

attack the rebels. The holy spirit of Islam kept the men of Medina together, and inflamed them to a death-defying zeal for the faith; while, on the other side, the Arabs as a whole had no other bond of union and no better source of inspiration than universal egoism. As was to be expected, they were worsted; eleven small flying columns of the Moslems, sent out in various directions, sufficed to quell the revolt. Those who submitted were forthwith received back into favour; those who persevered in rebellion were punished with death. The majority accordingly converted, the obstinate were extirpated. In Yamama only was there a severe struggle; the Banu Hanifa under their prophet Mosailima fought bravely, but here also Islam triumphed.

The internal consolidation of Islam in Arabia was, strange to say, brought about by its diffusion abroad. The holy war against the border countries which Mohammed had already inaugurated, was the best means for making the new religion popular among the Arabs; for, in spreading by means of the sword the worship of Allāh, opportunity was at the same time afforded for gaining rich booty. This vast movement was organized by Islam, but the masses were induced to join it by quite other than religious motives. Nor was this by any means the first occasion on which the Arabian caldron had overflowed; once and again in former times emigrant swarms of Bedouins had settled on the borders of the wilderness. This had last happened in consequence of the events which destroyed the prosperity of the old Sabeian kingdom. At that time the small Arabian kingdoms of Ghassān and Hira had arisen in the western and eastern borderlands of cultivation; these now presented to Moslem conquest its nearest and natural goal. But inasmuch as Hira was subject to the Persians, and Eastern Palestine to the Greeks, the annexation of the Arabians involved the extension of the war beyond the limits of Arabia to a struggle with the two great powers.

Khālid
in Syria.

After the subjugation of Middle and North-Eastern Arabia, Khālid b. al-Walīd proceeded by order of the Caliph to the conquest of the districts on the lower Euphrates. Thence he was summoned to Syria, where hostilities had also broken out. Damascus fell late in the summer of 635, and on 20th August 636 the great decisive battle on the Hieromax (Yarmūk) was fought, which caused the Emperor Heraclius finally to abandon Syria.¹ Left to themselves, the Christians henceforward defended themselves only in isolated cases in the fortified cities; for the most part they witnessed the disappearance of the Byzantine power without regret. Meanwhile the war was also carried on against the Persians in Irāk, unsuccessfully at first, until the tide turned at the battle of Kādisiya (end of 637). In consequence of the defeat which they here sustained, the Persians were forced to abandon the western portion of their empire and limit themselves to Eran proper. The Moslems made themselves masters of Ctesiphon (Madāin), the residence of the Sasanides on the Tigris, and conquered in the immediately following years the country of the two rivers. In 639 the armies of Syria and Irāk were face to face in Mesopotamia. In a short time they had taken from the Aryans all the principal old Semitic lands,—Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Babylonia. To these was soon added Egypt, which Amr b. al-ʿAs, aided by the national and confessional antipathies of the Copts towards the Greeks, overran with little trouble in 641.² This completed the circle of the lands bordering on the wilderness of Arabia; within

¹ De Goeje, *Memoires d'Hist. et de Géog. Orient.*, No. 3. Leyden, 1864; Noldeke, *D. M. Z.*, 1875, p. 76 sq.; Beladhori, 137.
² See H. Zotenberg in *Journ. as.*, 1879 (xiii. 291-388). The date perhaps some years too late.

these limits annexation was practicable and natural, a repetition indeed of what had often previously occurred. The kingdoms of Ghassān and Hira, advanced posts hitherto, now became the headquarters of the Arabs; the new empire had its centres on the one hand at Damascus, on the other hand at Cufa and Basra, the two newly-founded cities in the region of old Babylonia. The capital of Islam continued indeed for a while to be Medina, but soon the Hijāz and the whole of Arabia proper lay quite on the outskirts of affairs.

It is striking to notice how easily the native populations of the conquered districts, exclusively or prevalently Christian, adapted themselves to the new rule. Their nationality had been broken long ago, but intrinsically it was more closely allied to the Arabian than to the Greek or Persian. Their religious sympathy with the West was seriously impaired by dogmatic controversies; from Islam they might at any rate hope for toleration, even though their views were not in accordance with the theology of the Emperor of the day. The lapse of the masses from Christendom to Islam, however, which took place during the first century after the conquest, is only to be accounted for by the fact that in reality they had no inward relation to the gospel at all. They changed their creed in order to acquire the rights and privileges of Moslem citizens. In no case were they compelled to do so; on the contrary, the Omayyad Caliphs saw with displeasure the diminishing proceeds of the poll-tax derived from their Christian subjects.

It would have been a great advantage for the solidity of the Arabian empire if it had confined itself within the limits of those old Semitic lands, with perhaps the addition of Egypt. But the Persians were not so ready as the Greeks to give up the contest; they did not rest until the Moslems had subjugated the whole of the Sasanid empire. The most important event in the protracted war which led to the conquest of Eran, was the battle of Nehāwend in 641;³ the most obstinate resistance was offered by Persis proper, and especially by the capital, Istakhr (Persepolis). In the end, all the numerous and somewhat autonomous provinces of the Sasanid empire fell, one after the other, into the hands of the Moslems, and the young Shahanshah, Yazdegerd, was compelled to retire to the farthest corner of his realm, where he came to a miserable end.⁴ But in more than one case the work of conquest had to be done over again; it was long before the Eranians learned to accept the situation. Unlike the Christians of Western Asia, they had a vigorous feeling of national pride, based upon glorious memories and especially upon a church having a connexion of the closest kind with the state. Internal disturbances of a religious and political character and external disasters had long ago shattered the empire of the Sasanids indeed, but the Eranians had not yet lost their patriotism. They were fighting, in fact, against the despised and hated Arabs, in defence of their holiest possessions, their nationality, and their faith. They were subjugated, but their subjection was only outward. The commonwealth of Islam never succeeded in assimilating them as the Syrian Christians were assimilated. Even when in process of time they did accept the religion of the Prophet, they leavened it thoroughly with their own peculiar leaven, and, especially, deprived it of the practical political and national character which it had assumed after the Flight to Medina. To the Arabian state they were always a thorn in the flesh, it was they who helped most largely to break up its internal order, and it was from them also that it at last received its outward deathblow.

³ The accounts differ; see Beladhori, 305. The chronology of the conquests, as is well known, is in many points uncertain.
⁴ Beladh. 315 sq.; Tabari, i. 1068.

The fall of the Omayyads was their work, and with the Omayyads fell the Arabian empire. The course of Islam's political history during its first centuries is denoted by the removal of the capital from Damascus to Cufa, and from Cufa to Baghdād, the latter occupying, approximately, the site of the ancient Ctesiphon.

Omar
Caliph.

But we must return to the period of Abūbekr. He died after a short reign, on 22d August 634, and as matter of course was succeeded by Omar. To Omar's ten years' Caliphate belong for the most part the great conquests. He himself did not take the field, but remained in Medina; he never, however, suffered the reins to slip from his grasp, so powerful was the influence of his personality and the Moslem community of feeling. His political insight is shown by the circumstance that he endeavoured to limit the indefinite extension of Moslem conquest, and to maintain and strengthen the national Arabian character of the commonwealth of Islam;¹ also by his making it his foremost task to promote law and order in its internal affairs. The saying with which he began his reign will never grow antiquated: "By God, he that is weakest among you shall be in my sight the strongest, until I have vindicated for him his rights; but him that is strongest will I treat as the weakest, until he complies with the laws." It would be impossible to give a better general definition of the function of the State. After the administration of justice he directed his organizing activity, as the circumstances demanded, chiefly towards financial questions—the incidence of taxation in the conquered territories,² and the application of the vast resources which poured into the treasury at Medina. It must not be brought against him as a personal reproach, that in dealing with these he acted on the principle that the Moslems were the chartered plunderers of all the rest of the world. But he had to atone by his death for the fault of his system; a workman at Cufa, driven to desperation by absurd fiscal oppressions, stabbed him in the mosque at Medina. He died in the beginning of November 644.

Othmān
Caliph.

Before his death Omar had nominated six of the leading Emigrants who should choose the Caliph from among themselves—Othmān, ʿAlī, Zobair, Talha, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, and ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAuf. The last named declined to be candidate, and decided the election in favour of Othmān b. ʿAffān. Under this weak sovereign the government of Islam fell entirely into the hands of the Korāish nobility. We have already seen that Mohammed himself prepared the way for this transference; Abūbekr and Omar likewise helped it; the Emigrants were unanimous among themselves in thinking that the precedence and leadership belonged to them as of right. Thanks to the energy of Omar, they were successful in appropriating to themselves the succession to the Prophet. They indeed rested the claims they put forward in the undeniable priority of their services to the faith, but they also appealed to their blood relationship with the Prophet, as a legitimation of their right to the inheritance; and the ties of blood connected them with the Korāish in general. In point of fact they felt a greater solidarity with these than, for example, with the natives of Medina; nature had not been expelled by faith.³ The supremacy of the Emigrants naturally furnished the means of transition to the supremacy of the

¹ He sought to make the whole nation a great host of God; the Arabs were to be soldiers and nothing else. They were forbidden to acquire landed estates in the conquered countries; all land was either made state property or was restored to the old owners subject to a perpetual tribute which provided pay on a splendid scale for the army.
² Noldeke, *Tabari*, 246. To Omar also is due the establishment of the Era of the Flight.
³ Even in the list of the slain at the battle of Honain the Emigrants are enumerated along with the Meccans and Korāish, and distinguished from the men of Medina.

Meccan aristocracy. Othmān did all in his power to press forward this development of affairs. He belonged to the foremost family of Mecca, the Omayyads, and that he should favour his relations and the Korāish as a whole, in every possible way, seemed to him a matter of course. Every position of influence and emolument was assigned to them; they themselves boastfully called the important province of Irāk the garden of Korāish. In truth, the entire empire had become that garden. Nor was it unreasonable that from the secularization of Islam the chief advantage should be reaped by those who best knew the world. Such were beyond all doubt the patricians of Mecca, and after them those of ʿAif, people like Khālid b. al-Walīd, Amr b. al-ʿAs, Abdallāh b. Abī Sarh, Moghira b. Sho'ba, and, above all, old Abū Sofyān with his son Mo'āwiya, the governor of Syria.

Against the rising tide of worldliness an opposition, however, now began to appear. It was led by what may be called the spiritual noblesse of Islam, which, as distinguished from the hereditary nobility of Mecca, might also be designated as the nobility of merit, consisting of the "Defenders," and especially of the Emigrants who had lent themselves to the elevation of the Korāish, but by no means with the intention of allowing themselves to be thereby effaced. The opposition was headed by ʿAlī, Zobair, Talha, both as leading men among the Emigrants and as disappointed candidates for the Caliphate, who therefore were jealous of Othmān. Their motives were purely selfish; not God's cause but their own, not religion but power and preferment, were what they sought.⁴ Their party was a mixed one. To it belonged the men of real piety, who saw with displeasure the promotion to the first places in the commonwealth of the great lords who had actually done nothing for Islam, and had joined themselves to it only at the twelfth hour, while those who had borne the burden and heat of the day were passed by. But the majority were merely a band of men without views, whose aim was not a change of system but of persons, that they themselves might fatten in the vacant places. Everywhere in the provinces there was agitation against the Caliph and his governors, except in Syria, where Othmān's cousin, Mo'āwiya b. Abī Sofyān, carried on a wise and strong administration. The movement was most energetic in Irāk and in Egypt. Its ultimate aim was the deposition of Othmān in favour of ʿAlī, whose own services as well as his close relationship to the Prophet seemed to give him the best claim to the Caliphate. Even then there were enthusiasts who held him to be a sort of Messiah.

The malcontents sought to gain their end by force. In bands they came from the provinces to Medina to concuss Othmān into concession of their demands. From the Indus and Oxus to the Atlantic the world was trembling before the armies of the Caliph, but in Medina he had no troops at hand. He propitiated the mutineers by concessions, but as soon as they had gone, he let matters resume their old course. Thus things went on from worse to worse. In the following year (656) the leaders of the rebels came once more from Egypt and Irāk to Medina with a more numerous following; and the Caliph again tried his former plan of making promises which he did not intend to keep. But the rebels caught him in a flagrant breach of his word, and now demanded his abdication, besieging him in his own house, where he was

⁴ It was the same opposition of the spiritual to the secular nobility that afterwards showed itself in the revolt of the sacred cities against the Omayyads. The movement triumphed with the elevation of the ʿAbbāsids to the throne. But, that the spiritual nobility was fighting not for principle but for personal advantage was as apparent in ʿAlī's hostilities against Zobair and Talha as in that of the ʿAbbāsids against the followers of ʿAlī.

defended by a few faithful subjects. As he would not yield, they at last took the building by storm and put him to death, an old man of eighty. His death in the act of maintaining his rights was of the greatest service to his house and of corresponding disadvantage to the enemy. Controversy now arose among the leaders of the opposition as to the inheritance. The mass of the mutineers summoned 'Alī to the Caliphate, and compelled even Talha and Zobiair to do him homage. But soon these two, along with 'Aisha, the mother of the faithful, who had an old grudge against 'Alī, succeeded in making their escape to 'Irāk, where at Basra they raised the standard of rebellion. 'Alī in point of fact had no real right to the succession, and moreover was actuated not by piety but by ambition and the desire of power, so that men of penetration, even although they condemned 'Othmān's method of government, yet refused to recognize his successor. The new Caliph, however, found means of disposing of their opposition, and at the battle of the Camel, fought at Basra in November 656, Talha and Zobiair were slain, and 'Aisha was taken prisoner.

Mo'ā-
wiya.

But even so 'Alī had not secured peace. With the murder of 'Othmān the dynastic principle gained the twofold advantage of a legitimate cry—that of vengeance for the blood of the gray-haired Caliph, and of a distinguished champion, the Syrian governor Mo'āwiya. Mo'āwiya was not inclined to recognize 'Alī, and the latter did not venture to depose him. To have done so would have been useless, for Mo'āwiya's position in Syria was impregnable. The kernel of his subjects consisted of genuine Arabs, not only recent immigrants along with Islam, but also old settlers who, through contact with the Roman empire and the Christian church, had taken on a measure of civilization. Through the Ghassānids these latter had become habituated to monarchical government and loyal obedience, and for a long time much better order had prevailed amongst them than elsewhere in Arabia. Syria was the proper soil for the rise of an Arabian kingdom, and Mo'āwiya was just the man to make use of the situation. He exhibited 'Othmān's blood-stained garment in the mosque at Damascus, and incited his Syrians to vengeance.

'Alī's position in Cufa was much less advantageous. The population of 'Irāk was already mixed up with Persian elements; it fluctuated greatly, and was largely composed of fresh immigrants. Islam had its headquarters here; Cufa and Basra were the home of the pious and of the adventurer, the centres of religious and political movement. This movement it was that had raised 'Alī to the Caliphate, but yet it did not really take any personal interest in him. Religion proved for him a much less trustworthy and more dangerous support than did the conservative and secular feeling of Syria for the Omayyads. Mo'āwiya could either act or refrain from acting as he chose, secure in either case of the obedience of his subjects. 'Alī, on the other hand, was unable to convert enthusiasm for the principle inscribed on his banner into enthusiasm for his person. It was necessary that he should accommodate himself to the wishes of his supporters, and at the same time it was impossible, for these wishes were inconsistent. They compelled him suddenly to break off the battle of Šiffin, which he was on the point of gaining over Mo'āwiya, because the Syrians fastened copies of the Koran to their lances to denote that not the sword, but the word of God should decide the contest (end of July 657). But in yielding to the will of the majority he excited the displeasure of the minority, the genuine zealots, who in Mo'āwiya were opposing the enemy of Islam, and who regarded 'Alī's entering into negotiations with him as a denial of the

faith. When the negotiations failed and war was resumed, the Khārijites refused to follow 'Alī's army, and he had to turn his arms in the first instance against them. He succeeded in disposing of them without difficulty, but in his success he lost the soul of his following. For they were the true champions of the theocratic principle; through their elimination it became clear that the struggle had in no sense anything to do with the cause of God. 'Alī's defeat was a foregone conclusion, once religious enthusiasm had failed him; the secular resources at the disposal of his adversaries were far superior. Fortunately for him he was murdered (end of January 661), thereby posthumously attaining an importance in the eyes of a large part of the Mohammedan world (Šh'ā) which he had never possessed during his life. His son Hasan made peace with Mo'āwiya.

The Khārijites are the most interesting feature of the then phase of Islām. In the name of religion they raised their protest against allowing the whole great spiritual movement to issue in a secular and political result, in the establishment within the conquered territories of an Arabian kingdom, a kingdom which diametrically contradicted the theocratic ideal. Islam was then on the point of making its peace with the world, not without a certain apostasy from its original principles, for which Mohammed himself had paved the way. Life was no more dominated by religion, but came to terms with it and parted company. This development was favoured by the government, which desired before all things to have peace. Orthodoxy arose, and thereby religion was tamed and divested of every dangerous element; strictly speaking, it became a compromise, according to which the letter of the precept was correctly followed, in order that, in everything besides, a man might obey his own inclinations. The conditions under which any one might make sure of heaven were—on the one hand, the performance of "good works," i.e. of such *opera operanda* as had a special churchly merit assigned to them; on the other hand, faith in the absolute sovereignty of God even over the wills of men. About morals God showed little concern—the usual view of orthodox shamanism. This was by no means the original standpoint of Islam, although the transition to it was made at an early stage, and by the Prophet himself. Originally Islam—i.e. religious resignation—was only the complement of pious effort; a man set himself about even the hardest and apparently purposeless tasks, because he believed the issue to lie entirely in the hand of God. But now all this was reversed; a man acted according to his humour, because his destiny had nothing to do with his inherent qualities, but was dependent entirely on Allāh's caprice. The Khārijites protested not merely against the dynastic principle and the rule of the Omayyads, but also against orthodoxy; they disputed the doctrine of predestination and the proposition that a great sinner could yet be a good Moslem, because they did not understand how to divorce religion from practice. To some degree they call to mind the Montanists, but their opposition was much more energetic in its expression.¹

Sources.—For the history of Mohammed these are—(1) the Koran; (2) the theologico-historical tradition or Hadith. The latter is chronologically arranged in the biographies, of which those of Ibn Ishak and of Wākidi are the oldest and most important. Ibn Ishak's work in its complete form is now to be found only in Ibn Hishām's revision (ed. Wüstenfeld), but large and numerous fragments of the original are given by Tabarī (ed. De Jong). Of Wākidi the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, i.e. the history of Mohammed in Medina, is still extant (abridged German translation by Wellhausen, 1882); his collections for the earlier period are known to us through the work of Ibn Sa'd his secretary (*Tabakāt*,

¹ On the further development of Islam compare Houtsmā, *De Strijd over het Dogma*, Leyden, 1875.

imedited). The Hadith is set forth more systematically, according to subjects, in the great collections of tradition by Mālik b. Anas, Bokhāri, Moslim, etc. (Bulak editions). A subsidiary authority is the humanistic tradition of the Oqābā, with which the poetry may be reckoned. The principal collections of this class are the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Bulak edition) and the *Kāmil* (ed. Wright). For the period after Mohammed the most important work is the *Chronicle of Tabarī* (Leyden edition); the history of the conquest is treated briefly after the best authorities by Belādhori (ed. De Goeje, 1866).

Literature.—The genuine tradition of the Arabs with reference to their prophet was first introduced into Europe by the French, beginning with Gagnier and ending with the valuable work of Caussin de Perceval. Weil and, after him, Noldeke especially, have

the merit of having shown how to use the Koran in conjunction with the Arab tradition as a main source. Of modern biographies the most important are those of Muir and Sprenger; research has not yet got beyond them, although there is room for this. For the history of the Caliphs, the standard book is still the well-known work of Weil, although since it was published considerable additions have been made to our knowledge of the sources, thanks specially to the labours of Dozy, De Goeje, and other Dutchmen. Hitherto the main object has been to bring together the materials in this department of research, and a comprehensive treatment of the entire subject has not as yet been accomplished; still reference may be made in this connection to Dozy (*Histoire de l'Islamisme*), and A. von Kremer (*Gesch. der herrschenden Ideen d. Islam. und Kulturgeschichte d. Orients unter den Khalifen*). (J. WE.)

PART II.—THE EASTERN CALIPHATE.

SECT. I.—THE Omayyads.

I. IN commencing the history of the Omayyad dynasty we must first recur to the causes which brought about the triumph of this family, and which led its chief to substitute Damascus for Medina as the seat of the Caliphate; an event which led to profound changes in the Moslem empire, and exercised a considerable influence on its development. In the same way, at a later date, the transfer of the Caliphate from Damascus to Baghdād marked the accession of a new family to the supreme power, and gave Islam a new direction.

In the time of Mohammed, the Arabs were divided into an infinite number of tribes, some settled, others nomadic, which were constantly at war with each other. The Prophet united them into one body, but he could not entirely eradicate the hatred which had existed for ages between tribe and tribe. Thus the people of Mecca and those of Medina hated each other, because the former were a branch of the race of Ma'add, the great ancestor of the tribes of the North;¹ while the latter belonged to the Yemenite race, or that of the South. The conquest of Mecca by Mohammed and his allies of Medina only exasperated this hatred, and the nobles of the Koraish swore to take revenge on the Yemenites, as soon as they should be able to do so. One of the most violent opponents of the Prophet had been, as we have seen, the father of that very Mo'āwiya who founded the Omayyad dynasty, Abū Sofyān, grandson of Omayya, the leader of the Meccans in the battle at Ohod; and it is related that his wife Hind, having found Hamza, Mohammed's uncle, among the dead, cut open his body, and tore out and devoured his liver. We have also seen how Abū Sofyān ultimately made his submission and embraced Islam, but only under compulsion. His son Mo'āwiya became, it is true, one of Mohammed's secretaries; but we know that his faith was never very strong, and that he always made his religion subordinate to the interests of his family. Even in his youth, he had conceived the project of recovering the supreme power for his own race, and it has been related above how the inner conflicts of Islam under the Caliphates of 'Othmān and 'Alī carried him forwards towards this goal.

Mo'āwiya might, no doubt, have marched to the help of 'Othmān with an army of Syrians; but the preservation of the Caliph, his relative, would not have served the purposes of his burning ambition, and we may say without hesitation that it was with secret joy that the prefect of Damascus heard of the fatal result of the plot against 'Othmān. The Syrians were entirely devoted to Mo'āwiya. Polite, amiable, and generous, he had gained the goodwill of all the Arabs of Syria, for whom Islam had remained a dead letter, and who, continuing Bedouins at heart, shared the feelings of their chief against the new

¹ The Ma'addites are also often called Moqarites and Kaisites, after their ancestors Modar and Kais.

aristocracy of Medina. Consequently, when 'Alī, 'Othmān's successor, summoned Mo'āwiya for the last time to acknowledge him, and when Mo'āwiya, assembling his partisans in the mosque of Damascus, asked their advice, they replied that it was his part to command, and theirs to obey and to act. The enthusiasm of the Syrians was great; and Mo'āwiya having ordered a levy *en masse*, within three days every able-bodied man had joined his standard. Syria alone supplied Mo'āwiya with more troops than all the rest of the provinces put together furnished to 'Alī, who is said to have addressed his soldiers with these bitter words: "I would gladly exchange ten of you for one of Mo'āwiya's soldiers." Then he added—in allusion to the savage action of Hind, Mo'āwiya's mother, on the field of battle at Ohod—"By God! he will gain the victory, this son of the liver-eater!"

'Alī's gloomy anticipations were fulfilled; but it was by stratagem that Mo'āwiya gained his victory. The battle of Šiffin, the abortive negotiations that followed, and the withdrawal of the Khārijites, have been already spoken of. The negotiations ended in the conference of Dūmat al-Jandal, a small place situated between Syria and 'Irāk, about seven days' journey from Damascus and thirteen from Medina. Here in Ramadan, A.H. 37 (A.D. 657-658), Abū Mūsā and 'Amr b. al-'Ās (the famous conqueror of Egypt) appeared as arbitrators for 'Alī and Mo'āwiya respectively, and the cunning of the latter induced Abū Mūsā to pronounce both pretendants deprived of whatever rights either might have to the Caliphate, and to say that it now rested with the Moslems to make a new choice. 'Amr, who was only waiting for this declaration, rose in his turn, and said to the Arabs who were crowding round the platform: "O people, ye hear what Abū Mūsā says. He himself renounces the claims of his master. I also agree to the deprivation of 'Alī, but I proclaim my master Mo'āwiya Mo'ā-Caliph." Abū Mūsā cried out against this treachery, but no one would listen to him, and he fled for refuge to Mecca, where he ultimately recognised the claims of Mo'āwiya, even in 'Alī's lifetime. This event marks the commencement of the Omayyad dynasty. 'Amr went in triumph to Damascus, where the Syrians took the oath of fidelity to Mo'āwiya.

In 'Irāk, on the other hand, with the exception of the Khārijites, all the people remained faithful to the cause of 'Alī, who, mounting the pulpit at Cufa, summoned his army to the field, and fixed their rendezvous at Nohkhalā, a small place not far from the city. The Khārijites had taken refuge at Nahrowān, and 'Alī found it necessary to attack them there, before marching against the Syrians. At his arrival most of the rebels dispersed, except from fifteen to eighteen hundred fanatics, who remained at their post and allowed themselves to be slaughtered to the last man. Thus rid of the Khārijites, 'Alī meant to direct his march towards Syria, but his soldiers refused to move, and declared their intention of first taking some

rest at Cufa. Compelled to inaction, 'Alī returned to Cufa, while Mo'awiya gave his attention to securing the possession of the provinces. At the beginning of A.H. 38 (A.D. 658-659), Egypt was lost to 'Alī. 'Amr b. al-'Ās was sent thither by Mo'awiya, and marched without delay, at the head of five thousand men, against 'Alī's vicerent, Mohammed, son of the late Caliph, Abūbekr. The brave general Ashtar, whom 'Alī sent to the help of Mohammed, was poisoned at Kozom by the prefect of that place, acting under secret orders from Mo'awiya, and 'Alī's troops retraced their steps. Meanwhile, in Egypt itself, a partisan of the Omayyads, Mo'awiya b. Hodaj, who was at the head of six thousand fighting men, had declared against Mohammed, and driven him from Fostat. On his arrival in Egypt, 'Amr effected a junction with Mo'awiya b. Hodaj, and the unfortunate Mohammed, beaten by his adversaries, fell into the hands of Ibn Hodaj, who put him to death.

While Egypt was thus being lost to 'Alī, commotions were excited at Basra itself by a partisan of the Omayyads. These were, however, put down by the governor of that city, Ziyād. This man was Mo'awiya's own brother, but illegitimate, and not having been acknowledged by his father, Abū Sofyān, he had revenged himself by embracing the party of 'Alī. Ziyād was renowned among the Arabs for his eloquence, his resolution, and his courage. At a later period, Mo'awiya gained him over to his cause by publicly acknowledging him as his brother. At the time we speak of, he was a faithful servant of 'Alī, and as soon as the revolt of Basra was put down, he marched into Fārsistān, where he maintained peace and kept the inhabitants in their allegiance. Meanwhile, however, the other provinces were falling one after the other under the power of Mo'awiya. His generals penetrated into the heart of Chaldea; and even in Arabia, where 'Alī's generals had at first gained some advantages, Bosr¹ b. Artah obtained possession of Medina A.H. 40 (A.D. 660-661), and compelled its inhabitants to acknowledge Mo'awiya. After this he marched upon Mecca, expelled Kotham, 'Alī's governor, and there also exacted an oath of obedience to his master. Following up his successes, Bosr did not hesitate to press southward, and soon gained possession of Yemen. 'Alī was now no longer master of anything but Irāk and a part of Persia, and even of these provinces the former was menaced by the Syrians, as we have seen. Taking advantage of some partial successes gained by his forces in Arabia and in Syria, 'Alī made overtures for peace, but they were rejected. Mo'awiya believed himself too sure of ultimate success to be willing to share the empire.

It was then that three men of the Khārijites conceived the project of delivering Islam from those who were desolating it with fire and blood. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Moljam, Boraik b. 'Abdallāh, and 'Amr b. Bekr agreed that on the very same day the first should kill 'Alī at Cufa, the second Mo'awiya at Damascus, and the third 'Amr b. al-'Ās at Fostat. They fixed on Friday the 15th of Ramadān, A.H. 40, when they were sure of finding their victims at the mosque. The plot was put in execution, but 'Alī alone fell. On the appointed day, Boraik made his way into the mosque of Damascus, and stabbed Mo'awiya in the back with his sword. Before he could repeat the blow he was seized, and Mo'awiya recovered from his wound. As for 'Amr, he had been kept at home by illness; his place at the mosque was taken by Khārijā, the chief of his guards; and it was he who fell beneath the blows of 'Amr b. Bekr. 'Abd al-Rahmān was more

¹ Not Bishr, as some historians call him. Bosr gave his name to a fortress near Kairawān. Belādhori calls him Bosr b. Abī Artāh.

successful. As 'Alī was entering the mosque, he dealt him a blow on the head with his sword, and stretched him on the ground mortally wounded. Two days later 'Alī died, and the assassin was put to death with horrible torments.

'Alī left two sons, Hasan and Hosain. The people of Irāk chose Hasan Caliph. But he, not having his father's energy, recoiled before the prospect of a war with Mo'awiya. Though he had an army of forty thousand men at his disposal, he preferred to renounce the Caliphate. Besides, one of his generals, Kais b. Sa'd, who had urged him to continue the struggle, and had himself tried the chance of arms, had just been beaten by the Syrians. In consequence of this defeat, a mutiny had broken out in Hasan's army. He abdicated, and only demanded, in exchange for the power which he resigned, pardon for his relatives and a yearly pension of five millions of dirhems,² together with the revenues of the Persian city of Dārāb-gird. A treaty to this effect was concluded between Mo'awiya and Hasan, in spite of the opposition of Hosain, who exhorted his brother to continue the struggle; and Mo'awiya entered Cufa at the head of his army, according to some authorities towards the end of the month of Rabī' I, A.H. 41 (July, A.D. 661), according to others a month or two later. Hasan retired to Medina, where he died eight or nine years afterwards, poisoned, it is said, by order of the Caliph.

Mo'awiya, who now remained sole master of the Moslem Mo'awiya empire, was, however, not yet universally acknowledged. Five thousand Khārijites made head against him in the province of Ahwāz, the ancient Susiana, and a revolt broke out at Basra. Ziyād himself, Mo'awiya's brother, refused to take the oath to him, and fortified himself at Istakhr, the ancient Persepolis. The revolt at Basra was put down by Bosr b. Artāh, and Moghīra b. Sho'ba, whom Mo'awiya had named prefect of Cufa, accepted the task of bringing about a reconciliation with Ziyād. Ziyād refused to take the oath of allegiance only because he feared being called to account for certain sums of money which were missing from the public treasury of Persia. Mo'awiya promised to shut his eyes to these irregularities; and Ziyād came to Damascus and was very well received by the Caliph, who hastened to adopt the bastard as his brother, to the great scandal of all pious Moslems.³ After acknowledging Ziyād, who thus became Ziyād son of Abū Sofyān, Mo'awiya entrusted him with the government of Basra and of Persia, and afterwards with that of Cufa, when Moghīra b. Sho'ba died. Ziyād governed Irāk with the greatest vigour, to the full satisfaction of Mo'awiya, who further placed the whole of Arabia under his authority; but in that same year, A.H. 53 (A.D. 672-673), Ziyād died. It seems that Mo'awiya had thought of him as his successor in the Caliphate. After Ziyād's death, the Caliph wished to secure the throne for his own son Yazīd. This was a new violation of the customary rights of Islam; for Mohammed, whose actions served as a rule, had not in his lifetime appointed any one as his successor. Mo'awiya, who was a statesman above everything, and who held religion very cheap when it interfered with his objects, did not hesitate to create a precedent. He met, however, at first with vigorous opposition, and it was not till some years later that he ventured to have his intentions publicly announced from the pulpit. In Syria the people took the oath of allegiance to Yazīd; in Arabia and Irāk public opinion declared itself against the step which Mo'awiya had taken.

² The dirhem is a silver coin worth about a franc.

³ At a later period, the Abbāsid Caliph Mahdī thought it right to have the names of Ziyād and his descendants struck off the rolls of the Korāsh; but after his death, the persons concerned gained over the chief of the rolls-office, and got their names replaced on the lists. See Tabarī, iii. 479.

The Caliph was not moved; threats prevailed over the obstinacy of the people of Irāk, and Mo'awiya repaired to Arabia in person, at the head of an army, to intimidate the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina. As may be supposed, the principal fomenters of the resistance in Arabia were the sons of the first Caliphs, 'Abd al-Rahmān the son of Abūbekr, 'Abdallāh the son of 'Omar, and Hosain the son of 'Alī; for, by submitting, they would have renounced all hope of being themselves chosen by the people. Another 'Abdallāh, son of that Zobair who had been among the six candidates nominated at the death of 'Omar for the choice of the Moslems, was also one of the warmest opponents of the pretensions of Mo'awiya. All the efforts of the Caliph to win over these personages to his side having proved vain, he ordered them to be brought into the mosque at Mecca, each between two soldiers; then, having mounted the pulpit, he called on the bystanders to take the oath of allegiance to his son, adding that 'Abd al-Rahmān, Hosain, and the two 'Abdallāhs would raise no objection. They, in their terror, did not utter a word, and the assembly took the oath. Then Mo'awiya, without concerning himself further about the malcontents, returned to Damascus.

While thus occupied at home, Mo'awiya did not neglect foreign affairs. 'Amr b. al-'Ās, governor of Egypt, died A.H. 43 (A.D. 663-664), and was followed by several prefects in succession, under one of whom the general Mo'awiya b. Hodaj undertook several expeditions into the province of Africa. In the year 50 (A.D. 670) he advanced as far as Camunia, now Sūsa, near which city he laid the foundations of the celebrated Kairawān, and even went on to Sabaratha, a town situated near the seashore, and opposite to the island of Crina. The emperor, Constantine IV., had sent thither thirty thousand Greeks, who were beaten and compelled to re-embark in haste. Mo'awiya b. Hodaj returned to Egypt after his victory, and the Caliph now considered the position of the Moslems in Africa so strong, that he separated that province from Egypt, and appointed as governor of Africa 'Okba b. Nāfi, who permanently established Kairawān, in a plain situated at a little distance from the first encampment of Mo'awiya b. Hodaj. According to some historians, the new city was completed A.H. 55 (A.D. 674-675).

In the East the successes of the Moslems were still more brilliant. Ziyād, brother of Mo'awiya, as soon as he was appointed governor of Irāk and Persia, sent an army into Khorāsān. It advanced as far as the Oxus, crossed that river, and returned loaded with booty taken from the wandering Turkish tribes of Transoxiana. Bokharā was occupied by a son of Ziyād, and Sa'd, son of the Caliph 'Othmān, whom Mo'awiya had made governor of Khorāsān, marched against Samarkand, A.H. 56 (A.D. 675-676). Other generals penetrated as far as the Indus, and overran and conquered Mūltān, Kābulistān, Mokrān, and Sijistān.

In the North the Moslems were not less fortunate in their attacks on the Byzantine empire. Mo'awiya, while still only governor of Syria, had gained possession of Armenia, and had sent a fleet against Cyprus, which, in conjunction with that of the governor of Egypt, had effected the conquest of that island. Encouraged by the result of this expedition, he gave the order for new incursions in the Mediterranean. His fleet of twelve hundred vessels invested the islands of Cos, Crete, and Rhodes. The famous Colossus of Rhodes was broken to pieces, and it is said that the bronze of which it was made was bought by a Jew of Emesa, and formed a load for nine hundred and eighty camels. The Arabs even dared to threaten Constantinople, which owed its safety only to the Greek fire. Yazīd, the son of Mo'awiya, took part in these

expeditions, but with no great ardour, and in the year 58 (A.D. 677-678) Mo'awiya concluded a thirty years' peace with Constantine IV. Two years later, he died at Damascus, after a reign of nearly twenty years. He had been governor of Syria for the same length of time. Before his death, he sent for his son Yazīd, and having pointed out how he had smoothed down all difficulties for him, he advised him to spare no effort to preserve the attachment of the Syrians. He urged him also to keep a close watch on the actions of Hosain b. 'Alī, and of the other pretenders who had refused to take the oath of allegiance to him; but he added that, should they rebel, Yazīd ought to treat them with clemency, and not to forget their illustrious origin. By failing to act upon this wise advice, Yazīd rendered irreconcilable that formidable schism which, even at the present day, still divides the Moslem world, and which, at all periods, has been a source of calamity to Islam.

2. Yazīd had not his father's genius. Passionately fond of pleasure, and careless about religion, he bestowed more care on turning a pretty couplet than on consolidating the strength of his empire. During his short reign he committed three actions for which Moslems never pardoned his memory: the murder of Hosain, son of 'Alī and grandson of the Prophet; the pillage of Medina; and the taking of the Ka'ba, the venerated temple of Mecca, crimes which were not redeemed in the eyes of the people by a few fortunate expeditions on the part of his generals.¹

Immediately on ascending the throne, in the month Rajab A.H. 60 (April, A.D. 680), Yazīd sent a circular to all his prefects, with an official announcement of his father's death, and an order to administer the oath of allegiance to their respective subjects. In particular, he charged the new prefect whom he appointed to Medina, his own cousin Walīd b. 'Otba, to strike off the heads of Hosain son of 'Alī, 'Abd al-Rahmān son of Abūbekr, 'Abdallāh son of 'Omar, and 'Abdallāh son of Zobair, if they again refused to acknowledge him. Terrified at such a commission, Walīd did not dare to act with rigour against Hosain and 'Abdallāh b. Zobair, both of whom refused to take the oath, but allowed them to escape to Mecca. Yazīd immediately deprived him of his office, and appointed in his place 'Amr b. Sa'd, already governor of Mecca. Once in the Holy City, 'Abdallāh b. Zobair thought himself in such perfect safety that he began to intrigue with the Meccans to have himself proclaimed Caliph in Arabia. At Cufa the news of the flight of Hosain produced great agitation among the partisans of the family of 'Alī, who were numerous there, and they sent several addresses to the grandson of the Prophet, inviting him to take refuge with them, and promising to have him proclaimed Caliph in Irāk. Hosain, who knew the feckleness of the people of Irāk, hesitated to yield to their entreaties, but Ibn Zobair, who was desirous to get rid at all costs of so formidable a rival, persuaded him that he ought to go and put himself at the head of the people of Irāk, and enter on an open struggle with Yazīd. Hosain began by sending his cousin Moslim b. 'Aqlī to Cufa, and from him he learned that many of the inhabitants of that city appeared really decided to support him. The prefect of Cufa, No'mān b. Bashīr, though apprised of these proceedings, did not choose to make them known to Yazīd, as he was reluctant to act with severity against a descendant of the Prophet. Information, however, reached the Caliph, who deprived No'mān of his office, and ordered

¹ Salam b. Ziyād invaded Sogdiana, and brought back immense booty to Merv. In Africa 'Okba b. Nāfi' invaded the whole coast of the Mediterranean as far as Morocco. On his return, however, he fell into an ambuscade laid by the Berbers, who killed him and took Kairawān.