stir up the faithful to zeal and energy. The Lord is the Mighty and Wise: the First and the Last: the Creator and Ruler of all; who rewards faithful service, who punishes all defections. It is thus most suitable to a period of depression and anxiety such as followed the defeat at Uḥud.

⁴ Wonderful accounts are given in the Traditions of the felicity of the martyrs in Paradise. The Prophet is reported to have said of them:—

جب مؤمنین احد میں شہید ہوئے اللہ تعالیٰ کے اون کی روح سبز چڑیوں کے بدنوں میں کردی جو جنت کی ٹہروں اور میووں سے کہاتے دیتے ہیں

Rejoicing in what God of His bounty hath vouchsafed them, filled with joy for those who follow after them, but have not as yet overtaken them; because no fear shall come upon them, nor shall they be grieved.

Filled with joy at the favours of God and at His bounty, and that God suffereth not the reward of the righteous to perish. Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 163-5.

There is rather an obscure verse at the end of the third Súra which may be intended to show that, though the Meccans had freedom sufficient to be able to carry on trade and were generally independent after the battle of Uḥud, the Prophet should not be disheartened nor led astray by it:—

Let not the coming and going of the infidels in cities deceive thee. It is but a little benefit. Afterwards Hell is their abode and bad the bed. Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 196.¹

'When believers were martyrs at Uḥud the most High God put their souls into the bodies of green birds which eat and drink of the fruits and rivers of Paradise.' *Khalāṣatu't-Tafáṣír*, vol. i, pp. 320-1.

Tirmidhí gives a similar Tradition, 'Their souls are in green birds, which dwell in Paradise.' *Jāmi'u't-Tirmidhí*, (ed. 1903) vol. ii, p. 341. The commentator Mu'ālim says this verse refers to the men who fell at Badr, and not to the Uḥud martyrs. Baiḍāwí says: 'Some refer the passage to those slain at Badr, others to those killed at Uḥud. The person addressed is either the Prophet or each individual.' Vol. i, p. 184.

لَا يَغْرَبُكَ تَقَلُّبُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا فِي الْبِلَادِ مَتَاعٌ قَلِيلٌ ثُمَّ مَأْوَاهُمْ جَهَنَّمُ وَهُمْ فِيهَا
الْمُهَادَّةُ

The commentator 'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Abbás says: 'The coming and going of the infidels in the cities' means 'The going to and fro of Jews and infidels in mercantile pursuits.'—*ذهاب اليهود والمشركين*.

في تجارة
The commentator Husain says: 'Let not the coming and going of the infidels in their cities for trade deceive thee.'—*باید که فریب ندهد*—*Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p. 95.

Baiḍāwí says it means, 'Look not at the ease and good fortune which the unbelievers enjoy, and do not be misled by their prosperity in their traffic and merchandise and agriculture.' Vol. i, p. 192.

It seems clear that the defeat of the Muslims at Uḥud had been so complete that the pagan Arabs were able to live at ease and to pursue their ordinary avocations without fear. This was disheartening to Muḥammad and his followers and so this revelation came to cheer them.

Súratu Áli 'Imrán' is full of the subject and shows how important a crisis the Prophet felt it to be, and how great were the pains he took to avert in Madína itself the danger to which the defeat might have led. It is also a remarkable instance of the way in which opportune revelations came to support and sustain the people, when disheartened at the adverse turn their circumstances had taken. It is clear that the Prophet himself soon became hopeful again, for soon after he rebuked those who turned their backs to the enemy at Uḥud,² and speaks with certainty of the final and complete victory of Islám which is to be the one and only universal religion:—

He it is who hath sent His Apostle with guidance and the religion of truth that, though they hate it who join other gods with God, He may make it victorious over every other religion.³ Súratu's-Ṣaff (lxi) 9.

¹ This Súra was highly valued by the Prophet. It is recorded that he said: 'Whoso reads this Súra of the family of 'Imrán shall for each verse receive a safe conduct over the bridge of Gehenna.' 'Whoso reads on Friday this Súra in which 'Imrán is mentioned, God and His angels shall be gracious unto him until the sun goes down.' Baiḍāwí, vol. i, p. 193.

² Súratu's-Ṣaff (lxi) 2-4.

³ The commentator Husain interprets the last clause to mean that the full success of Islám will be coincident with the second advent of Jesus Christ.

تا غالب گرداند این دین را به همه کیش و ملت بوقت نزول عیسی که همه
اهل زمین دین اسلام قبول کنند

The final conclusion to the whole matter is a verse which the commentator Husain interprets as having a reference to war and conflict:—¹

O ye who believe! be patient and vie in patience, and be firm and fear God that it may be well with you.
Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 200.

The result of all the Prophet's explanations was that he did not by this defeat lose a single convert nor damage his reputation.

After the battle of Uḥud² the two armies parted with the mutual threat, 'Next year we shall meet again at Badr.' The Quraish started out, when the time came round, with a considerable force to fulfil their portion of the compact; but a severe drought drove them back to Mecca, so when Muḥammad with his men arrived they found no

¹ That this religion may conquer all religions and sects when Jesus comes, when all the men in the world will accept Islám.' *Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. ii, p. 400.

Another writer says:—

امن آيت مين اشارة هي كه اسلام ناسخ اديان هي

'It is shown in this verse that Islám abrogates all religions.' *Khaláṣatu't-Tafsír*, vol. iv, p. 432.

Baiḍáwí says, *ليغلبه على جميع الاديان* means 'That it may conquer all religions.' Vol. ii, p. 331.

² It may refer to control over passions and evil, but both interpretations are given by Baiḍáwí, 'Abdu'lláh bin 'Abbás and other commentators. The warlike one is given by all and, as the verse occurs in a Súra so full of the battle of Uḥud, this interpretation is probable.

³ Some Muslims now suggested an alliance with Jews and Christians, but this revelation came later on and no such alliance was ever made:—

O believers, take not Jews or Christians as friends. They are but one another's friends. If any of you taketh them for his friends he is surely one of them, God will not guide the evil-doers. Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 56.

This is quite inconsistent with the fifty-third verse of this same Súra:—

And if God had pleased He had made you all of one people, but He would test you by what He hath given to each,
See also Wherry's note on this verse, vol. ii, p. 137.

enemy. They stayed at Badr eight days and sold their goods at a large profit. This happy ending to what might have been a serious and bloody conflict called for a special revelation:—

As to those who, after the reverse¹ which befell them, respond to God and His Apostle—such of them as do good works and fear God shall have a great reward;

Who, when men say to them, 'Now are the Meccans mustering against you; therefore fear them,' it only increased their faith, and they said, 'Our sufficiency is God, and He is an excellent Protector.'

They returned,² therefore, with the favour of God, enriched by Him³ and untouched by harm; and they followed what was well pleasing to God, and He is of mighty munificence.⁴

Verily that devil⁵ would cause you to fear his friends: fear them not, but fear me if ye are believers.
Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 166-9.

Other expeditions against certain tribes followed, none of which are of any special interest, except that in one, the 'Ṣalátu'l-Khauf,' or the regulation for prayers in times of danger, was instituted. One division of the army watched while the other prayed.⁶ The Qur'án had now become the medium through which the warlike news and military

¹ i.e., the defeat at Uḥud.

² From Badr.

³ Either by the booty secured, or else, according to Baiḍáwí, because they found a fair there and gained much money by merchandise. Baiḍáwí, vol. i, p. 175.

⁴ In confirming and increasing their faith and in aiding them to hasten to the fray, and also to remain in their religion and to display courage before the enemy. Baiḍáwí, vol. i, p. 175.

⁵ There is some doubt as to whom this term applies. The commentators Ibn 'Abbás and Baiḍáwí say it is Nu'aim, who tried to frighten the Muslims, or Abú Sufyán, the leader of the Quraish.

⁶ Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 102-3. For a fuller account of this, see Sell, *Faith of Islám* (4th ed.), p. 380.

orders—all direct communications from God—are announced.

Sometimes certain revelations also came to justify the actions of the Prophet in his domestic life. Those in connexion with events which happened about this time at Madína will serve as an illustration, and may be conveniently mentioned here, though they actually occurred later on, in the year A.D. 626, and after the battle of Uḥud. The story goes that, on visiting the house of Zaid, his adopted son, Muḥammad was struck with the beauty of his wife, Zainab. Zaid offered to divorce her, but Muḥammad said to him, 'keep thy wife to thyself and fear God.' Zaid now proceeded with the divorce, though from the implied rebuke in the thirty-sixth verse of Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) he seems to doubt the propriety of his action. In ordinary cases this would have removed any difficulty as regards the marriage of Zainab and Muḥammad, and little or no scandal would have followed; but the marriage of a man with the wife of his adopted son, even though divorced, was looked upon by the Arabs as a very wrong thing indeed. However, Muḥammad did this, and had to justify his action by alleging that he had for it the direct sanction of God. It was first necessary to show that God did not approve of the general objection to marriage with wives of adopted sons, and so the revelation came thus:—

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

According to Arab custom and usage Zaid was to Muḥammad 'as his son,' but in Islám such a

view was by divine command to be set aside. Having thus settled the general principle, the way was clear for Muḥammad to act in this particular case, and to claim divine sanction for setting at nought the sentiment of the Arab people. So the revelation goes on to say:—

And remember when thou (i.e., Muḥammad) said to him (i.e., Zaid) unto whom God had shown favour¹ and to whom thou also hadst shown favour,² 'Keep thy wife to thyself and fear God;' and thou didst hide in thy mind what God would bring to light and thou didst fear man;³ but more right had it been to fear God.⁴ And when Zaid had settled to divorce her, we married her to thee, that it might not be a crime in the faithful to marry the wives of their adopted sons when they have settled the affairs

¹ In allowing him to become a Muslim.

² In adopting him as a son. He had been called Zaid bin Muḥammad; now he reverts to his old name, Zaid bin Hāritha.

³ Both in the *Tafsír-i-Husaini*, and the *Saḥíhu'l-Bukhārī*, it is stated that the words, 'God would bring to light,' refer to the fact that Zainab would become Muḥammad's wife, and also that the words, 'thou didst fear man,' have reference to the fear Muḥammad felt at breaking through a custom held in such esteem by the Arabs; that is, the refraining from marrying the wife of an adopted son. Thus Bukhārī says:—

وَتَخْفَى فِي نَفْسِكَ مَا اللَّهُ مُبْدِيهِ نَزَلَتْ فِي هَٰئِهِ ابْنَةُ جَٰهَشٍ وَزَيْدِ بْنِ حَارِثَةَ
'Thou didst hide in thy heart that which God would bring to light in the matter of the daughter of Jaḥsh and Zaid bin Hāritha.'
Saḥíhu'l-Bukhārī, vol. iii, p. 312.
Husain says:—

وَتَخْفَى فِي نَفْسِكَ وَبِئِهَانٍ مَيَّكْرَمِي دَر نَفْسِ خُودِ مَا اللَّهُ مُبْدِيهِ اِنْجِيَةِ اَخِي
پیدا کننده آن است یعنی آنرا که زینب داخل ازواج طیبات تو خواهد بود
وَتَخْفَى النَّاسَ وَبِتَرْسِيدِي اَز سِرِّنَشِ مَرْدَمِ كِه كَوِيدِ زَن پَسَر خِرَانْدَةَ رَا بَدَوَامَسْت

'And didst conceal in thy heart that which God made plain, and that is, that Zainab should join the company of the excellent wives, and didst fear the reproach of men who said, "He has asked for the wife of an adopted son."' *Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. ii, p. 201.

* i.e. to have had no hesitation in the matter.

concerning them. And the order of God is to be performed.

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

This relaxation of the moral law for Muḥammad's benefit, because he was a prophet, shows how very easy the divorce between religion and morality becomes in Islām.

Another difficulty was that Zainab was the daughter of Jaḥsh, the daughter of his aunt Ámina, who was the daughter of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib.¹ A fresh revelation, however, by bestowing upon the Prophet a special and peculiar privilege, not accorded to his followers, removed the difficulty:—

O Prophet, we have allowed thee thy wives whom thou hast dowered and the slaves whom thy right hand possesseth out of the booty.² God hath granted thee, and the daughters³ of thy uncle and of thy paternal and maternal aunts who fled with thee (from Mecca), and any believing woman⁴ who hath given herself up to the Prophet, if the Prophet desireth to take her—a privilege for thee above the rest of the faithful. *Sūratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii).49.

¹ Baiḍāwī, vol. ii, p. 129.

² The reference to slaves fixes the date of this verse after the massacre of the Bani Qurayza (A.D. 627), when Raiḥāna, the first captured slave, was taken as a concubine. It is thus later than the affair with Zainab (A.D. 626) and is intended to justify what had already taken place.

³ This removes from the Prophet the restriction placed on other Muslims in *Sūratu'n-Nisā'* (iv) 27 in which marriage with near relatives is forbidden.

⁴ Ḥusain refers this to Zainab in his comment on the words *بنت عمّتك* 'daughter of thy paternal aunt.' This he explains as *بنت عمّتك* 'daughter of thy paternal aunt, one of the children of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib.' Vol. ii, p. 204.

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

And it is not for a believer, man or woman, to have any choice in their affairs *when God and His Apostle have decreed a matter*; and whoever disobeyeth God and His Apostle erreth with palpable error. *Sūratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 36.¹

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

This same Sūra contains a verse (52) which prohibits Muḥammad's adding to the nine wives he already possessed, but permits him to have as many concubines as he pleased—'slaves whom thy right

¹ The commentators are unanimous in referring this verse to Zaid and Zainab. Thus:—

ترمذی اور معالم اور دوسری تفاسیر میں مروری ہی کہ آیت زینب کے حق نازل ہوئی

'In the commentaries of Tirmidhī, Mu'ālim and others it is related that this verse came down in connexion with Zainab.' *Khalāṣatu'l-Tafsīr*, vol. iii, p. 559.

Abdu'l-lāh ibn 'Abbās says:—لمومن زيد لا مومنة زینب—

'Believer is Zaid, believer (woman) is Zainab.' *Tafsīr-i-ibn 'Abbās*, p. 484.

Baiḍāwī states that it was revealed in the matter of Zainab bin Jaḥsh. Vol. ii, p. 129. *نزل فی زینب بنت جحش*.

Ḥusain also says it refers to Zainab. *Tafsīr-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. ii, p. 201.

On the expression 'whoever disobeyeth God and His Apostle' Ḥusain makes this important statement which shows the co-ordinate authority of the Sunna and the Qur'ān:—

وَمَنْ يَعْصِ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَهَرَكَةَ عَامِي هُوَ وَمَنْ خَالَفت كُنْدِ خَدَائِ تَعَالَى وَرَسُولِ
أَوْ رَأَى أَوْ حَكَمَ كِتَابِ وَسُنَّتِ بَكَدَرِد

'He who is disobedient and opposes God and His Apostle, or who departs from the order of the Book (Qur'ān) and of the Sunna,' Vol. ii, p. 207.

hand shall possess,'¹ but into this matter we need not go. The limitation to four wives, excluding concubines, in the case of ordinary Muslims is to be found in the third verse of *Súratu'n-Nisá'* (iv), revealed about the fourth or fifth year of the Hijra, and earlier than the passage in which Muḥammad is limited to nine wives.

About this time Muḥammad made a small expedition against an Arab tribe, the Bani Muṣṭalíq, which is of interest on account of a scandal regarding 'Áyisha, who accompanied her husband and which led to a special revelation. On the march she loitered behind and finally came into camp escorted by a youth, named Ṣafwán bin Mu'áṭṭal. Her excuse was that she stayed behind to find a lost necklace. There were scandal-mongers present who made improper remarks about this. Then came the verse :—

Of a truth, they who advanced that lie were a large number of you. *Súratu'n-Núr* (xxiv) 11.

The commentators Ḥusain, Ibn Ábbás and also Baiḍáwí say that the verse refers to 'Áyisha. The occasion gave rise to this *Súra*, delivered after the return to Madína, and with verse nineteen of *Súratu'n-Nisá'* (iv) forms the Prophet's denunciation of fornication and gives the law regarding it. There is a Tradition to the effect that the *Khalífa* 'Umar said that the punishment originally was that of stoning, now held to be abrogated by *Súratu'n-*

¹ *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 52. It is said to be abrogated by the preceding verses. See Sale's note on this verse and the *Khalásatu't-Tafásír*, vol. iii, p. 578; but the latter gives no authority for the statement it makes, so the abrogation is doubtful,

Núr (xxiv) 1-4. In any case the 'verse of stoning' was not inserted in Zaid's recension of the *Qur'án*.

Somewhat later on, about the eighth or ninth year of the Hijra, we have another revelation connected with a domestic affair. Some time before this the Roman Governor of Egypt had presented Muḥammad with a Coptic slave girl of great beauty, who in due course bore a son named Ibráhím. This led to great jealousy amongst the wives of the Prophet. Muḥammad was annoyed because his wife Ḥafasa revealed to one of his other wives, named 'Áyisha, some scandal which he had solemnly charged her to keep secret. The family disturbance increased and, at last, Muḥammad had to get a divine sanction for his conduct with Mary the Copt.¹ This he did in the following passage which approves of his action, and releases him from an oath he had taken to please and pacify his wives :—

O Prophet! wherefore dost thou prohibit what God hath made lawful to thee, craving to please thy wives, but God is forgiving, compassionate.
God hath allowed you release from your oaths and God is your master. *Súratu't-Tahrim* (ixvi) 1-2.

In the fifth year of the Hijra the Quraish made another great effort and laid siege to Madína. It was called the war of the Confederates, on account of the various tribes of Arabs and of the number of Jews who assisted the Meccans. The Jews had already begun to feel the heavy hand of Muḥammad upon them, and saw that their only chance of a peaceful life lay in friendship with the Quraish

¹ For further details see Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv, pp. 152-167; *Tafsír-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. ii, p. 411, and Sell, *The Life of Muḥammad*, pp. 201-2.

rather than with Muḥammad. This annoyed the Prophet and he thus reproached them :—

Hast thou not observed those to whom a part of the Scriptures have been given, they believe in al-Jibt and at-Ṭāghút and say of the infidels, 'these are guided in a better path than those who hold the faith.' Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 54.

As the siege progressed some of the Muslims became disheartened. The account of it is given in Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) and its terrors are thus depicted :—

When they assailed you from above you and from below you, and when your eyes became distracted, and your hearts came up into your throat, and ye thought divers thoughts of God, Then were the faithful tried, and with strong quaking did they quake. Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 10-11.

Muḥammad now seemed weak and helpless, and the people, doubting his promise of divine aid, wished to retire from the outer defensive works into the city. They were rebuked in a revelation recorded in the same Súra thus :—

When the disaffected and the diseased of heart said, 'God and His Apostle have made us but a cheating promise'.

And when a party of them said, 'O men of Yathrib (Madína)! This is no place of safety for you here; therefore return into the city.' And another party of you asked the Prophet's leave to return, saying, 'Our houses are left defenceless.' No! they were not left defenceless but their sole thought was to flee away :

Say, flight shall not profit you. Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 12-14, 17.

The Quraish suddenly raised the siege and then retired. 'This was the best and also the last chance given to the Meccans and Jews of breaking Muḥammad's power. It was utterly wasted, partly for want of physical courage, but chiefly because there was no man with brains in command.'¹ The Prophet in order to encourage his followers then said, as if from God :—

And God drove back the infidels in their wrath! they won no advantage. Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 25.

The position of Muḥammad as a chieftain was now strong, and he assumed a position of superiority, calling for special and reverential intercourse :—

Address not the Apostle as ye address one another.² Súratu'n-Núr (xxiv) 63.

The Quraish had been beaten in one battle and had failed in a siege. The victory of Uḥud they had not followed up. A large number of Arab tribes had been by persuasion or force drawn to the acceptance of Islám. The Jews by banishment and slaughter had been reduced to impotence. Mecca, however, still remained proudly aloof from the one man in Arabia who was a conqueror and a ruler of men. All these long years Muḥammad had suffered persecution and reproach at the hands of the Quraish: the day of retribution was drawing near. The mind of the Prophet turned towards the sacred city, for, until his influence was supreme there, he could not expect to be the sole ruler in Arabia.³

¹ Margoliouth, *Muḥammad*, p. 326.

² This is an idea borrowed from the Jews. See Rodwell, *Qur'án*, p. 582, note 2.

³ Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii), called that of 'The Pilgrimage,' is a very composite one and many of its verses belong to the later Meccan

Six years had now passed away since he and his followers had left Mecca, and no doubt many of them wished to revisit the old familiar places. Again, Muḥammad had some time before changed the Qibla (or direction in which prayer should be said) from Jerusalem to Mecca. The sacred temple there was still a holy place to the Muslims in Madína. Every day of their lives they turned towards it in acts of divine worship, though for six years they had not seen it. The longing to enter its courts and to go round its walls was now very great. The way had to be carefully prepared and Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii), or such portions of it as are not late Meccan, was revealed for this purpose.¹ The Meccans are reminded that the Ka'ba is for all men. 'As a man of the Quraish, Muḥammad had himself grown up in pious reverence for the Ka'ba and the black stone. Properly speaking, this reverence was at variance with the principles of his religion; but he managed to adjust matters by his theory that these holy things had been established by Abraham, and only abused by the heathen.'² The ceremonies of the old pagan ritual are declared to be 'rites of God,' the performance of which shows 'piety of heart.' The continued sacrifice of camels is enjoined. Thus did Muḥammad claim the Ka'ba and all its ceremonies for Islám. It was a master-stroke for gaining influence at the time.

period, but some are about this date and show how the idea of the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba was working in the mind of the Prophet. The Meccans were still in possession, for they are rebuked for misconduct connected with the Ka'ba and Muḥammad is directed to

¹ Proclaim to the peoples a pilgrimage,' v. 28.

² vv. 27-39; 66-7; 76-7.

³ Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 67.

At this juncture Muḥammad had a dream in which he saw himself and his followers performing all the duties of the Pilgrimage. This settled the matter, and, as the sacred month in which the 'Umra, or Lesser Pilgrimage, is made was now at hand, a considerable body started out towards Mecca in the month of March, A.D. 628. The Quraish opposed their entrance into the city and messengers went to and fro between the two parties.¹ The position of the Muslims at Ḥudaibiya was one of some danger and Muḥammad, gathering his followers around himself under the shade of a tree, required a pledge of loyalty even to death from each one. This oath was cheerfully given, and the

¹ The following verse is supposed by some authorities to refer to this :—

Who committeth a greater wrong than he who prohibiteth the temples of God, that His name should not be mentioned there, and who strives to ruin them. It is not for such to enter them except in fear, for them is disgrace in this world and in the future severe torment. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 108.

If this is correct this verse is of later date than the second Súra and must have been inserted afterwards. The commentators differ. In the *Tafsír-i-Ḥusaini*, p. 19, this verse is said to refer to the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem by Titus, the Roman, and that the word temple is used in the plural instead of the singular for honour. Baidáwí (vol. i, p. 80) says it refers to the temple at Jerusalem, or to the prohibition by the Quraish of Muḥammad's entry into Mecca. In the *Khulāṣatu'l-Tafsír*, vol. i, p. 64, various views are given. One is that it refers to Titus, who is said to be a Christian (دین نصرانیت قبول کیا); but another view, referring it to the opposition of the Quraish to the entrance of the Muslims into Mecca, is given at some length. Thus :—

ای قریش تم نے مکہ معظمہ کی مسجد سے اللہ کے پیغمبر کو نکال دیا اور
مؤمنین کو عبادت و ذکر خدا سے روکا اور اس مسجد سے کہ عبادت و ذکر کے
میں موقوف رہا تم اس کے ویران اور خراب کرنے میں سہی تھے

'O Quraish, you cast out the Prophet of God from the Temple of Mecca, the honoured, and prevented the believers from worshipping and praising there, and so worship and praise in the Ka'ba is suspended. You have been diligent in rendering it desolate and in ruining it.'

'Pledge of the tree' is an event ever after referred to with great respect and regard. It is a most striking instance of the personal devotion of his followers to the Prophet and of the intense sympathy which existed between them. God is said to have been glad about it:—

Well pleased now hath God been with the believers
when they plighted fealty to thee under the tree.
Sūratu'l-Faḥḥ (xlvi) 18.¹

The end of the consultations was that the Quraish absolutely refused admission to the Ka'ba, but agreed to the following terms:—

'War shall be suspended for ten years. Neither side shall attack the other. Perfect amity shall prevail betwixt us. Whosoever wisheth to join Muḥammad and enter into treaty with him shall have liberty to do so; and whosoever wisheth to join the Quraish and enter into treaty with them shall have liberty so to do. If any one goeth over to Muḥammad, without the permission of his guardian, he shall be sent back to his guardian.² But, if

¹ It is called the 'Oath of good pleasure.'—بَيْعَةُ الرِّضْوَانِ Years after when the Khawārij opposed 'Alī and his followers, one section afterwards said that 'Alī, Ṭalḥa and Zubair were in Paradise, because they had plighted fealty under the tree.

² It will be seen that there is no distinction of sex here and it applies to females equally with males, but soon after the return of the Prophet to Mecca a young man came from Mecca to Madīna. His guardian claimed him and Muḥammad admitted the claim. Then a woman came over. Her brothers followed her to Madīna and demanded her restoration. Muḥammad now objected to give up a woman and produced the following revelation:—

O ye who believe! when there come believing women who have fled, then try them: God knows their faith. If ye know them to be believers do not send them back to the unbelievers; they are not lawful for them, nor are the men lawful for these. Sūratu'l-Mumtaḥina (ix) 10.

The commentators on the words *فَأَمْتَحِنُوهُنَّ*—'then try them,' say that they are to be examined as to the real cause of their flight, in

any one from amongst the followers of Muḥammad return to the Quraish, the same shall be sent back; provided—on the part of the Quraish—that Muḥammad and his followers retire from us this year without entering the city. In the coming year he may visit Mecca, he and his followers, for three days when we shall retire. But they may not enter it with any weapons, save those of the traveller, namely, to each a sheathed sword.¹

At first the Muslims were disappointed and felt that their object in coming had not been gained,² but Muḥammad soon produced a revelation to show how wrong that view of it was, and what benefits would be derived from this treaty of Ḥudaibiya. Standing on his camel, he gave what he declared to be God's message, beginning with the words:—

Verily, we have won for thee an undoubted victory.
Sūratu'l-Faḥḥ (xlvi) 1.³

order to ascertain that it is nothing else than the desire to embrace Islām, for only in such a case is their detention lawful. Still, even in this case the Prophet's action was a clear breach of the treaty recently made. It is a good illustration of the great value to him, and of the practical utility, of the piecemeal revelation of the Qur'ān. It needs explanation and so with reference to the condition laid down in the treaty of Ḥudaibiya, Ḥusain says: 'Gabriel came and said, "O Prophet of God, the condition applies only to men and not to

women"'.—جبرئيل آمد و گفت يا رسول الله ان شرط مردمان واقع شده — نه زنان
Tafsīr-i-Ḥusaini, vol. ii, p. 397.

¹ *Raudatu's-Salā*, part ii, vol. ii, pp. 505-14.

² It is said that Muḥammad himself could not trust the Meccans and that warlike steps were sanctioned if they failed to observe the terms of the treaty of Ḥudaibiya (Sūratu'l-Baqara (ii) 186-9). If this passage does refer to this period it is a late interpolation. See *Tafsīr-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. i, p. 32, and Baiḍāwī, vol. i, p. 108. The verses in Sūratu'l-Mumtaḥina (ix) 1-9 probably refer to the same circumstance.

³ Nöldeke on *vv.* 1-17 of this Sūra says, 'from these verses we may clearly see that Muḥammad had intended to take Mecca but that the Bedouins now failed to help him; so he thought it advisable to conclude a treaty. This was good policy and a true victory' *Geschichtes des Qurāns*, p. 161.

And such it was, for the Quraish in treating him as an equal acknowledged his political status. Ibn Isháq well remarks that 'when war had ceased and people met in security, then they entered into conversation and every intelligent person with whom the merits of Islám were discussed embraced it.' The increase was certainly rapid now. Referring to the women who came Margoliouth says, 'These welcome visitors easily found new ties at Madína, though some sort of examination had to be undergone to test the genuineness of their faith.'¹ The people who would not come are, in this same Súra, bitterly reprovéd and reminded that the 'flame of hell is prepared for the Infidels,'² whilst those who had taken the oath of fealty under the tree are promised 'a spirit of secure repose, a speedy victory and a rich booty.'³ To meet the disappointment caused by the absence of booty the Muslims are told that there is

Other booty, over which ye have not yet had power,
but now hath God compassed them for you.
Súratu'l-Fath (xlviii) 21.

Baidáwí says this may refer to the spoils after the defeat of the Huwázin Arabs in the battle of Hunain.⁴ The Muslims had referred to Muḥam-

The failure of the Arabs is referred to in :—

The Arabs who took not the field with you will say to thee, 'we were engaged with our property and our families, therefore ask thou pardon for us.' Súratu'l-Fath (xlviii) 11.

¹ *Muḥammad*, p. 351, and Súratu'l-Mumtaḥina (ix) 10.

See also *Raḍātu's-Ṣáif*, part ii, vol. ii, pp. 571 ff.

² Súratu'l-Fath (xlviii) 13.

³ Súratu'l-Fath (xlviii) 1, 3, 20.

⁴ Muḥāhid, quoted by Ḥusain, says it may refer to any victory. Other commentators refer it to the victory at Khaibar. See *Khalāṣatu'l-Tafāsīr*, vol. iv, p. 241.

mad's dream and wondered why it had not come to pass. He pointed out that the particular year of its fulfilment was not shown in it, and to pacify them brought another revelation to assure them of its certain fulfilment :—

Now hath God in truth made good to His Apostle the dream in which he said, 'Ye shall surely enter the sacred mosque, if God will, in full security having your head shaved and your hair cut; ye shall not fear, for He knoweth what ye know not, and He hath ordained you, besides this, a speedy victory.'¹

It is He who hath sent His Apostle with the guidance, and the religion of truth, that He may exalt it above every religion. And enough for thee is this testimony on the part of God. Súratu'l-Fath (xlviii) 27-8.²

¹ According to Baidáwí and Ḥusain this refers to the victory at Khaibar. Wāqidi says : فتح قريب سے فتح خیبر ہی اور مراد ارس فتح قریب سے فتح خیبر ہی 'The meaning of this speedy victory,' is the victory of Khaibar.

² According to Ḥusain the twenty-eighth verse is said to be 'a menace to the followers of other religions than Islám and to apostates from Islám.' Thus :—

این آیت تہدید جمعی ست کہ طالب غیر دین اسلام آند و در شان آنها
کہ بعد وصول بشرف اسلام دست از دامن دین متین باز دارند و مرتد ہوند—

Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī, vol. i, p. 74.—

This is also asserted by other commentators. Thus :—

جو سوائے دین اسلام کے کوئی اور دین اختیار کرے یہودیت یا نصرانیت
یا کچھ ہو تو منظور و مقبول نہوگا اور وہ اپنی سعی اور کوشش میں مجرم
و مغلذون رہیگا۔ اس آیت نے تمام دینوں کو منسوخ کر دیا جو گزر گئے یا پیدا
کئے جائیں

'He who chooses any religion other than Islám, whether Judaism, Christianity or any other, will not be approved and accepted, and his efforts will be frustrated and disappointed. This verse abrogates all religions which have preceded or which shall follow (Islám).' *Khalāṣatu'l-Tafāsīr*, vol. i, p. 271.

Thus was the claim of Islám to the absolute allegiance of all mankind now made clear to the people of Madína.

A Qādiāni commentator says it will become 'the religion of the majority of mankind and that no other religion has had such a future foretold of it.' *Holy Qur'ān*, p. 989.

Thus, though the pilgrimage was postponed, the victory was theirs: other booty would be realized and they could rest now in patience for to Muḥammad was the 'guidance' committed. Great would be the glory of Islām. No longer were Christianity and Judaism co-ordinate with it. In Islām alone was salvation to be found; ¹ for now it was to exceed and excel all other religions, and so they could well afford to wait for a year to fulfil their desire. Enough for them to know that this was the will of God. The whole of this forty-eighth Súra is very remarkable and well suited to the occasion.

This special claim for Islām as the one religion had already been made in an earlier Madína Súra:—

The true religion with God is Islām, and those to whom the Scriptures were given did not differ, till after that knowledge had come to them, and out of jealousy of each other. Súratu 'Alī 'Imrān (iii) 17.

The meaning of this is given in the commentaries to be, that Islām, not Judaism and Christianity, is the true religion, and that Jews and Christians did not reject it till the Qur'án came, when they did so simply out of envy or from the desire to maintain their own superiority.²

¹ 'Whoso craves other than Islām for a religion it shall surely not be accepted from him, and in the next world he shall be among the lost.' Súratu 'Alī 'Imrān (iii) 79.

² 'The religion approved by God is Islām, not Judaism or Christianity, and they to whom were given the Book of the Pentateuch and the Gospel did not differ about this, that Islām is true and that Muḥammad is the true prophet, till after that the true knowledge, (i.e., the Qur'án) came to them.' The original is as follows:—

دین پسندیده نزدیک خدای دین اسلام است نه یہودیت و نصرانیت
و اختلاف نکردند در آنکه دین اسلام حق است و محمد رسول پیغمبر بحق
آنانکه داده اند بدیشان کتاب یعنی توریت و انجیل مگر پس از آنکه آمد
بدیشان دانشی بحقیقت امر یعنی قرآن بدیشان فرود آمد

After his return to Madína, with a strong sense of his growing power in Arabia, the vision of the Prophet took a wider range, which is shown in the spirit of a passage in a late Madína Súra:—

Say to them, O men, 'Verily I am God's Apostle to you all.' Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 157.

This led him to send embassies, about the years A.D. 627-8, to various Christian rulers, including Heraclius, the Emperor of Byzantium, to the King of Persia and others.¹ Nöldeke says that in these letters, calling upon the Christian sovereigns to embrace Islām and to acknowledge his suzerainty the following passage was included²:—

Say: 'O people of the Book! come ye to a just judgement between us and you—that ye worship not aught but God and that we join no other gods with Him, and that the one of us take not the other for lords, beside God.' Then, if they turn their backs, say, 'Bear ye witness that we are Muslims.'

O people of the Book, why dispute about Abraham,³ when the Law and the Gospel were not sent down till after him. Do ye not then understand?

Tafsīr-i-Husaini, vol. i, p. 62.

Baiḍāwī defines Islām to be the acceptance of the doctrine of the unity and of the code which Muḥammad brought. Vol. i, p. 148.

سولہ اسلام کے اور کوئی طریقہ مقبول نہیں جیسا فرمایا من ینتخب غیر الاسلام
دیناً قلن یقبل منه اسلام کے سوا دوسرا دین جو اختیار کرے نہ مانا جائیگا

'Except Islām no other way is approved, as God said, "Who chooses other than Islām for a religion, it shall not be accepted from him"'. *Khālāṣatu'l-Tafsīr*, vol. i, p. 241.

¹ For a full account of these embassies and their result, see Mirkhūnd, *Rauḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafā*, part ii, vol. ii, pp. 517 ff.

² It is, however, said that this verse and the verses preceding it were revealed, when later on the Christians of Najran with their Bishop came to see Muḥammad. It is also said to refer to the Jews of Madína. Baiḍāwī, vol. i, p. 159.

³ Baiḍāwī comments on the verse thus: 'the Jews and Christians

Lo! ye are they who dispute about that of which ye have no knowledge. . . . God hath knowledge but ye know nothing.

Abraham was neither Jew nor Christian, but he was sound in the faith, (Ḥaníf) a Muslim, and not of those who add gods to God. *Súratu Áli 'Imrán* (iii) 57-60.

'Each time the Prophet had failed, or secured an incomplete success, he compensated for it by an attack on the Jews. This policy had served too well to be abandoned after the unsatisfactory affair of Ḥudaibiya and, therefore, a raid on the Jews of *Khaibar* was speedily planned.'¹ It took place in the autumn of 628 and brought much wealth to the camp of the Muslims. At first, Muḥammad had sought the aid of the Jews, but failing to get it, he attacked them, tribe by tribe, massacred them, banished them from their homes or reduced them to a state of helpless subjection. In this victory Muḥammad put an end to the independence of the Jews in Arabia. Ṣafiyya, a daughter of one of the Prophet's most active adversaries, who had been assassinated by his order, was taken captive at *Khaibar*. She was invited to embrace Islám which she did and then became the wife of the conqueror. The people of *Khaibar* lived too far away from Madína to be a menace, but there was booty to be acquired and the total subjugation of Arabia seems now to have been decided upon.

quarrelled over Abraham, each sect maintaining that he belonged to them: so they referred the matter to the Prophet, when this text was revealed.' He then goes on to say that the Law was given to Moses and the Gospel to Christ, so Abraham belonged to neither of them.

¹ Margoliouth, *Muḥammad*, p. 355.

Muḥammad, being now secure from any attack on the part of the Quraish, made raids on different Bedouin tribes and so passed the time until the month for the 'Umra, or Lesser Pilgrimage, came round again. At this time some sick Bedouins of the 'Urain and Ukka families accepted Islám and received permission to stay on the pasture ground of the Prophet and to drink the milk of the she-camels. They were ungrateful, and, after slaying the keeper of the camels, stole fifteen of them and ran away. They were caught and the punishment inflicted was brutal. Their hands and feet were cut off; their eyes and tongues were pierced with thorns (*Tafsír-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. i, p. 144); their eyes were pierced with needles and they were exposed to the heat of the sun till they died: (*Khalāṣatu-t-Tafsír*, vol. ii, p. 575). Then this verse was revealed:—

As to the thief, whether man or woman, cut ye off their hands in recompense for their doings. This is a penalty by way of warning from God himself. *Súratu'l-Má'ida* (v) 42.

In the spring of A.D. 629 Muḥammad availed himself of the permission granted by the Quraish, and with about two thousand followers approached Mecca. The Quraish then retired and the Muslims, leaving their weapons outside, entered Mecca which for seven years they had not seen. When Muḥammad came to the Ka'ba¹ he said: 'May God be gracious to the man whom he shows them (the

¹ According to the *Raudatu's-Safá* (Part II, vol. II, p. 598) on the way he recited the *Súratu'l-Fath* (xlviii) which begins with 'Verily we have won for thee an undoubted victory.'

Meccans) to-day in his strength.¹ He performed the usual ceremonies of the pagan pilgrimage, such as kissing the black stone, making the seven prescribed circuits of the Ka'ba and the running between the Mounts Şafá and Marwa.¹ The animals brought for the purpose were sacrificed, and the ceremonies of the Lesser Pilgrimage were brought to an end. The honour paid to the city and to the ancient temple favourably influenced the Meccans; the show of martial power led two cavalry leaders of the Quraish to join Muḥammad's standard; the friendships formed, through his marriage now with Maimúna—the fourth addition to his harem during this year—advanced his cause, and when Muḥammad retired again to Madína he was much more powerful in every way than he had been at any previous period.

A few more Arab tribes were then attacked and reduced to submission. The southern portion of the Roman Empire was invaded, but in the battle of Múta the Muslims were severely defeated. 'We are justified in supposing that much was effected by Muḥammad's campaign against the Byzantines, which, though not for the moment successful, made him the champion of a national idea, which the Arabs had scarcely thought of till then.² Muḥammad saw the attack was premature, and that, before entering on conquests abroad, his position must first be made stronger in Arabia. Then came a

¹ Maulavi Muḥammad 'Alí says that the custom is kept up as a remembrance of Hagar's running about in search of water. This is pure imagination. These ceremonies were the old pagan ones, retained to conciliate the Meccans. *Holy Qur'án*, p. 72.

² Margoliouth, *Muḥammad*, p. 389.

revelation in this very short Súra, the Súratu'n-Naşr (cx) :—

When the help of God, and the victory¹ arrive,
And thou seest men entering the religion of God by
troops.

Then utter the praise of the Lord and implore His
pardon, for He loveth to turn in mercy.

Thus encouraged, he was able to proceed. Undoubtedly the unity of the political community, the consolidation of his followers as a religious corporation needed a centre other than Madína. The time had now come when, if Islám was to be the one politico-religious force in Arabia which Muḥammad had from the first intended it to be, Mecca must become its centre.

He saw that the Meccans were now weary of strife, that many Quraish leaders were either dead or had joined him, that everywhere in the country his own power was extending, and that it would be now possible by a determined effort to capture Mecca and once for all break down the remaining opposition of the Quraish.

The thirteenth Súra is the last Meccan one, but the forty-first verse is interpolated and probably refers to this period :—

See they not that we come to the land and diminish
the borders thereof? God judges and there is none
to reverse His judgement, and He is swift at reckon-
ing up. Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii) 41.

Ibn 'Abbás² and other commentators refer this to

¹ Baiḏáwí says that the victory is that of Mecca and that 'by troops' is meant the men of Mecca, of Tá'if, Yaman, Huwázin and all the Arab tribes. Vol. ii, p. 420.

² *Tafsír-i-ibn 'Abbás*, p. 289.

the Meccans, who were so blind and obtuse that they did not realize that the Muslims were encroaching more and more on the territories of the pagan Arab tribes. Husain,¹ however, says it refers to the Jews, whose forts, lands and possessions had now come unto the possession of the Muslims.

Some, apparently, were very reluctant to join in this expedition and are thus reproved :—

What! will ye not fight against those (Meccans) who have broken their oaths and aimed to expel your Apostle, and attacked you first? Will ye dread them? God is more worthy of your fear, if ye are believers!

So make war on them: by your hands will God chastise them and will put them to shame, and will give you victory over them. *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 13-4.

Those who took an active part in the attack on Mecca and shared in the victory over it are highly praised, and their conduct is favourably contrasted with those who gave alms and fought for Islám after this event had shown the power of the Prophet :—

Those amongst you who contributed before the victory and fought shall be differently treated from others amongst you: they are grander in rank than those who gave and fought afterwards. *Súratu'l-Ĥadíd* (lvii) 10.²

¹ *Tafsír-i-Husainí*, vol. i, p. 343.

² 'Who contributed before the victory and fought'—

مَنْ آمَنَ مِن قَبْلِ الْفَتْحِ وَقَاتَلَ

Nöldeke says it refers to the victory at Badr. He is probably correct, but with the exception of Mu'ālim, who refers it to the treaty of Ĥudaibiya, Baidāwí and all the Muslim commentators I have consulted say it is this victory over Mecca which is referred to. 'The superiority of those who took part in it is thus described: 'Those

Two years had passed since the treaty of Ĥudaibiya was made and, according to its terms, the peace between Madína and Mecca was to last for ten years. This difficulty was overcome. A Bedouin tribe attached to Muḥammad was attacked by another tribe in alliance with the Quraish. The Prophet seized the occasion, took up the quarrel, and with a large army of some ten thousand men advanced against Mecca. Abú Sufyán, the old and implacable enemy of the Prophet, saw that the time for opposition was past. He sought for an interview with Muḥammad, repeated the Muslim creed, and became henceforth a good Muslim. This led to the comparatively quiet submission of Mecca where Abú Sufyán, the hereditary leader of the Quraish, possessed great influence. As soon as Muḥammad entered the city he proceeded to the Ka'ba and saluted the black stone. He then ordered all the idols to be hewn down and, in order to show that he now exercised supreme authority, he appointed 'Uṭhmán bin Ṭalḥa and 'Abbás to the two hereditary offices connected with the temple.¹

A crier then proclaimed in the streets this order: 'Whoever believeth in God and in the last day, let him not leave in his house any image whatever that he doth not break in pieces.'²

Companions who before the victory over Mecca were believers and helpers are superior to all believers and to the best of the people.'

وہ صحابی جو فتح مکہ سے پہلے مومن و معین ہوئے دوسرے تمام مومنین
بلکہ پیار امت سے افضل ہی

Khalāṣatu't-Tafsír, vol. iv, p. 364.

¹ It is said that this transaction is referred to and justified in Verily, God enjoineth you to give back your trusts to their owners. *Súratu'n-Nisá'* (iv) 61.

² Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv, p. 129.

Many of the Meccans mocked, and then a revelation came to show that by nature all men are equal, and that in the sight of God noble birth and pride of race or rank is of little worth as compared with the fear of the Lord. The Quraish are rebuked in :—

O men! Verily we have created you of a male and a female; and we have divided you into peoples and tribes that ye might have knowledge one of another. Truly, the most worthy of honour in the sight of God is he who feareth Him most. *Súratu'l-Hujurát* (xlix) 14.¹

In reply to a question asking the Meccans what they thought of him, Muḥammad received the answer from some of them, 'we think well of thee, O noble brother and son of a noble brother. Verily thou hast obtained power over us.' Referring to the *Súratu Yúsuf* (xii) the Prophet quoted the words in the ninety-second verse, which were said by Joseph to his brethren :—

No blame be on you this day. God will forgive you for He is the most merciful of those who show mercy.² *Súratu Yúsuf* (xii) 92.

With a few exceptions,³ mostly of those who, it must be admitted, deserved their fate, a general

¹ For a full account of the special circumstances which now called forth this revelation, see *Khalāṣatu'l-Tafāsīr*, vol. iv, pp. 269-72.

² *Rauḍatu's-Ṣafá*, part ii, vol. ii, p. 602.

³ About ten persons were excluded from the amnesty, of whom four were put to death. Amongst the number thus excluded was 'Abdu'llāh ibn Sa'd, who was for some time the amanuensis of the Prophet at Madīna. It is related that one day the Prophet was dictating to him the passage concerning the creation of mankind in *Súra* (xxiii) 12-14, the last words of which are 'Blessed, therefore, be God, the most excellent of Makers.' These words were spoken by 'Abdu'llāh ibn Sa'd in astonishment, but the Prophet was so pleased with them that he said, 'Write them down, for so it has descended.' 'Abdu'llāh had doubts about this and said, 'If

amnesty extended to all the inhabitants of the city. The result was that the Prophet soon won the hearts of the people. There were no Munáfiqín in Mecca as there had been in Madīna. It was a day of great triumph to Muḥammad, for now had 'the mercy' of God come upon them.¹ Eight years before he had left Mecca as a fugitive, a despised outcast. Since then the Quraish had been unwearied in their opposition and now that was at an end. The sacred city was in his possession and his word was law. He had stood in the temple, sacred for many centuries to the worship of al-Lát and al-'Uzzá and a host of inferior deities, and with a word had banished for ever idolatry from it. He by his own authority had now appointed new officers to it, and made it the centre of the new religion. No wonder that success so great caused Islám to

Muḥammad is right, on me also has inspiration descended.' Husain is the authority for this statement which he gives in the following passage :—

حضرت رسالت پناه گفت بنویس که همچینین نازل شده عبد الله در شك

انتاد مرتد كشت گفت اگر محمد صادقست پس هر من هم وحی فرود می آید
Tafsīr-i-Husaini, vol. ii, p. 80.

The Prophet was very indignant at this, and this verse, which Baidawī says refers to the action of 'Abdu'llāh ibn Sa'd, was revealed concerning it :—

Is any man more wicked than he who deviseth a lie or saith, 'I have a revelation,' when nothing was revealed to Him? and who saith, 'I can bring down a book like that which God hath sent down.' *Súratu'l-An'ám* (vi) 93.

This verse occurs in a late Meccan *Súra*, but the event it refers to happened in Madīna, so it is evident that it is an interpolation in the place it now occupies, for which no other reason can be assigned than that the preceding verse deals with the superiority of the *Qur'án* over other Scriptures. Another curious thing is, that in it a man is condemned who claimed to produce a verse equal to Muḥammad's and yet the Prophet himself had challenged men to do so. Did Muḥammad mean the challenge to be accepted or not?

¹ Baidawī says that the words 'fulfilled my mercy upon you' in *Súratu'l-Má'ida* (v) 5 may refer to this victory.

spread most rapidly now. At last it seemed as if the Arab people would be united as they had never been before: at last the patriotic feelings of the Prophet seemed near their realization, and Arabia united and free—a political and a religious whole—would more than resist the enemies who but a few years before had been encroaching on her territories, and threatening her very existence.

Whilst, however, serious opposition was now at an end, yet a few places still held out, and within a fortnight Muḥammad had to march against the Huwázin Bedouins, who with the people of Ṭá'if saw in the fall of Mecca a danger to their own independence. A battle was fought in the valley of Hunain. At first a panic seized some of the Muslim troops and they gave way and the whole army began to take to flight. The position was critical, and Muḥammad bade his uncle 'Abbás cry out: 'O! Men of Madína! O! Men of the tree of fealty! Ye of the Súratu'l Baqara!' and so on. The flight of some was arrested, when Muḥammad ascending a mound and taking some gravel in his hand cast it towards the enemy, saying, 'Ruin seize them!' The tide of battle turned and the enemy were at last utterly routed. As usual, a revelation came in connexion with this battle and the initial reverse is attributed to the vain-glory the Muslims showed in their numbers. Thus:—

Now hath God helped you on many battle-fields, and on the day of Hunain, when ye prided yourselves on your numbers; but it availed you nothing, and the earth with all its breadth became too strait for you;

¹ *Ante*, p. 137.

then turned ye your backs in flight. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 25.

In the next verse the final victory is attributed to supernatural aid:—

Then did God send down His spirit of repose¹ upon His Apostle and upon the faithful, and He sent down the hosts which ye saw not and He punished the infidels.

The Prophet next laid siege to the city of Ṭá'if, but was unsuccessful. After a few weeks the siege was raised; but when ten months had passed the people of Ṭá'if submitted to him.

¹ The original word is Sakínat—سَكِينَةٌ. It is used in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 249 where Samuel is made to say to the Israelites, 'The sign of His kingdom shall be that the ark shall come unto you: therein shall be tranquillity (Sakínat) from your Lord.' It seems to be thus connected with the Shechinah, or divine presence or glory, which appeared on the ark. So now in this time of panic the supposed Divine presence with the Prophet gives tranquillity, or a spirit of repose. It also occurs in connexion with a reference to the time of danger, when the Prophet was with Abú Bakr in the cave on the occasion of the flight from Mecca:—

Aud God sent His spirit of repose upon him—

فَأَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ سَكِينَتَهُ عَلَيْهِ. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 40.

It is also used with reference to other events:—

He it is who sends down a spirit of repose into the hearts of the faithful that they may add faith to their faith.

Well pleased now hath God been with the believers when they plighted fealty under the tree (*ante*, p. 138), and He knew what was in their hearts; therefore did He send down upon them a spirit of repose, and rewarded them with a speedy victory.

When the unbelievers had fostered rage in their hearts—the rage of ignorance—God sent down His spirit of repose on His Apostle and on the faithful. Súratu'l-Fath (xlviii) 4, 13, 26.

The word is found only in the Madína Súras which shows that Muḥammad borrowed the idea from the Jews. See Geiger, *Judaism and Islām*, p. 39.

Baiḍāwī (vol. ii, p. 266) calls it الثبات الطامه نينة—'the permanence of tranquillity.'

Nadhīr Aḥmad translates it by تسلى—comfort, and by تسهل—patience.

He now gave from the spoils of the Huwázín large presents to the leading chiefs of Mecca and of the Bedouin tribes, who had become converts, at which his old followers and friends were somewhat annoyed and made discontented. But later on a revelation came to justify his action even in a small matter like this :—

Some of them defame thee in regard to the alms, yet if a part be given them they are content, but if no part be given them, behold, they are angry. . . .

Would that they were satisfied with what God and His Apostle had given them and would say, 'God sufficeth us, God will vouchsafe to us of His favour and so will His Apostle: verily unto God do we make our suit.'

But alms are only to be given to the poor and needy and those who collect them, and to *those whose hearts are reconciled (to Islám)*. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 58-60.¹

The alms were, in the case of the chiefs who received rich presents, very much of the nature of a bribe, and naturally the men of Madína objected to the procedure. The words 'those-whose hearts are reconciled to Islám' are said by the commentators to be now abrogated, for Abú Bakr abolished the making of these gifts to converts, because God had now prospered Islám and so such gifts were no longer needed.²

¹ It is the unanimous testimony of the commentators that the words *الْمَوْلُودَةَ قُلُوبِهِمْ*—'whose hearts are reconciled,' mean won

over to Islám. The term al-Mú'allafa Qulúbuhum was ever after the name by which the chiefs thus won over were known. Ibn 'Abbás and Baiḏáwí say that Abú Sufyán and his friends and Iqrá bin Jábís, 'Abbás bin Mirdás and others were amongst the persons who received presents.

² Husain referring to the abolition of these alms says :—
'After the development of Islám and the conquests made by the

The ninth year after the Hijra is called the 'Year of the Deputations,' for now that Mecca and the Ka'ba had passed into the possession of Muḥammad, his fame became great and tribe after tribe made their submission. The historian Ibn Isháq rightly estimated the moral value of these conversions. He says : 'As soon as Mecca was conquered and the Quraish had submitted to him, being humbled by Islám, the Arabs, understanding that they themselves had not the power to oppose Muḥammad and make war against him, professed the faith of Alláh.' Bands of Muslims under active leaders scoured the country, and the permission given to non-Muslims to visit the temple was now annulled and the order was :—

When the sacred months are passed, kill those who join other gods with God wherever ye shall find them, and seize them, besiege them, and lay wait for them with every kind of ambush; but if they shall convert and observe prayer and pay the obligatory alms then let them go their way. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 5.

It has been said that this famous verse, known as the Áyatu's-Saif, or 'verse of the sword,' abrogates the restriction which did not allow the

Muslims, this was all cancelled by the unanimous consent of the Companions.'

بعد از ظهور اسلام و غلبه مسلمانان باجماع صحابه مسافط شده است

Tafsir-i-Husaini, vol. i, p. 260.

'In the time of Abú Bakr Šiddiq by unanimous consent the portion of those reconciled to Islám was cancelled, for there was no longer any necessity for reconciliation of hearts.'

زمانه ابو بكر صديق مین باجماع همه مولى القلوب مسافط هوگيا امن ليه

که ضرورت تالف تليف کرنے کی باقی نہی

Khalāṣtu't-Tafsir, vol. ii, p. 271.

Muslims to commence a war and which is recorded in the verse :—

Fight for the cause of God against those who fight against you: but commit not the injustice of attacking them first. *Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 186.¹

It even does more, for it also abrogates² the kindly words of an earlier Meccan revelation :—

Dispute not unless in kindly sort with the people of the Book. *Súratu'l-'Ankabút* (xxix) 45.

In any case the Arabs now saw that further opposition was useless. The whole framework of society was broken; it needed reconstruction and Muḥammad alone had the power to do it. Thus, the movement towards Islám now assumed the character of a national one, and the very man, who had for so many years been the cause of disputes and wars, now became the acknowledged leader and head of an united Arabia. In this way were the Prophet's early desires fulfilled.

Submission to the political rule involved acceptance, on the part of him who submitted, of the religion of Islám, an essential tenet of which was that he ' should not only submit to its teaching and

¹ This order, which restricted fighting to defensive warfare is, according to Ḥusain, and Baiḍáwī, abrogated by the *Ayat'u's-Saif*. Thus :—

أَنْ يَنْحَكِمَ بِأَيِّ سَيْفٍ مِّنْ سَوْخِ أَمْسِ

Tafsír-i-Ḥusaini, vol. i, p. 32.

Baiḍáwī connects it with the Ḥudaibiya affair. The Quraish opposed Muḥammad's entrance into Mecca. The Muslim forces at Ḥudaibiya were in a position of some danger so, from a military point of view, the order was a wise one, but its application was purely local and for this special occasion.

So now the special and limited warfare is a thing of the past, and continuous and general fighting against all polytheists is inculcated.

² Baiḍáwī, vol. ii, p. 98. قِيلَ هُوَ مِّنْ سَوْخِ بَأْيَةِ السَّيْفِ

adopt its ritual and code of ethics, but also render an implicit obedience in all things "to the Lord and His Prophet," and that he should pay tithes annually (not indeed as a tribute, but as a religious offering which sanctified the rest of his wealth), towards the charities and expenses of Muḥammad and his growing empire.¹

A little while after this, in the autumn of the year A.D. 630, an armed force was sent towards the Syrian frontier, where the Emperor Heraclius was reported to be collecting a large body of the feudatory tribes with a view to stop the inroads of the Muslims, or to invade Arabia. The state of affairs seemed critical, and the Muslim army, now collected to withstand the Byzantines and their allies, was the most powerful one Muḥammad had ever been able to raise and organize. When the expedition, after much difficulty and suffering, reached Tabúq, a place midway between Madína and Damascus, it was found that the report of the Roman preparations had been an exaggerated one, and that the Emperor had changed his mind and had gone away. Muḥammad then turned his attention to the position of various Christian and Jewish tribes. John, the Christian Prince of Ailah, made a treaty with the Prophet and agreed to pay an annual tribute. The most interesting embassy to the Prophet was that of the Christians of Najrán headed by their Bishop, Abú Ḥáritha. They refused to accept Islám or to agree to Muḥammad's proposal,

¹ Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv, p. 170.

'Come let us curse each other and lay the curse of Alláh on those that lie.' Finally they agreed to pay the poll-tax which all non-Muslims had to give.¹ This event is referred to in the following verses of the Qur'án² :—

Verily, Jesus is as Adam in the sight of God. He created him of dust; He then said to him, 'Be—and he was.'

The truth is from thy Lord. Be not thou, therefore, of those who doubt.

As for those who dispute with thee about Him, after the knowledge³ hath come to thee, say, 'Come, let us summon our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, and ourselves and yourselves. Then will we invoke and lay the curse of God on those who lie.' Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 52-4.

The idea of settling the matter by imprecation was a curious one, but it shows how strong the conviction of the truth of his own position was in the mind of Muḥammad. Some Jewish tribes also submitted, and promised to give regularly the tax required of them. Muḥammad then returned home from this his last expedition and reached Madína at the close of the year A.D. 630.

Whilst some of the Muslims now at Madína and many of the Bedouins held back, the more earnest Muslims had been very eager to aid in the war against the Christian Syrians and the disaffected Arab tribes, but carriage and supplies

¹ *Kauḍatu's-Safá*, part ii, vol. ii, pp. 687-99. Baiḍáwí, vol. i, p. 109.

² The fifty-fourth verse is called *Áyatu'l-Mubáhalat*, 'verse of imprecation.'

³ i.e., after knowing that Jesus is a prophet and a servant (i.e., not divine). *Tafsír-i-Husainí*, vol. i, p. 70.

از دانستن عیسی که رسول و بنده است

could not be provided for all. Those whose services could not be utilized in the expedition to Tabúk (*ante*, p. 157) wept bitterly, and were ever after called al-Baká'ún—'The Weepers.' They are told that no blame attaches to those :—

To whom when they came to thee thou didst say, 'I find not wherewith to mount you,' and they turned away their eyes shedding floods of tears for grief, because they found no means to contribute. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 93.

But amongst those who went some were half-hearted. One said to his friends : 'This man wants to conquer the forts and districts of the country of Syria, which is not likely to happen.' Then one who was present rebuked the speaker and said that he hoped some verse would be revealed concerning such wicked conversation. Meanwhile, Muḥammad had been supernaturally informed of this murmuring. On knowing this, the Hypocrites were afraid and said that they had spoken only in fun. Then came the revelation :—

The hypocrites are afraid lest a Súra should be sent down concerning them, to tell plainly what is in their hearts. Say : Scoff ye, but God will bring to light that which ye are afraid of.

And if thou question them, they will surely say, 'We were only discoursing and jesting.' Say : What ! do ye scoff at God,¹ and His signs, and His Apostle ?

Make no excuse : from faith ye have passed to infidelity. If we forgive some of you, we will punish others ; for that they have been evil-doers. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 65-7.

¹ This apparently claims divine approval of the warlike expedition to Tabúk for, according to Baiḍáwí, it was that which was the cause of the jesting.

Persons who asked troublesome questions were now rebuked. On the authority of Muslim and other Traditionists, Nöldeke¹ says that when the command for the Ḥajj was given, a man enquired of Muḥammad whether he must go every year. The Prophet being annoyed said, 'Yes, you may.' He then produced this revelation:—

O believers, ask us not of things which if they were told might only pain you. Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 101.

This verse may, however, refer to the following verse which treats of some Meccan superstitions. Some commentators say that it refers to general matters. Baiḍáwí has a good note on it (vol. i, p. 274).

Some of the disaffected—the Hypocrites—at Madína, who had not followed the Prophet in this expedition, on his return home were severely rebuked. Special revelations, which commentators agree in referring to the war of Tabúk,² came to reprove them and the Arabs of the desert also, and to warn others:—

O Believers! what possessed you, that when it was said to you, 'March forth on the way of God,' ye sank heavily earthwards? What! prefer ye the life of this world to the next?

Unless ye march forth, with a grievous chastisement will He chastise you, and He will place another people in your stead, and ye shall in no way harm Him: for over every thing God is potent.³

¹ *Geschichtes des Qorans*, p. 173.

² *Khaláṣatu't-Tafásír*, vol. i, p. 256.

³ This verse is said to be abrogated by the ninety-second verse which makes some exceptions:—

It shall be no crime in the weak and in the sick and in those who find not the means of contributing to stay at home, provided they are sincere with God and His Apostle. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 92.

March ye forth the light and heavy armed and contend with your substance and your persons on the way of God. This, if ye know it, will be better for you. Had there been a near advantage and a short journey, they would certainly have followed thee, but the way seemed long to them, yet will they swear by God: 'Had we been able we had surely gone forth with you;' they are self-destroyers! And God knoweth that they are surely liars.

God forgive thee! Why didst thou give them leave to stay behind, ere they who made true excuses had become known to thee, and thou hadst known the liars?

They only will ask thy leave who believe not in God and in the last day, and whose hearts are full of doubts and who are tossed up and down in their doubtings.

Moreover, had they been desirous to take the field, they would have got ready for that purpose the munitions of war. But God was averse to their marching forth and made them laggards.

Had they taken the field with you, they would only have added a burden to you and have hurried about among you, stirring you up to sedition. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 38-9: 41-3: 45-7.

They who were left at home were delighted to stay behind God's Apostle, and were averse from contending with their riches and their persons for the cause of God and said, 'March not out in the heat.' Say, 'A fiercer heat will be the fire of hell.' Would that they understood this. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 82.

When a Súra was sent down with 'Believe in God and go forth to war with the Apostle,' those of them who are possessed of riches demanded exemption and said, 'Allow us to be with those who sit at home'. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 87.¹

¹ The whole passage, verses 82-107, deals with this subject. I have quoted only a few verses.

The faithless Bedouins are severely rebuked thus :—

Some Arabs of the desert came with excuses, praying exemption ; and they who had gainsaid God and His Apostle sat at home ; a grievous punishment shall light on such of them as believe not. *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 91.

The Arabs of the desert are most stout in unbelief and dissimulation. . . .

Of the Arabs of the desert there are some who reckon what they expend in the cause of God as tribute and wait for some change of fortune to befall you ; a change for evil shall befall them ! God is the Hearer, the Knower. *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 98-9.

Thus, all who held back are rebuked, and the Prophet and those who went are highly commended and told that ' all good things ' await them, for God hath made for them ' gardens beneath which the rivers flow ' where there is bliss for ever.¹ Some believers afterwards confessed their fault and were forgiven, but the Prophet was told to take of their substance in order to cleanse and purify them. Some others were kept waiting before a decision was given in their favour, but at last they too were pardoned :—

Others have owned their faults, and with an action that is right they have mixed another that is wrong. God will haply be turned to them, for God is Forgiving, Merciful.

Take alms of their substance, that thou mayest cleanse and purify them thereby and pray for them ; for thy prayers shall assure their minds : and God Heareth. Knoweth. *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 103-4.

¹ *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 90.

The tenth verse in the same *Súra* :—

And others await the decisions of God, whether He will punish them, or whether He will be turned unto them, for God is Knowing, Wise.

is said to have special reference to Ka'b ibn Málik, a warrior, who had received eleven wounds at Uḥud. He was also a poet. He and two of his friends had no valid reason for not going to Tabúk and their defection set a bad example. Their conduct could not be passed over in silence. They were excommunicated for fifty days and prohibited from holding any intercourse with their wives or families. Then Muḥammad, seeing their miserable condition, relented and this revelation came :—

He hath turned Him unto the three who were left behind, so that the earth, spacious as it is, became too strait for them, and their souls became so straitened within them, that they bethought them that there was no refuge from God but unto Himself. Then was He turned to them, that they might be turned to Him, for God is He that turneth, the Merciful. *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 119.

This ninth *Súra* is the last one, or the last but one, revealed.¹ It is fierce and intolerant, and shows how advancing years, instead of mellowing and softening the temper of the Prophet, only developed his warlike spirit which loved to receive the supposed divine injunction :—

O Prophet ! contend against the infidels and the

¹ It belongs for the most part to the ninth year of the Hijra, though verses 13-16 belong to the previous year. The verses 36-7 belong to the year A.H. 10. The other verses are not arranged in any regular chronological order, but the *Súra*, as a whole, represents the mind of the Prophet in the eighth and ninth year of his power, and is chiefly remarkable for its arrogant intolerance. See Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qoráns*, pp. 165-9.

hypocrites and be rigorous with them : Hell shall be their dwelling place ! Wretched the journey thither ! Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 74.¹

Whilst the call to arms is general Muḥammad exempted students and religious teachers :—

The faithful must not march forth altogether to the wars : and if a party of every band march not out, it is that they may instruct their people in their religion and may warn their people when they come back to them, that they take heed to themselves. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 123.

As Muḥammad was preparing to go to Tabúk he was asked to open a newly-erected Mosque at Kúba. He found on his return that it had been built with a sectarian spirit, so he ordered it to be destroyed and said :—

There are some who have built a Mosque for mischief and for infidelity and to disunite the faithful and in expectation of him, who in time past warred against God and His Apostle. They will surely swear 'our aim was only good ;' but God is witness that they are liars.

Never set thy foot in it.² There is a Mosque founded from its first day in piety. More worthy is it that thou enter therein ; therein are men who aspire to purity and God loveth the purified.

Which of the two is best ? He who hath founded his building on the fear of God and the desire to please Him, or he who hath founded his building on the brink of an undermined bank washed away by torrents, so that it rusheth with him into the fire of Hell ? But God guideth not the doers of wrong.

¹ Nöldeke places this verse after the return from Tabúk, or the latter part of A.H. 9. *Geschichte des Qoráns*, p. 167. See also *Tafsír-i-Husainí* on verse 75.

² Or, never stand there in it (to pray).

Their building which they have built will not cease to cause uneasiness in their hearts, until their hearts are cut in pieces. God is Knowing, Wise. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 108-110.

The expedition to Tabúk was the last one commanded by Muḥammad in person, and now it seemed 'as if all opposition' was crushed, all danger over.¹ There is a Tradition to the effect that the followers of the Prophet began to sell their arms and to say, 'The wars for religion are now ended.' But when this reached the ears of the Prophet, he forbade it saying, 'There shall not cease from the midst of my people a party engaged in war for the truth, even until Antichrist appear.'² Whether the Tradition is a genuine one or not, it shows at least the views which the early Muslims held as to religious wars and is quite in accord with the Tradition already referred to,³ 'Jihád will remain till the day of judgement.'

The compulsion of the Jews and Christians, after the expedition to Tabúk, is sanctioned in some verses of Súratu't-Tauba (ix), which the best authorities place soon after that date :—

Make war upon those who believe not in God, nor in the last day, and who forbid not that which God and His Apostle have forbidden and who profess not the profession of the truth, until they pay tribute out of hand, and they be humbled.

¹ 'During the ten years of his residence in Madína Muḥammad organized thirty-eight military expeditions, and twenty-seven of these he accompanied in person, as chief commander, for the furtherance of the cause of Islám.' See Ibn Ishâq and Ibn Hishâm, quoted by Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 323.

² Wâqidi quoted by Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv, p. 202.

³ *Ante*, p. 108.

The Jews say, 'Ezra ('Uzair) is a son of God,' and the Christians say, 'The Messiah is a son of God.' Such the sayings in their mouths. They resemble the saying of the infidels of old! God do battle with them!¹ How are they misguided!

¹ Rodwell translates these words as 'God do battle with them;' Palmer as 'God fought them;' Sale as 'May God resist them'. The opinion of the commentators is much the same, for Sháh Wali Ulláh Muḥaddath translates them by لعنت كرد ایشان را خدا—

'God cursed them.' Ibn 'Abbás says لعنهم الله—'God cursed them.' Ḥusain says لعنت كناد خدای بر ایشان—'May God curse them.'

The *Khatāṣatu't-Tafāsīr* also has هلاك كره ان كو الله—'May God destroy them.'

Baidāwī gives the following explanation:—

دعاء عليهم بالهلاك فان من قاتله الله هلك او تعجب من شناعة قولهم

'A prayer for their destruction for he whom God fights against is destroyed, or astonishment at the odiousness of their sayings.'

Nadīr Aḥmad in his Urdu translation of the Qur'ān says: May God make havoc of them.' Shaikh

'Abdu'l-Qādir's Urdu translation has مار ڈالے ان كو الله—'May God kill them.' Aḥmad Sháh translates the words thus:—'May God

kill them'—الله ان كو مارے—

'Alī is reported to have said it means 'curse them.' Zamakhsharī's comment on these words is: 'they deserve to have this saying applied to them out of amazement at their abominable language.'

Zamakhsharī was a Mu'tazilī, and his view is generally adopted by Muslims of broader views. To them the words mean 'May God confound them' or some such term; but the sterner view is common.

The words in the Qur'ān are literally: قَاتِلُوهُمْ اللهُ 'kill them.' All this is not in accordance with the kindly tone of a passage in the fifth Sūra:—

Thou wilt find the nearest in love to those who believe to be those who say, 'We are Christians.' This is, because there are amongst them priests and monks, and because they are not proud. Sūratu'l-Mā'ida (v) 85.

I must, however, be borne in mind that these words are followed by a verse showing the readiness of these Christians to embrace Islām:—

And when they hear what hath been revealed to the Prophet, you will see their eyes gush with tears at what they recognize as truth therein; and they will say, 'O our Lord, we believe, write us down with those who bear witness.' Sūratu'l-Mā'ida (v) 86.

They take their teachers and their monks and their Messiah, son of Mary, for lords besides God¹ though bidden to worship one God only. There is no god but He. Far from His glory be what they associate with Him.

In any case, these two verses, just quoted in this note, do not deal with the general subject of the relation of Muslims to Christians, and are limited in their application. Again, they do not express the matured and final feelings of the Prophet, for though they occur in the latest Sūra of all, the fifth, they themselves belong to the earlier period. They are antecedent to the fiercer verses of the ninth Sūra quoted in the text. As a proof of this, we find that the commentator Ḥusain says that they refer to seventy persons sent to Muḥammad by Najāshi, the king of Abyssinia, who had shown great kindness to the Meccan refugees. (*Ante*, p. 30.) This was about the seventh year of the Hijra. So, assuming that these Christians did not come till this late period, it was still some two years before the stricter order in Sūratu'l-Mā'ida (v) 56, absolutely prohibiting friendship with Jews or Christians, was given, and this is the final word on the subject:—

O Believers take not the Jews or Christians as friends. If any one of you taketh them for his friends, he surely is one of them! God will not guide the evil-doers. Sūratu'l-Mā'ida (v) 56.

Ḥusain says that the Prophet read the Sūratu Yā Sīn (xxxvi) to these Christian visitors, who were delighted and said to one another, 'What perfect similarity it has to that which came to Jesus.' They then accepted Islām.

احكام اسلام و ايمان قبول كرده با يكديگر گفتند كه قرآن چه مشاهبت تمام

دارد يانچه بر عيسى نازل شده

Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī, vol. i, p. 155.

اِتَّخَذُوا اَحْبَارَهُمْ وَرُهَبَانَهُمْ اَرْبَابًا مِنْ دُونِ اللّٰهِ

Ḥusain translates this passage of the Qur'ān by,

فرا گرفتند يهود و نصارى علمای خود را و عباد خود را خدايان

'The Jews and Christians take their learned and pious men to be gods.' The word اَرْبَابًا is here the plural of رَبِّ. It is an allusion to the word (ربِّي) Rabbi, used by the Jews and Christians of their priests, but in Arabic of God only. See Rodwell's *Qur'ān*, p. 616; Palmer's *Qur'ān*, vol. i, p. 177.

There was no harm in a Jew's calling a learned man or a religious leader a rabbi, but Muḥammad made a blunder and altogether mistook the meaning of the word. This is accounted for by his ignorance of Hebrew. But another difficulty arises, for, it is not, according to the orthodox view of inspiration, Muḥammad who speaks in the Qur'ān, but God through him. It seems clear that this verse overthrows the idea of the verbal, or waḥī inspiration of the Qur'ān.

Fain would they put out God's light with their mouths :¹
but God only desireth to perfect His light, albeit the
infidels abhor it.

He it is who hath sent His Apostle with the guidance
and a religion of the truth, that he may make it
victorious over every religion,² albeit they who
assign partners to God be averse from it.

O Believers! of a truth, many of the teachers and
monks do devour man's substance in vanity, and

لَيَرِيدُونَ أَنْ يُطْفِئُوا نُورَ اللَّهِ بِأَفْوَاهِهِمْ

Husain says that this light is the 'Qur'ān, or the prophethip of
Muḥammad, or the clear proof of his holiness and continence.'

قرآن است یا نبوت محمد را یا حجت روشن بر تقدس و تضره او از زن

Tafsīr-i-Husainī vol. i, p. 254.

Baidāwī says it is the Qur'ān or the prophethip of Muḥammad and
explains 'with their mouths' to mean 'with their polytheism and
lies.'

Others say, 'It is a metaphor meaning God's light, or the true
religion—Islām, or the pure Qur'ān, or the Most Holy Presence.'

استعاره هی که دین حق یا اسلام یا قرآن پاک یا حضور اقدس

Khulāṣatu't-Tafsīr, vol. ii, p. 242.

The Most Holy Presence is said to refer to Muḥammad and to the
nūr-i-Muḥammadi, to be a proof that 'the light of Muḥammad and
the religion of Aḥmad is permanent and cannot be abolished.'

معلوم هوا که نور محمدی اور دین احمدی دائمی ہی کسی کے متعلق است
نه سکیگا

Khulāṣatu't-Tafsīr, vol. ii, p. 213.

It is said that 'with their mouths' is a figurative expression to
denote that by the lies they tell the true religion may be prevented
from spreading.

هُوَ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَ رَسُولَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ لِيُظَاهِرَهُ عَلَىٰ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا

This is explained to mean that God has sent Muḥammad with
Islām, the true religion, and that it conquers all other religions, and
abrogates their laws and that, after the descent of Jesus, there will
be no religion but Islām in the world :—

و غالب گرداند دین خود را بر همه دینها و منسوخ سازد احکام آنها و آن

بعد از نزول عیسی خواهد بود که بر روی زمین جز دین اسلام نماند

Tafsīr-i-Husainī, vol. i, p. 254.

In the *Khulāṣatu't-Tafsīr*, vol. ii, p. 243, we have the following
statement :—اسلام فاسخ الاديان و غالب البرهان

'Islām is the abrogator of religions and an evident conqueror.'

'Abdu'lIlāh ibn 'Abbās says it means 'all religions whether of the
past or yet to come.'

turn them from the way of God. But to those who
treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the
way of God, announce tidings of a grievous torment ;
On that day when it shall be heated in the fire of hell
and their brows shall be branded therewith and their
sides and their backs. Sūratu't-Tauba (ix) 29-35.¹

These verses connected with the Prophet's
last warlike expedition, an expedition entirely

¹ This whole passage is one of such importance that I give the
views of the commentator Husain at some length on it. He says :—

بکشید ای مومنان و کارزار کنید بآنکه ایمان ندارد بخدای یعنی یہود کہ
ہے تشنیہ قائل اند و نصاری کہ تالیث را معتقد اند نمی گروند بروز قیامت یہود
گویند کہ در بہشت اکل و مشرب نخواهد بود و نصاری معاد روحانی را اثبات
میکند و محرم نمیدانند آنچه حرام کردہ است خدای از خمر و مخزیر و آنچه حرام
کردہ است رسول او یعنی محرم نمیدانند آنچه حرامست او بکتاب و سنت ثابت
ہندہ است - باہل کتاب مقاتلہ کنید تا وقتیکہ بدهند جزیہ و حال آنکہ ایشان
خوار شدگان باشند یعنی جزیہ بدست آرند و نشینند تا وقتیکہ تسلیم کنند
با ایشان جزیہ بگیرند و گردن ایشان را بسیلی فرو گویند

Tafsīr-i-Husainī, vol. i, p. 253.

'O believers kill and fight those who do not believe in God, that
is, the Jews who believe in Duality and the Christians who are
believers in a Trinity; they do not accept the day of Judgement;
and the Jews say that in Paradise there is no eating and drinking
and the Christians affirm that it is only a spiritual state. They do
not consider as unlawful that which God has made so, such as,
leaven and pigs, and that which the Prophet has declared unlawful;
that is, they do not consider unlawful that which in the Qur'ān and
the Sunna is proved to be so. You should fight with the people of
the Book until they pay the jizya, and their state should be a very
abject one, that is, they must pay the jizya with their own hand and
not sit down until they have rendered obelance; or take the jizya
from them and with a slapping on the back of the neck beat them
down.'

Here it is quite clear that the reference is not to the pagan Arabs
but to Jews and Christians, and from this verse and especially the
words 'they be humbled' has arisen the contemptuous treatment of
the Dhmmis in Muslim lands. There is some difference of opinion
as to the persons from whom the jizya may be taken. Imām Shāfi'i
says it can only be taken from the Jews and Christians; Imām A'zam
says all polytheists should pay. He excepts the pagan Arabs,
to whom is given only the choice between Islām and the sword
(یا تیغ است یا اسلام). Imām Mālik says it may be received from all
infidels except apostates, and for them the order is death. The
material nature of heaven is implied, and the co-ordinate authority
of the Qur'ān and the Sunna is maintained.

concerned with the submission of Christian and Jewish communities, may be fairly taken as his final and deliberate opinion as to the future relation of Islām to these creeds and people.

The last Sūra, Sūratu'l-Mā'ida (v), contains a verse (56) similar in tone to those just quoted, but it is probably an interpolation in this Sūra and its date is said to be just after the battle of Uḥud.¹ If this is so, it simply shows that the final injunction in the ninth Sūra regarding Jews and Christians was no hasty opinion, called forth by special circumstances, but the development of a principle settled some years before. The verse is:—

O ye who believe, take not the Jews and Christians as your friends, for they are but one another's friends ;

As regards Ezra ('Uzair) Ḥusain relates a Tradition to the effect that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed all the copies of the Pentateuch, but that Ezra had committed it to memory and, on his way back from captivity, he died, and then, after a hundred years, he rose from the dead and dictated the Pentateuch. The Jews marvelled and said, this was because he was a son of God. There is no Jewish authority for this Tradition, and so the charge against the Jews is not proved and may be dismissed as a pure invention.

This Tradition is referred to in another form in the Sūratu'l-Baqara (ii) 261 :—

Like him who passed by a city which had been laid in ruins, and said, 'How will God revive this after death?' And God made him die for a hundred years, then He raised him and said, 'How long hast thou tarried?' He replied, 'I have tarried a day, or some part of a day.' He said, 'Nay thou hast tarried a hundred years : look at thy food and drink, they are not spoiled, and look at thine ass ; for we will make thee a sign to men, and look at the bones how we scatter them, and then clothe them with flesh.'

The commentators refer this to Ezra, who is said to have passed by the ruins of Jerusalem and to have doubted whether it could ever be rebuilt. God then performed this miracle as a 'sign to men.' (See *Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī*, vol. i, p. 50.) Baiḏāwī says it is Ezra or Elias (al-Khidr). Muḥammad has here confused Ezra with Nehemiah. The fable has its origin probably in some inaccurate account given to the Prophet of Nehemiah's ride round the ruined city. *Nehemiah*, ii. 11-16.

¹ Ibn Kaṭīr says this verse came down at the time when the Bani Quraiza (*ante*, p. 101) were rendered helpless, a proof of the earlier date of the verse. See *Khalāṣatu't-Tafsīr*, vol. i, p. 535.

whoso amongst you taketh them for friends, verily he is one of them,¹ and verily God guideth not unjust people. Sūratu'l-Mā'ida (v) 56.²

Thus did Muḥammad finally part company with those for whom, in the earlier stages of his career, he had professed respect, whose sacred books he had referred to with reverence, and

¹ Ḥusain in his comment on these words says that this is 'a very strong injunction in the matter of friendship with Jews and Christians.'

این سخن غایت تهديد در موالات يهود و نصارى
Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī, vol. i, p. 149.

² This verse seems to contradict the apparently more liberal view in :—

To thee have we sent down the Book with truth, confirmatory of previous Scriptures and their safeguard. Judge therefore between them by what God hath sent down, and follow not their desires by deserting the truth which hath come unto them. For each one of you have we given a law and an open path,

And if God had pleased He had surely made you one people, but He would test you by what He hath given to each. Sūratu'l-Mā'ida (v) 52-3.

The testing is said to be by 'divers laws, suitable for each member, and each period of time, or age, so that the obedient may be distinguished from the disobedient.'

از هراتج مختلفه مناسب هر عضوی و زمانی تا مطیع از عامی متمیز شود

Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī, vol. i, p. 148.

These two verses have sorely troubled the commentators, for they seem to show that the differences of religion were by God's appointment, whereas from the context we should have expected them to be the result of human sin and waywardness. The orthodox explanation is that the words لِكُلِّ 'for each one' do not apply to each

individual, each period or each tribe, but to each prophet to whom a law has been sent down : so that the meaning of the whole passage is, that God has given to each prophet a law which the people of that age, until such law is abrogated, should obey, and so it goes on with successive prophets and religions. Now, Jews and Christians can no longer follow their distinctive laws, for both are abrogated and Islām is now the law of this age. *Khalāṣatu't-Tafsīr*, vol. i, p. 530.

'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās says لِكُلِّ means 'each Prophet,' and explains it as لِكُلِّ نَبِيٍّ مِنْكُمْ 'each prophet from amongst you.' The commentators Shāh Wali Ullāh Muḥaddath and Ḥusain translate لِكُلِّ by هر گروه 'each tribe.'

from whose teaching he had borrowed all that was good in his own. Having now arrived at supreme power he could afford to cast aside all that had helped him on his way, and all this he now brought into subjection to himself.¹

It cannot be maintained, though it has been said, that Islám was or is propagated by peaceful methods alone.² It is admitted that such has sometimes been the case, and also that some forms of Christianity have been propagated by force; but the real point is, that the employment of force is neither

¹ It is interesting to note that the charges against Christians of looking upon the Virgin Mary as the third person of the Trinity is made in the last of all the Sûras:—

O Jesus, Son of Mary, hast thou said unto mankind 'Take me and my mother as two Gods beside God?' He shall say: 'Glory be unto Thee! it is not for me to say that which I know to be not the truth.' Sûratu'l-Má'ida (v) 116.

Whether Muḥammad knew better or not is uncertain, but, however that may be, this is his parting accusation. He could have ascertained the true facts of the case, for on Christian monuments found by Dr. E. Glaser in Yemen, the Sirwah inscription opens with the words, 'In the power of the all-Merciful and His Messiah and the Holy Ghost.' (Zwemer, *Islám*, p. 21.) To say the least, Muḥammad here made a serious mistake, which it is difficult to reconcile with the verbal-inspiration of the Qur'án.

² I have not quoted in the text the passage against unbelievers in Sûratu'l-Baqara (ii) 186-9, because it may refer to the pilgrimage to Mecca in the year A.H. 7, in which case it would be a late interpolation in this Sûra. If this is so, it refers only to the Prophet's adversaries in Mecca, but of them it is said:—

Fight against them till there be no more tumult and the only worship be that of God. Sûratu'l-Baqara (ii) 189. The Arabic text is:—

وَقَاتِلُوهُمْ حَتَّى لَا تَكُونَ فِتْنَةً وَيَكُونَ الدِّينَ لِلَّهِ

We may note that the verb is قتل kill; not جهد, make Jihād, so that all arguments based on the assertion that in the Qur'án جهد does not mean 'make war,' 'but strive earnestly' do not apply in such a verse as this, nor at all soften the fierceness of the order. If it does apply to the Meccans alone, it still proves that in Arabia Islám was, and was meant to be, propagated by the sword and not by peaceful methods alone. It is not a mere civil war against an established government that is here described; but a religious war on the Meccans who were not the subjects of the Prophet, as the ruler of Madina, and who did not want to accept either his political rule or his religious headship.

according to the spirit nor to the injunctions of the founder of Christianity: it is, however, in accordance with the mind and in conformity with the actions of Muḥammad whose last words to his people on the point are plain. So long as Islám lives will these words ring in the ears of every orthodox Muslim, 'God do battle with them!' The legacy of the Prophet is no word of peace, but an inspiring war cry which as years roll on ever keeps alive a fanatical spirit. It is a sad ending to the life work of so great a man.¹ At the same

This is the mildest view of the passage, but many Muslims do not so limit its application. They see in it a clear call to Jihād, or religious war, in all ages. The Tradition, 'Jihād will go on until the day of judgement,' الْجِهَادُ مَا مَيَّ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ is very often quoted with approval.

It is also said that the one hundred and eighty-ninth verse applies to all, except those who pay the tax called the jizya, or who are in alliance with Muslims; but in the Arabian peninsula no infidel was to be allowed to remain, and the life of no apostate (مرتد) was to be spared (*Khalāsatu't-Tafāsir*, vol. i, p. 132); so that, in their possibly limited application, as in their probably extended one, these words conclusively show that Islám was not propagated by peaceful methods.

In the two hundred and forty-fifth verse we have the words قَاتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ—'Kill in the path of God.' The commentator Ḥusain says on this:—

در راه خدای برای آشکارا کردن دین خدای

'Fight in God's cause to make known the religion of God.' (*Tafsir-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. i, p. 44.) Here again it is clearly said that Islám is to be made known by the sword.

Tirmidhī says 'the Prophet ordered that they should make war on men till they said "there is no God but God".'

قال رسول الله صلعم امرت أن أقاتل الناس حتى يقولوا لا إله إلا الله

Jāmi'u't-Tirmidhī (Lucknow, ed. 1903) vol. ii, p. 468.

For evidence that this aggressive spirit still remains in Islám, see *The Moslem World*, July, 1913, pp. 290-305.

The most recent attempt to show that Islám is propagated by peaceful methods is in the very interesting book, called *The Preaching of Islám*, by T. W. Arnold. The author quotes at the commencement of his book (pp. 3-6) many of, if not all, the kindly expressions he can find in the Qur'án. Strange to say, though he quotes

time it may also be admitted that where Islám is modified by contact with higher civilizations, as in India, the spirit of intolerance which the Súratu't-Tauba (ix) inculcates is much lessened. Amongst Muslims of the new school a friendly spirit towards men of other creeds is becoming more and more common: but this is a welcome departure from its earliest principles.

Prayer for unbelievers, though relatives, is now forbidden, yet Abraham prayed for his father thus: 'Forgive my father, for he was one of the erring.' Súratu'l-Shu'ara' (xxvi) 86. The tolerant attitude of earlier days was now set aside, still the alteration had to be explained and the next verse attempts to justify this new position of intolerance.

This idea of the sacred war incumbent upon all the faithful was only gradually arrived at. This conception that all 'the religion should be of God,' that Islám should be supreme, was a grand one, and as political power increased it took clearer shape in the Prophet's mind. He had now left far behind such sentiments as

from this very Súra, the ninth, he entirely omits these verses (29-35) which run directly counter to the whole argument of his book. Stanley Lane-Poole considers, that 'these later denunciations probably annul the more favourable judgements elsewhere expressed' (*Studies in a Mosque*, p. 155). It is a fact that Christians do say, 'The Messiah is a Son of God.' Muhammad advocated no peaceful method with such, but said, 'God do battle with them,' and this towards the close of his mission and in his old age, with thoughts well matured and plans formed. A Tradition recorded by Wāqidi states that on his death-bed Muhammad said, 'The Lord destroy the Jews and Christians.' But it is not necessary to press this point, for the Tradition may not be one of much authority. The latest revelations of the Qur'án itself are quite enough, as I have shown, to reveal the Prophet's final attitude of uncompromising hostility to all who differed from him. See Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv, p. 270.

were expressed at the latter part of the Meccan period:—

Dispute ye not, unless in kindest sort, with the people of the Book. Súratu'l-'Ankabút (xxix) 45.¹

He had forgotten the excellent advice he once gave to his followers, some seven or eight years previously, when they first came to Madína and were feeling their way with Jews, Christians and pagans. He then said:—

Let there be no compulsion in religion. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 257.²

¹ *Ante*, p. 80.

² لا إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ It is said that this does not touch the general

law about the enforcement of the jizya, or poll-tax, of imprisonment and for renegades the penalty of death; but refers to the special case of two Christians, who did not wish to become Muslims. 'A certain man named Ḥaṣín had two sons who were Christians and did not wish to become Muslims, this (verse) shows that there was to be no compulsion.'

حصین نامی ایک مرد کے دو لڑکے نصرانی تھے اور اسلام پر راضی نہوتے تو ارشاد ہوا کہ دین میں جبر نہیں

Khalāṣatu't-Tafāsīr, vol. i, p. 202.

Ḥusain says that it refers to the two sons of one of the Anṣār, named Abū'l-Ḥaṣín, who were led away by a Syrian fire-worshipper. The father wished to use force to restrain them; but Muḥammad forbade it and told him not to interfere with any one 'firm in religion.'

ابو الحصین انصاری دو پسر قابل دابست ناکاہ ترسای از شام بہ مدینہ آمد با او مصاحبت نمودند بوجہ فسون و فسانتہ وی مغرور گشتہ و دین ترسائی اختیار کردند و ہمراہ او متوجہ شام شدند ابو الحصین از حضرت رسالت پناہ دستوری خواست تا ہرود و ایشان را یا کراہ ہرآہ شرع باز آرد و این آیت نازل شد کہ اکرآہ مکنید کسی را کہ بدینی متدین شدہ است

He says further that it applies to Christians, Jews, Magians and the Sabiāns (*ante*, p. 84), provided that they pay the jizya, or poll-tax; but that as regards the Arabs, who refuse to become Muslims, it is abrogated by the 'verse of the killing' which reads 'kill them wherever ye shall find them.' Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 187.

اكرآہ هيچكس را از يهود و نصرانی و مجوس و صابيان بجز آوردن اسلام بشرط قبول جزية - گفته اند حكم اين آيت بآيت قتال منسوخ است از تمام قبائل عرب جز دین اسلام قبول نبود

Tafsīr-i-Ḥusainī, vol. i, p. 48.

It was all different now; there was to be the most absolute compulsion; but a victorious leader could assume a position and dictate in a way a fugitive preacher with a position yet to make could not. 'The intoxication of success had long since stilled the voice of his better self. The aged Prophet, standing on the brink of the grave, and leaving as his last legacy a mandate of universal war, irresistibly recalls, by force of contrast, the parting words to his disciples by another religious teacher, that they should go forth and preach a Gospel of peace to all nations. Nor less striking in their contrast is the response to either mandate—the Arab, with the Qur'an in one hand and the sword in the other, spreading his creed amid the glare of burning cities and the shrieks of violated homes—and the apostles of Christ working in the moral darkness of the Roman world with the gentle but irresistible power of light, laying anew the foundations of society and cleansing at their source the polluted springs of national and domestic life.'¹

In the one hundred and third verse of the second Súra the Jews are represented as wishing to lead

Baidāwī (vol. i, p. 132) also speaks of its abrogation by the words:—

O Prophet, contend against the Infidels and the Hypocrites and be rigorous with them. *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 74.

It is quite clear, therefore, that no general principle of toleration is here laid down. For Arabs there was absolutely none, and men of other religions were only permitted to live on payment of a poll-tax, so that even in their case there was no real toleration.

It is most important to ascertain the respective dates of all such mild passages and also of the harsher verses. Merely to cast together all the kindly ones without any reference to their date, or the circumstances under which they were delivered, as is sometimes done, is simply misleading.

¹ Osborn, *Islám under the Arabs*, p. 54.

the Muslims astray, and the latter are told to be patient and forgiving:—

Many of the people of the Book desire to bring you back to unbelief after ye have believed, out of selfish envy, even after the truth hath been clearly shown to them. But forgive them and shun them till God shall come in with His working. Truly God hath power over all things. *Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 103.

According to the commentators Mu'álim and Mazhar the Jews were those who, after the defeat of the Muslims in the battle of Uḥud, reproached them and said that it proved their religion to be false. They were to be patient with them till the order for killing came. Other commentators say it is abrogated by the verse of Jihád.¹

Husain interprets the words 'till God shall come in with His working,'² as meaning 'till the time when God brings the order for killing or for the imposition of the jizya, or poll-tax.'

Thus it is clear that, however desirous Muḥammad may have been, when his position was weakened after his defeat at Uḥud, to conciliate

! معالِم اور مظہر میں ہی کہ بعد جنگ احد یہود مسلمانوں کو طعن کرتے اور کہتے اگر دین تمہارا حق اور محمد پیغمبر ہوتے تو ایسی شکست نمانتی ارفساد ہوا جب تک حکم قتال نہ آئی مگر دوسری تفسیروں میں یہ قصہ منکور نہیں ہوا اور مشرر میں ہی کہ مسلمانوں کو بہگاتے تھے

اللہ تعالیٰ نے فرمایا کہ تم ایسی صبر کرو اور یہ آیت آیت جہاد سے منسوخ ہی—
Khulāṣatu'l-Tafsīr, vol. i, p. 62.

2 تا وقتیکہ بیمار خدای فرمان خود را کہ حکم است بقتال یا امر بجزیہ—
Tafsīr-i-Husaini, vol. i, p. 18.

Baidāwī explains 'His working' to mean 'the order for their slaughter and the exaction of the jizya; or the killing of the Bani Quraiza and the banishment of the Bani Naḡhīr.' Ibn 'Abbās holds that the advice to show forgiveness is cancelled by the 'verse of the sword.' Baidāwī, vol. i, p. 79

the Jews, who were then a source of danger, it was only a temporary expedient and Muslim authorities do not consider it binding on them now that the 'verse of killing' has been revealed.

Muḥammad did not go to Mecca at the usual time of the annual pilgrimage, for heathen people were still present;¹ so in the ninth year of the Hijra he sent Abú Bakr with a small body of pilgrims. Still this condition of things could not be allowed to go on, and so a revelation came releasing the Prophet from any obligation to respect the heathen Arabs. This revelation was given by Muḥammad to 'Alí, who, starting after Abú Bakr and the pilgrims had left, joined him and his party at Mecca. Towards the close of the pilgrimage, 'Alí read out the revelation, which Muḥammad had given him as God's message, to a large multitude of the Arabs assembled for the pilgrimage.² The opening words are:—

An immunity from God and His Apostle to those polytheists with whom ye have made a league among the polytheist Arabs.

Go ye, therefore, at large in the land four months; but know that God ye shall not weaken,³ and that God will put to shame the infidels.

¹ 'As it had reached the august hearing of his lordship that the idolaters were in the habit of circumambulating the house of Alláh in the same manner as in the time of ignorance (i.e., pre-Islamic days) and in a state of perfect nudity, he was so disgusted that he felt disinclined to come in contact with them himself.' *Rauḍatu's-Safá*, part ii, vol. ii, p. 673.

² 'It is said that 'Alí made it clear to them that between unbelievers and believers, idolaters and worshippers of the Unity, there could be no treaty and no peace, and that in Paradise there would be none except Muslims. *Khaláṣatu't-Tafsír*, vol. ii, p. 215.

³ Literally, 'that ye cannot weaken God,' that is, hinder Him in this His purpose.

And a proclamation on the part of God and His Apostle to the people on the day of the greater Pilgrimage,¹ that God and His Apostle are free from any engagement with the polytheists.² If therefore ye turn to God it will be better for you; but if ye turn back, then know that ye shall not weaken God, and to those who believe not announce a grievous punishment.

But this concerneth not those polytheists with whom ye are in league, and who shall afterwards have in no way failed you, nor aided any one against you. Observe, therefore, engagement with them through the whole time of their treaty, for God loveth those who fear Him.

And when the sacred months are past, kill those who join other gods with God wherever ye shall find them, and seize them, besiege them, and lay wait for them with every kind of ambush; but if they repent and observe the prayers, and pay the obligatory alms, then let them go their way, for God is Gracious, Merciful. *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 1-5.

There is apparent contradiction between the first verse which declares Muḥammad's immunity and freedom from the observance of treaties and the fourth verse which speaks of a league with friendly polytheists. The explanation probably is that, whilst as polytheists they could not be allowed to come to the pilgrimage, the treaty with them would, in other respects, be observed. The pilgrims who

¹ The Hajj, not the 'Umra, or Lesser Pilgrimage.

² Husain translates the clause *وَاللّٰهُ تَبَرَّأَ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِيْنَ* by
خدا بيزار است از مشركين و عيود ايشان و پيغمبر است

'God is absolved from, or free from any treaty with the polytheists, and so is His Apostle also.' *Tafsír-i-Husainí*, vol. i, p. 247.

were still unbelievers listened to all that 'Alí had to say, including the statement:—

O Believers! only the polytheists are unclean! Let them (i.e., pagans) not, therefore, after this year come near the Sacred Temple. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 28.

This order was so clear and distinct, and was now so well supported by material force that there was nothing to do but to submit, which the Arabs then did.

All opposition had now been broken down, and, as the Ka'ba was purged of all idolatrous connexions and none but believers might enter it, Muḥammad determined to make the 'Greater Pilgrimage' in this the tenth year of the Híjra. It is said that he was attended by more than one hundred thousand persons. After the circumambulation was over he turned to the Maqám-i-Ibrahim, or Place of Abraham, and said, 'consider the Place of Abraham as a place of prayer.' He then said the Fátíḥa, the opening Súra of the Qur'án, then Súratu'l-Káfirún (cix), then the Súratu'l-Ikhlás (cxii). He then went most carefully through the whole ceremonial, including the kissing of the black stone and the drinking of water from the sacred well, and all other of the old pagan rites.¹ The opportunity was taken to deliver an address on inheritance, adultery, treatment of women, who on occasion

¹ A Tradition states that Muḥammad said: 'Observe, and learn of me the ceremonies which ye should practise, for I know not whether after this I shall ever perform another pilgrimage.' Wáqidi, quoted by Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv, p. 234.

He made the first three ṭawáf, or circumambulations, quickly and the last four slowly. (*Rauḍatu's-Safá*, part ii, vol. ii, p. 696.) This is the custom still; it follows the Sunna, i.e., the example set by the Prophet.

were to be 'beaten with stripes, yet not severely,' on slaves, and on the equality of Muslims. The portion¹ of the Súratu't-Tauba (ix) abolishing the triennial intercalation of a month to reduce the lunar to the solar years was recited, and the month of the Pilgrimage fixed according to the changing seasons of the lunar year. This change seriously affected the commerce of Mecca, though the institution of the Ḥajj, with the large number of pilgrims it brings to the city, to some extent compensated for it. 'Previously by unscientific intercalation the months had been made to correspond roughly with the seasons; Muḥammad, by now making twelve lunar months, destroyed all relation between them. Of any accommodation of the Pilgrimage months to the needs of commerce there would no longer be any question. . . . The commerce of Mecca was ruined.'²

On one of the days he went to the top of the Mount 'Arafát and then, standing erect on his camel, said:—³

This day I have perfected your religion unto you and fulfilled my mercy upon you, and appointed Islám to be your religion.⁴ Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 5.

¹ Verses 36-7.

² Margoliouth, *Muḥammed*, p. 393.

³ *Rauḍatu's-Safá*, part ii, vol. ii, p. 696.

هَ الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتَمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ
الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا

'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Abbás says this means, 'I have explained to you the laws regarding things lawful and unlawful, and the positive and negative precepts—after this day no polytheists must come to 'Arafát and Mina or make the circumambulation (ṭawáf) of the Ka'ba, or the running (sa'í) between Šafá and Marwa.'

He then proceeded to Muzdalífah, said the *Ṣalátu'l-Maghríb* and the *Ṣalátu'l-Ishá*—the sunset and the evening prayers—with the *Adhán* or call to prayer and the *Iqámat*, a repetition of the *Adhán* with the addition of the words, 'Prayer has commenced.' In the morning he visited the holy monument (now the mosque *Masharu'l-Harám*) and repeated the *Takbír*, *Alláhu Akbar*, 'God is most great;' the *Tahlíl*, 'There is no god but God;' the *Ta'awwudh*, 'I seek refuge from cursed Satan.' He then went through the ceremonies, sanctioned by ancient Arab custom, of throwing stones at certain pillars in the valley of *Miná* and so concluded the pilgrimage.

Thus, the incorporation of this pagan rite completed and perfected the religion, which the Arabian Prophet left to his countrymen as that which superseded and abrogated all previous ones.

Husain on this fifth verse of the *Súratu'l-Má'ida* says:—

امروز کامل گردانیدم برای شما دین شما را که دیگر احکام اورا رقم نسخ
نیخواهد بود و تمام کردم بر شما نعمت خود را که حج گذارید ایمن و مطمئن
باشید و هیچ مشرکی با شما حج نگذارد و اختیار کردم برای شما اسلام را دینی
که پاکیزه تر از همه دینها

'This day I have perfected your religion for you so that other laws will not abrogate it, and fulfilled for you my own favour that you may perform the Pilgrimage, be in safety and enjoy repose. No polytheist should make the *Hajj* with you, and I have appointed for you *Islám*, a religion purer than all other religions.' *Tafsír-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p. 137.

Baidáwí explains 'the perfecting' in the same way, and the 'mercy,' as guidance, or grace, or the perfecting of religion. Vol. i, p. 247.

In the *Khaláṣatu't-Tafásír* it is said that the views of the commentators may be thus summed up: 'In our religion there is no defect in reason or in revelation: no need of any (other) dogmas: no room for improvement or for abrogating.' Vol. i, p. 488.

Maulavi Muḥammad 'Alí says: 'Muḥammad was the last of the prophets, because religion being now perfected no prophet was needed after him.' *Holy Qur'án*, p. 253.

The *Súratu'l-Hajj* (xxii) contains the revelations enjoining the duty of performing the *Hajj*. Thus:—

Proclaim to the people a Pilgrimage.

Let them bring the neglect of their persons to a close,¹
and let them pay their vows and circuit the Ancient
House (i.e., *Ka'ba*).

Ye may obtain advantages from the cattle up to the set
time for slaying them: then the place for sacrificing
them is at the Ancient House. *Súratu'l-Hajj* (xxii)
28, 30, 34.

This *Súra* is a composite one: part was revealed at Mecca and part at Madína. It is not easy to say when the words just quoted were revealed, but in all probability they are Madína verses, given about the time of the 'Umra, or the Lesser Pilgrimage, which was made in the sixth year of the *Hijra*.

Anyhow, to these commands given some years before, Muḥammad now gave the sanction of his own action, and henceforth the *Hajj*, or Pilgrimage, became one of the necessary religious acts of every Muslim. At that time this was undoubtedly a politic thing to do, for this recognition of the national sanctuary as the local centre of *Islám* and the annual rendezvous of its votaries appealed to the sentiment of all the Arab people, and especially to the *Quraish* who lived in Mecca. It was the one thing they all had in common with the Muslims, and so the continued existence of the pilgrimage pleased them well and drew them towards *Islám*. It was from Muḥammad's then standpoint a wise thing also to retain

¹ i.e., the uncut beard and uncovered head.

the ancient ceremonies of the Pilgrimage.¹ The Ka'ba, with all connected with it, was the object of universal reverence by the Arab people. The sentiment involved in this was the most obvious means of uniting the various Arab tribes, long disunited, into one vast confederation for one great purpose. But it has really proved a source of weakness since, for it has emphasized the fact that Islām started and was formed as a national religion, and that rules and laws adapted to the needs and requirements of the Arabs of the seventh century are binding on peoples the most diverse in the nineteenth. It helps to keep Islām stationary. 'The dead hand of the short-sighted author of the Qur'ān is on the throat of every Muḥammadan nation, and it is this claim which stultifies it in the view of any one who has studied other religions. It bears the marks of immaturity on every part of it. It proves itself to be a religion only for the childhood of a race by its minute prescriptions, its detailed

¹ 'The universal reverence of the Arab for the Ka'ba was too favourable and obvious a means for uniting all the tribes into one confederation with one common purpose in view . . . Here, then, Muḥammad found a shrine to which, as well as at which, devotion had been paid from time immemorial; it was the one thing which the scattered Arabian nation had in common—the one thing which gave them even the shadow of a national feeling; and to have dreamed of abolishing it, or even of diminishing the honours paid to it, would have been madness and ruin to his enterprise.' Palmer's *Qur'ān*, Introduction, p. liii.

² '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. Muḥammad, with great practical insight and shrewdness, seized on this advantage and retained the heathen shrine of his native city as the local centre of Islām.' Koelle, *Muḥammad and Mohammedanism*, p. xix

precepts, its observances, its appeals to fear.'¹ The keystone of that creed is a black pebble in what was a heathen temple: a journey thither, and the performance of old pagan rites when there, are said to be the surest way to salvation. 'Chained to a black stone in a barren wilderness, the heart and reason of the Muḥammadan world would seem to have taken the similitude of the objects they reverence; and the refreshing dews and general sunshine, which fertilize all else, seek in vain for anything to quicken there.'²

All this is quite true of the obstacle the Pilgrimage places in the way of any enlightened reform, which can only take place when the Islāmic institutions show that they are capable of modification, and this the continued obligation of the Ḥajj shows that they are not;³ but, on the other hand, it must be admitted that the retention of the Ḥajj has tended to preserve Muslim orthodoxy, has renewed from time to time the faith of the believers, and has shown to countless millions of Muslims, in the centuries which have come and gone, how Islām has united into a great brotherhood races diverse in language, colour and character, and has produced in them a passionate devotion to the memory of their Prophet.⁴ 'Mecca is to the Muslim what

¹ Dod's, *Muḥammad, Buddha and Christ*, p. 124.

² Osborn, *Islām under the Arabs*, p. 83.

³ The Ḥajj is a farḍ duty. Maulavi Rafī'ud-Dīn Aḥmad in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, 1897, says, 'The Ḥajj cleanses the hearts of men and makes them innocent like new-born babes.'

⁴ Freeman seems to have missed this point when he says: 'Muḥammad did not or could not rise above a local worship; he had therefore a holy place, a place of pilgrimage. Sprung from the blood of the hereditary guardians of the Ka'ba, it was the object of

Jerusalem is to the Jew. It bears with it all the influence of centuries of associations. It carries the Muslim back to the cradle of his faith, the childhood of his Prophet; it reminds him of the struggle between the old faith and the new, of the overthrow of the idols, and the establishment of the One God. Most of all, it bids him remember that all his brother Muslims are worshipping toward the same sacred spot; that he is one of a great company of believers, united by one faith, filled with the same hopes, reverencing the same things, worshipping the same God. Muḥammad showed his knowledge of the religious emotions in man when he preserved the sanctity of the temple of Mecca.¹ Thus, in one way, the retention of the Ḥajj strengthens the orthodox system of Islám, but the more it does so, the less hope there is of reform and enlightened progress. From this point of view the adoption of the pagan Pilgrimage into the Islámic system was not only a weak concession to the sentiment of an idolatrous people, but it was also a grave error of judgement.

This brings us to the conclusion of the main historical events as they are referred to in the Qur'án, but there are many other topics which we

his life to restore that venerated temple to its true purpose, to expel the idols from the holy place of Abraham and Ishmael. His traditional love so clung around it that he adopted from its local worship many grotesque and superstitious ceremonies which seem strangely at variance with the generally reasonable and decorous ritual of the Moslem. In an Arab, a son of Ishmael, all this was, if not rational, at least natural. But why should Persians, Moors, Turks and Indians, aliens from the stock of Abraham, be sent to worship at a shrine the whole of whose associations belong to another nation.' *History and Conquest of the Saracens*, p. 52.

¹ Stanley Lane-Poole, *Studies in a Mosque*, p. 96.

have not touched upon. Political matters, such as the formation of treaties, the conduct of the disaffected, and the treatment of allies, all now find a place in the Qur'án. Civil matters, such as laws for marriage, divorce, inheritance, evidence, wills and so on are also treated of, and the Qur'án becomes the record wherein are contained the rules and regulations of a theocratic government.¹ For the most part these occur in the Madína Súras. The second, fourth and fifth Súras, equivalent in length to about one-seventh part of the Qur'án, deal very fully with religious and civil duties and penal regulations. It is the weakness of Islám that in all these matters it claims to be a final and perfect revelation. It is not, as Judaism was, a local and temporary system, leading men on to fuller truth; for it asserts itself as the universal and final religion. Some of its laws may have been judicious, as a temporary expedient with barbarous races, but they are intolerable when 'proclaimed as the ultimate voice of conscience.'

It has been said, 'considered as delivered only to pagan Arabs, the religious, moral and civil precepts of the Qur'án are admirable. The error of their author was in delivering them to others beside pagan Arabs.' The temporary reform, being exalted to the position of a divine unchangeable

¹ Stanley Lane-Poole, though he writes with admiration of Muḥammad, yet on this subject says: 'Islam is unfortunately a social system as well as a religion; and herein lies the great difficulty of fairly estimating its good and its bad influence in the world. . . . In all civilized and wealthy countries the social system of Islám exerts a ruinous influence on all classes, and, if there is to be any great future for the Muḥammadan world, that system of society must be done away.' Lane, *Selections from the Kur-án*, pp. lxxxviii, xcix.

system, then effectually and for ever blocks the road to greater and more permanent reform. In all this Muḥammad showed his ignorance, for it can hardly be supposed that he knew anything of the government or laws of the great Roman Empire; and he certainly knew nothing of the real teaching of Jesus Christ. Had he known these things he would have seen how superior was the great legal system he sought to supersede, how much higher the Christian morality he endeavoured to set aside. A great historian remarks thus: 'A man, himself sincere and righteous, the greatest of reformers and benefactors to his own people, a preacher and legislator of truth and civilization, has eventually done more than any other mortal man to hinder the progress alike of truth and of civilization. The religious reformer has checked the advance of Christianity; the political reformer has checked the advance of freedom and indeed of organized government in any shape; the moral reformer has set his seal to the fearful evils of polygamy and slavery.'¹

It has been well said, 'He who at Mecca is the admonisher and persuader, at Madína is the legislator and warrior, who dictates obedience and uses other weapons than the pen of the poet and the scribe. When business pressed as at Madína, poetry made way for prose, and although touches of the poetical element occasionally break forth, and he has to defend himself up to a very late period against the charge of being merely a poet,² yet this

¹ Freeman, *History and Conquests of the Saracens*, p. 59.

² Súratu Yá Sín (xxxvi) 69.

is rarely the case in the Madína Súras: and we are startled by finding obedience to God *and the Apostle*, God's gifts *and the Apostle's*, God's pleasure and *the Apostle's* spoken of in the same breath, and epithets and attributes, elsewhere applied to Alláh, openly applied to himself.'¹

The phrase 'God and His Apostle' is a very common one in the Madína Súras and is peculiar to them.² The Prophet had now passed from the position of a preacher and a warner to that of a ruler of a theocratic State, and his orders are now given, in regard to a great variety of matters, with all the force of a divine sanction. The infidels are described as those who believe not and who turn their backs on God's revelation; but to the faithful it is said:—

Believe then in God and His Apostle, and in the light which we have sent down. Súratu't-Taghábun (lxiv) 8.³

¹ Rodwell, *Qur'án*, Introduction, p. 10.

² There is one apparent exception to this, for the phrase occurs in Súratu'l-A'râf (vii) 158.

This is a late Meccan Súra but the verses 156-8 are evidently an interpolation from a later revelation. Their Madína origin seems quite clear from the use of the term *النبى الأمي* 'unlettered prophet.' This is a peculiar Madína phrase. The allusion to the 'Law and the Gospel' also shows a late origin. Then there is a reference to those who 'strengthen and aid' *عززة و نصرة*. This is a clear allusion to the Anṣâr, for Ḥusain (vol. i, p. 222) says *نصرة* means *بارى دادند* 'those who helped him against enemies;' and 'Abdu'l-láh ibn 'Abbás says that they helped with the sword. This appears to settle the question of the later date of these verses; a fact which suits the context, and which is more consistent than an earlier date would be with the use of the words. 'God and His Apostle.' See Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qur'áns*, p. 118.

³ Ḥusain says that the 'light' is the Qur'án which is so called, 'because it is miraculous in its nature and the place where the truths concerning the orders of things lawful and unlawful are seen.' *Tafsír-i-Ḥusaini*, vol. ii, p. 406.

Opposition to God and opposition to the Prophet are placed together as deserving equal punishment :—

And whoso shall oppose God and His Apostle verily God will be severe in punishment. *Súratu'l-Anfál* (viii) 13.

The faithful are called to the opposite course of conduct :—

Obey God and His Apostle, and turn not away from him¹ now that ye hear the truth.

When we have taken any booty know that a fifth part belongeth to God and His Apostle. *Súratu'l-Anfál* (viii) 20, 42.

The believers often needed encouragement in war. They are bidden to stand firm before the enemy, but the condition of success is to :—

Obey God and His Apostle. *Súratu'l-Anfál* (viii) 48.
Whoso obeyeth the Apostle in so doing obeyeth God. *Súratu'n-Nisá'* (iv) 82.

¹ The Arabic for 'turn not away from him' is *وَلَا تَوَلَّوْا عَنْهُ* and it is not clear whether the term *عنه* 'from him' refers to God or to the Apostle.

Husain says the passage means :—

و در مگردید و اعراض مکنید از امر بطاعت یا از جهاد یا از فرمان خدای یا روی مگردانید از رسول چه مراد از آیت امرست بطاعت پیغمبر و نبی از مخالفت او ذکر طاعت حق تنبیه است بر آنکه شما میشنوید طاعت حق تعالی در طاعت رسول اوست

'Do not turn from or object to the order to obedience; or to Jihād or to the order of God: do not turn from the Prophet. The meaning of the verse is, that the order is to obey the Prophet and it is forbidden to oppose him. The mention of the obedience to God is an admonition to this effect, that the obedience to the High God is in the obedience to His Prophet. *Tafsir-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p. 236.

Ibn 'Abbás says it means, *عن امر الله ورسوله* 'From the order of God and of His Prophet.'

The unbelievers can do God no injury, for He will bring their deeds to nought, and so it is said :—

Believers! Obey God and His Apostle, and render not your works vain. *Súratu Muḥammad* (xlvii) 35.

The remembrance of Him to whom the heavens and the earth belong, who brings about the revolution of day and night, and knows the secrets of all hearts, should lead men to :—

Believe in God and His Apostle. *Súratu'l-Ḥadíd* (lvii) 7.

Men of truth are they, to whom a double portion of mercy will be shown, on whose path divine light shall shine, who have believed in God and His Apostle in such wise as that they now :—

Fear God and believe in His Apostle. *Súratu'l-Ḥadíd* (lvii) 28.

When the faithful saw the men of Mecca besieging Madína and that they fought but little, they said :—

This is what God and His Apostle promised us, and God and His Apostle spoke truly. *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 22.

A great reward will be given in the future life to those who look on God and His Apostle :—

If ye desire God and His Apostle and a home in the next life, then truly God hath prepared for those of you who are virtuous a great reward. *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 29.¹

¹ These words apply to the wives of the Prophet who had demanded dresses and expenditure which he could not grant. On the authority of Muslim, 'it is recorded that Abú Bakr and 'Umar found the Prophet surrounded by his pure wives, demanding the means for expenditure. He was silent and vexed and said, "See how these

But cursed shall they be in this world and in the next who :—

Affront God and His Apostle. Súratul-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 57.¹

The day will come when their faces shall be rolled in the fire, and in their bitter torment they will reflect on the past and say :—

Oh ! that we had obeyed God and obeyed the Apostle. Súratul-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 66.

Those who for a while believe and then draw back cannot escape the punishment due to them, for it is said :—

And when they are summoned before God and His Apostle, that He may judge between them. Súratun-Núr (xxiv) 46.

In the last Súra but one believers are exhorted never to allow the claims of wealth, family and home to draw them away from God and His Apostle, who should be dearer to them than all else beside. A final warning is given which shows

crowd around me and demand what I cannot give." Abú Bakr then pressed down the neck of 'Ayisha, and 'Umar that of Hafāsa and reproved them for their conduct. The Prophet kept aloof from his wives for nineteen days. Then this revelation came, warning the women that it would be better to choose heavenly blessings in preference to the fleeting pleasures of the world.' *Khalāṣatu't-Tafāsīr*, vol. iii, p. 546.

¹ Mu'ālim states that ibn 'Abbās says that this refers to Jews who called Ezra ('Uzair), the Son of God, to the Christians who said that Jesus was the Son of God and to the infidels of Mecca who looked upon angels as the daughters of God. The 'curse of God' is on them all.

In *Sketches from Eastern History*, chapter iii, on the Qur'án, Nöldeke with great learning and critical acumen sets forth his views on the inception, the origins, the growth and the style of the Qur'án. It is one of the best statements on this important subject and will well repay attentive study.

how the bitterness of feeling against opposition deepened in the Prophet's mind as time went on :—

Know they not, that for him who opposeth God and His Apostle is surely the fire of Hell in which he shall remain for ever.¹ Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 64.

The recompense of those who war against God and His Apostle, and go about to commit disorders on the earth, shall be that they shall all be slain or crucified, or have their alternate hands and feet cut off, or be banished the land. Súratul-Má'ida (v) 38.

In the last verse but one of the ninth Súra Muḥammad claims some of the characteristics usually ascribed to God :—

Now hath an Apostle come to you from among yourselves, your iniquities press heavily on him : he is careful over you and towards the faithful, compassionate, merciful. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 129.²

These are only a few of the many passages of the kind. This linking together of his authority as co-ordinate with that of God ; this strong claim to the same obedience ; this clear declaration of punishment for disobedience to his orders and those of

¹ Mujáhid says that the Hypocrites amongst themselves mocked the Prophet and some said, 'What would have happened had he punished us and no sign had come from heaven. Then this revelation came.' *Tafsír-i-Husainí*, vol. i, p. 261.

² Nöldeke, however, on the authority of Zamakhshári and of the Itqán of Jalálu'd-Din as-Syúfi places this verse as a Meccan one. *Geschichte des Qoráns*, p. 169.

On this verse Husain says that 'Careful over you and towards the faithful, compassionate, merciful,' means

حق سبحانه و تعالیٰ را بکجا بدو اسم از اسمای خود اختصاص نداد
مگر پیغمبری ما را

'The Holy God has not equally distinguished any prophet except our Prophet by two of His own names.' *Tafsír-i-Husainí*, vol. i, p. 275.

'Akrima says of the Prophet, 'You are named just as God calls Himself, the compassionate, the merciful.' *Khalāṣatu't-Tafāsīr* vol. ii, p. 327.

God: all these are distinguishing marks of the Prophet's consciousness of growing power at Madína, leading him on to the bold assumption of a position he would not have ventured to take, or at all events did not take, in the earlier days when he dwelt at Mecca.

There is a very marked difference in the style of the Madína Súras. The language is prosaic and the poetic fire so prominent in the early Meccan Súras has died out, still there are occasional passages of great beauty, which no translation can do justice to, such as:—

God! There is no god but He;
 The Living, the Eternal.
 Slumber takes Him not, nor sleep.
 His, whatsoever is in the heavens, and
 Whatsoever is in the earth.
 Who is it that intercedes with Him save by His
 permission?
 He knoweth what is before and what is behind them,
 Yet nought of His knowledge shall they grasp, save
 what He pleases.
 His throne reacheth over the heavens and the earth,
 And it tires Him not to guard them both,
 He is the High, the Great. *Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 256.¹
 He maketh alive and killeth,
 He hath power over all things,
 He is the First and the Last;
 The Seen and the Hidden:
 He all things doth know. *Súratu'l-Ḥadíd* (lvii) 2-3.

The Arabic arrangement of the contents of the Qur'án is so confused that it conveys no idea whatever of the growth of any plan in the mind of the Prophet, and it is extremely difficult for the reader

¹ This is the famous *Áyatu'l-Kursí*, or 'verse of the throne.'

to get much intelligible historical information from it; but when the chapters are placed together, with some regard to chronological order, it is possible, as we have tried to show, to trace a gradual development of the purpose Muḥammad had in view in establishing the theocratic system of Islám. The Qur'án when thus read possesses an attractive interest, as we see in it the workings of the mind of one who, whatever view we may take of his claims and position, was undoubtedly a great man. It is only by reading it in this way that the gradual change of style also is noticed. Critics of the Qur'án, who look at it from the chronological standpoint, note the tediousness of the later Súras. It has been well said that 'if it were not for the exquisite flexibility of the Arabic language itself, which, however, is to be attributed more to the age in which the author lived than to his individuality, it would be scarcely bearable to read the latter portions of the Qur'án a second time.' Stanley Lane-Poole says that 'but for the rich eloquence of the old Arabic tongue, which gives some charm even to inextricable sentences and dull stories, the Qur'án at this period would be unreadable. As it is we feel we have fallen from poetry to prose, and the matter of the prose is not so superlative as to give us amends for the loss of the poetic thought of the earlier time and the musical fall of the sentences.'¹

¹ Lane, *Selections from the Kur-án*, pp. cv, cvi.

Súratu'l-Játhiya XLV				Súratu'l-Qamar LIV			
Verse			Page	Verse			Page
15-17	...	...	57	3	...	...	41
				43	...	...	41
				48	...	...	41
Súratu'l-Ahqáf XLVI				Súratu'l-Wáqi'a LVI			
9	...	...	65	22	...	...	23
11	...	...	56	34-5	...	...	23
14	...	...	72	41-3	...	...	27
28	...	...	61	74-8	...	...	48
Súratu Muḥammad XLVII				Súratu'l-Ḥadíd LVII			
4-5	...	...	110	1-3	...	...	194
22	...	...	111	7	...	...	191
35	...	...	191	10	...	...	148
37	...	...	111	22	...	...	123
				28	...	...	191
Súratu'l-Fathḥ XLVIII				Súratu'l-Mujádalah LVIII			
1	...	...	139	9	...	...	116
4	...	...	153				
8	...	...	28	Súratu'l-Ḥashr LIX			
11	...	...	140	2-3	...	...	99
13	...	...	140	5	...	...	99
18	...	...	138	8	...	...	100
18	...	...	153	11	...	...	101
21	...	...	140	14	...	...	99
26	...	...	153				
27-8	...	...	140	Súratu'l-Mumtaḥina LX			
Súratu'l-Ḥujurát XLIX				8	...	...	111
14	...	...	150	8	...	...	111
				10	...	...	138
				10	...	...	140
Súratu't-Túr LII				Súratu'ş-Şaff LXI			
1-4	...	...	22	2-4	...	...	125
20	...	...	23-4	9	...	...	125
21	...	...	25				
33-4	...	...	45	Súratu'l-Munáfiqún LXIII			
34-5	...	...	51	1-2	...	...	79
41	...	...	45	7-8	...	...	80
47	...	...	45				
Súratu'n-Najm LIII							
1-5	...	...	32				
5	...	...	48				
19-20	...	...	34				
19-23	...	...	32				
62	...	...	33				

Súratu't-Taghábun LXIV				Súratu't-Takwír LXXXI			
Verse			Page	Verse			Page
9	...	...	189	15-22	...	...	48
14	...	...	116				
Súratu't-Taḥrím LXVI				Súratu't-Taḥfíf LXXXIII			
1-2	...	...	133	10-17	...	...	19
Súratu'l-Qalam LXVIII				Súratu'l-Burúj LXXXV			
2	...	...	14	21	...	...	14
10-11	...	...	11				
15-16	...	...	11	Súratu't-Táriq LXXXVI			
Súratu'l-Ḥáqqah LXIX				15-17	...	...	15
38-47	...	...	46	Súratu'd-Duḥá XCIII			
Súratu'l-Jinn LXXII				1-4	...	...	8
1-2	...	...	61	Súratu'l-Inshiráh XCIV			
19	...	...	61	1-8	...	...	8
Súratu'l-Muddaththir LXXIV				Súratu't-Tín XCV			
1-5	...	...	10	1-3	...	...	21
11-19	...	...	11				
26-9	...	...	11	Súratu'l-'Alaq XCVI			
Súratu'd-Dahr LXXXVI ¹				1	...	...	8
23	...	...	48	6-7	...	...	13
				10	...	...	30
Súratu'l-Mursalát LXXVII				Súratu'l-Bayyina XCVIII			
15	...	...	15	1-3	...	...	88
29-31	...	...	15	Súratu'l-Humaza CIV			
Súratu'n-Nabá' LXXVIII				1-7	...	...	12
21-30	...	...	15	Súratu'l-Fíl CV			
31-4	...	...	23	1-5	...	...	21
Súratu'l-'Abasa LXXX							
13-14	...	...	14				

¹ This is also called Súratu'l-Insán.

Súratu'l-Quraish CVI				Súratu'l-Lahab CXI			
Verse			Page	Verse			Page
3-4	...	...	21	1-5	...	...	11
Súratu'l-Káfirún CIX				Súratu'l-Ikhlâş CXII			
1-6	...	...	9	1-4	...	...	9
6	...	...	81	Súratu'l-Falaq CXIII			
				1-5	...	...	29
Súratu'n-Naşr CX				Súratu'n-Nás CXIV			
1-3	...	...	147	1-6	...	...	30

TABLE SHOWING THE APPROXIMATE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE QUR'AN

Number of the Súras in the Qur'an	Order according to Jalálu'd-Dín as-Syūfí	According to Nöldeke	According to Muir	Number of the Súras in the Qur'an	Order according to Jalálu'd-Dín as-Syūfí	According to Nöldeke	According to Muir
1	96	96	103	43	19	55	53
2	68	74	100	44	20	112	32
3	73	111	99	45	56	109	39
4	74	106	91	46	26	113	73
5	111	108	106	47	27	114	79
6	81	104	1	48	28	1	54
7	87	107	101	49	17	54	34
8	92	102	95	50	10	37	31
9	89	105	102	51	11	71	69
10	93	92	104	52	12	76	68
11	94	90	82	53	15	44	41
12	103	94	92	54	6	50	71
13	100	93	105	55	37	20	52
14	108	97	89	56	31	26	50
15	102	86	90	57	34	15	45
16	107	91	93	58	39	19	44
17	109	80	94	59	40	38	37
18	105	68	108	60	41	36	30
19	113	87	96	61	42	43	26
20	114	95	113	62	43	72	15
21	112	103	74	63	44	67	51
22	53	85	111	64	45	23	46
23	80	73	87	65	46	21	72
24	97	101	97	66	51	25	35
25	91	99	88	67	88	17	36
26	85	82	80	68	18	27	19
27	95	81	81	69	16	18	18
28	106	53	84	70	71	32	27
29	101	84	86	71	14	41	42
30	75	100	110	72	21	45	40
31	104	79	85	73	23	16	38
32	77	77	83	74	32	30	25
33	50	78	78	75	52	11	20
34	90	88	77	76	67	14	43
35	86	89	76	77	69	12	12
36	54	75	75	78	70	40	11
37	38	83	70	79	78	28	10
38	7	69	109	80	79	39	14
39	72	51	107	81	82	29	6
40	36	52	55	82	84	31	64
41	25	56	56	83	30	42	28
42	35	70	67	84	29	10	23

TABLE SHOWING THE APPROXIMATE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE QUR'AN—(continued)

Number of the Sūras in the Qur'ān	Order according to Jalālu'd-Dīn as-Syūfī	According to Nōldeke	According to Muir	Number of the Sūras in the Qur'ān	Order according to Jalālu'd-Dīn as-Syūfī	According to Nōldeke	According to Muir
85	83	34	22	100	59	4	5
86	2	35	21	101	110	65	59
87	8	7	17	102	24	59	4
88	3	46	16	103	22	33	58
89	33	6	13	104	63	63	65
90	60	13	29	105	58	24	63
91	4	2	7	106	40	58	24
92	99	98	113	107	66	22	33
93	57	64	114	108	65	48	57
94	47	62	98	109	64	66	61
95	62	8	2	110	61	60	48
96	55	47	3	111	48	110	60
97	76	3	8	112	5	49	66
98	13	61	47	113	9	9	49
99	98	57	62	114	1	5	9

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