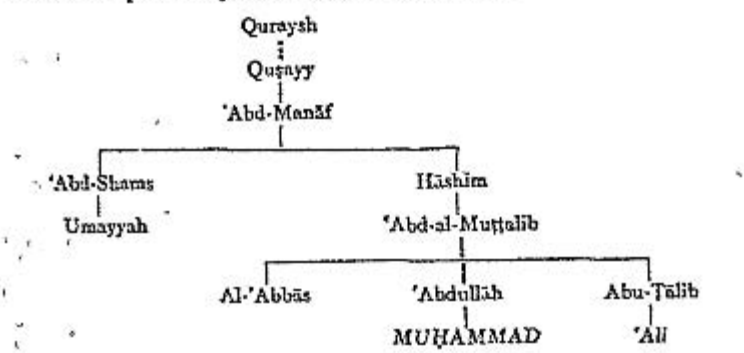
PART II

THE RISE OF ISLAM AND THE CALIPHAL STATE

CHAPTER VIII

MUḤAMMAD THE PROPHET OF ALLAH

IN or about A.D. 571 a child was born to the Quraysh at Makkah and was given by his mother a name which may remain for ever uncertain. His tribe called him al-Amīn[1] (the faithful), apparently an honorific title. The form which his name takes in the Koran (3 : 138, 33 : 40, 48 : 29, 47 : 2) is Muḥammad[2] and once (61 : 6) Aḥmad. In popular usage he is Muhammad (highly praised)—a name borne by more male children than any other. The baby's father, 'Abdullāh, died before his birth; the mother, Āminah, when he was about six years old. It therefore fell to the lot of his grandfather, 'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib, to bring up the boy, and after the grandfather's death the duty devolved upon his paternal uncle abu-Ṭālib.



When twelve years old, it is related, Muḥammad accompanied his uncle and patron abu-Ṭālib on a caravan journey to Syria, in the course of which he met a Christian monk to whom legend has given the name Baḥīra.

'Though the only one of the world prophets to be born within the full light of history, Muḥammad is but little known to us in

[1] Ibn-Hishām, *Sīrah*, p. 125; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 18; Mas'ūdi, vol. iv, p. 127.

[2] Name occurs in a South Arabic inscription, *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum*, pars iv, t. ii, p. 104.

his early life: of his struggle for a livelihood, his efforts towards self-fulfilment and his gradual and painful realization of the great task awaiting him we have but few reliable reports. The first record of his life was undertaken by ibn-Isḥāq, who died in Baghdād about A.H. 150 (767) and whose biography of the Prophet has been preserved only in the later recension of ibn-Hishām, who died in Egypt about A.H. 218 (833). Other than Arabic sources for the life of the Prophet and the early period of nascent Islam we have none. The first Byzantine chronicler to record some facts about "the ruler of the Saracens and the pseudo-prophet" was Theophanis[1] in the early part of the ninth century. The first reference to Muḥammad in Syriac occurs in a seventh century work.[2]

With his marriage at the age of twenty-five to the wealthy and high-minded widow Khadījah, fifteen years his senior, Muḥammad steps upon the threshold of clear history. Khadījah was a Qurayshite and, as a well-to-do merchant's widow, was conducting business independently and had taken young Muḥammad into her employ. As long as this lady with her strong personality and noble character lived, Muḥammad would have none other for a wife.

The competence which now entered into the economic life of Muḥammad, and to which there is a clear koranic[3] reference, gave him leisure and enabled him to pursue his own inclinations. He was then often noticed secluding himself and engaging in meditation within a little cave (*ghār*) on a hill outside of Makkah called Ḥirā'.[4] It was in the course of one of these periods of distraction caused by doubts and yearning after the truth that Muḥammad heard in Ghār Ḥirā' a voice[5] commanding: "Recite thou in the name of thy Lord who created", etc.[6] This was his first revelation. The Prophet had received his call. The night of that day was later named "the Night of Power" (*laylat al-qadr*)[7] and fixed towards the end of Ramaḍān (610). When after a brief interval (*fatrah*), following his call to the prophetic office, the second vision came, Muḥammad, under the stress of great

[1] *Chronographia*, ed Carolus de Boor (Leipzig, 1885), p. 333
[2] A Mingana, *Sources syriaques* vol. i, *Bar-Penkayé* (Leipzig, 1908), p 146 (text) =p 175 (tr)
[3] Sūrah 93 : 6-9
[4] See Ibrāhim Rif'at, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn* (Cairo, 1925), vol. i, pp 56 60
[5] Al-Bukhāri, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Būlāq, 1296), vol i, p 3
[6] Koran 96 . 1-5
[7] Koran 97 : 1

emotion, rushed home in alarm and asked his wife to put some covers on him, whereupon these words "descended": "O thou, enwrapped in thy mantle! Arise and warn".[1] The voices varied and sometimes came like the "reverberating of bells" (*ṣalṣalat al-jaras*),[2] but later, in the Madīnese sūrahs, became one voice, identified as that of Jibrīl (Gabriel).

In his call and message the Arabian Muḥammad was as truly prophetic as any of the Hebrew prophets of the Old Testament. God is one. He is all-powerful. He is the creator of the universe. There is a judgment day. Splendid rewards in Paradise await those who carry out God's commands, and terrible punishment in hell for those who disregard them. Such was the gist of his early message.

Consecrated and fired by the new task which he felt called upon to perform as the messenger (*rasūl*) of Allah, Muḥammad now went among his own people teaching, preaching, delivering the new message. They laughed him to scorn. He turned *nadhīr* (Koran 67 : 26; 51 : 50, 51), warner, prophet of doom, seeking to effect his purpose by vivid and thrilling description of the joys of Paradise and the terrors of hell, even threatening his hearers with imminent doom. Short, crisp, expressive and impressive were his early revelations, the Makkan sūrahs.

As glorifier of his Lord, admonisher to his people, messenger and prophet (*nabī*) of Allah, Muhammad was gaining few converts. Khadījah, his wife, predisposed through the influence of her Ḥanīf[3] cousin Waraqah ibn-Nawfal, was the first of the few who responded to his call. Muḥammad's cousin 'Ali and his kinsman abu-Bakr followed. But abu-Sufyān, representing the aristocratic and influential Umayyad branch of Quraysh, stood adamant. What they considered a heresy seemed to run counter to the best economic interests of the Quraysh as custodians of al-Ka'bah, the pantheon of multitudinous deities and centre of a pan-Arabian pilgrimage.

As new recruits, mainly from among the slave and lower classes, began to swell the ranks of the believers, the ridicule and sarcasm which had hitherto been used unsparingly on the part of the Quraysh were no longer deemed effective as weapons;

[1] Koran 74 : 1 *seq.*

[2] Bukhārī, vol. i, p. 2, l. 11. Compare the call of Isaiah 6 : 1 *seq.* See Tor Andrae, *Mohammed: sein Leben und sein Glaube* (Göttingen, 1932), pp. 39 *seq.*

[3] Cf. ibn-Hishām, pp. 121, 143.

it became necessary to resort to active persecution. These new measures resulted in the migration to Abyssinia of eleven Makkan families followed in 615 by some eighty-three others, chief among whom was that of 'Uthmān ibn-'Affān. The émigrés found asylum in the domain of the Christian Negus, who was unbending in his refusal to deliver them into the hands of their oppressors.[1] Undaunted through these dark days of persecution by the temporary loss of so many followers, Muḥammad fearlessly continued to preach and by persuasion convert men from the worship of the many and false gods to that of the one and true God, Allah. The revelations did not cease to "descend". He who had marvelled at the Jews and Christians having a "scripture" was determined that his people, too, should have one.

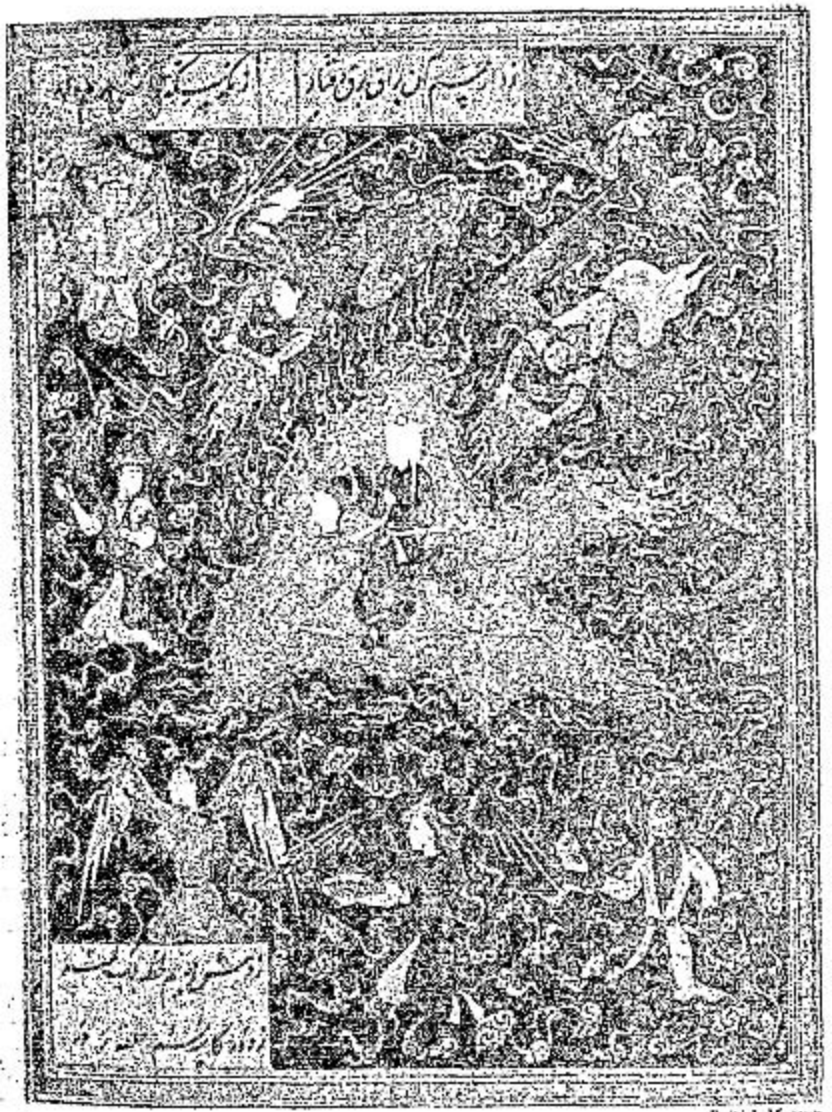
Soon 'Umar ibn-al-Khattāb, destined to play a leading rôle in the establishment of the Islamic state, was enrolled in the service of Allah. About three years before the Hijrah the faithful Khadījah died, and a little later died abu-Ṭālib, who, though he never professed Islam, stood firm to the end in defence of his brother's son, his protégé. Within this pre-Hijrah period there also falls the dramatic *isrā'*,[2] that nocturnal journey in which the Prophet is said to have been instantly transported from al-Ka'bah to Jerusalem preliminary to his ascent (*mi'rāj*) to the seventh heaven. Since it thus served as the terrestrial station on this memorable journey, Jerusalem, already sacred to the Jews and Christians, has become and remained the third holiest city after Makkah and al-Madīnah in the Moslem world. Embellished by later accretions this miraculous trip still forms a favourite theme in mystic circles in Persia and Turkey, and a Spanish scholar[3] considers it the original source of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. That the memory of al-Isrā' is still a living, moving force in Islam is illustrated by the serious disturbance of August 1929, in Palestine, centring on the Wailing Wall of the Jews in Jerusalem, which the Moslems consider the halting-place of the Burāq,[4]

[1] Ibn-Hishām, pp 217-20; cf. ibn-Sa'd, vol. i, pt. 1, pp. 136-9.

[2] Koran 17 : 1; Bukhāri, vol. iv, pp 156, 230; al-Baghawi, *Maṣābīḥ al-Sunnah* (Cairo, 1318), vol. ii, pp. 169-72; al-Khaṭīb, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh* (St. Petersburg, 1898-9), vol ii, pp. 124-9.

[3] Miguel Asín, *Islam and the Divine Comedy*, tr. H. Sunderland (London, 1926).

[4] Probably from Ar. *barq*, lightning. Modern Palestinians call the wailing place "al-Burāq".



British Museum

MUHAMMAD'S JOURNEY THROUGH THE CELESTIAL SPHERES

Original in Jāmi, *Yūsuf u Zulaykha*, fifteenth century. British Museum, Or. 4535.

the winged horse with a woman's face and peacock's tail on which Muḥammad journeyed heavenward.

About 620 some Yathribites, mainly of the Khazraj tribe, met Muhammad at the 'Ukāz fair and grew interested in what he had to say. Two years later a deputation of about seventy-five men invited him to make Yathrib (al-Madīnah) his home, hoping thereby to secure a means for reconciling the hostile Aws and Khazraj. In al-Madīnah the Jews, who were looking forward to a Messiah, had evidently predisposed their heathen compatriots in favour of such a claimant as Muḥammad. Having paid a futile propagandist visit to al-Ṭā'if and believing his cause lost in his native town, Muhammad allowed two hundred followers to elude the vigilance of the Quraysh and slip quietly into al-Madīnah, with which his mother had some uncertain connection, he himself followed and arrived there on September 24, 622. Such was the famous hegira (*hijrah*)—not entirely a "flight" but a scheme of migration carefully considered for some two years. Seventeen years later the Caliph 'Umar designated that lunar year (beginning July 16) in which the Hijrah took place as the official starting-point of the Moslem era.[1]

The Hijrah, with which the Makkan period ended and the Madīnese period began, proved a turning-point in the life of Muhammad. Leaving the city of his birth as a despised prophet, he entered the city of his adoption as an honoured chief. The seer in him now recedes into the background and the practical man of politics comes to the fore. The prophet is gradually overshadowed by the statesman.

Taking advantage of the periods of "holy truce" and anxious to offer sustenance to the Emigrants (*muhājirūn*) the Madīnese Moslems, now termed *Anṣār* (Supporters), under the leadership of the new chief intercepted a summer caravan on its return from Syria to Makkah, thus striking at the most vital point in the life of that commercial metropolis. The caravan leader abu-Sufyān had got wind of the scheme and sent to Makkah for reinforcement The encounter between the reinforcement and the Madīnese, mostly Emigrants, took place at Badr, eighty-five miles south-west of al-Madīnah, in Ramadān, A.D. 624, and, thanks to the inspiring leadership of the Prophet, resulted in the complete victory of three hundred Moslems over a thousand Mak-

[1] Ṭabarī, vol. I, pp. 1256, 2480, Mas'ūdī, vol. IX, p. 53

kans. However unimportant in itself as a military engagement,[1] this Ghazwat Badr laid the foundation of Muḥammad's temporal power. Islam had won its first and decisive military victory. The victory itself was interpreted as a divine sanction of the new faith.[2] The spirit of discipline and contempt of death manifested at this first armed encounter of Islam proved characteristic of it in all its later and greater conquests. It is true that in the following year (625) the Makkans under abu-Sufyān avenged at Uḥud their defeat and even wounded the Prophet, but their triumph was not to endure. Islam recovered and passed on gradually from the defensive to the offensive, and its propagation seemed always assured. Hitherto it had been a religion within a state; in al-Madīnah, after Badr, it passed into something more than a state religion—it itself became the state. Then and there Islam came to be what the world has ever since recognized it to be—a militant polity.

In 627 the "confederates" (*al-aḥzāb*), consisting of Makkans with Bedouin and Abyssinian mercenaries, were again measuring swords with the Madīnese. Heathenism was once more arrayed against Allah. On the advice of a Persian follower, Salmān,[3] as we are told, Muḥammad had a trench[4] dug round al-Madīnah. Disgusted with this innovation in warfare, which struck the Bedouin miscellany as the most unsportsmanlike thing they had ever seen, the besiegers withdrew at the end of a month after the loss of some twenty men on both sides.[5] After the siege had been raised Muḥammad conducted a campaign against the Jews for "siding with the confederates", which resulted in the killing of six hundred able-bodied men of their leading tribe, the banu-Qurayẓah, and the expulsion of the rest. The Emigrants were then established on the date plantations thus made ownerless.[6] The banu-Qurayẓah were the first but not the last body of Islam's foes to be offered the alternative of apostasy or death. The year before, Muḥammad had sent into exile the banu-al-Naḍīr,[7] another Jewish tribe of al-Madīnah. The Jews of Khaybar, a strongly fortified oasis north of al-Madīnah, surrendered in 628 and paid tribute.

[1] Al-Wāqidī († 207/822-3) devotes more than a third of his *Maghāzī*, pp. 11-75 to Badr and its heroes
[2] Koran 3 . 119, 8 : 42-3.
[3] Cf Josef Horovitz in *Der Islam*, vol xii (1922), pp. 178-83
[4] Ar. *khandaq*, from Pers. *kandan* (to dig) through Aramaic.
[5] Koran 33 : 9-25 discusses this battle.
[6] Koran 33 : 26-7.
[7] Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, pp 17-18=Hitti, pp 34-5: Wāqidī, pp. 353-6

In this Madīnese period the Arabianization, the nationalization, of Islam was effected. The new prophet broke off with both Judaism and Christianity; Friday was substituted for Sabbath, the *adhān* (call from the minaret) was decreed in place of trumpets and gongs, Ramaḍān was fixed as a month of fasting, the *qiblah* (the direction to be observed during the ritual prayer) was changed from Jerusalem[1] to Makkah, the pilgrimage to al-Ka'bah was authorized and the kissing of the Black Stone—a pre-Islamic fetish—sanctioned.

In 628 Muhammad led a band of believers to a settlement, al-Ḥudaybiyah, nine miles from Makkah and exacted a pact in which Makkans and Moslems were treated on equal terms.[2] This treaty practically ended the war with his people, the Quraysh. Among other members of this tribe, Khālid ibn-al-Walīd and 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣ ('Āsi), destined to become the two mighty swords of militant Islam, were about this time received as recruits to the great cause. Two years later, towards the end of January 630 (A.H. 8), the conquest of Makkah was complete. Entering its great sanctuary Muhammad smashed the many idols, said to have numbered three hundred and sixty, exclaiming: "Truth hath come, and falsehood hath vanished!"[3] The people themselves, however, were treated with special magnanimity.[4] Hardly a triumphal entry in ancient annals is comparable to this.

It was probably about this time[5] that the territory around the Ka'bah was declared by Muhammad *haram* (forbidden, sacred), and the passage in sūrah 9 : 28 was revealed which was later interpreted as prohibiting all non-Moslems from approaching it. This verse was evidently intended to forbid only the polytheists from drawing nigh to the Ka'bah at the time of the annual pilgrimage. The injunction as interpreted is still effective.[6] No more than fifteen Christian-born Europeans have thus far succeeded in seeing the two Holy Cities and escaping with their lives. The first to leave record was Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna[7]

[1] Cf. 1 Kings 8 : 29 30, Dan. 6 : 10.

[2] Balādhuri, pp. 35 6 = Hitti, pp. 60 61.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 40 = Hitti, p. 66, cf. Koran 17 : 83. [4] Wāqidi, p. 416.

[5] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. ii, pt. i, p. 99, cf. Baydāwi, *Anwār*, vol. i, p. 383, l. 10.

[6] Muhammad Labīb al-Batanūni, *al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāziyah* (Cairo, 1329), p. 47.

[7] He declared false the widely spread European legend that Muhammad's body lay suspended in the air somewhere above Makkah. See *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix*, tr. J. W. Jones (Hakluyt Society, vol. xxxii, London, 1863), pp. 25 *seq.*

in 1503, and among the latest were an Englishman, Eldon Rutter,[1] and a Hungarian, Julius Germanus.[2] The most interesting was undoubtedly Sir Richard Burton (1853).[3]

In A.H. 9 Muḥammad stationed a garrison at Tabūk, on the frontier of Ghassānland, and without a single engagement concluded treaties of peace with the Christian chief of Aylah (al-'Aqabah) and the Jewish tribes in the oases of Maqna, Adhruḥ and al-Jarbā' to the south.[4] The native Jews and Christians were taken under the protection of the newly arising Islamic community in consideration of a payment later called *jizyah*. This act set a precedent far-reaching in its consequences.

This year 9 (630–31) is called the "year of delegations" (*sanat al-wufūd*). During it delegations flocked from near and far to offer allegiance to the prince-prophet. Tribes joined out of convenience if not conviction, and Islam contented itself with exacting a verbal profession of faith and a payment of *zakāh* (poor tax). The large number of Bedouins who joined the new order may be surmised from a saying attributed to 'Umar, "The Bedouins are the raw material of Islam". Tribes and districts which had sent no representatives before sent them now. They came from distant 'Umān, Ḥaḍramawt and al-Yaman. The Ṭayyi' sent deputies and so did the Hamdān and Kindah. Arabia, which had hitherto never bowed to the will of one man, seemed now inclined to be dominated by Muḥammad and be incorporated into his new scheme. Its heathenism was yielding to a nobler faith and a higher morality.

In the tenth Moslem year Muḥammad entered peacefully at the head of the annual pilgrimage into his new religious capital Makkah. This proved his last visit and was therefore styled "the farewell pilgrimage". Three months after his return to al-Madīnah, he unexpectedly took ill and died complaining of severe headache on June 8, 632.

To the Madīnese period in the life of the Prophet belong the lengthy and more verbose sūrahs of the Koran which contain, in addition to the religious laws governing fasting and almsgiving and prayer, social and political ordinances dealing with marriage and divorce and the treatment of slaves, prisoners of war and enemies. On behalf of the slave, the orphan, the weak

[1] *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, 2 vols. (London, 1928). [2] *Allah Akbar* (Berlin, 1938).
[3] *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Meccah*, 3 vols. (London, 1855–6).
[4] Balādhurī, pp. 59 *seq.* = Hitti, pp. 92 *seq.*

and the oppressed we find the legislation of him who was himself once a poor orphan especially benevolent.[1]

Even in the height of his glory Muhammad led, as in his days of obscurity, an unpretentious life in one of those clay houses consisting, as do all old-fashioned houses of present-day Arabia and Syria, of a few rooms opening into a courtyard and accessible only therefrom. He was often seen mending his own clothes and was at all times within the reach of his people. The little he left he regarded as state property. Some for love, others for political reasons, he took about a dozen wives, among whom his favourite was 'Ā'ishah, the young daughter of abu-Bakr. By Khadījah he had a number of children, none of whom survived him except Fātimah, the famous spouse of 'Alī. Muhammad mourned bitterly the loss of his infant son Ibrāhīm, born to him by Mary, a Christian Copt. "Serious or trivial, his daily behaviour has instituted a canon which millions observe at this day with conscious mimicry. No one regarded by any section of the human race as Perfect Man has been imitated so minutely."[2]

Out of the religious community of al-Madīnah the later and larger state of Islam arose. This new community of Emigrants and Supporters was established on the basis of religion as the Ummat (congregation of) Allah. This was the first attempt in the history of Arabia at a social organization with religion, rather than blood, as its basis. Allah was the personification of state supremacy. His Prophet, as long as he lived, was His legitimate vicegerent and supreme ruler on earth. As such, Muḥammad, in addition to his spiritual function, exercised the same temporal authority that any chief of a state might exercise. All within this community, regardless of tribal affiliation and older loyalties, were now brethren at least in principle. These are the words of the Prophet in his noble sermon at the "farewell pilgrimage":

> O ye men! harken unto my words and take ye them to heart! Know ye that every Moslem is a brother unto every other Moslem, and that ye are now one brotherhood. It is not legitimate for any one of you, therefore, to appropriate unto himself anything that belongs to his brother unless it is willingly given him by that brother.[3]

Thus by one stroke the most vital bond of Arab relationship,

[1] Koran 2 : 172, 218-19, 4 : 40; 9 · 60, 24 : 33; 93 : 9. Consult Robert Roberts, *The Social Laws of the Qorân* (London, 1925).
[2] D. G. Hogarth, *Arabia* (Oxford, 1922), p. 52.
[3] Ibn-Hishām, p. 969, cf. Wāqidī, pp. 433-4.

that of tribal kinship, was replaced by a new bond, that of faith; a sort of Pax Islamica was instituted for Arabia. The new community was to have no priesthood, no hierarchy, no central see. Its mosque was its public forum and military drill ground as well as its place of common worship. The leader in prayer, the *imām*, was also to be commander in chief of the army of the faithful, who were enjoined to protect one another against the entire world. All Arabians who remained heathen were outside the pale, almost outlaws. Islam cancelled the past. Wine (*khamr*, from Aramaic) and gambling—next to women the two indulgences dearest to the Arabian heart—were abolished in one verse.[1] Singing, almost equally attractive, was frowned upon. This contrast between the old order and the new was vividly drawn by the apocryphal words put in the mouth of Ja'far ibn-abi-Ṭālib, the spokesman of the Moslem emigrants to Abyssinia. Said Ja'far to the Negus:

Jāhiliyah people were we, worshipping idols, feeding on dead animals [*maytah*][2], practising immorality, deserting our families and violating the covenant terms of mutual protection, with the strong among us devouring the weak. Such was our state until Allah sent unto us a messenger from amongst ourselves whose ancestry we know and whose veracity, fidelity and purity we recognize. He it was who summoned us to Allah in order to profess Him as one and worship Him alone, discarding whatever stones and idols we and our forbears before us worshipped in His stead. He moreover commanded us to be truthful in our talk, to render to others what is due them, to stand by our families and to refrain from doing wrong and shedding blood. He forbade committing fornication, bearing false witness, depriving the orphan of his legitimate right and speaking ill of chaste women. He enjoined on us the worship of Allah alone, associating with Him no other. He also ordered us to observe prayer, pay zakāh [alms] and practise fasting.[3]

From al-Madīnah the Islamic theocracy spread all over Arabia and later encompassed the larger part of Western Asia and North Africa. The community of al-Madīnah was in miniature the subsequent community of Islam.

Within a brief span of mortal life Muḥammad called forth out of unpromising material a nation never united before, in a

[1] Koran 5 : 92. The Nabataeans had an anti-bacchic deity.
[2] Cf. Koran 2 : 168.
[3] Fasting was ordained in the Madīnese period, long after the Abyssinian migration; Koran 2 : 179, 183. Ibn-Hishām, p. 219.

country that was hitherto but a geographical expression; established a religion which in vast areas superseded Christianity and Judaism and still claims the adherence of a goodly portion of the human race; and laid the basis of an empire that was soon to embrace within its far-flung boundaries the fairest provinces of the then civilized world. Himself an unschooled man,[1] Muḥammad was nevertheless responsible for a book still considered by one-eighth of mankind as the embodiment of all science, wisdom and theology.

[1] Koranic *ummī* (3 : 19), which Sunnī (orthodox) Moslems interpret "illiterate", is explained by Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vol. iii, p. 143, as one among the Arabian polytheists, who have no revelation. Critical scholars point out that in the Koran (7 : 156; 3 : 68-9; 62 : 2) the term is used as if in opposition to *ahl al-kitāb* (the people of the Book) and should therefore be taken to mean one unable to read the holy scriptures of the earlier revealed religions. sūrah 25 : 6 is quoted as suggesting Muḥammad's ability to write Arabic.

CHAPTER IX

THE KORAN THE BOOK OF ALLAH

THE year following the death of Muḥammad, according to the orthodox view, abu-Bakr, on the recommendation of 'Umar, who had observed that the Koran memorizers (*huffāẓ*) were becoming extinct, ordered that the scattered portions of the Koran be collected. Zayd ibn-Thābit of al-Madīnah, formerly Muḥammad's secretary, was entrusted with the task. Fragments from "ribs of palm-leaves and tablets of white stone and from the breasts of men" [1] were brought together and a text was constructed. In the caliphate of 'Uthmān (644–56) various readings in the current copies arose, due mainly to the defective nature of Kufic script; 'Uthmān accordingly appointed in 651 the same Zayd as chairman of the committee on revision. Abu-Bakr's copy, then in the custody of Ḥafṣah, daughter of 'Umar and one of Muḥammad's widows, was used as a basis. The original codex of the fresh version was kept in al-Madīnah; [2] three copies of this text were made and forwarded to the three military camps in Damascus, al-Basrah and al-Kūfah, and all others were destroyed.

The modern scholarly view, however, doubts whether abu-Bakr ever made an official recension and maintains that 'Uthmān found several metropolitan codices in Arabia, Syria and al-'Irāq with divergent readings. 'Uthmān canonized the Madīnah codex and ordered all others destroyed. The text was finally fixed by the two vizirs ibn-Muqlah and ibn-'Īsa in 933 with the help of the learned ibn-Mujāhid. Ibn-Mujāhid admitted seven readings, which had developed because of lack of vowel and diacritical marks, as canonical.[3]

The Moslem view is that the Koran is the word of Allah

[1] Khaṭīb, *Miṣbkāh*, vol. i, p. 343.

[2] This copy is said to have been presented by the Turkish authorities to Emperor William II. See Versailles Treaty, Pt. VIII, Sec. II, art. 246

[3] Arthur Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Koran* (Leyden, 1937), pp. 1–10; cf Hartwig Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Koran* (London, 1902), pp. 138 *seq.*

dictated through Gabriel to Muhammad from an archetype preserved in the seventh heaven (sūrs. 43:3, 56:76-9, 85:21-2).[1] Not only is the meaning therefore inspired but every word, every letter.

The arrangement of the sūrahs (koranic chapters) is mechanical, in the order of their length. The Makkan sūrahs, about ninety in number and belonging to the period of struggle, are mostly short, incisive, fiery, impassioned in style and replete with prophetic feeling. In them the oneness of Allah, His attributes, the ethical duties of man and the coming retribution constitute the favourite themes. The Madīnese sūrahs, the remaining twenty-four (about one-third of the contents of the Koran) which "were sent down" (*unzilat*) in the period of victory, are mostly long, verbose and rich in legislative material. In them theological dogmas and ceremonial regulations relating to the institution of public prayer, fasting, pilgrimage and the sacred months are laid down. They moreover contain laws prohibiting wine, pork and gambling; fiscal and military ordinances relating to alms-giving (*zakāh*) and holy war (*jihād*); civil and criminal laws regarding homicide, retaliation, theft, usury, marriage and divorce, adultery, inheritance and the freeing of slaves. Sūrahs 2, 4 and 5 contain most of this legislative material. The often-quoted prescription for marriage (sūr. 4:3)[2] limit rather than introduce the practice of polygamy. Critics consider the statutes relating to divorce (4:24, 33:48, 2:229) the most objectionable, and those about the treatment of slaves, orphans and strangers (4:2, 3, 40; 16:73; 24:33) the most humane portions of Islamic legislation. The manumission of slaves is inculcated as something most pleasing to God and regarded as an expiation for many a sin. Flashes of the old eloquence and prophetic spark appear here and there in the Madīnese sūrahs, as in sūrah 24.[3] Among the noblest verses of the Koran are sūrah 2:172, 256.

Almost all the historical narratives of the Koran have their biblical parallels with the exception of a few purely Arabian stories relating to 'Ād and Thamūd, Luqmān, the "owners of the elephant", and two others alluding to Alexander the Great (*Iskandar dhu-al-Qarnayn*)[4] and to the "Seven Sleepers"—all

[1] Consult Baydāwī, vol. II, pp 235, 309-10, 396.
[2] Cf. sūr. 70:29-30.
[3] The verses in this sūrah dealing with light betray Zoroastrian influence.
[4] Sūr. 18:82 *seq.*, where he seems to be invested with a divine commission. Dan 8:5, 21, has a clear reference to Alexander.

of which receive but very brief mention. Among the Old Testament characters, Adam, Noah, Abraham[1] (mentioned about seventy times in twenty-five different sūrahs and having his name as a title for sūrah 14), Ishmael, Lot, Joseph (to whom sūrah 12 is dedicated), Moses (whose name occurs in thirty-four different sūrahs), Saul, David, Solomon, Elijah, Job and Jonah (whose name sūrah 10 bears) figure prominently. The story of the creation and fall of Adam is cited five times, the flood eight and Sodom eight. In fact the Koran shows more parallelism to the Pentateuch than to any other part of the Bible.

All these narratives are used didactically, not for the object of telling a story but to preach a moral, to teach that God in former times has always rewarded the righteous and punished the wicked. The story of Joseph is told in a most interesting and realistic way. The variations in this and in such other instances as the story of Abraham's response to the call of the one true God (sūr. 21 : 52 *seq.*) have their parallels in the midrash, Talmud and other non-canonical Jewish works.[2]

Of the New Testament characters Zachariah, John the Baptist, Jesus ('Īsa) and Mary are the only ones emphasized. The last two names are generally associated. Mary the mother of Jesus is also the daughter of 'Imrān and a sister of Aaron.[3] Haman (Hāmān), the favourite of Ahasuerus,[4] is himself the minister of Pharaoh.[5] It is worthy of note that the Arabic forms of the names of the Old Testament characters seem to have come mainly through Syriac (e.g. Nūḥ, Noah) and Greek (e.g. Ilyās, Elias; Yūnus, Jonah) rather than directly from Hebrew.

A comparative study of the above koranic and biblical narratives and such parallel passages as those that follow reveals no verbal dependence: sūr. 2 : 44-58 and Acts 7 : 36-53; sūr. 2 : 273 and Matt. 6 : 3, 4; sūr. 10 : 72 and 2 Pet. 2 : 5; sūrs. 10 : 73, 24 : 50 and Deut. 26 : 14, 17; sūr. 17 : 23-40 and Ex. 20 : 2-17, Deut. 5 : 6-21; sūr. 21 : 20 and Rev. 4 : 8; sūr. 23 : 3 and Matt.

[1] In the Madīnese sūrahs Abraham becomes a Ḥanīf, a Moslem (sūr. 3 : 60). He is held as Muḥammad's ideal predecessor, the spiritual ancestor of Islam (sūrs. 4 : 124; 3 · 61) and the founder of al-Ka'bah (2 : 118 *seq.*) As the "friend" of God he is cited in the Old Testament (Is. 41 : 8, 2 Ch. 20 : 7), the New Testament (Jas. 2 : 23) and the Koran (4 : 124).

[2] Consult *The Legacy of Israel*, ed. E. R. Bevan and C. Singer (Oxford, 1928), pp. 129 71.

[3] Sūrs. 19 · 16-29, 3 · 31-40

[4] Sūrs. 28 : 38, 40 : 38.

[5] Esther 3 : 1.

6 : 7; sūr. 36 : 53 and 1 Th. 4 : 16; sūr. 39 : 30 and Matt. 6 : 24; sūr. 42 : 19 and Gal. 6 : 7-9; sūr. 48 : 29 and Mk. 4 : 28; and sūr. 92 : 18 and Lk. 11 : 41. The only quotation is sūr. 21 : 105 (cf. Ps. 37 : 9) where the Koran cites the Psalms as the source. Others which bear striking resemblance are sūr. 21 : 104 and Is. 34 : 4; sūr. 53 : 39-42 and Ezek. 18 : 20; sūr. 53 : 45 and 1 Sam. 2 : 6; and sūr. 53 : 49 and 1 Sam. 2 : 7. Such verses as those dealing with an "eye for an eye" (sūr. 5 : 49 and Ex. 21 : 23-7), the "camel and the needle" (sūr. 7 : 38 and Matt. 19 : 24), the "house built upon the sand" (sūr. 9 : 110 and Matt. 7 : 24-7) and the "taste of death for every man" (sūrs. 21 : 36, 29 : 57, 3 : 182 and Heb. 9 : 27, 2 : 9, Matt. 16 : 28) evidently represent old Semitic proverbs and sayings common to both Hebrew and Arabic. The parallels between Matthew and the Makkan sūrahs seem particularly copious. Certain miraculous acts attributed to Jesus the child, such as speaking in the cradle (sūr. 3 : 41) and creating birds out of clay (sūr. 3 : 43), recall similar acts recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels, including the *Injīl al-Ṭufūlīyah*. The only conspicuous parallel with any of the contents of the sacred books of Persia occurs in the picture of heaven and hell, sketched with a brush dipped in materialistic colours (sūr. 56 : 8-56), which has a counterpart in the late writings of the Parsis. The picture itself may have been inspired by Christian miniatures or mosaics representing the gardens of Paradise with figures of angels which were interpreted as being those of young men and young women.

Though the youngest of the epoch-making books, the Koran is the most widely read book ever written, for besides its use in worship, it is the text-book from which practically every Moslem learns to read Arabic. Other than the official translation into Turkish no authorized Moslem translation into a foreign language exists; but there are unauthorized interlinear free translations by Moslems into several languages, including Persian, Bengali, Urdu, Marathi, Javanese and Chinese. In all, the Koran has been done into some forty languages.[1] The words (77,934), the

[1] The first translation into a foreign language was that into Latin sponsored (1143) by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, who secured the services of three Christian scholars and an Arab, in an attempt to refute the beliefs of Islam. In English the first translation appeared in 1649 (London), "*The Alcoran of Mahomet*, translated out of Arabique into French; by the Sieur Du Ryer. . . . And newly Englished, for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the Turkish vanities". Sale's translation (1734) from the original Arabic is a paraphrase influenced by the

verses (6236) and even the letters (323,621)[1] have been painstakingly counted. This unbounded reverence for The Book reached its climax in the later dogma that it is "the uncreated word" of God, an echo of the "Logos" theory.[2] "Let none touch it but the purified."[3] In our own day the sight of a Moslem picking up a piece of paper from the street and tucking it carefully into a hole in a wall—lest the name of Allah be on it—is not rare.

The word Qur'ān itself means recitation, lecture, discourse. This book, a strong, living voice, is meant for oral recitation and should be heard in the original to be appreciated. No small measure of its force lies in its rhyme and rhetoric and in the cadence and sweep, which cannot be reproduced in translation without loss. Its length is four-fifths of that of the Arabic New Testament. The religious influence it exercises as the basis of Islam and the final authority in matters spiritual and ethical is only one side of the story. Theology, jurisprudence and science being considered by Moslems as different aspects of one and the same thing, the Koran becomes the scientific manual, the text-book, for acquiring a liberal education. In such a school as al-Azhar, the largest Moslem university in the world, this book still holds its own as the basis of the whole curriculum. Its literary influence may be appreciated when we realize that it was due to it alone that the various dialects of the Arabic-speaking peoples have not fallen apart into distinct languages, as have the Romance languages. While today an 'Irāqi may find it a little difficult fully to understand the speech of a Moroccan, yet he would have no difficulty in understanding his written language, since in both al-'Irāq and Morocco—as well as in Syria, Arabia, Egypt—the classical language modelled by the Koran is followed closely everywhere. At the time of Muḥammad there was no work of the first order in Arabic prose. The Koran was therefore the earliest, and has ever since remained the model, prose work. Its language is rhythmical and rhetorical, but not poetical. Its rhymed prose has set the standard which almost every conservative Arabic writer of today consciously strives to imitate.

Latin version of Marracci's *Refutatio Alcorani* (1698); Rodwell's (1861) arranges the sūrahs chronologically; Palmer's (1880) tries to reproduce the Oriental flavour; Marmaduke Pickthall's (1930) is especially successful. Richard Bell (1937–9) attempts a critical rearrangement of the verses. The earliest Arabic printing of the Koran was done between 1485 and 1499 in Venice by Alessandro de Paganini.

[1] There are other enumerations. [2] Cf. John 1:1; Prov. 22–30. [3] Sūr. 56: 78.8:

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, 1842–6), p. 27.

seq.; Baghawi,

Of the three monotheistic religions developed by the Islam of the Koran is the most characteristi nearer the Judaism of the Old Testament than does anity of the New Testament. It has such close affiniti however, that in the conception of many medieval E Oriental Christians it stood as a heretic Christia than a distinct religion. In his *Divine Comedy* Da Muhammad to one of the lower hells with all thos scandals and schism". Gradually Islam developed dependent and distinct system of belief. The Ka'bah were the determining factors in this new orientatio

In dealing with the fundamentals of their relig theologians distinguish between *īmān* (religious be (acts of worship, religious duty) and *iḥsān* (right- which are included in the term *dīn* (religion).[1] religion [*dīn*] with God is Islam."[2]

Dogmas and beliefs

Īmān involves belief in God and in His angels, and His messengers and in the last day. Its first dogma is: *la ilāha illa-l-Lāh*, no god whatsoever *īmān* the conception of God stands supreme. In fac per cent. of Moslem theology has to do with Allah. true God. The profession of His unity receives its m expression in sūrah 112. God is the supreme rea existent, the creator (sūrs. 16 : 3-17; 2 : 27-8), the omnipotent (13 : 9-17; 6 : 59-62; 2 : 100-101; 3 : 25 subsistent (2 : 256; 3 : 1). He has ninety-nine exc (*al-asmā' al-husna*,[3] sūr. 7 : 179) and as many att full Moslem rosary has ninety-nine beads correspo

[1] Cf. al-Shahrastāni, *al-Milal w-al-Nihal*, ed. Cureton (Londo
[2] Koran 3 · 17.
[3] Al Ghazzāli, *al-Maqṣad al-Asna*, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1324), pp. 1 *Maṣābīḥ*, vol. 1, pp. 96-7.

names. His attributes (*ṣifāt*) of love are overshadowed by those of might and majesty (sūr. 59 : 23-4). Islam (sūrs. 5 : 5, 6 : 125, 49 : 14) is the religion of "submission", "surrender", to the will of Allah. The submission of Abraham and his son in the supreme test, the attempted sacrifice by the father, expressed in the verb *aslamā* (sūr. 37 : 103), was evidently the act that provided Muḥammad with the name for the new faith.[1] In this uncompromising monotheism, with its simple, enthusiastic faith in the supreme rule of a transcendent being, lies the chief strength of Islam. Its adherents enjoy a consciousness of contentment and resignation unknown among followers of most creeds. Suicide is rare in Moslem lands.

The second dogma in *īmān* treats of Muḥammad as the messenger (*rasūl*) of Allah (sūrs. 7 : 157; 48 : 29), His prophet (7 : 156, 158), the admonisher (35 : 22) of his people, the last of a long line of prophets of whom he is the "seal" (33 : 40), and therefore the greatest. In the koranic system of theology Muḥammad is but a human being whose only miracle is the *i'jāz* of the Koran;[2] but in tradition, folklore and popular belief he is invested with a divine aura. His religion is pre-eminently a practical one, reflecting the practical and efficient mind of its originator. It offers no unattainable ideal, few theological complications and perplexities, no mystical sacraments and no priestly hierarchy involving ordination, consecration and "apostolic succession".

The Koran is the word (*kalām*, sūrs. 9 : 6; 48 : 15, cf. 6 : 114-15) of Allah. It contains the final revelation (sūrs. 17 : 107-8; 97 : 1; 44 : 2; 28 : 51; 46 : 11) and is "uncreated". A koranic quotation is always introduced with "saith Allah". In its phonetic and graphic reproduction and in its linguistic form the Koran is identical and co-eternal with a heavenly archetype (sūrs. 56 : 76-9; 85 : 21-2). Of all miracles it is the greatest: all men and jinn in collaboration could not produce its like (17 : 90).

In its angelology Islam gives the foremost place to Gabriel (Jibrīl), the bearer of revelation (2 : 91),[3] who is also "the spirit

[1] C. C. Torrey, *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York, 1933), pp 90, 102 *seq.*

[2] The elegance of its composition, which constitutes its miraculous character; Koran 13 : 27-30; 17 : 87-96 See ibn-Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fi al-Milal w-al-Aḥwā' w-al-Niḥal*, vol. iii (Cairo, 1347), pp 10-14; al-Suyūṭi, *al-Itqān fi 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān* (Cairo, 1925), vol. ii, pp. 116-25.

[3] This sūrah contains the only distinct assertion of Gabriel's being the medium of revelation; cf. sūrs 81 : 19-20; 53 : 5-7.

of holiness" (16 : 104; 2 : 81) and "the faithful spirit" (26 : 193). As a messenger of the supreme deity he corresponds to the Hermes of Greek mythology.

Sin can be either moral or ceremonial. The worst and only unpardonable sin is *shirk*, joining or associating of other gods with the one true God (4 : 51, 116). Ascribing plurality to the Deity seemed most detestable to Muḥammad, and in the Madīnese sūrahs the polytheists are continually threatened with the last judgment (28 : 62 *seq.*, 21 : 98 *seq.*). In Muḥammad's mind "the people of the book", the Scripturaries,[1] i.e. the Christians and Jews, were probably not included among the polytheists, though some commentators on sūr. 98 : 5 would hold a different view.

The most impressive parts of the Koran deal with eschatology. One whole sūrah (75) is entitled The Resurrection (*al-qiyāmah*). The reality of future life is emphasized by the recurrent references to "the day of judgment" (15 : 35-6; 82 : 17-18), "the day of resurrection" (22 : 5; 30 : 56), "the day" (24 : 24-5; 31 : 32), "the hour" (15 : 85; 18 : 20) and "the indubitable" (69 : 1-2). Future life as depicted in the Koran, with its bodily pains and physical pleasures, implies the resurrection of the body

The five pillars: 1. Profession of faith

The religious duties (*'ibādāt*) of the Moslem centre on the so-called five pillars (*arkān*) of Islam.

The profession of faith (*shahādah*), the first pillar, is summed up in the Koranic double formula *la ilāha illa-l-Lāh; Muḥammadun rasūlu-l-Lāh* (no god whatsoever but Allah; Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah). These are the first words to strike the ear of the new-born Moslem babe; they are the last to be uttered at the grave. Between these two episodes no other words are more often repeated. They also occur in the muezzin's call to prayer chanted many times daily from the tops of minarets. Islam has generally satisfied itself with a verbal profession; once the formula is accepted and reproduced the person is nominally a Moslem.

2. Prayer

Five times a day[2] is the faithful Moslem supposed to turn his face towards Makkah and recite his prescribed prayer. Prayer is the second pillar of faith. A bird's-eye view of the Moslem world at the hour of prayer (ignoring the difference caused by longitude and latitude) would present the spectacle of a series of concentric

[1] H. Lammens, *L'Islam: croyances et institutions* (Beirūt, 1926), p. 62, l. 17, and p. 219, l. 7.

[2] Dawn, midday, mid-afternoon, sunset and nightfall.

circles of worshippers radiating from the Ka'bah at Makkah and covering an ever-widening area from Sierra Leone to Malaysia and from Tobolsk to Capetown.

The word for ritual prayer, *ṣalāh*, is an Aramaic loan-word, as its Arabic orthography (with a *wāw*) suggests. If prayer existed before Islam it must have been unorganized and informal. Though it is encouraged in an early sūrah (87 : 15) and its requirements are set forth in certain Makkan revelations (11 : 116; 17 : 80-81; 30 : 16-17), ritual prayer, with its prescribed number of five separate and distinct orisons per day and the prerequisite state of legal purity or ceremonial cleanliness (2 : 239, 24 : 57,[1] 4 : 46, 5 : 8-9), was not instituted until the Madīnese period. The middle prayer (2 : 239) was the last enjoined. The number five, according to al-Bukhāri,[2] was a compromise reached after Allah had asked for fifty on the occasion of Muhammad's visit to the seventh heaven on his nocturnal journey (sūr. 17 : 1). Sūr. 4 : 46 seems to suggest that the limitation and later interdiction of the use of wine may have owed its origin to the necessity of keeping the divine service free from undue disturbance.

The ritual prayer is a legally defined act performed by all with the same general bodily postures and genuflections and with the same proper orientation. The worshipper should be in a state of legal purity (*ṭahārah*), and the use of Arabic as a medium of expression is absolutely incumbent upon him, no matter what his native tongue may be. In its stereotyped form prayer is not so much petition or supplication[3] as it is the mention of Allah's name (62 : 9-10; 8 : 47). The simple and meaningful *fātiḥah*, often likened to the Lord's Prayer, is reiterated by the faithful Moslem about twenty times a day. This makes it one of the most often repeated formulas ever devised. Doubly meritorious is the voluntary ritual prayer performed at night (*tahajjud*, 17 : 81; 50 : 38-9), for it is a work of supererogation (*nāfilah*).

The Friday noon prayer is the only public one (62 : 9; 5 : 63) and is obligatory for all adult males. Certain mosques have places reserved for women. One feature of the Friday service is the *khuṭbah* (address) delivered by the leader (*imām*), in which intercessory prayer is offered on behalf of the ruling head of the

[1] Cf. Ps. 55 : 17.
[2] *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. i, pp. 85 *seq.*; cf. Gen. 18 : 23-33.
[3] *This is du'ā'*, unregulated and private or individual prayer, not to be confused with the formal *ṣalāh*.

state. This congregational assembly had for its prototype the Jewish synagogue worship, but was influenced in its later development by the Christian Sunday service. In dignity, simplicity and orderliness it is unsurpassed as a manner of collective worship. Standing erect in self-arranged rows in the mosque and following the leadership of the *imām* with precision and reverence, the worshippers present a sight that is always impressive. As a disciplinary measure this congregational prayer must have had great value for the proud, individualistic sons of the desert. It developed in them the sense of social equality and the consciousness of solidarity. It promoted that brotherhood of community of believers which the religion of Muḥammad had theoretically substituted for blood relationship. The prayer ground thus became "the first drill ground of Islam".

3 Alms giving

Prescribed originally as a voluntary act of love and considered almost identical with piety, *zakāh* (legal alms, sūrs 2 40, 77, 192, 263-9, 273-5, 280) evolved into an obligatory tax on property, including money, cattle, corn, fruit and merchandise. In the Koran (9 · 5, 2 : 40, 77, etc.) zakāh is often associated with the *ṣalāh*. The young Islamic state collected zakāh through regular officials and administered it from a central treasury to support the poor among the community, build mosques and defray government expenses (sūr. 9 : 60). The word *zakāh* is of Aramaic origin and is more specific than *ṣadaqah*, which is voluntary and implies alms-giving in general. Zakāh is a purely denominational institution, involving alms raised and distributed among Moslems alone. Its underlying principle tallies with the tithe, which, according to Pliny,[1] the South Arabian merchants had to pay to their god before they were allowed to sell their spices. Its exact amount varied and has been determined in the various cases by the *fiqh* (religious law), but generally it averaged two and a half per cent. Even soldiers' pensions were not exempt. Later, with the disintegration of the purely Islamic state, zakāh was again left to the Moslem's conscience. Zakāh constitutes the third pillar of the faith

4. Fasting

Though penitential fasts are prescribed a number of times in the Madīnese sūrahs (58 : 5; 19 : 27; 4 : 94; 2 : 192), Ramaḍān as a fasting month is mentioned only once (2 : 179-81). That particular month, which may have been sacred in pre-Islamic days, was chosen because in it the Koran was first revealed

[1] Bk. XII, ch. 32.

(sūr. 2 : 181) and the victory of Badr won. Abstinence from all food and drink is enjoined from dawn till sunset (sūr. 2 : 183). Instances in which violence has been used in modern times by the government or by the populace against a non-fasting believer in Moslem lands are not unknown.

We have no evidence of any practice of fasting in pre-Islamic pagan Arabia, but the institution was, of course, well established among both Christians and Jews (Matt. 4 : 2; Deut. 9 : 9). Ibn-Hishām [1] states that the Quraysh in the Jāhilīyah days were wont to spend one month a year on Mt. Ḥirā' practising penance (*taḥannuth*). In al-Madīnah and before instituting Ramadān, Muḥammad evidently observed the tenth of Muḥarram (*'āshūrā'*) as a fast day; this he had adopted from the Jews.[2] In the Makkan sūrahs the word for fasting (*ṣawm*) occurs only once (19 : 27), and there apparently in the sense of "silence".

Pilgrimage (*ḥajj*, sūrs. 3 : 91; 2 : 192-6; 5 : 1-2, 96) is the fifth and last pillar of Islam. Once in a lifetime every Moslem of either sex who can afford it is supposed to undertake at a stated time of the year a holy visit to Makkah. *'Umrah* is the lesser pilgrimage to Makkah and may be made individually and at any time.

The pilgrim (*ḥājj*) makes his entry into the holy precincts as a *muḥrim* (wearing a seamless garment) and performs the seven-fold circumambulation of the Ka'bah (*ṭawāf*) and the seven-fold course (*sa'y*) between the adjacent al-Ṣafa mound and the Marwah eminence lying opposite.[3] The ḥajj proper begins with the march to 'Arafah,[4] which lasts from the seventh to the eighth of dhu-al-Ḥijjah. The halts (*wuqūf*) take place at the outlying sanctuaries of 'Arafah, namely, al-Muzdalifah and Mina. The stone-throwing ceremony takes place on the way to the valley of Mina at Jamrat al-'Aqabah. With the sacrifice at Mina of a camel or of a sheep or other horned domestic animal (Koran 22 : 34-7), which always takes place on the tenth of dhu-al-Ḥijjah and is celebrated throughout the Moslem world as 'Id al-Aḍḥa (the festival of sacrifice), the whole ceremony

[1] *Sīrah*, pp. 151-2.

[2] Bukhāri, vol. ii, p. 208; Lev. 16 : 29.

[3] Moslems, according to their tradition, perform the *sa'y* in commemoration of the fact that Hagar ran back and forth seven times between these two eminences looking for a spring for her thirsty son.

[4] 'Arafah is the valley and 'Arafāt the mountain, according to Rif'at, *Mir'āt*, vol. i, p. 44, but the two words are often used interchangeably.

formally ends. After the shaving of the head the garment (*iḥrām*) is discarded and the *iḥlāl* (secular condition) resumed. As long as he is *muḥrim*, in a sanctified state, the pilgrim must observe, in addition to the abstinences imposed in connection with the fasting of Ramaḍān, such as sexual intercourse, those special regulations forbidding the shedding of blood, hunting and the uprooting of plants Fasting, however, is not required

Pilgrimage to holy places was an ancient Semitic institution.[1] Echoes of it survived to Old Testament days (Ex. 23 : 14, 17; 34 : 22-3; 1 Sam. 1 : 3). Originally it may have been a feature of solar cult, the ceremonies of which coincided with the autumnal equinox and constituted a kind of farewell to the harsh rule of the burning sun and a welcoming to Quzaḥ, the thunder-god of fertility. In pre-Islamic days the annual fairs of North Arabia were followed by a pilgrimage in dhu-al-Ḥijjah to the Ka'bah and 'Arafah. In the seventh year of the Hijrah Muhammad adopted and Islamized the ancient pilgrim rites centring on the Ka'bah and 'Arafah. In these rites Islam entered upon its largest share of heritage from pre-Islamic Arabia. Rif'at[2] relates that when a Bedouin nowadays makes his ritual walk round the Ka'bah he repeats in colloquial Arabic: "O Lord of this House! I testify that I have come. Say not that I have not come. Forgive me and forgive my father, if you will. Otherwise forgive me in spite of your unwillingness, for I have performed my pilgrimage, as you see."[3]

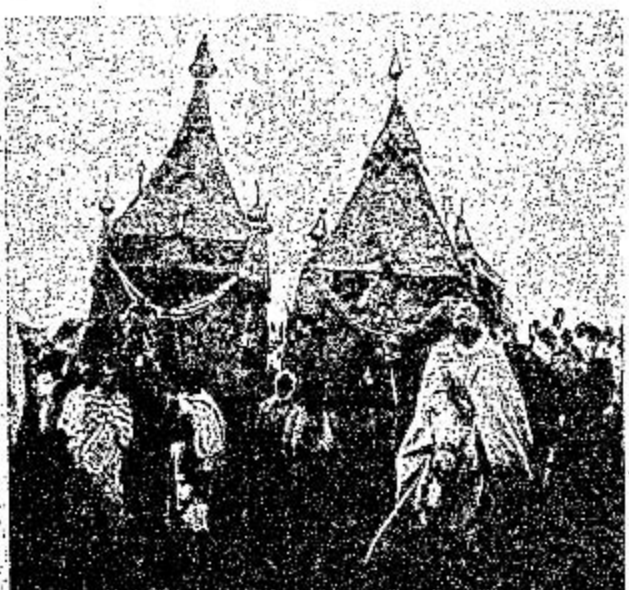
A constant trek of pilgrims across Central Africa, from Senegal, Liberia, Nigeria, is ever on the move eastward and increasing in numbers as it goes along. Some are on foot, others on camel-back. The majority are men, but a few are women and children. They trade, they beg, they work their way into the Highly Honoured Makkah (al-Mukarramah) and the Greatly Illuminated City (al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah). Many fall by the wayside and are martyrs, those who survive finally strike

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed by S. A. Cook. (London, 1927), pp 80, 276

[2] Vol 1, p. 35.

[3] The same authority (vol i, p. 35) overheard a Bedouin woman addressing herself to al-Ka'bah thus: "O Lady Laylah! if you bring rain to our region so that plenty [*khayr*] may follow, I shall fetch you a bottle of ghee so that you may anoint your hair". Hearing this another Bedouin woman asked the speaker, "Do you really mean to fetch her one as you say?" to which the former replied, "Hush, I am fooling her. Once she brings the rain I shall fetch nothing!"

a western Red Sea port whence they are transported across by dhows. But the four major caravans are those from al-Yaman, al-'Irāq, Syria and Egypt. Each of these countries used to send annually at the head of its caravan a *maḥmil* symbolic of its dignity. The Maḥmil, a splendidly decorated litter, is carried on a camel that is led and not ridden. Beginning with the thir-



From Ibrāhīm Rif'at, "Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn"

THE EGYPTIAN AND SYRIAN MAḤMILS ON THEIR DEPARTURE FROM AL-MUZDALIFAH TO MINA, 1904

teenth century such Maḥmils were sent by Moslem princes anxious to display their independence and assert their claim as protectors of the Holy Places. Current tradition holds that Shajar-al-Durr, wife of one of the last Ayyūbid sultans, originated the idea of Maḥmil in the middle of the thirteenth century. But in several early works[1] the claim is made that the Umayyad viceroy in al-'Irāq, the famous al-Ḥajjāj († 714), was the one who initiated the practice. Whichever of the two stories be correct it was quite

[1] Ibn-Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, p. 274; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 886, l. 6; ibn Rustah, p. 192; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Kanz al-Madfūn* (Būlāq, 1288), p. 68.

evidently the Mamlūk Baybars (1260–77) who celebrated the occasion with such special festivities that the custom was established on a firm basis.[1] In recent years the Syrian and Egyptian caravans had been distinguished in splendour. The average number of pilgrims annually between the first and second World Wars had been about 172,000. Since then it has been on the increase, reaching in the mid-1960s the million mark with Egypt and Pakistan sending the largest numbers. Puritanical ibn-Su'ūd abolished the Maḥmil, a relic of heathenism. In the pilgrim age Ḥijāz had its main source of income until the discovery of oil.

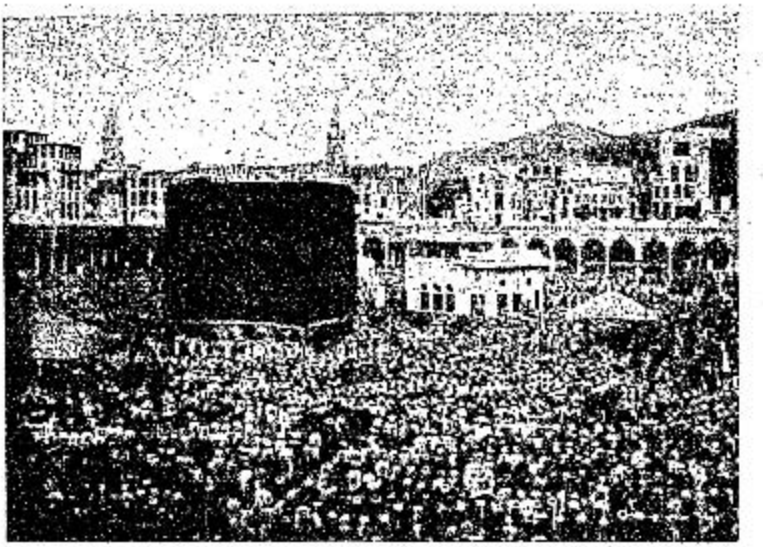
Down through the ages this institution has continued to serve as the major unifying influence in Islam and the most effective common bond among the diverse believers. It rendered almost every capable Moslem perforce a traveller for once in his lifetime. The socializing influence of such a gathering of the brotherhood of believers from the four quarters of the earth is hard to over-estimate. It afforded opportunity for negroes, Berbers, Chinese, Persians, Syrians, Turks, Arabs—rich and poor, high and low—to fraternize and meet together on the common ground of faith. Of all world religions Islam seems to have attained the largest measure of success in demolishing the barriers of race, colour and nationality—at least within the confines of its own community. The line is drawn only between believers and the rest of mankind. These hajj gatherings have undoubtedly contributed their share towards the achievement of that result. They have further provided excellent opportunities for the propagation of sectarian ideas among peoples coming from lands not bound together by the modern means of communication and where the voice of the press is not yet a living voice. Such a movement as the Sanūsi in northern Africa owes its inception and early propagation to the intercourse provided by the pilgrimage to Makkah.

Holy War

The duty of *jihād*, holy war[2] (sūr. 2 : 186-90), has been raised to the dignity of a sixth pillar by at least one Moslem sect, the Khārijites. To it Islam owes its unparalleled expansion as a worldly power. It is one of the principal duties of the caliph to

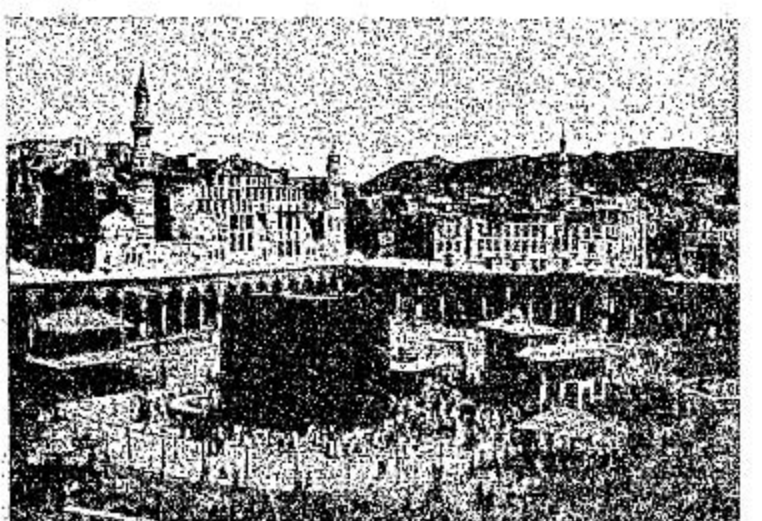
[1] Suyūṭi, *Ḥusn*, vol. ii, p 74; cf. al-Maqrizi, *al-Mawā'iz w-al-I'tibār*, ed Gaston Wiet (Cairo, 1922), vol iii, p 300, *al Sulūk fi Ma'rifat Duwal al Mulūk*, tr M Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1845), vol. i (pt 1), pp. 149 50. The Maḥmil, the *markab* (litter) of the Ruwalah and the Ark of the Covenant may go back to the same ancient Semitic origin.

[2] Theoretically there is no secular war in Islam.



From Ibrāhīm Rif'at, "Mir'āt al-Haramayn"

PILGRIMS AROUND THE KA'BAH PERFORMING THE FRIDAY PRAYER, 1908



From Ibrāhīm Rif'at, "Mir'āt Hal-arzavan"

NORTH-EASTERN VIEW OF THE KA'BAH, 1908

keep pushing back the geographical wall separating the *dār al-Islām* (the land of Islam) from the *dār al-ḥarb* (the war territory). This bipartite division of the world into an abode of peace and an abode of war finds a parallel in the communistic theory of Soviet Russia. Of more recent years, however, *jihād* has found less support in the Moslem world, chiefly because of the fragmentation and lingering of many parts under the control of various alien governments considered too strong or too benevolent to be overthrown. The last such call to a universal uprising against non-Moslems, made as late as the autumn of 1914 by the Ottoman Sultan-Caliph Muḥammad Rashād, proved an utter failure.

Another important article of faith is the belief in the divine decree of good and evil (sūr. 9 : 51; 3 : 139; 35 : 2), a dominant factor in Moslem thought and conduct throughout the ages.

The religious obligations (*'ibādāt*) discussed above constitute the fundamentals of Islam. But they are not the only ones instituted by koranic prescription. Right-doing (*iḥsān*) has the same authority behind it. The sanctions of private as well as public morality in the Moslem world are all of a religious character. Basically the will of Allah, as revealed through Muhammad, determines what is right (*ḥalāl* = permitted, legitimate) and what is wrong (*ḥarām* = forbidden). In the historical evolution of religion in Arabia, Islam was the first to demand personal belief and personal morality (sūrs. 53 : 39-42, 31 : 32). In the realm of ethical conduct it substituted the moral fellowship of religion for the tribal fellowship of blood kinship. Of the human virtues it insists on beneficence, in the form of zakāh, most urgently. In such passages as 2 : 172; 3 : 100, 106, 109-11; 4 : 40; 7 : 31, which stand in favourable comparison with the best in the Old Testament (e.g. Amos 5 : 23-4; Hos. 6 : 6; Mic. 6 : 6-8), its ethical ideals are clearly set forth.

CHAPTER XI

PERIOD OF CONQUEST, EXPANSION AND COLONIZATION
A.D. 632–61

Orthodox Caliphs

1. Abu-Bakr	.	632–34
2. 'Umar	.	634–44
3. 'Uthmān	.	644–56
4. 'Ali	.	656–61

As long as Muḥammad lived he performed the functions of prophet, lawgiver, religious leader, chief judge, commander of the army and civil head of the state—all in one. But now Muḥammad was dead. Who was to be his successor, his *khalīfah* (caliph), in all except the spiritual function? In his rôle as the last and greatest prophet, who had delivered the final dispensation to mankind, Muḥammad evidently could have no one to succeed him.

The Prophet left no male children. Only one daughter, Fāṭimah, the wife of 'Ali, survived him. But the Arabian chiefdom or sheikhdom was not exactly hereditary; it was more electoral, following the line of tribal seniority. So even if his sons had not predeceased him, the problem would not have been solved. Nor did Muḥammad clearly designate a successor. The caliphate is therefore the first problem Islam had to face. It is still a living issue. In March 1924, sixteen months after cancelling the sultanate, the Kemālist Turks abolished the Ottoman caliphate in Constantinople held by 'Abd-al-Majīd II, and since then a number of pan-Islamic congresses have met in Cairo and Makkah to determine the rightful successor to the Prophet, but all to no avail. In the words of the distinguished historian of religions, al-Shahrastāni (†1153):[1] "Never was there an Islamic issue which brought about more bloodshed than the caliphate [*imāmah*]".

As always happens when a serious question is thrown open for popular decision, a number of conflicting parties arose

[1] P. 12.

subsequent to the death of Muhammad. These were on one side the Emigrants (*muhājirūn*), who based their claim on having belonged to the tribe of the Prophet and on having been the first to accept his mission. On the other stood the Madīnese Supporters (*Anṣār*), who asserted that had they not given Muhammad and nascent Islam asylum both would have perished. Later these two parties coalesced to form the Companions (*ṣaḥābah*). Then came the Legitimists (*aṣḥāb al-naṣṣ w-al-ta'yīn*), who reasoned that Allah and Muḥammad could not have left the community of believers to the chances and whims of an electorate, and therefore must have made clear provision for its leadership by designating some particular person to succeed Muḥammad. 'Ali, the paternal cousin of the Prophet, the husband of his only surviving daughter and one of the first two or three believers, was the one thus designated and the only legitimate successor. As against the elective principle, this last party held to the divine right of rule. And last but not least came the aristocracy of Quraysh, the Umayyads, who held the reins of authority, power and wealth in the pre-Islamic days (but who were the last to profess Islam) and who later asserted their right to the successorship. It was abu-Sufyān, their head, who had led the opposition to the Prophet until the fall of Makkah.

The orthodox caliphate: A patriarchal age

The first party triumphed. The aged and pious abu-Bakr, a father-in-law of the Prophet and one of the first three or four to believe in him, received the oath of allegiance (*bay'ah*) from the assembled chiefs, probably in accordance with a previously arranged scheme between himself, 'Umar ibn-al-Khattāb and abu-'Ubaydah ibn-al-Jarrāh—the triumvirate who presided over the destinies of infant Islam.

Abu-Bakr headed the list of the four orthodox (*rāshidūn*) caliphs, including 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Ali. This was a period in which the lustre of the Prophet's life had not ceased to shed its light and influence over the thoughts and acts of the caliphs. All four were close associates and relatives of the Prophet. They lived in al-Madīnah, the scene of his last ministry, with the exception of the last, 'Ali, who chose al-Kūfah in al-'Irāq for his capital.

Arabia conquers itself

The short caliphate of abu-Bakr (632–4) was mostly occupied with the so-called *riddah* (secession, apostasy) wars. As represented by Arab chroniclers all Arabia outside of al-Ḥijāz, which

is alleged to have accepted Islam and acknowledged the temporal authority of the Prophet, upon his death broke off from the newly organized state and followed a number of local and false prophets. The fact is that with the lack of communication, the utter absence of organized methods of missionary activity and the short time involved, not more than one-third of the peninsula could actually have professed Islam during the life of the Prophet or recognized his rule. Even al-Ḥijāz, the immediate scene of his activity, was not Islamized until a year or two before his death. The delegates (*wufūd*) reported to have come to pay him homage could not have represented all Arabia, and for a tribe to become Moslem in those days simply meant that its chiefs so became.

Many such tribes in al-Yaman, al-Yamāmah and 'Umān felt reluctant to pay the zakāh to al-Madīnah. The death of the Prophet provided the excuse for active refusal. Jealousy against the rising hegemony of the Ḥijāz capital was one of the underlying motives. The old centrifugal forces characteristic of Arabian life were once more in full operation.

Abu-Bakr, however, was adamant in his insistence on unconditional surrender from "the seceders" or war unto destruction.[1] Khālid ibn-al-Walīd was the hero of these wars. Within some six months his generalship had reduced the tribes of Central Arabia to submission. First he subjugated the Ṭayyi'; then the Asad and Ghaṭafān, whose prophet, Ṭalḥah, the Moslems scoffingly styled Ṭulayḥah; and finally the banu-Ḥanīfah in al-Yamāmah, who had gathered under the banner of a prophet whose name, Musaylimah, appears derisively in the Arabic annals in this diminutive form. It was this Musaylimah who offered the most stubborn resistance. He unified his religious and worldly interests with Sajāḥ, possibly a Christian, who was the prophetess and soothsayer of the banu-Tamīm and whom he married; with 40,000 men at his command, so we are told, he crushed two Moslem armies before Khālid arrived with a third. Even from among this victorious third Khālid lost enough Koran reciters to endanger the perpetuation of the knowledge of the sacred book. Other campaigns were conducted by various Moslem generals and with varying measures of success[2] in al-Baḥrayn,

[1] Balādhuri, p. 94, l. 14 = Hitti, p. 143, l. 23.
Consult Balādhuri, pp. 94-107 = Hitti, pp. 143-62.

'Umān, Ḥaḍramawt and al-Yaman, where al-Aswad had been acknowledged prophet. Thus most of the *riddah* wars were directed not so much toward holding secessionists by force—which is the view of Arab historians—as toward bringing over to Islam many who had until that time been outside the fold.

The peninsula was now united under abu-Bakr by the sword of Khālid. Arabia had to conquer itself before it could conquer the world. The momentum acquired in these internal campaigns, which transformed Arabia for a number of months after the death of the Prophet into an armed camp, had to seek new outlets, and the newly acquired technique of organized warfare had to be applied somewhere. The warlike spirit of the tribes, now brought together into a nominally common fraternity, had to find new channels for asserting itself.

The two cardinal events of late ancient times are the Teutonic migrations resulting in the disruption of the venerable Roman empire, and the Arab conquests which demolished the Persian empire and shook the Byzantine power to its very foundation. Of these two, the Arab conquests culminating in the occupation of Spain marked the beginning of the Middle Ages.[1] If someone in the first third of the seventh Christian century had had the audacity to prophesy that within a decade some unheralded, unforeseen power from the hitherto barbarous and little-known land of Arabia was to make its appearance, hurl itself against the only two world powers of the age, fall heir to the one—the Sāsānid—and strip the other—the Byzantine—of its fairest provinces, he would undoubtedly have been declared a lunatic. Yet that was exactly what happened. After the death of the Prophet sterile Arabia seems to have been converted as if by magic into a nursery of heroes the like of whom both in number and quality is hard to find anywhere. The military campaigns of Khālid ibn-al-Walīd and 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣ which ensued in al-'Irāq, Persia, Syria and Egypt are among the most brilliantly executed in the history of warfare and bear favourable comparison with those of Napoleon, Hannibal or Alexander.

The enfeebled condition of the rival Byzantines and Sāsānids who had conducted internecine wars against each other for many generations; the heavy taxes, consequent upon these wars, imposed on the citizens of both empires and undermining their

[1] Henri Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, 7th ed (Brussels, 1935).

sense of loyalty; the previous domestication of Arabian tribes in Syria and Mesopotamia, and particularly along the borders; the existence of schisms in the Christian church resulting in the establishment of Monophysite communities in Syria and Egypt and Nestorian congregations in al-'Irāq and Persia, together with the persecution by the orthodox church—all these paved the way for the surprisingly rapid progress of Arabian arms. *The Byzantines had neglected the frontier forts.* After their victory of Mu'tah, in the land of ancient Moab, over the column sent by the Prophet (Sept. 629), Heraclius stopped the subsidies which the Syro-Arab tribes south of the Dead Sea and on the Madīnah-Ghazzah route had regularly received.[1] The native Semites of Syria and Palestine as well as the Hamites of Egypt looked upon the Arabian newcomers as nearer of kin than their hated and oppressive alien overlords. In fact the Moslem conquests may be looked upon as the recovery by the ancient Near East of its early domain. Under the stimulus of Islam the East now awoke and reasserted itself after a millennium of Western domination. Moreover, the tribute exacted by the new conquerors was even less than that exacted by the old, and the conquered could now pursue their religious practices with more freedom and less interference. As for the Arabians themselves, they represented a fresh and vigorous stock fired with new enthusiasm, imbued with the will to conquer and emboldened by the utter contempt of death inculcated by their new faith. But no small share of their seemingly miraculous success was due to their application of a military technique adapted to the open steppes of Western Asia and North Africa—the use of cavalry and camelry—*which the Romans never mastered.*

The "clerical" interpretation of the Islamic movement, emphasized in Arabic sources, makes it entirely or primarily a religious movement and lays no stress on the underlying economic causes. The corresponding and equally discredited hypothesis held by many Christians represents the Arabian Moslems as offering the Koran with the one hand and the sword with the other. Outside of the Arabian peninsula and especially in the instance of the *ahl al-kitāb* (Christians and Jews) there was a third and, from the standpoint of the conquerors, more desirable choice besides the Koran and the sword—tribute.

The econ caus of t exp

[1] Theophanes, pp. 335-6.

"Make war . . . upon such of those to whom the Book has been given until they pay tribute offered on the back of their hands, in a state of humiliation."[1] This third choice was later by the necessity of circumstances offered to Zoroastrians and heathen Berbers and Turks; in the case of all of these theory gave way to expediency. Islam did provide a new battle-cry, a convenient rallying-point and a party watchword. It undoubtedly acted as a cohesive and cementing agency for the heterogeneous masses never before united and furnished a large part of the driving force. But it is hardly in itself enough to explain the conquests. Not fanaticism but economic necessity drove the Bedouin hordes, and most of the armies of conquest were recruited from the Bedouins, beyond the confines of their arid abode to the fair lands of the north. The passion to go to heaven in the next life may have been operative with some, but the desire for the comforts and luxuries of the civilized regions of the Fertile Crescent was just as strong in the case of many.

This economic aspect of the interpretation of the conquests, worked out by Caetani,[2] Becker[3] and other modern critical scholars, was not entirely ignored by the Arab chroniclers of old. Al-Balādhuri, the most judicious of the historians of the conquest, declares that in recruiting for the Syrian campaign abu-Bakr "wrote to the people of Makkah, al-Ṭā'if, al-Yaman and all the Arabs in Najd and al-Ḥijāz summoning them to a 'holy war' and arousing their desire for it and for the booty to be got from the Greeks".[4] Rustam, the Persian general who defended his country against the Arab invasion, made the following remark to the Moslem envoy: "I have learned that ye were forced to what ye are doing by nothing but the narrow means of livelihood and by poverty".[5] A verse in the *Ḥamāsah* of abu-Tammām[6] has put the case tersely:

> No, not for Paradise didst thou the nomad life forsake;
> Rather, I believe, it was thy yearning after bread and dates.

Envisaged in its proper setting, the Islamic expansion marks the final stage in the age-long process of gradual infiltration from

[1] Sūr. 9 : 29.
[2] In *Cambridge Medieval History* (New York, 1913), vol. ii, ch. xi.
[3] *Annali*, vol. ii, pp. 831-61.
[4] *Futūḥ*, p. 107 = Hitti, p. 165.
[5] Balādhuri, pp. 256-7 = Hitti, pp. 411-12.
[6] P. 795.

the barren desert to the adjacent Fertile Crescent, the last great Semitic migration.

The chroniclers, all of whom viewed the events of the conquest in the light of their subsequent developments, would also have us believe that these campaigns were conducted through the sagacity of the first caliphs, particularly abu-Bakr and 'Umar, in accordance with carefully prearranged plans. History shows but very few cases in which the course of great events was foreseen by those who launched them. Far from being entirely the result of deliberate and cool calculation, the campaigns seem to have started as raids to provide new outlets for the warring spirit of the tribes now forbidden to engage in fratricidal combats, the objective in most cases being booty and not the gaining of a permanent foothold. But the machine so built soon got beyond the control of those who built it. The movement acquired momentum as the warriors passed from victory to victory. It was then that the systematic campaigns began, and the creation of the Arab empire followed inevitably. Its creation was therefore due less to early design than to the logic of immediate circumstances.

The clerical or theological view favouring a providential interpretation of Islamic expansion, corresponding to the Old Testament interpretation of the Hebrew history and to the medieval philosophy of Christian history, has a faulty philological basis. The term Islam may be used in three senses: originally a religion, Islam later became a state, and finally a culture. Unlike Judaism and the old Buddhism, the religion of Islam proved as much of an aggressive and missionary religion as Christianity. Subsequently it built up a state. The Islam that conquered the northern regions was not the Islamic religion but the Islamic state. The Arabians burst forth upon an unsuspecting world as members of a national theocracy. It was Arabianism and not Muhammadanism that triumphed first. Not until the second and third centuries of the Moslem era did the bulk of the people in Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia profess the religion of Muhammad. Between the military conquest of these regions and their religious conversion a long period intervened. And when they were converted the people turned primarily because of self-interest—to escape tribute and seek identification with the ruling class. As for Islam as a culture, it developed slowly after

the military conquests on a substratum composed of the core and heritage of the Syro-Aramaean, Persian and Hellenistic civilizations which had preceded it. With Islam the Near Orient not only recaptured the whole of its former political domain but regained in the realm of culture its ancient intellectual pre-eminence.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONQUEST OF SYRIA

ABOUT the same time that Heraclius, newly hailed deliverer of Christendom and restorer of the unity of the Eastern Empire, was in Jerusalem reinstalling the true Cross,[1] which had just been recovered from the Persians, his troops beyond the Jordan reported an attack by an Arabian band which was repelled with little difficulty. Mu'tah, on the frontier of al-Balqā' to the east of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, was the scene of the encounter. Zayd ibn-Ḥārithah, the adopted son of Muḥammad, was the leader; under him were 3000 men.[2] Zayd lost his life in the raid and the newly converted Khālid ibn-al-Walīd succeeded in leading the remnant of the shattered army back to al-Madīnah. The ostensible object of the raid was to avenge the martyrdom of the Prophet's emissary sent to the Ghassānid prince of Buṣra; the real one was to secure the coveted Mashrafiyah[3] swords manufactured at Mu'tah and neighbouring towns with a view to using them in the impending attack on Makkah. The event was naturally interpreted as one of the ordinary raids to which the settled peoples of the borderland had long been accustomed; but actually it was the first gun in a struggle that was not to cease until the proud Byzantine capital had fallen (1453) to the latest champions of Islam and the name of Muḥammad substituted for that of Christ on the walls of the most magnificent cathedral of Christendom, St. Sophia.

The Mu'tah engagement was the only campaign against Syria in the lifetime of the Prophet. The Tabūk[4] expedition in the following year (A.H. 9/630) led by him in person was bloodless, though it netted a few Jewish and Christian oases.

At the conclusion of the Riddah wars in the autumn of 633,

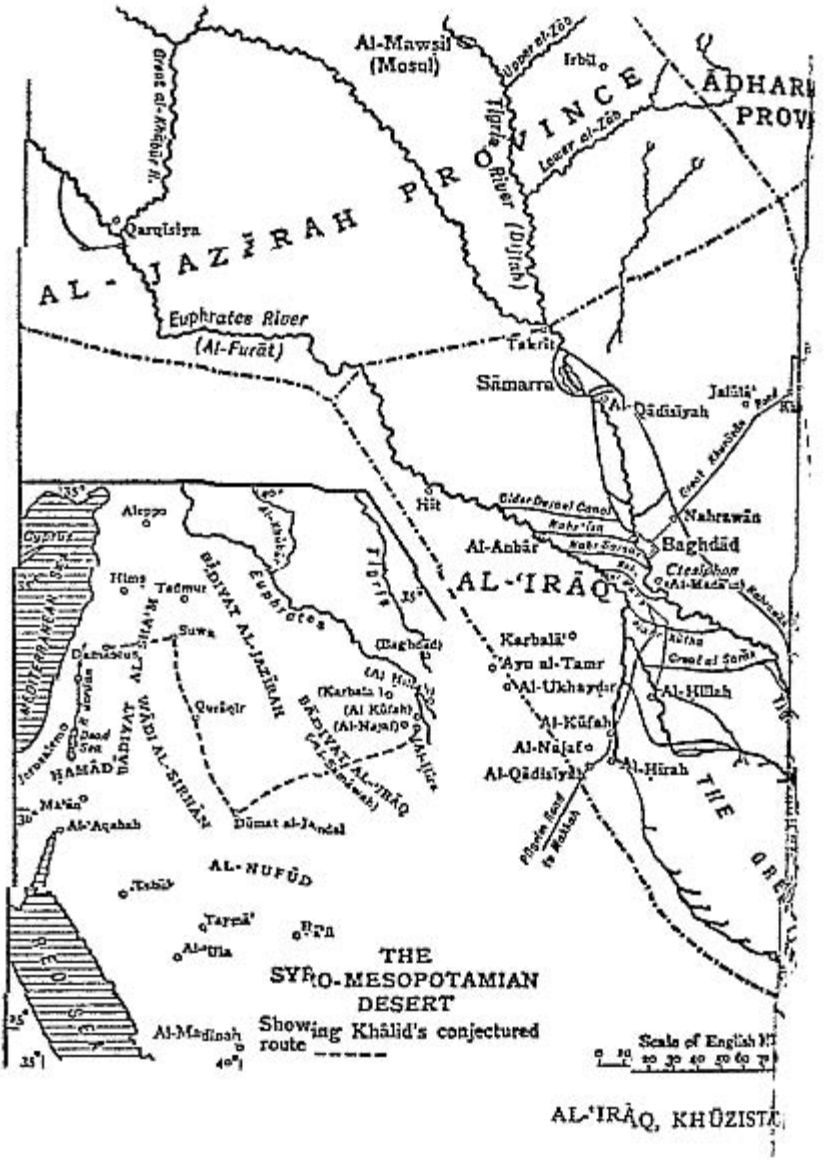
[1] Sept. 14, 629, still celebrated with bonfire in the Lebanon.
[2] Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 1610. Cf. Theophanes, p. 336.
[3] From *Mashāriʿ al-Shaʾm*, i.e. the highlands overlooking Syria. M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie* (Leyden, 1900), p. 5.
[4] Wāqidi, pp. 425 *seq.*; Balādhuri, p. 59 = Hitti, p. 92.

three detachments of about 3000 men each, led respectively by 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣ, Yazīd ibn-abi-Sufyān and Shuraḥbīl ibn-Ḥasanah,[1] marched northward and began operations in southern and south-eastern Syria. Yazīd had as standard bearer his brother Mu'āwiyah, the future distinguished founder of the Umayyad dynasty. Yazīd and Shuraḥbīl took the direct Tabūk-Ma'ān route, whereas 'Amr, who in case of unified action was to be commander in chief, took the coast route via Aylah. The numbers of each detachment were later augmented to some 7500 men. Abu-'Ubaydah ibn-al-Jarrāḥ, soon to become generalissimo, probably headed one of the reinforcements and took the famous pilgrims' route which followed the older transport route from al-Madīnah to Damascus.

In the first encounter, at Wādi al-'Arabah, the great depression south of the Dead Sea, Yazīd triumphed over Sergius the patrician of Palestine, whose headquarters were at Cæsarea (Qaysārīyah). On their retreat towards Ghazzah the remnant of the several thousand Byzantine troops under Sergius were overtaken at Dāthin and almost annihilated (February 4, 634). In other places, however, the natural advantages of the Byzantines were telling and the Moslem invaders were being harassed. Heraclius, whose ancestral home was Edessa (al-Ruhā') and whose six years' campaigning had cleared the Persians from Syria and Egypt, hastened from Emesa (Ḥimṣ) to organize and dispatch to the south a fresh army under his brother Theodorus.

In the meantime Khālid ibn-al-Walīd, "the sword of Allah",[2] who was operating in al-'Irāq at the head of some five hundred Riddah veterans in co-operation with the banu-Shaybān, a subtribe of the Bakr ibn-Wā'il domiciled on the Persian border, was ordered by abu-Bakr to rush to the relief of his fellow generals on the Syrian front. Though a minor affair in itself and undertaken possibly without the knowledge of the caliph, chronologically the raid on al-'Irāq stands at the commencement of the Moslem military enterprises. But from the standpoint of al-Madīnah and al-Ḥijāz neighbouring Syria was the place of chief concern. Before abu-Bakr issued his orders al-Ḥīrah in al-'Irāq had capitulated to Khālid and his ally al-Muthanna ibn-

[1] Cf. al-Baṣri, *Futūḥ al Shā'm*, ed. W. N. Lees (Calcutta, 1853–4), pp. 8–11, 40–42.
[2] Wāqidi, p. 402; ibn 'Asākir, *al-Ta'rīkh al-Kabīr*, ed. 'Abd-al-Qādir Badrān, vol. v (Damascus, 1332), pp. 92, 102.


Al-Mawṣil
(Mosul)
Irbil
Upper al-Zāb
Lower al-Zāb
Tigris River (Dijlah)
ADHARBAYJĀN PROVINCE
Great Khābūr R.
Qarqīsiya
AL-JAZIRAH PROVINCE
Euphrates River
(Al-Furāt)
Takrīt
Sāmarrā
Al-Qādisīyah
Jalūlā'
Great Khanikin
Hīt
Nahrawān
Baghdād
Al-Anbār
AL-'IRĀQ
Ctesiphon
(Al-Madā'in)
Karbalā'
'Ayn al-Tamr
Al-Ukhaydir
Al-Hillah
Al-Kūfah
Al-Najaf
Al-Qādisīyah
Al-Hīrah
THE EUPHRATES
Aleppo
Cyprus
Ḥims
Tadmur
Damascus
Suwa
Qurayyāt
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
HAMĀD
BĀDIYAT AL-SHĀM
WĀDI AL-SIRḤĀN
BĀDIYAT AL-JAZIRAH
EUPHRATES
TIGRIS
(Baghdād)
(Karbalā')
(Al-Kūfah)
(Al-Najaf)
BĀDIYAT AL-'IRĀQ
Dūmat al-Jandal
Ma'ān
Al-'Aqabah
AL-NUFŪD
Tabūk
Tayma'
Ḥāʼil
Al-'Ulā
Al-Madīnah
Scale of English Miles
THE SYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN DESERT
Showing Khālid's conjectured route
AL-'IRĀQ, KHŪZISTĀN

D PART OF AL-JAZĪRAH

[Between pages 148 and 149

Ḥārithah, the chief of the Shaybān Bedouins, for a consideration of 60,000 dirhams. This town with its Arab Christian kinglet was the earliest acquisition of Islam outside the peninsula and the first apple to fall from the Persian tree. 'Ayn al-Tamr, a fortified place in the desert north-west of al-Kūfah, had also been captured just before the famous march on Syria.

Khālid's itinerary through the desert presents many historical and geographical problems, for different authors have given us different routes and conflicting dates.[1] As reconstructed from a critical examination of all the sources[2] his march probably started from al-Ḥīrah (March 634) and led westward through the desert to the oasis of Dūmat[3] al-Jandal (modern al-Jawf), situated midway between al-'Irāq and Syria on the easiest route. Once in Dūmah he could have continued through Wādi al-Sirḥān (ancient Baṭn al-Sirr) to Buṣra, the first gateway of Syria; but forts lay on the way. Therefore Khālid took the north-western route from Dūmah to Qurāqir[4] on the eastern boundary of Wādi Sirḥān and thence pushed due northward to Suwa,[5] the second gateway of Syria, a journey of five days in an almost waterless desert. A certain Rāfi' ibn-'Umayr of the Ṭayyi' tribe acted as guide. Water for the troops was carried in bags; but for the horses the paunches of the old camels, later to be slaughtered for food, served as reservoirs.[6] The troops, five to eight hundred in all, rode camels; the few horses to be used at the time of the encounter were led alongside. At one spot Rāfi', with eyes so dazzled by the rays of the sun reflected from the sand that he could not see the expected sign for water, besought the men to look for a box-thorn (*'awsaj*). As they dug near it they struck damp sand whence water trickled forth, to the relief of the distressed army.

Khā
peril
marc

With dramatic suddenness Khālid appeared in the neighbourhood of Damascus (Dimashq) and directly in the rear of the Byzantine army after only eighteen days' journey. Here he

[1] Cf. Balādhuri, pp. 110-12; Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. ii, pp. 150-51; Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 2111-13, 2121-4; ibn-'Asākir, vol. i, p. 130; ibn-al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Ta'rīkh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, vol. ii (Leyden, 1867), pp. 312-13.

[2] Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), pp. 553-73.

[3] Mentioned in Gen. 25 : 14, Is. 21 : 11.

[4] Modern Qulbān Qarūqir.

[5] Near modern Sab' Biyār (seven wells) north-east of Damascus.

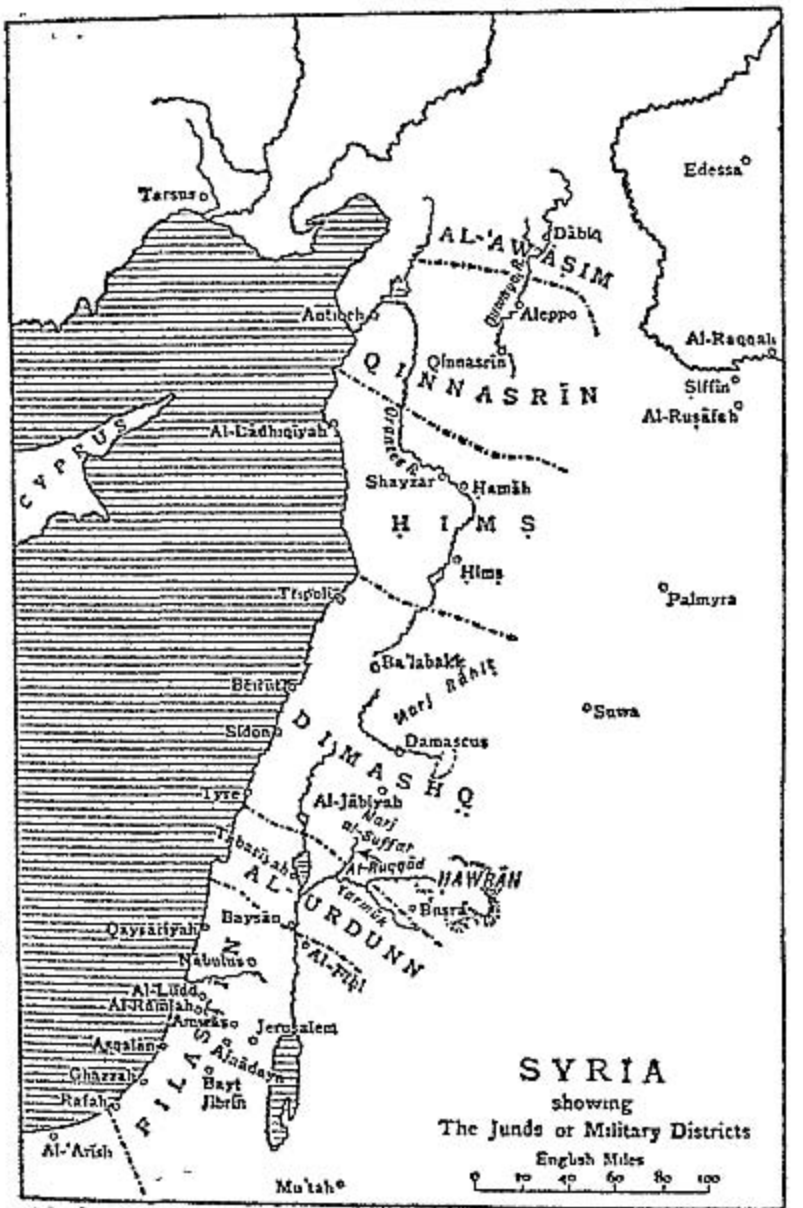
[6] Ashurbanipal refers to enemy Arabs who "ripped open their riding-camels" to quench their thirst; Luckenbill, vol. ii, § 827; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, p 570.

began his marauding expeditions in the course of one of which he encountered and defeated the Christian forces of the Ghassānids at Marj Rāhiṭ[1] on their Easter Sunday. Thence Khālid continued his triumphal march against Buṣra (Eski-Shām or Old Damascus). Here he evidently succeeded in effecting a junction with the other Arabian forces, resulting in the bloody victory at Ajnādayn[2] on July 30, 634, which laid open before them practically all Palestine. With the junction of the forces Khālid assumed supreme command of the united army. Systematic campaigning now began. Buṣra, one of the Ghassānid capitals, fell without much resistance. Fiḥl (or Faḥl, Gr. Pella), east of the Jordan and commanding its crossing, followed suit on January 23, 635. The road towards the Syrian metropolis of Damascus was cleared by the rout of the enemy at Marj al-Ṣuffar[3] on February 25, 635. Two weeks later Khālid stood before the gate of the city reputed by tradition to be the oldest in the world and from whose walls Paul was let down in a basket on that memorable night of his flight. Damascus, soon to become the capital of the Islamic empire, surrendered in September 635, after six months' siege, through treachery on the part of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, who included the father of the celebrated St. John, of whom we shall later hear under the Umayyads. Abandoned by the Byzantine garrison, the civilian population of Damascus capitulated. The terms served as a model for future arrangements with the remaining Syro-Palestinian cities.

In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. This is what Khālid ibn-al-Walīd would grant to the inhabitants of Damascus if he enters therein: he promises to give them security for their lives, property and churches. Their city wall shall not be demolished, neither shall any Moslem be quartered in their houses. Thereunto we give to them the pact of Allah and the protection of His Prophet, the caliphs and the believers. So long as they pay the poll tax, nothing but good shall befall them.[4]

The poll tax was evidently one dinar and one *jarīb* (measure of wheat) on every head, which sum 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb later increased. Ba'labakk, Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāh (Epiphania) and other towns fell one after the other like ninepins. Nothing stood in

[1] A Ghassānid camp about 15 miles from Damascus, near 'Adhrā'.
[2] Not Jannābatayn; see S. D. Gottein in *Journal, American Oriental Society*, vol. lxx (1950), p. 106.
[3] A plain 20 miles south of Damascus.
[4] Balādhuri, p. 121 = Hitti, p. 187.


Tarsus
Antioch
Dābiq
AL-'AWĀṢIM
Qinnasrin R.
Aleppo
Edessa
Al-Raqqah
Ṣiffīn
Al-Rusāfah
QINNASRĪN
Orontes R.
Qinnasrin
Al-Ladhiqiyah
CAPUS
Shayzar
Ḥamāh
ḤIMṢ
Ḥimṣ
Palmyra
Tripoli
Ba'labakk
Marj Rāhiṭ
Beirut
Ṣūwa
Ṣidon
Damascus
DIMASHQ
Tyre
Al-Jābiyah
Marj al-Suffar
Tiberias
Al-Ruqqād
ḤAWRĀN
Yarmūk R.
Baṣrā
AL-URDUNN
Qaysāriyah
Baysān
Nābulus
Al-Fiḥl
Al-Lūdd
Al-Ramlah
Amwās
Jerusalem
'Asqalān
Ghazzah
Rafaḥ
Al-'Arīsh
FILASṬĪN
Al-Nādayn
Bayt Jibrīn
Mu'tah
SYRIA
showing
The Junds or Military Districts
English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100

the way of the advancing conqueror. "The people of Shayzar [Larissa] went out to meet him accompanied by players on the tambourines and singers and bowed down before him."[1]

The decisive battle of Yarmūk

In the meantime Heraclius had mustered an army of some 50,000 again under his brother Theodorus, and was prepared for a decisive stand. Khālid relinquished for the time being Ḥimṣ, even Damascus and other strategic towns, and concentrated some 25,000 men[2] at the valley of Yarmūk,[3] the eastern tributary of the Jordan. Months of skirmishing came to a climax on August 20, 636, a hot day clouded by the wind-blown dust[4] of one of the most torrid spots on earth and undoubtedly fixed upon by Arabian generalship. Before the terrific onslaught of the sons of the desert the efforts of the Byzantine troops, aided by the chants and prayers of their priests and the presence of their crosses,[5] proved of no avail. Those of the Byzantines and their Armenian and Arab mercenaries who were not slaughtered on the spot were relentlessly driven into the steep bed of the river and the Ruqqād valley; the few who managed to escape across it were almost annihilated on the other side. Theodorus himself fell and the imperial army was converted into a fleeing, panic-stricken mob. The fate of Syria was decided. One of the fairest provinces was for ever lost to the Eastern Empire. "Farewell, O Syria, and what an excellent country this is for the enemy!"[6] were Heraclius' words of adieu.

The turn of the administrator, the pacifier, now came. Abu-'Ubaydah, one of the most esteemed Companions and members of the Madīnese theocracy and hitherto a contingent leader on the Syrian front, was appointed by 'Umar governor-general and caliphal vice-regent to replace Khālid, against whom 'Umar seems to have harboured some personal feeling. Abu-'Ubaydah accompanied Khālid northward. No further serious resistance stood in the way of the Arabian arms until the natural limits of Syria, the Taurus Mountains, were reached, and no difficulty was experienced in reclaiming the cities previously conquered. A

[1] Balādhuri, p. 131 = Hitti, pp. 201-2.

[2] Arab estimates of the Byzantine army at 100,000 to 240,000 and of the Moslem army at 40,000 are as unreliable as the Greek. Cf. Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, vol. IV (Paris, 1910), p. 416, tr. Chabot, vol. II (Paris, 1901), p. 421.

[3] Near the junction of the Yarmūk and al-Ruqqūd. Not to be confused with Jarmuth of Josh. 10 : 3, modern Khirbat Yarmūk, near Ajnādayn.

[4] See H. R. P Dickson, *The Arab of the Desert* (London, 1949), pp. 258-62.

[5] Baṣri, p. 197; ibn-'Asākir, vol. *i*, p. 163. [6] Balādhuri, p. 137 = Hitti, p. 210.

statement attributed to the people of Ḥimṣ is representative of the sentiment cherished by the native Syrians towards the new conquerors: "We like your rule and justice far better than the state of oppression and tyranny under which we have been living".[1] Antioch, Aleppo and other northern towns were soon added to the list. Qinnasrīn (Chalcis) was the only city that was not easily dealt with. In the south only Jerusalem and Cæsarea, which was strictly Hellenized, held their gates stubbornly closed in the face of the invaders, the former till 638 and the latter till October 640. Cæsarea received help by sea which the Arabians had no means of intercepting, but after seven years of intermittent raids and siege it succumbed before the attack of Mu'āwiyah, aided by the treachery of a Jew within the walls. Between 633 and 640 all Syria from south to north was subdued.

This "easy conquest" [2] of the land had its own special causes. The Hellenistic culture imposed on the land since its conquest by Alexander (332 B.C.) was only skin-deep and limited to the urban population. The rural people remained ever conscious of cultural and racial differences between themselves and their masters. This racial antipathy between the Semitic population of Syria and the Greek rulers was augmented by sectarian differences. The Monophysite church of Syria insisted that Christ had but one nature instead of the two (divine and human) formulated by the Synod of Chalcedon (451) and accepted by the Greek church of Byzantium. The christological compromise of Heraclius, promulgated in 638 on the basis of a formula devised by Sergius[3] the patriarch of Constantinople, aimed at ignoring the question of the nature or natures in the person of Christ and emphasizing his one will (*thélēma*). Hence the name Monothelite for a Christian who accepted the new formula. Like other religious compromises this one neither pleased the orthodox nor satisfied the dissenters. Instead it resulted in the creation of a third problem and a new party. But the bulk of the population of Syria remained Monophysite. Behind their development and maintenance of a separate Syrian church there undoubtedly lay a submerged, semi-articulate feeling of nationality.

Just before the fall of Jerusalem the Caliph 'Umar came to the

[1] Balādhurī, p. 137, l. 13 = Hitti, p. 211.
[2] Balādhurī, p. 116, l. 18, p. 126, ll. 13, 19 = Hitti, p. 179, l. 17, p. 193, l. 22.
[3] A Syrian of Jacobite lineage.

military camp of al-Jābiyah, which lay north of the Yarmūk battlefield and whose name is still borne by the western gate of Damascus; his purpose was to solemnize the conquest, fix the status of the conquered, consult with his generalissimo, abu-'Ubaydah, whom he had substituted for Khālid after the Yarmūk battle, and lay down necessary regulations for the administration of the newly acquired territory. When Jerusalem fell it too was visited by 'Umar. As the patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronius, styled the "honey-tongued defender of the church", was showing the aged caliph round the holy places he was so impressed by the uncouth mien and shabby raiment of his Arabian visitor that he is said to have turned to an attendant and remarked in Greek, "Truly this is the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the Prophet as standing in the holy place".[1]

Soon abu-'Ubaydah fell victim at 'Amwās (or 'Amawās) to an epidemic which is said to have carried off 20,000 of his troops, and after the death of his successor, Yazīd, the power passed to the hands of the shrewd Mu'āwiyah.

Syria was now divided into four military districts (sing. *jund*) corresponding to the Roman and Byzantine provinces found at the time of the conquest. These were: Dimashq, Himṣ, al-Urdunn (Jordan) comprising Galilee to the Syrian desert, and Filastīn (Palestine), the land south of the great plain of Esdraelon (Marj ibn-'Āmir). The northern district, Qinnasrīn, was added later by the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd I.

So swift and easy an acquisition of so strategic a territory from the first potentate of the age gave the newly rising power of Islam prestige in the eyes of the world and, what is more important, confidence in its own destiny. From Syria the hordes swept into Egypt and thence made their triumphant way through the rest of northern Africa. With Syria as a base the onward push to Armenia, northern Mesopotamia, Georgia and Ādharbayjān became possible, as did the raids and attacks which for many years to come were to be carried on against Asia Minor. With the help of Syrian troops Spain in far-off Europe was in less than a hundred years from the death of the Prophet brought within the ever widening circle of Islam.

[1] Theophanes, p. 339, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, "De administrando imperio", in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. cxiii (Paris, 1864), col. 109, Dan 11 : 31. Sophronius was probably of Maronite origin.

CHAPTER XIII

AL-'IRĀQ AND PERSIA CONQUERED

WHEN Khālid in 634 made his memorable dash westward from al-Ḥīrah he left the 'Irāq front in the hands of his Bedouin ally al-Muthanna ibn-Ḥārithah, sheikh of the banu-Shaybān. In the meantime the Persians were preparing a counter-attack and succeeded in almost annihilating the Arabian bands at the Battle of the Bridge [1] near al-Ḥīrah, November 26, 634. Undaunted, al-Muthanna undertook a new raid and in October or November of the following year scored over the Persian general Mihrān a victory at al-Buwayb on the Euphrates. But al-Muthanna was no more than a Bedouin chief, with no Madinese or Makkan connections, and had not heard of or accepted Islam until after the death of the Prophet. The Caliph 'Umar therefore chose Sa'd ibn-abi-Waqqāṣ, one of those Companions promised Paradise by Muḥammad at the conclusion of the Battle of Badr, as commander in chief and sent him at the head of new reinforcements to al-'Irāq. By that time the victory of Yarmūk had been won and the fate of Syria sealed Sa'd with his 10,000 men measured his strength for the first time with the Persian Rustam, the administrator of the empire, at al-Qādisīyah, not far from al-Ḥīrah. The day (the last of May or first of June 637) was extremely hot and was rendered dark by the wind-blown dust, a day not unlike that on which the battle of Yarmūk was fought. The same tactics were used with the same results. Rustam was killed, the large Sāsānid army dissolved in panic and all the fertile lowlands of al-'Irāq [2] west of the Tigris (Dijlah) lay open to the invaders. The welcome on the part of the Aramaean peasants was no less cordial than that tendered by the Syrian peasants, and for much the same reasons. The Semitic 'Irāqis

[1] Across the Euphrates. Balādhuri, pp. 251-2; Tabari, vol. i, pp. 2194-2201.

[2] *'Irāq*, probably a loan-word from Pahlawi meaning "lowland", corresponds to Ar *Sawād*, black land, used to bring out the contrast with the Arabian desert Yāqūt, vol. iii, p. 174; cf A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York, 1927), p 60.

looked upon the Iranian masters as aliens and felt closer kinship with the newcomers. As Christians they had not been especially favoured by the followers of Zoroaster. For centuries before Islam petty Arab chieftains and kinglets had flourished on the 'Irāq-Arabian border. The Arab control of the valley of the two rivers was anticipated by intimate relations with its peoples dating to the early Babylonian era, by growing acquaintance with its culture and by the admixture of border Bedouins with its inhabitants. As in the case of Syria after Yarmūk an influx of fresh Arabian tribes, attracted by the new economic advantages, took place into the newly conquered territory.

The Persian capital, Ctesiphon,[1] was Sa'd's next objective. With characteristic dash and energy he pushed ahead and at a convenient ford effected the crossing of the Tigris, much swollen by the spring floods. The feat was accomplished without loss of life to the army and was hailed as a miracle by Moslem chroniclers. In June 637 Sa'd made his triumphal entry into the capital whose garrison together with the emperor had deserted it. Arab chroniclers outdo themselves in their extravagant description of the booty and treasures captured therein. Their estimate is nine billion dirhams.[2]

The occupation of the greatest royal city in hither Asia brought the sons of barren Arabia into direct contact with the luxuries and comforts of the then modern high life. The *Īwān Kisrā*, the royal palace with its spacious audience chamber, graceful arches and sumptuous furnishings and decorations—all celebrated in later Arabic poetry—was now at the disposal of Sa'd. Amusing as well as instructive are some of the anecdotes embedded in the Arabic chronicles which throw light upon the comparative culture of the two peoples. Camphor, never seen before, was naturally taken for salt and used as such in cooking.[3] "The yellow" (*al-ṣafrā'*, i.e. gold), something unfamiliar in Arabia, was offered by many in exchange for "the white" (*al-bayḍā'*, silver).[4] When an Arabian warrior at al-Ḥīrah was blamed for

[1] Arabic al-Madā'in, literally the cities, which included Seleucia and Ctesiphon on either side of the Tigris some 20 miles south-east of Baghdād.

[2] Ṭabarī, vol. i, p. 2436; cf. ibn-al-Athīr, vol. ii, p. 400, Caetani, *Annali*, vol. iii, pp. 742-6.

[3] Ibn-al-Ṭiqṭaqa, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. H. Derenbourg (Paris, 1895), p. 114.

[4] *Fakhrī*, p. 115; tr. C. E. J. Whitting (London, 1947), p. 79 Cf. al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, ed. V. Guirgass (Leyden, 1888), p. 134.

selling a nobleman's daughter who fell as his share of booty for only 1000 dirhams, his reply was that he "never thought there was a number above ten hundred".[1]

After al-Qādisīyah and al-Madā'in the systematic conquest of the empire began from the newly founded military base at al-Baṣrah. By express command of the caliph the military camp of al-Kūfah, near older al-Ḥīrah, was to be the capital in preference to Ctesiphon, where Sa'd had built one of the first Moslem places of worship in al-'Irāq.

In the meantime the Sāsānid Yazdagird III and his imperial court were fleeing northward. Another futile stand (end of 637) at Jalūlā' on the fringe of the Persian highlands and all of al-'Irāq lay prostrate at the feet of the conquerors. In 641 al-Mawṣil (Mosul), near the site of ancient Nineveh, was reached and captured. This brought to a successful culmination the expedition which was started from northern Syria by 'Iyād ibn-Ghanm. In the same year the last great battle, that of Nihāwand (near ancient Ecbatana), was fought, with a nephew of Sa'd leading the Arabian forces, and resulted in a disastrous defeat of the last remnant of Yazdagird's army. Khūzistān (ancient Elam, later Susiana, modern 'Arabistān) was occupied in 640 from al-Baṣrah and al-Kūfah. In the meantime an attempt was made on the adjoining province of Pārs (Fāris, Persia proper),[2] on the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf, from al-Baḥrayn, which with al-Basrah and al-Kūfah formed now a third military base of operation against Iran. The stiffening resistance of the non-Semitic population was finally broken by 'Abdullāh ibn-'Āmir, the governor of al-Baṣrah, who occupied Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis), the chief city of Fāris, in 649–50.[3] After Fāris the turn of the great and distant province of Khurāsān, in the north-east, came; the path then lay open to the Oxus. The subjection of Mukrān, the coastal region of Baluchistan, shortly after 643 brought the Arabs to the very borders of India.

As early as 640 an attempt was made on Byzantine Armenia by 'Iyād. About four years later an expedition set out from Syria

[1] Balādhuri, p. 244 = Hitti, p. 302; cf. *Fakhri*, pp. 114-15.

[2] The Persians called their country Īrān, of which Pārs (the home of its two greatest dynasties, the Achaemenid and the Sāsānid) was but the southern province. The Greeks corrupted old Pers. *Pārsa* to *Persis* and used it for the whole kingdom.

[3] See Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 2545-51; Caetani, vol. iv, pp. 151-3, vol. v, pp. 19-27, vol. vii, pp. 219-20, 248-56.

under the leadership of Ḥabīb ibn-Maslamah, but the district was not completely reduced till about 652.[1]

The military camp al-Kūfah became the capital of the newly conquered territories. Heedless of 'Umar's insistence on the old-fashioned simplicity characteristic of al-Ḥijāz, Sa'd erected here a residence modelled on the royal palace of Ctesiphon. The gates of the old capital were transported to the new, a symbolic custom practised repeatedly in the Arab East. Built first of reeds as barracks to house the soldiers and their families, the camp exchanged its huts for unbaked brick houses and soon grew into an important metropolis. Along with its sister camp al-Baṣrah, al-Kūfah became the political and intellectual centre of Arab Mesopotamia until the 'Abbāsid al-Manṣūr built his world-famous city, Baghdād.

In 651 the young and ill-starred Yazdagird, fleeing with his crown, treasures and a few followers, fell victim to the greed of one of his own people in a miller's hut near Marw (Pers. Marv).[2] With his death there came to an ignoble end the last ruler of an empire that had flourished with one interruption for some twelve centuries, an empire that was not fully to rise again for eight hundred years or more.

This initial and inconclusive conquest of Persia took about a decade to achieve; the Moslem arms met with much more stubborn resistance than in Syria. In the campaign some 35,000–40,000 Arabians, inclusive of women, children and slaves, must have taken part. The Persians were Aryans, not Semites; they had enjoyed a national existence of their own for centuries and represented a well-organized military power that had been measuring swords with the Romans for over four hundred years. In the course of the following three centuries of Arab rule Arabic became the official language as well as the speech of cultured society and, to a limited extent, of ordinary parlance. But the old spirit of the subject nation was to rise again and restore its neglected tongue. Persia contributed a large share of the Qarmaṭian (Carmathian) movement which for many years shook the caliphate to its foundation; it also had much to do with the development of the Shī'ite sect and with the founding of the Fāṭimid dynasty which ruled Egypt for over two centuries. Its

[1] Consult Balādhurī, pp. 193-212; Caetani, vol. iv, pp. 50-53, vol. vii, pp. 453-4.
[2] *Cf.* Michel le Syrien, vol. iv, p. 418 = vol. ii, p. 424.

art, its literature, its philosophy, its medicine, became the common property of the Arab world and conquered the conquerors. Some of the most brilliant stars in the intellectual firmament of Islam during its first three centuries were Islamized Iranians.

While this column of Arabian troops was operating eastward under Sa'd another under the more illustrious 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣ was operating to the west. The latter was bringing within the horns of the rising crescent the people of the valley of the Nile and the Berbers of North Africa. Ostensibly religious, but mainly political and economic, this unparalleled Arabian expansion had now grown into an empire as far flung as that of Alexander, with the caliph at al-Madīnah trying to regulate the flow of a torrent whose tributaries, ever increasing in number and size, were swelling the stream beyond all control.

CHAPTER XIV

EGYPT, TRIPOLIS AND BARQAH ACQUIRED

THE strategic position of Egypt, lying so dangerously near to both Syria and al-Ḥijāz, the richness of its grain-producing soil, which made the land the granary of Constantinople, the fact that its capital Alexandria was the base of the Byzantine navy and that the country was the door to the rest of the North African corridor—all these considerations caused Arabian eyes to turn covetously towards the valley of the Nile quite early in the era of expansion.

The conquest of Egypt falls within the period of systematic campaigning rather than casual raiding. Seeking new fields in which to outshine his illustrious rival Khālid, 'Amr ibn-al-'Ās, who in the Jāhilīyah days had made many a caravan trip to Egypt and was familiar with its cities and roads,[1] took advantage of the presence of 'Umar in Jerusalem to secure his half-hearted authorization for a campaign against the ancient land of the Pharaohs. But when 'Umar had returned to al-Madīnah and consulted with 'Uthmān and others who pointed out the risks and perils involved, he dispatched a messenger to halt the advance of the column. The caliphal message, we are told, overtook 'Amr just before crossing the Egypt-Palestine border, but, scenting the unfavourable contents thereof and having in mind 'Umar's previous instructions: "If my letter ordering thee to turn back from Egypt overtakes thee before entering any part of it then turn back; but if thou enter the land before the receipt of my letter, then proceed and solicit Allah's aid",[2] 'Amr did not open the letter until he got to al-'Arīsh (December 639). This 'Amr was a Qurayshite, forty-five years old, warlike, fiery, eloquent and shrewd. He had already to his credit the conquest of Palestine west of the Jordan. The part he was later to play

[1] Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed C. C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922), p 53

[2] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, pp. 168 9, cf ibn-'Abd al-Hakam, pp 56 7, J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. vi, *Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams* (Berlin, 1899), p 93.

in the capture of the caliphate for his bosom friend Mu'āwiyah won him the epithet "one of the four Arabian 'political geniuses' [*duhāt*] of Islam".[1] The route he took with his 4000 riders was the same beaten track along the coast trod by Abraham, Cambyses, Alexander, Antiochus, the Holy Family, Napoleon and Djemāl Pasha. It was the international highway of the ancient world connecting its most important centres of civilization.[2]

The first fortified place which the Arabian column struck—and that in the middle of January 640[3]—was al-Faramā' (Pelusium), the key to eastern Egypt. After about a month of resistance the city fell and its defences, probably not repaired since the recent Persian invasion (616) and occupation, were razed. Bilbays (variants Bilbīs, Balbīs) north-east of Cairo came next, and others followed suit. At last the strong castle of Babylon[4] (Bābalyūn), across from the isle of al-Rawḍah in the Nile, stood in the way of further progress. Cyrus (Ar. al-Muqawqis), who since the reoccupation of the country in 631 by Heraclius had been acting as patriarch of Alexandria and imperial representative in civil administration, hurried to Babylon with his commander in chief the Augustalis Theodorus and the troops. 'Amr pitched camp outside Babylon, biding his time and awaiting reinforcements. Soon they came, headed by al-Zubayr ibn-al-'Awwām, the celebrated Companion of the Prophet, thus augmenting the Arabian column to about 10,000 men who were to oppose the 20,000 or so of the Byzantine army exclusive of the fortress garrison numbering about 5000. While besieging Babylon, 'Amr attacked 'Ayn Shams[5] in July 640. The Byzantine army was utterly routed. Theodorus fled to Alexandria and Cyrus was shut up in Babylon. The siege was pressed by the Arabians, who had no engineering or mechanical devices for reducing the fort. The treacherous Cyrus secretly sought to buy off the besiegers, but to no avail. The usual three choices were offered: Islam, tribute or the sword.

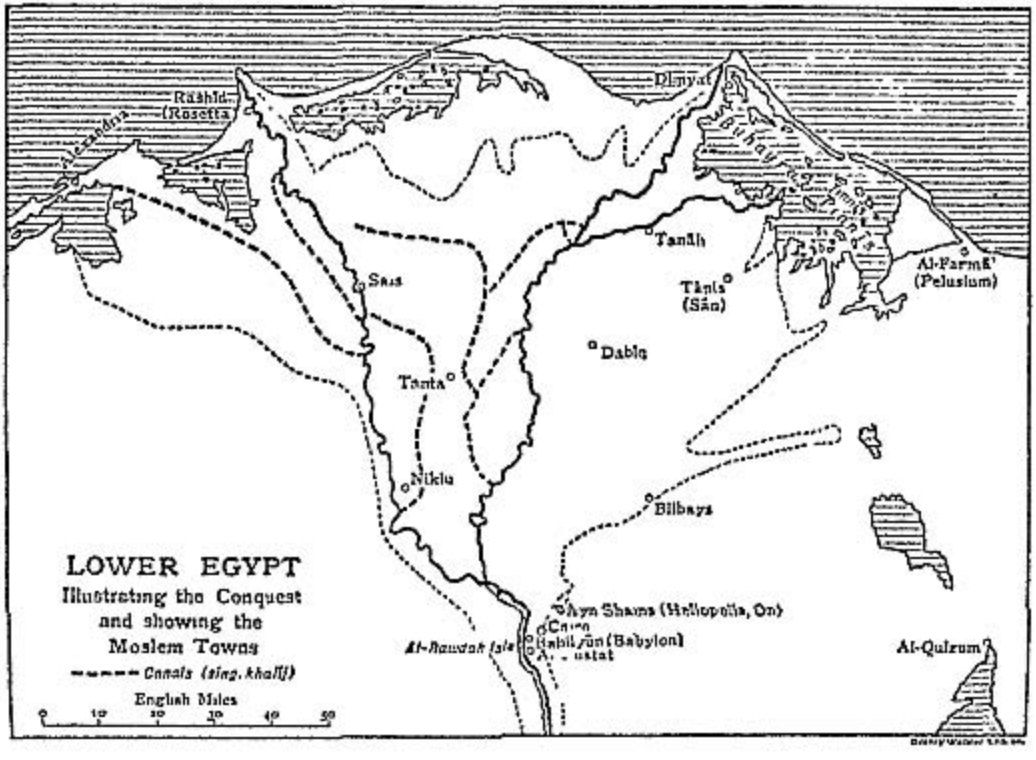
[1] Ibn-Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah fi Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, vol. v (Cairo, 1907), p. 3.

[2] See Olmstead, *History of Palestine*, pp. 44-8.

[3] This as well as the other dates of the conquest of Egypt are not certain. Ṭabari, vol. i, p. 2592, l. 16, chooses Rabī' I, 16 (Ap. 637) as the date of the conquest of Egypt; cf. Ibn-'Abd-el-Ḥakam, pp. 53, 58.

[4] See A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford, 1902), pp. 245-7.

[5] Lit. "the spring of the sun", ancient Heliopolis, On (Ôn) of the Old Testament and the hieroglyphic inscriptions.


Rāshid (Rosetta)
Alexandria
Damyat
Buhayrat Manzalah
Tanāh
Sais
Tānis (Sān)
Al-Farmā' (Pelusium)
Dabiq
Tanta
Nikiu
Bilbays
LOWER EGYPT
Illustrating the Conquest and showing the Moslem Towns
Canals (sing. khalij)
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
Ayn Shams (Heliopolis, On)
Babil ūn (Babylon)
Al-Rawdah Isle
Al-Qulzum

The following words put in the mouth of Cyrus' envoys purport to sum up the impression created by the Arabians:

We have witnessed a people to each and every one of whom death is preferable to life, and humility to prominence, and to none of whom this world has the least attraction. They sit not except on the ground, and eat naught but on their knees. Their leader [*amīr*] is like unto one of them: the low cannot be distinguished from the high, nor the master from the slave. And when the time of prayer comes none of them absents himself, all wash their extremities and humbly observe their prayer.[1]

Asking for a delegation to meet him at al-Rawḍah to negotiate peace, Cyrus was shocked to receive one headed by a negro, 'Ubādah ibn-al-Ṣāmit. The three alternatives were reiterated. Cyrus agreed to pay tribute and hastened to Alexandria to forward the terms to the emperor. They were not pleasing to Heraclius, who charged his episcopal viceroy with treason and sent him into exile.

In the meantime the siege of Babylon was being carried on without intermission. At the end of seven months al-Zubayr with his comrades succeeded in filling a part of the moat, scaling the wall on a ladder and overpowering the guard as well as the garrison. The battle-cry of Islam, *Allāhu akbar* (God is most great), echoed victoriously in the halls of the fortress on April 6, 641.[2]

After reducing the eastern border of the Delta the iron grip of 'Amr began to fasten itself on the apex. Nikiu (Ar. Naqyūs, modern Shabshīr) fell on May 13 and a bloody slaughter ensued. But Alexandria (al-Iskandarīyah), after Constantinople the finest and strongest city in the world, was still ahead.

With fresh recruits from Arabia swelling his army to about 20,000 'Amr found himself one morning gazing at the seemingly impregnable line of walls and towers guarding Egypt's capital and leading port. On one side rose the lofty Serapeum,[3] which once housed the temple of Serapis and the great library of Alexandria; on the other loomed the beautiful cathedral of St. Mark, once the Cæsarion[4] temple begun by Cleopatra in

[1] Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, p. 65.

[2] Balādhuri, p. 213 = Hitti, p. 336; ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, pp. 61 *seq.*

[3] Called later by the Arabs 'Amūd al-Sawāri, from Diocletian's pillar which still marks the spot. Maqrīzi, *Mawā'iz*, ed. Wiet, vol. iii, pp. 128 *seq.*

[4] The Qayṣārīyah of the Arabs. Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, pp. 41, 42.

honour of Julius Cæsar and finished by Augustus; farther west stood the two red Uswan(Aswān)-granite needles ascribed to Cleopatra, but in reality the work of Thutmose III (*ca.* 1450 B.C.), the same two which now adorn the Thames Embankment in London and Central Park in New York; and in the background towered the Pharos, flashing the sun's rays by day and its own fire by night and rightly considered one of the seven wonders of the world.[1] No doubt to the desert Arabs the impression of such a sight must have been not unlike that which the skyline of modern New York, with its towering skyscrapers, makes upon the immigrant.

Alexandria boasted a garrison some 50,000 strong. Behind it lay the whole strength of the Byzantine navy, of which the city was the base. The invaders, far inferior in number and in equipment, had not a single ship, no siege machines and no immediate source of supply for their man-power.

John of Nikiu, a contemporary authority, describes the first repulse the helpless Arabians suffered under the pounding of catapults from the high walls.[2] Leaving a contingent behind, 'Amr fought his way back to Babylon and later engaged in a few marauding expeditions to Upper Egypt. After the death of Heraclius (February 641) his grandson Constans II (Qusṭanṭīn, 641–68) succeeded Cyrus, restored to favour, returned to Alexandria in order to conclude peace. Hoping to administer the country for the Arabians independently of Constantinople, the bishop signed with 'Amr in Babylon on November 8, 641, a treaty which may be termed the Treaty of Alexandria, accepting the payment of a fixed tribute of two dinars per adult head and a land tax payable in kind and agreeing not to allow a Byzantine army to return or attempt to recover the land. The city was evacuated in September 642. The Emperor Constans, weak and young, ratified the treaty which meant the transference of one of the fairest provinces of the empire to Arabian hands.

The glad tidings were sent to 'Umar in al-Madīnah in the following words: "I have captured a city from the description of which I shall refrain. Suffice it to say that I have seized therein 4000 villas with 4000 baths, 40,000 poll-tax-paying Jews and

[1] See Maqrīzī, vol. III, pp. 113-43, Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, vol. I, pp. 43-5.

[2] H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou. Texte éthiopien*, with translation (Paris, 1883), p. 450.

four hundred places of entertainment for the royalty."[1] The caliph entertained his general's messenger with bread and dates and held in the Prophet's Mosque a simple but dignified service of thanksgiving.

The native Copts of Egypt, we are informed by ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam[2] († 257=871), who gives us the earliest surviving account of the conquest of Egypt, were instructed from the very beginning by their bishop in Alexandria to offer no resistance to the invaders. This is not surprising in view of the religious persecution to which they as Monophysites had been subjected by the official Melkite (royal) church. For years Heraclius had tried, through his agent Cyrus, to forbid the Egyptian (Coptic) form of worship and to force his new Monothelite doctrine on a reluctant church. On account of his relentless persecution of the priesthood of the Coptic church Cyrus was regarded as the Antichrist by the later native tradition.

In accordance with 'Umar's policy the site on which 'Amr pitched his camp outside Babylon became the new capital, receiving the name al-Fusṭāṭ[3] and corresponding to the military camps of al-Jābiyah in Syria, al-Basrah and al-Kūfah in al-'Irāq. There 'Amr erected a simple mosque, the first to rise in Egypt (641–2), which has survived in name until today and whose present form is the result of repeated rebuildings and additions. Al-Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo, Misr al-'Atīqah) continued to be the capital until the Fāṭimids in 969 built their Cairo (al-Qāhirah). In order to open a direct waterway to the holy cities of Arabia 'Amr now cleared the ancient Pharaonic canal which under the name Khalīj (canal of) Amīr al-Mu'minīn passed through Heliopolis and connected the Nile north of Babylon w th al-Qulzum[4] on the Red Sea.[5] Trajan had cleared the canal, but through neglect it had silted up since his reign. After a few months of forced labour, and before the death of 'Umar in 644, twenty ships laden with Egyptian products were unloading their cargoes in Arabian ports.[6] This canal was later known as al-Khalīj al-Ḥākimi, after the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim († 1021), and under many other names continued to exist in some parts till the end of the nineteenth century.

[1] Ibn-'Abd-al-Hakam, p 82, cf. Zotenberg, p 463.
[2] Pp 58 9.
[3] Latin *fossatum* = camp, through Byz. Gr. *phossatum*.
[4] The Klysma of antiquity, modern Suez.
[5] Cf. Mas'ūdi, vol. iv, p. 99.
[6] Ya'qūbi, vol ii, p. 177.

The old machinery of Byzantine administration, including the financial system, was—as one might expect—adopted by the new rulers with certain amendments in the line of centralization. The time-honoured policy of exploiting the fertile valley of the Nile and using it as a "milch cow" was maintained to the utmost, judging by the evidence furnished by newly discovered Egyptian papyri. Shortly before his death 'Umar, feeling that 'Amr was not securing enough revenue, put 'Abdullāh ibn-Sa'd ibn-abi-Sarḥ in charge of Upper Egypt. The new caliph, 'Uthmān, recalled 'Amr from the country and appointed (*ca.* 645) 'Abdullāh, who was his own foster brother, over all Egypt.

Toward the end of 645 the Alexandrians, restive under the new yoke, appealed to the Emperor Constans, who dispatched some 300 ships under Manuel, an Armenian, to reclaim the city.[1] The Arabian garrison of 1000 men was slaughtered and Alexandria was once more in Byzantine hands and a base for new attacks on Arab Egypt. 'Amr was immediately reinstated. He met the enemy near Nikiu, where the Byzantines suffered a heavy slaughter. Early in 646 the second capture of Alexandria took place. The impregnable walls of the city were demolished and the ancient Egyptian capital has ever since remained in Moslem hands.

The story that by the caliph's order 'Amr for six long months fed the numerous bath furnaces of the city with the volumes of the Alexandrian library is one of those tales that make good fiction but bad history. The great Ptolemaic Library was burnt as early as 48 B.C. by Julius Cæsar. A later one, referred to as the Daughter Library, was destroyed about A.D. 389 as a result of an edict by the Emperor Theodosius. At the time of the Arab conquest, therefore, no library of importance existed in Alexandria and no contemporary writer ever brought the charge against 'Amr or 'Umar. 'Abd-al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādi,[2] who died as late as A.H. 629 (1231), seems to have been the first to relate the tale. Why he did it we do not know, however, his version was copied and amplified by later authors.[3]

[1] Balādhuri, p. 221 = Hitti, pp. 347-8.

[2] *Al-Ifādah w-al-I'tibār*, ed. and tr. (Latin) J. White (Oxford, 1800), p. 114.

[3] Al-Qifṭi, *Ta'rīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 355-6; abu-al-Faraj ibn-al-'Ibri, *Ta'rīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal*, ed. A. Ṣāliḥāni (Beirūt, 1890), pp. 175-6, Maqrīzi, vol iii, pp. 129-30. Consult Butler, pp. 401-26; Gibbon, *Decline*, ed. Bury, vol. v ,pp. 452-5.

After the conquest 'Uthmān wanted 'Amr to remain at the head of the army with 'Abdullāh as the financial administrator. The suggestion elicited from 'Amr the famous reply: "My position will then be that of one who holds the cow by its two horns while another milks it".[1] 'Abdullāh was thereupon reinstalled as caliphal vicegerent.

Less a soldier than a financier, 'Abdullāh now proceeded to carry on campaigns to the west and south mainly for booty. He succeeded in extending the boundaries in both directions. But his greatest performance was his part in the establishment of the first Moslem fleet, an honour which he shares with Mu'āwiyah, the governor of Syria. Alexandria was naturally the main dockyard for the Egyptian fleet. The maritime operations, whether from Egypt under 'Abdullāh or from Syria under Mu'āwiyah, were directed against the Byzantines. In 649 Mu'āwiyah seized Cyprus (Qubrus), another important Byzantine naval base too dangerously close to the Syrian coast for comfort. The first maritime victory was thus won for Islam and the first island was added to the Moslem state. Arwād (Aradus), close by the Syrian coast, was captured the following year. In 652 'Abdullāh repulsed the superior Greek fleet off Alexandria. Two years later Rhodes was pillaged by one of Mu'āwiyah's captains.[2] In 655[3] the Syro-Egyptian fleet of Mu'āwiyah and 'Abdullāh destroyed the Byzantine navy of about 500 ships off the Lycian coast near Phœnix. The Emperor Constans II, who led the fight in person, barely escaped with his life. This battle, known in Arabic as dhu-al-Ṣawārī[4] (that of the masts), threatened but did not destroy Byzantine naval supremacy.[5] Because of internal disorders the Moslems failed to press their victory and advance against Constantinople, the chief objective. In 668 or 669 a navy of 200 ships from Alexandria ventured as far as Sicily (Siqilliyah, Ṣiqillīyah) and pillaged it. The island had been sacked at least once before (652) under Mu'āwiyah.[6] In Mu'āwiyah and 'Abdullāh Islam developed its first two admirals.[7]

That these naval expeditions were carried on almost in spite

[1] Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, p. 178; cf. Balādhuri, p. 223 = Hitti, p. 351.

[2] A later expedition in A.H. 52 (672) is cited in Balādhuri, pp. 235-6 = Hitti, pp. 375-6. [3] Cf. C. H. Becker, art. "'Abd Allāh B. Sa'd", *Encyclopædia of Islām*.

[4] Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, pp. 189-91. [5] Cf. below, p. 602.

[6] Balādhuri, p. 235 = Hitti, p. 375.

[7] The details about the naval operations of the period, however, are lamentably meagre in Arabic sources.

of, rather than in co-operation with, the Madīnese caliphs is indicated by significant passages in the early sources. 'Umar wrote instructing 'Amr in Egypt: "Let no water intervene between me and thee, and do not camp in any place which I cannot reach riding on my mount".[1] 'Uthmān authorized Mu'āwiyah's expedition to Cyprus, after the latter had repeatedly emphasized the proximity of the island, only on condition that he take his wife along.[2]

The fall of Egypt left the Byzantine provinces bordering on its west defenceless; at the same time the continued occupation of Alexandria necessitated the conquest of those provinces. After the first fall of Alexandria and in order to protect his rear, 'Amr, with characteristic swiftness, pushed (642–3) at the head of his cavalry westward to the neighbouring Pentapolis and occupied Barqah without any resistance. He also received the submission of the Berber tribes of Tripolis, including the Lawātah.[3] His successor, 'Abdullāh, advanced through Tripolis and subjugated a part of Ifrīqiyah whose capital Carthage (Qarṭājannah) paid tribute.[4] 'Uthmān extended even to the pagan Berbers, not within the category of Scripturaries, the same privileges as those of the Dhimmah. Attempts were also made on Nubia (al-Nūbah) in the south, which with its pasturage was more like Arabia and better adapted than Egypt to a nomadic mode of life. For centuries before Islam a more or less continual Arabian infiltration into Egypt and even into the Sudan had been going on. In 652 'Abdullāh entered into treaty relations with the Nubians,[5] who were then far from being subdued. For centuries to come the Christian kingdom of Nubia, with Dongola as its capital and with a mixed population of Libyans and negroes, stood as a barrier against the farther southward onrush of Islam.

[1] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 180. *Fakhri*, p. 114, reports that 'Umar wrote to Sa'd ibn-abi-Waqqās in al-'Irāq asking him to let no sea intervene between the caliph and the Moslems.

[2] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 179.

[3] Balādhuri, pp. 152-3 = Hitti, pp. 235-6.

[4] Ibn-'Abd-al-Hakam, p. 183.

[5] Balādhuri, pp. 237-8 = Hitti, pp. 370-81

CHAPTER XV

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NEW POSSESSIONS

How to administer such vast territories newly acquired and how to adapt the uncodified ordinances of a primitive Arabian society to the needs of a huge cosmopolitan conglomerate living under a multitude of conditions uncontemplated by the original lawgiver was the great task now confronting Islam. 'Umar was the first to address himself to this problem. He is represented by tradition as the one who solved it and therefore as the founder of the second theocracy of Islam—a sort of Islamic Utopia—which, however, was not destined to last long.

'Umar made his starting-point the theory that in the peninsula itself none but the Moslem religion should ever be tolerated. To this end and in utter disregard of earlier treaties[1] he expelled, A.H. 14–15 (635–6), among others, the Jews of Khaybar,[2] who found abode in Jericho and other places, as well as the Christians of Najrān, who fled to Syria and al-'Irāq.[3] The second cardinal point in 'Umar's policy was to organize the Arabians, now all Moslems, into a complete religio-military commonwealth with its members keeping themselves pure and unmixed—a sort of martial aristocracy—and denying the privilege of citizenship to all non-Arabians. With this in view the Arabian Moslems were not to hold or cultivate landed property outside the peninsula. In the peninsula itself the native who owned land paid a kind of a tithe (*'ushr*) thereon. Accordingly the Arabian conquerors in Syria first lived in camps: al-Jābiyah, Ḥimṣ, 'Amwās, Ṭabarīyah[4] (for the Jordan district), and al-Ludd (Lydda) and later al-Ramlah for the Filasṭīn (Palestine) district. In Egypt they settled in al-Fusṭāṭ and the Alexandria camp. In al-'Irāq the newly built

[1] See Wāqidi, *Maghāzi*, pp. 391-2, and abu-Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (Cairo, 1346), pp. 85-6, for the terms the Prophet gave.

[2] An oasis about 100 miles north of al-Madīnah on the road to Syria.

[3] Balādhuri, p. 66 = Hitti, pp. 101-2.

[4] Modern Ṭabarayyah = Tiberias. 'Amwās or 'Amawās, ancient Emmaus, Lk. 24 : 13.

al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah served as headquarters.[1] In the conquered territories the subject peoples were left in their professions and the cultivation of the soil, occupying an inferior status and regarded as a kind of reserve for the benefit of the Moslems (*mādādat al-Muslimīn*).[2] Even when converted to Islam a non-Arab was to occupy a position subsidiary to that of the Moslem Arabian.

As Dhimmis,[3] the subject peoples would enjoy the protection of the Moslems and have no military duty to perform, since they were barred by religion from service in the Moslem army; but they would have a heavy tribute to pay. Being outside the pale of Moslem law they were allowed the jurisdiction of their own canon laws as administered by the respective heads of their religious communities. This state of partial autonomy, recognized later by the sultans of Turkey, has been retained by the Arab successor states.

When a subject was converted to Islam he was freed, according to this primitive system ascribed by tradition to 'Umar, from all tributary obligations, including what was later termed poll tax. The land tax inhered in the land whenever the land was considered *fay'*, *waqf*, i.e. for the whole Moslem community, and the Moslem continued to pay it. The only exception to the *fay'* lands was constituted by those districts whose inhabitants according to tradition, voluntarily surrendered to the Arab conquerors on condition that they be allowed to retain their lands. Such districts were called *dār al-ṣulḥ* (the territory of capitulation). Instead of the poll tax the convert incurred a new obligation, that of the zakāh (poor rate); but on the other hand he shared in the pensions and other benefits accruing to him as a Moslem.

Later developments, the result of many years of practice, were attributed by this tradition to the initiative of 'Umar. The fact is that the original part which the first caliphs and the early Moslem governors played in the imposition of taxes and the administration of finances could not have been great. The frame-

[1] In the first Moslem century a number of such military cantonment arose, including 'Askar Mukram in Khūzistān, Shīrāz in Fārs, and Barqah and al-Qayrawān in North Africa.

[2] Yaḥya ibn-Ādam, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, ed. Juynboll (Leyden, 1896), p. 27.

[3] Or *Ahl al-Dhimmah* (people of the covenant or obligation), a term first applied only to *Ahl al-Kitāb*, i.e. the Jews, Christians and Ṣābians (not to be confused with Sabaeans) and later interpreted to include Zoroastrians and others.

work of the Byzantine provincial government in Syria and Egypt was continued in Allah's name, and no radical changes were introduced into the machinery of local administration in the former Persian domains. From the very beginning taxation varied according to the nature of the soil and the system that had prevailed in that locality under the old rule, whether Byzantine or Persian; it did not necessarily depend upon the acquisition of land by capitulation (*sulḥan*) or by force (*'anwatan*) nor upon any legislative act on the part of 'Umar.[1] Conquest by capitulation and conquest by force as used to explain the variation in taxation was often a late legal fiction rather than the real cause. Likewise the distinction between *jizyah* as poll tax and *kharāj* (from Gr. *chorēgia* or Aram. *keraggā*) as land tax had not arisen at the time of the second caliph (634–44). The two words in this early period were used interchangeably; both meant tribute in general. In the Koran the only occurrence of the word *jizyah* is in sūr. 9 : 29, where it has in no sense a legal meaning. *Kharāj* occurs also only once in the Koran (23 : 74), and then in the sense of remuneration rather than land tax. Evidently the original terms made with the conquered people were well-nigh forgotten by the time the historians began to record those events, which they interpreted in the light of later conditions and developments.

The differentiation between the two forms of taxation implied in jizyah and kharāj was not made until the time of the late Umayyads. The land tax was paid in instalments and in kind from the produce of the land and from cattle, but never in the form of wine, pigs and dead animals. The poll tax was paid in a lump sum and as an index of lower status. The latter was generally four dinars[2] for the well-to-do, two for the middle class and one for the poor. In addition the subject people were liable to other exactions for the maintenance of Moslem troops. These taxes applied only to the able-bodied; women, children, beggars, monks, the aged, insane and incurably sick being exempt except when any of them had an independent income.

The third principle said to have been enunciated by 'Umar in consonance with the view of his advisers among the Com-

[1] Cf. Daniel C Dennett, Jr, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge, Mass, 1950), p. 12.

[2] From Greek-Latin *denarius*; the unit of gold currency in the caliphate, weighing about 4 grams In 'Umar's time the *dīnār* was the equivalent of 10 dirhams, later 12.

panions[1] was that only movable property and prisoners won as booty constituted *ghanīmah*[2] and belonged to the warriors as hitherto, but not the land. The land as well as all moneys received from subjects constituted *fay'*[3] and belonged to the Moslem community as a whole. Cultivators of *fay'* estates continued to be bound to pay land tax even if they adopted Islam. All such revenues were deposited in the public treasury, and whatever remained after the payment of the common expenses of administration and warfare had to be divided among the Moslems. In order to accomplish the distribution a census became necessary, the first census recorded in history for the distribution of state revenue. 'Ā'ishah headed the list with a pension of 12,000 dirhams[4] a year. After the *Ahl al-Bayt* (the Prophet's family) came the Emigrants and Supporters, each with a subsidy according to his precedence in the profession of the new faith. About 5000 or 4000 dirhams per annum was the average allotment to each person in this category.[5] At the bottom came the mass of Arabian tribes arranged in the register according to military service and knowledge of the Koran. The minimum for an ordinary warrior was 500–600 dirhams; even women, children and clients[6] were included in the register and received annuities ranging from 200 to 600 dirhams. This institution of the *dīwān* (whence Fr. *douane*, for customhouse), or public registers of receipts and expenditures, with which 'Umar was credited was evidently borrowed from the Persian system, as ibn-al-Ṭiqṭaqa[7] asserts and as the word itself (from Pers. *dīwān*) indicates.

'Umar's military communistic constitution set up an ascendancy of Arabism and secured for the non-Arabian believer a status superior to that of the unbeliever. But it was too artificial to stand the test of time. Under 'Umar's immediate successor,

[1] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 212.

[2] For a discussion of *ghanīmah* and *fay'* see al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah*, ed. M. Enger (Bonn, 1853), pp. 217-45; abu-Yūsuf, pp. 21-32.

[3] According to sūr. 8 : 42, only one-fifth of the booty was the share of Allah and the Prophet, i.e. the state's, the remaining four-fifths belonged to the warriors who secured it.

[4] Ar. *dirham* (Pers. *diram*, from Gr. *drachmē*), the unit of silver coinage in the Arab monetary system, had the nominal value of a pre-war French franc, about 10d. (19 cents in U.S. money), but naturally its real value varied a great deal.

[5] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, pp. 213-14; Māwardi, pp. 347-8; abu-Yūsuf, pp. 50-54; Balādhuri, pp. 450-51.

[6] *Mawāli*, sing. *mawla*, a non-Arab embracing Islam and affiliating himself with an Arabian tribe. His ill-defined rank placed him below the Moslem Arabians.

[7] *Fakhrī*, p. 116; cf. Māwardi, pp. 343-4.

'Uthmān, permission was given to the sons of Arabia to hold landed property in the newly conquered territories. With the lapse of years the aristocracy of the Arabians was submerged by the rising tide of the Mawāli.

The army was the *ummah*, the whole nation, in action. Its *amīr* or commander in chief was the caliph in al-Madīnah, who delegated the authority to his lieutenants or generals. In the early stages the general who conquered a certain territory would also act as leader in prayer and as judge. Al-Balādhuri[1] tells us that 'Umar appointed a *qāḍi* (judge) for Damascus and the Jordan and another for Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrīn. If so he was the caliph who established the institution of judgeship.[2]

The division of the army into centre, two wings, vanguard and rear guard was already known at Muḥammad's time and betrays Byzantine and Sāsānid influence. The *khamīs* (five) was the term used for this military unit. The cavalry covered the wings. In the division the tribal unit was preserved. Each tribe had its own standard, a cloth attached to a lance, borne by one of the bravest. The Prophet's banner is said to have been the *'uqāb* (eagle). The infantry used bow and arrow, sling, and sometimes shield and sword; the sword was carried in a scabbard flung over the right shoulder. The *ḥarbah* (javelin) was introduced later from Abyssinia. The chief weapon of the cavalry was the *rumḥ* (lance), the shafts of which, famous in Arabic literature as *khaṭṭi*, were so named after al-Khaṭṭ, the coast of al-Baḥrayn, where the bamboo was first grown and whither it was later imported from India. This, together with the bow and arrow, formed the two national weapons. The best swords were also made in India, whence the name *hindi*. The defensive armour was the coat of mail and the shield. The Arab armour was lighter than the Byzantine.[3]

The order of battle was primitive, in lines or rows and in compact array. Hostilities began with individual combats of distinguished champions who stepped forward out of the ranks and delivered a challenge. The Arabian warrior received higher remuneration than his Persian or Byzantine rival and was sure of a portion of the booty. Soldiering was not only the noblest and most pleasing profession in the sight of Allah but also the most

[1] P. 141 = Hitti, p. 217. [2] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 202, ll. 27-8.
[3] On Arab weapons see ibn-Qutaybah, *'Uyūn*, vol. i, pp. 128-32.

profitable. The strength of the Moslem Arabian army lay neither in the superiority of its arms nor in the excellence of its organization but in its higher morale, to which religion undoubtedly contributed its share; in its powers of endurance, which the desert breeding fostered; and in its remarkable mobility, due mainly to camel transport.[1]

The so called Arab civilization

By the conquest of the Fertile Crescent and the lands of Persia and Egypt the Arabians came into possession not only of geographical areas but of the earliest seats of civilization in the whole world. Thus the sons of the desert fell heir to these hoary cultures with their long traditions going back to Greco-Roman, Iranian, Pharaonic and Assyro-Babylonian times. In art and architecture, in philosophy, in medicine, in science and literature, in government, the original Arabians had nothing to teach and everything to learn. And what voracious appetites they proved to have! With an ever sharp sense of curiosity and with latent potentialities never aroused before, these Moslem Arabians in collaboration with and by the help of their subject peoples began now to assimilate, adapt and reproduce their intellectual and esthetic heritage. In Ctesiphon, Edessa, Nisibis, Damascus, Jerusalem and Alexandria they viewed, admired and copied the work of the architect, the artisan, the jeweller and the manufacturer. To all these centres of ancient culture they came, they saw and were conquered. Theirs was another instance in which the victor was made captive by the vanquished.

What we therefore call "Arab civilization" was Arabian neither in its origins and fundamental structure nor in its principal ethnic aspects. The purely Arabian contribution in it was in the linguistic and to a certain extent in the religious fields. Throughout the whole period of the caliphate the Syrians, the Persians, the Egyptians and others, as Moslem converts or as Christians and Jews, were the foremost bearers of the torch of enlightenment and learning just as the subjugated Greeks were in their relation to the victorious Romans. The Arab Islamic civilization was at bottom the Hellenized Aramaic and the Iranian civilizations as developed under the ægis of the caliphate and expressed through the medium of the Arabic tongue. In another sense it was the logical continuation of the early Semitic

[1] For a comparison with the Byzantine army consult Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (London, 1924), vol. I, pp. 208 *seq.*

civilization of the Fertile Crescent originated and developed by the Assyro-Babylonians, Phoenicians, Aramaeans and Hebrews. In it the unity of the Mediterranean civilization of Western Asia found its culmination.

The conquest of the world receiving its impulse under abu-Bakr reached its high-water mark under 'Umar and came to a temporary standstill under 'Ali, whose caliphate was too clouded with internal disturbances to admit of further expansion. At the end of a single generation after the Prophet the Moslem empire had extended from the Oxus to Syrtis Minor in northern Africa. Starting with nothing the Moslem Arabian caliphate had now grown to be the strongest power of the world.

Abu-Bakr (632–4), the conqueror and pacifier of Arabia, lived in patriarchal simplicity. In the first six months of his short reign he travelled back and forth daily from al-Sunḥ (where he lived in a modest household with his wife, Ḥabībah) to his capital al-Madīnah, and received no stipend since the state had at that time hardly any income.[1] All state business he transacted in the courtyard of the Prophet's Mosque. His personal qualities and unshaken faith in his son-in-law Muḥammad, who was three years his senior, make him one of the most attractive characters in nascent Islam and have won him the title of *al-Ṣiddīq* (the believer).[2] In character he was endowed with much more strength and forcefulness than current tradition credits to him. Physically he is represented as of fair complexion, slender build and thin countenance; he dyed his beard and walked with a stoop.[3]

Simple and frugal in manner, his energetic and talented successor, 'Umar (634–44), who was of towering height, strong physique and bald-headed,[4] continued at least for some time after becoming caliph to support himself by trade and lived throughout his life in a style as unostentatious as that of a Bedouin sheikh. In fact 'Umar, whose name according to Moslem tradition is the greatest in early Islam after that of Muḥammad, has been idolized by Moslem writers for his piety, justice and patriarchal simplicity and treated as the personification of all the virtues a caliph ought to possess. His irreproach-

[1] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, pp. 131-2; ibn-al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghābah fi Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥābah* (Cairo, 1286), vol. iii, p. 219.

[2] Usually translated "the veracious". But see ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, pp. 120-21.

[3] Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, p. 157. [4] *Ibid.* p. 185.

able character became an exemplar for all conscientious successors to follow. He owned, we are told, one shirt and one mantle only, both conspicuous for their patchwork,[1] slept on a bed of palm leaves and had no concern other than the maintenance of the purity of the faith, the upholding of justice and the ascendancy and security of Islam and the Arabians. Arabic literature is replete with anecdotes extolling 'Umar's stern character. He is said to have scourged his own son to death[2] for drunkenness and immorality. Having in a fit of anger inflicted a number of stripes on a Bedouin who came seeking his succour against an oppressor, the caliph soon repented and asked the Bedouin to inflict the same number on him. But the latter refused. So 'Umar retired to his home with the following soliloquy:

> O son of al-Khattāb! humble thou wert and Allah hath elevated thee; astray, and Allah hath guided thee; weak, and Allah hath strengthened thee. Then He caused thee to rule over the necks of thy people, and when one of them came seeking thy aid, thou didst strike him! What wilt thou have to say to thy Lord when thou presentest thyself before Him?[3]

The one who fixed the Hijrah as the commencement of the Moslem era, presided over the conquest of large portions of the then known world, instituted the state register and organized the government of the new empire met a tragic and sudden death at the very zenith of his life when he was struck down (November 3, 644) by the poisoned dagger of a Christian Persian slave[4] in the midst of his own congregation.

'Uthmān, who committed the words of Allah to an unalterable form and whose reign saw the complete conquest of Iran, Ādharbayjān and parts of Armenia, was also a pious and well-meaning old man, but too weak to resist the importunities of his greedy kinsfolk. His foster brother, 'Abdullāh, formerly the Prophet's amanuensis, who had tampered with the words of revelation[5] and who was one of the ten proscribed by Muḥammad at the capture of Makkah, he appointed over Egypt; his half-brother, al-Walīd ibn-'Uqbah, who had spat in Muḥam-

[1] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, pp 237-9.
[2] Dīnārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs* (Cairo, 1302), vol. ii, p. 281 ll. 3-4; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, vol. iv (Cairo, 1925), pp. 89 90.
[3] Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.* vol. iv, p 61.
[4] Ṭabarī, vol. i, pp 2722-3; Ya'qūbī, vol. ii, p. 183.
[5] Koran 6 : 93; Bayḍāwī, vol. i, p. 300.

mad's face and had been condemned by the latter, he made governor of al-Kūfah; his cousin Marwān ibn-al-Ḥakam, a future Umayyad caliph, he put in charge of the dīwān. Many important offices were filled by Umayyads, the caliph's family.[1] The caliph himself accepted presents from his governors or their partisans, including a beautiful maid offered by the governor of al-Baṣrah. Charges of nepotism became widespread. The feeling of discontent aroused by his unpopular administration was fanned by the three Qurayshite aspirants to the caliphate: ʿAli, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr. The uprising started in al-Kūfah among ʿAli's followers and proved particularly strong in Egypt, which in April 656 sent some five hundred rebels to al-Madīnah. The insurgents shut the venerable octogenarian in his residence, and whilst he read the copy of the Koran[2] which he had canonized the house was stormed; Muḥammad, son of abu-Bakr his friend and predecessor, broke in and laid the first violent hand upon him.[3] Thus fell the first caliph whose blood was shed by Moslem hands (June 17, 656). The patriarchal epoch of Islam, during which the awe inspired by the Prophet and the hallowed association connected with al-Madīnah were still an active living force in the lives of the successors of Muḥammad, ended in a stream of blood let loose by the struggle for the now vacant throne, first between ʿAli and his close rivals, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, and then between ʿAli and a new aspirant, Muʿāwiyah, the champion of the Umayyad cause of which the murdered ʿUthmān was a representative.

[1] Ibn-Ḥajar, vol. iv, pp. 223-4; ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 44; Mas'ūdi, vol. iv, pp. 257 *seq.*

[2] Ibn-Baṭṭūṭah († 1377), vol. ii, pp. 10-11, claims that when he visited al-Baṣrah its mosque still preserved 'Uthmān's copy of the Koran with his blood staining the page on which occurs sūr. 2 : 131, where according to ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 52, the flowing blood of the wounded caliph stopped. See Quatremère in *Journal asiatique*, ser. 3, vol. vi (1838), pp. 41-5.

[3] Ibn-Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 51.

CHAPTER XVI

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN 'ALI AND MU ĀWIYAH FOR THE CALIPHATE

The elective caliphate

ABU-BAKR, one of the earliest supporters and staunchest friends of Muhammad, whose *alter ego* he was and who had conducted the public prayers during the last illness of the Prophet, was designated (June 8, 632) Muḥammad's successor by some form of election in which those leaders present at the capital, al-Madīnah, took part. He was to assume all those duties and privileges of the Prophet with the exception of such as related to his prophetic office—which had ceased with Muḥammad's death.

The designation *khalīfat Rasūl Allāh* (the successor of the Messenger of Allah), applied in this case to abu-Bakr, may not have been used by him as a title. The term *khalīfah* occurs only twice in the Koran (2 : 28, 38 : 25); in neither case does it seem to have any technical significance or to carry any indication that it was intended to be applied to the successor of Muḥammad.

'Umar, the logical candidate after abu-Bakr, was designated by the latter as his successor and is said at first to have used the title with the designation *khalīfat khalīfat* (the caliph of the caliph of) *Rasūl Allāh*, which proved too long and was consequently abbreviated.[1] The second caliph (634–44) is credited with being the first to bear in his capacity as commander in chief of the Moslem armies the distinctive title *amīr al-mu'minīn* (commander of the believers), the "Miramolin" of Christian medieval writers. Before his death 'Umar is represented as having nominated a board of six electors: 'Ali ibn-abi-Ṭālib, 'Uthmān ibn-'Affān, al-Zubayr ibn-al-'Awwām, Ṭalḥah ibn-'Abdullāh, Sa'd ibn-abi-Waqqāṣ and 'Abd-al-Rahmān ibn-'Awf,[2] with the stipulation that his own son be not elected to succeed him. The constitution of this board called al-Shūra (consultation), including the oldest and most distinguished

[1] Ibn Sa'd, vol. iii, pt. 1, p. 202.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. iii, pt. 1, pp. 245 *seq.*

Companions surviving, showed that the ancient Arabian idea of a tribal chief had triumphed over that of the hereditary monarch.

In the case of the third caliph, 'Uthmān (644), seniority again determined his election over 'Ali. 'Uthmān represented the Umayyad aristocracy as against his two predecessors who represented the Emigrants. None of these caliphs founded a dynasty.

Subsequent to the murder of 'Uthmān, 'Ali was proclaimed the fourth caliph at the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah on June 24, 656. Practically the whole Moslem world acknowledged his succession. The new caliph was the first cousin of Muḥammad, the husband of his favourite daughter, Fāṭimah, the father of his only two surviving male descendants, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, and either the second or third to believe in his prophethood. He was affable, pious and valiant. The party he represented, *ahl al-naṣṣ w-al-ta'yīn*[1] (people of divine ordinance and designation = the legitimists), had stoutly averred that from the beginning Allah and His Prophet had clearly designated 'Ali as the only legitimate successor but that the first three caliphs had cheated him out of his rightful office.

'Ali's first problem was to dispose of his two rivals to the high office he had just assumed, Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, who represented the Makkan party. Both Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr[2] had followers in al-Ḥijāz and al-'Irāq who refused to acknowledge 'Ali's successorship. 'Ā'ishah, the most beloved wife of the Prophet and now "the mother of the believers", who had connived at the insurrection against 'Uthmān, now joined the ranks of the insurgents against 'Ali at al-Baṣrah. The youthful 'Ā'ishah, who had married so young[3] that she brought toys with her from her father's (abu-Bakr's) home, hated 'Ali with all the bitterness of a wounded pride; for once, when she loitered behind the caravan of her husband, he had suspected her fidelity until Allah intervened in her favour through a revelation (sūr. 24 : 11-20). Outside of al-Baṣrah on December 9, 656, 'Ali met and defeated the coalition in a battle styled "the battle of the camel", after the camel on which 'Ā'ishah rode, which was the

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[1] Shahrastāni, p. 15.
[2] Al-Zubayr's mother was a sister of the Prophet's father.
[3] At the age of nine or ten, according to Ibn-Hishām, p. 1091.

rallying-point for the rebel warriors. Both rivals of ʿAli fell; he magnanimously mourned the fallen and had them honourably buried.[1] ʿĀʾishah was captured and treated most considerately and in a manner befitting her dignity as the "first lady" of the land. She was sent back to al-Madīnah. Thus came to an end the first, but by no means the last, encounter in which Moslem stood against Moslem in battle array. The dynastic wars that were to convulse Islam from time to time and occasionally shake it to its very foundation had just begun.

Ostensibly secure on his throne, ʿAli from his new capital al-Kūfah inaugurated his régime by dismissing most of the provincial governors appointed by his predecessor and exacting the oath of fealty from the others. With one of them, Muʿāwiyah ibn-abi-Sufyān, governor of Syria and kinsman of ʿUthmān, he did not reckon. Muʿāwiyah now came out as the avenger of the martyred caliph. He exhibited in the Damascus mosque the blood-stained shirt of the murdered ruler and the fingers cut from the hand of his wife Nāʾilah as she tried to defend him.[2] With the tactics and eloquence of an Antony he endeavoured to play on Moslem emotions. Withholding his homage from ʿAli, Muʿāwiyah tried to corner him with this dilemma: Produce the assassins of the duly appointed successor of the Prophet or accept the position of an accomplice who is thereby disqualified from the caliphate. The issue, however, was more than a personal one, it transcended individual and even family affairs. The real question was whether al-Kūfah or Damascus, al-ʿIrāq or Syria, should be supreme in Islamic affairs. Al-Madīnah, which ʿAli had left soon after his installation in 656 never to revisit, was already out of the way. The weight of the far-flung conquests had shifted the centre of gravity to the north.

On the plain of Ṣiffīn south of al-Raqqah, on the west bank of the Euphrates, the two armies finally stood face to face: ʿAli with an army reported to have comprised 50,000 ʿIrāqis and Muʿāwiyah with his Syrians. In a half-hearted manner, for neither side was anxious to precipitate a final decision, the skirmishes dragged on for weeks. The final encounter took place on July 28, 657. Under the leadership of Mālik al-Ashtar, ʿAli's forces were on the point of victory when the shrewd, wily ʿAmr

[1] A town bearing his name has grown around the tomb of al-Zubayr.
[2] *Fakhrī*, pp. 125, 137.

ibn-al-'Āṣ, Mu'āwiyah's leader, resorted to a ruse. Copies of the Koran fastened to lances were suddenly seen thrust in the air—a gesture interpreted to mean an appeal from the decision of arms to the decision of the Koran. Hostilities ceased. Urged by his followers, the simple-hearted 'Ali accepted Mu'āwiyah's proposal to arbitrate the case and thus spare Moslem blood. The arbitration was, of course, to be "according to the word of Allah"[1]—whatever that may have meant.

Against his better judgment the caliph appointed as his personal representative abu-Mūsa al-Ash'ari, a man of undoubted piety but of lukewarm loyalty to the 'Alid cause. Mu'āwiyah matched him with 'Amr ibn-al-'Āṣ, who has been dubbed a political genius of the Arabs.[2] Armed each with a written document giving him full authorization to act and accompanied by four hundred witnesses each, the two arbiters (sing. *ḥakam*) held their public session in January 659 at Adhruḥ on the main caravan route between al-Madīnah and Damascus and half-way between Ma'ān and Petra.

Exactly what transpired at this historical conference is difficult to ascertain. Various versions appear in different sources.[3] The current tradition is that the two umpires agreed to depose both principals, thus clearing the way for a "dark horse"; but after the elder of the two, abu-Mūsa, had stood up and declared the caliphate of his master null and void, 'Amr betrayed his colleague and confirmed Mu'āwiyah. But the critical studies of Père Lammens,[4] preceded by those of Wellhausen,[5] tend to show that this tradition reflects the view of the 'Irāqi school, to which most of our extant sources belong, which flourished under the 'Abbāsids—the Umayyads' mortal enemies. What probably happened was that both referees deposed both principals, which left 'Ali the loser. Mu'āwiyah had no caliphate to be deposed from. He was but a governor of a province. The very fact of the arbitration itself had raised him to a level equivalent to that of 'Ali, whose position was thereby lowered to that of a mere pretender. The sentence of the judges deprived 'Ali of a real

[1] For the arbitration document see Dīnawari, pp. 206-8.

[2] Mas'ūdī, vol. iv, p. 391. See below, p. 196. Cf. above, p. 161.

[3] Cf. Ṭabari, vol. i, pp. 3340-60; Mas'ūdī, vol. iv, pp. 392-402; Ya'qūbi, vol. ii, pp. 220-22; *Fakhri*, pp. 127-30.

[4] *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Mo'āwia I^er* (Beirūt, 1907), ch. vii.

[5] *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (Berlin, 1902), ch. ii = *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, tr. Margaret G. Weir (Calcutta 1927), ch. ii.

office, and Mu'āwiyah of a fictitious claim which he had not yet dared publicly to assert. Not until 'Ali's death in 661, two years after the curtain had been lowered on the arbitration farce, did Mu'āwiyah's caliphate receive general recognition

The acceptance of the principle of arbitration proved disastrous to 'Ali in more than one way: it alienated the sympathy of a large body of his own followers. These Khārijites[1] (seceders), as they were called, the earliest sect of Islam, proved his deadly foes. Adopting as a slogan *la ḥukma illa li-l-Lāh*[2] (arbitration belongs to Allah alone), they rose in arms to the number of 4000[3] under the leadership of 'Abdullāh ibn-Wahb al-Rāsibi. On the bank of the Nahrawān canal 'Ali attacked their camp (659) and almost annihilated them, but they rose again under various names and remained a thorn in the side of the caliphate till the 'Abbāsid period.

Early on January 24, 661, as 'Ali was on his way to the mosque at al-Kūfah he was struck on the forehead with a poisoned sabre. The weapon, which penetrated to the brain, was wielded by a Khārijite, 'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Muljam, who was actuated by the desire to avenge certain relatives of a lady, a friend of his, who were slaughtered at Nahrawān. Tradition makes ibn-Muljam one of three accomplices who under oath at al-Ka'bah had concocted a plan to rid the Moslem community on the same day of its three disturbing elements: 'Ali, Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr ibn-al-'Aṣ[4]—all of which sounds too dramatic to be true. The lonely spot near al-Kūfah where 'Ali was interred,[5] the present Mashhad 'Ali in al-Najaf, has developed into one of the great centres of pilgrimage in Islam.

To his Shī'ite partisans the fourth caliph soon became pre-eminently the saint of the sect, the Wali (friend and vicegerent) of Allah, just as Muḥammad had been the Prophet of Islam and the Messenger of Allah. 'Ali dead proved more effective than 'Ali living. As a canonized martyr he retrieved at once more

[1] Also called Ḥarūrīyah, from Ḥarūrā' (Ḥarawrā' in Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 246).

[2] *Fakhri*, p. 130. Cf. Koran, 12:70. [3] 12,000 in Shahrastāni, p. 86.

[4] Cf. Dīnawari, p. 227, Tabari, vol. i, pp. 3456 *seq.*; H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Tabari*, vol. iii (Paris, 1871), pp. 706 *seq.*

[5] The site, as the Shī'ite tradition asserts, was chosen in accordance with the dying wish of 'Ali, who ordered that his corpse be put on a loose camel and buried wherever the camel knelt. The place was kept secret until Hārūn al-Rashīd in 791 fell upon it by chance. For the first detailed account of the tomb see ibn-Ḥawqal, *al-Masālik w al-Mamālik*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden, 1872), p. 163.

than he had lost in a lifetime. Though lacking in those traits that constitute a leader and a politician, viz. alertness, foresight, resolution, expediency, he still possessed the qualities of an ideal Arabian. Valiant in battle, wise in counsel, eloquent in speech, true to his friends, magnanimous to his foes, he became both the paragon of Moslem nobility and chivalry (*futūwah*) and the Solomon of Arabic tradition, around whose name poems, proverbs, sermonettes and anecdotes innumerable have clustered. He had a swarthy complexion, large black eyes, bald head, thick and long white beard, and was corpulent and of medium stature.[1] His sabre dhu-al-Faqār (the cleaver of vertebræ), wielded by the Prophet on the memorable battlefield of Badr, has been immortalized in the words of the verse found engraved on many medieval Arab swords: *La sayfa illa dhu-al-Faqāri wala fata illa 'Ali* = "No sword can match dhu-al-Faqār, and no young warrior can compare with 'Ali!" The later *Fityān* movement, which developed ceremonies and insignia savouring of medieval European chivalry and the modern Scout movements, took 'Ali for its first *Fata* and model. Regarded as wise and brave by all the Islamic world, as idealistic and exemplary by many Fityān and dervish fraternities, as sinless and infallible by his partisans and even held to be the incarnation of the deity by the Ghulāh (extremists) among them, he whose worldly career was practically a failure has continued to exert a posthumous influence second only to that of the Prophet himself. The throngs of pilgrims that still stream to his *mashhad* at al-Najaf and to that of his son al-Ḥusayn, the Shī'ah arch-saint and martyr at near-by Karbalā', and the passion play enacted annually on the tenth of Muḥarram throughout the Shī'ah world testify to the possibility that death may avail a Messiah more than life.

With the death of 'Ali (661) what may be termed the republican period of the caliphate, which began with abu-Bakr (632), came to an end. The four caliphs of this era are known to Arab historians as *al-Rāshidūn* (orthodox). The founder of the second caliphate, Mu'āwiyah the Umayyad, a man of the world, nominated his own son Yazīd as his successor and thus became the founder of a dynasty. The hereditary principle was thereby introduced into the caliphal succession never thereafter to be entirely

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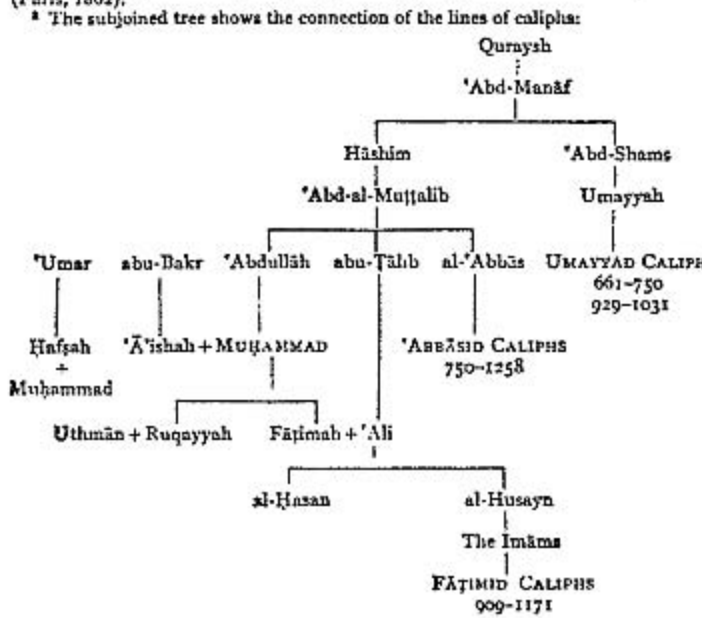
[1] Mas'ūdi, *Tanbīh*, p. 297.

abandoned. The Umayyad caliphate was the first dynasty (*mulk*) in the history of Islam. The fiction of election was preserved in the *bay'ah*[1] (literally "sale"), the ceremony by which the leaders of the people literally or figuratively took the hand of the new caliph as a sign of homage. The Umayyad caliphate (661–750) with its capital at Damascus was followed by the 'Abbāsid (750–1258) at Baghdād. The Fāṭimid caliphate (909–1171), whose main seat was Cairo, was the only Shī'ite one of primary importance. Another Umayyad caliphate at Cordova (Qurṭubah) in Spain lasted from 929 to 1031. The last great caliphate of Islam was non-Arab, that of the Ottoman Turks in Constantinople (*ca.* 1517–1924). In November 1922 the Grand National Assembly at Ankara declared Turkey a republic, deposed the Sultan-Caliph Muḥammad VI and made his cousin 'Abd-al-Majīd caliph, denying him the sultanate. In March 1924 the caliphate itself was abolished.[2]

[1] Ibn-Khaldūn, *Muqaddamah*, i.e. vol. i of *Kitāb al-'Ibar wa-Dīwān al-Mubtada' wa-al-Khabar* (Cairo, 1284), pp. 174-5 = pp. 376-7 of Quatremère's ed., in *Notices et extraits* etc., vol. xvi (Paris, 1858), and pp. 424-6 of de Slane's tr., vol. xix (Paris, 1862).

[2] The subjoined tree shows the connection of the lines of caliphs:



We should here guard against the common fallacy that the caliphate was a religious office. In this regard analogies drawn from the headship of the Holy Roman Empire and from the modern Christian distinction between the spheres of temporal and religious powers are misleading. As *amīr al-mu'minīn*, commander of the believers, the military office of the caliph was emphasized. As *imām* (leader in public prayer) the caliph could and did lead the religious service and pronounce the Friday *khuṭbah* (sermon); but this was a function which the humblest of Moslems could perform. Succession to Muḥammad (*khilāfah*) meant succession to the sovereignty of the state. Muḥammad as a prophet, as an instrument of revelation, as a messenger (*rasūl*) of Allah, could have no successor. The caliph's relation to religion was merely that of a guardian. He defended the faith just as any European emperor was supposed to do, suppressed heresies, warred against unbelievers and extended the boundaries of the Dār al-Islām (the abode of Islam), in the performance of all of which he employed the power of his secular arm.[1]

Later theoretical legists, flourishing mostly in Makkah, al-Madīnah and other centres, and out of touch with the course of events in the Islamic capitals of Damascus, Baghdād and Cairo, worked out nicely-drawn qualifications, privileges and functions said to pertain to the caliph. Al-Māwardi[2] († 1058) in his utopian treatise on politics, al-Nasafi († 1310), ibn-Khaldūn († 1406) in his famous critical prolegomena[3] and later writers representing the Sunnite (orthodox) theory list the following caliphal qualifications: membership in the Quraysh family; being male and adult; soundness of body and mind; courage, energy and other traits of character necessary for the defence of the realm; and the winning of the allegiance of the community by an act of *bay'ah*. The Shī'ah, on the other hand, who make less of the caliphate and more of the imāmate, confine the office to the family of 'Ali, who they hold was nominated by Muḥammad as his successor on the basis of a divine ordinance (*naṣṣ*) and whose qualifications passed on to his descendants preordained for the high office by Allah.[4] Among the caliphal functions according to the Sunnite school are: protection and main-

[1] Consult Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 9-41.
[2] Pp. 5-10. [3] *Muqaddamah*, p. 161.
[4] Shahrastāni, pp. 108-9; ibn-Khaldūn, pp. 164-5.

tenance of the faith and the territory of Islam (particularly the two sacred places—*al-haramayn*—of Makkah and al-Madīnah) and in case of necessity the declaration of a holy war (*jihād*); appointment of state officials; collection of taxes and administration of public funds; punishment of wrongdoing and the execution of justice.[1] The privileges include the mention of the caliph's name in the Friday *khuṭbah* and on the coinage; the wearing of the *burdah* (the Prophet's mantle) on important state occasions; the custody of such holy relics as the staff, seal, shoe, tooth and hair that are said to have been Muhammad's.[2]

Not until the latter part of the eighteenth century did the notion prevail in Europe that the Moslem caliph was a kind of pope with spiritual jurisdiction over the followers of Muhammad throughout the world. In his *Tableau général de l'empire othoman* (Paris, 1788),[3] d'Ohsson, a Constantinople Armenian, was one of the first to give currency to this fallacy. The shrewd 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd II made capital of the idea to strengthen his prestige in the eyes of the European powers who had by this time come to dominate most of the Moslems in Asia and Africa. An ill-defined movement had its inception in the latter part of the last century and under the name pan-Islamism (*al-Jāmi'ah al-Islāmīyah*) exerted special effort to bring about some unity of action to oppose the Christian powers. With Turkey as its rallying-point it unduly stressed the ecumenical character of the caliphate.

[1] Māwardi, pp 23-4, al-Nasafi, *'Umdat 'Aqīdat Ahl al-Sunnah*, ed W. Cureton (London, 1843), pp 28 9

[2] As the last Moslem caliphs the Ottoman sultans had charge of these Prophetic treasures (*dhakha'ir Nabawīyah*), which Sultan Salim in 1517 brought to Constantinople upon his return from the conquest of Egypt. The relics have ever since been enshrined in a special pavilion within the stronghold of the Grand Seraglio and cherished as the priceless insignia of the exalted office of the caliphate.

[3] Vol 1, pp 213 *seq.*