

THE CITY-STATE OF MECCA*

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*"In all ages and areas, from ancient Egypt to modern America, the highest development of human mentality, initiative and achievement has been in urban communities. So long as men remained in the pastoral or agricultural stages there was little stimulus to the differentiation of economic functions, the entire energies of men were absorbed in the task of raising the food supply. But with the city came the division of labour and possibilities for economic surplus, hence wealth, leisure, education, intellectual advance and the development of the arts and sciences."*¹

THE OBJECT of this paper is simply to draw the attention of the learned world to a rich field for investigation which has till now been almost neglected. The astonishingly rapid expansion of Islam and the extraordinarily capable statesmen which at the very outset the uncultured and unlettered city of Mecca produced are facts which must have some background. Napoleon had remarked that the secret of the valour of the Arab Muslims perhaps lay in their long internecine feuds of pre-Islamic days which formed their character.² In a public lecture delivered in 1935 at the Sorbonne, Paris, I had emphasised that Arabia had already federated economically on the eve of Islam through its periodical fairs and the highly developed system of escorts of caravans. Obviously this economic federation, coupled with the fact of their speaking a common language, consulting the same oracles and worshipping gods in common, and to a great extent, observing the same customs, must have greatly prepared the ground for the political unification which Islam later achieved so rapidly in the anarchic peninsula of Arabia. Now I propound here another thesis, that the citizens of Mecca had developed a sound and progressive constitution for their city-state long before Islam and had thereby received the necessary training for the administration of the future Arab (Muslim) empire which expanded within the short span of 20 years from the small city-state of Medina and embraced the vast territories of the Persian and Byzantine Empires

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1. Encyclopaedia of Social s. v. City, by William B. Munro.

2. Mémorial di Sainte Hélène III 183

and others in three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe. As for Europe it is recorded that in 647/27 H. in the time of Hazrat 'Uthmân, the Muslim armies penetrated into Spain and remained there till Ṭâriq appeared many generations later to complete the conquest.¹

The study of the city-state of Arabia has not yet been taken up seriously. For this purpose I could have selected any city other than Mecca, for instance, Ṭâ'if, Dûmatuljandal, Taima', Saba', Aden, Şuhâr etc. But for me the choice of Mecca was determined by several reasons. Our knowledge about Mecca is surer and ampler than that about other cities. Mecca was the cradle of Islam. It was here that the Prophet Mohammed was born and brought up. It was here that the major portion of his missionary life was also spent. It was here that almost all the prominent figures of the first Muslim Empire were born and bred. Again it was the possession of this city that was coveted by all the three contemporary neighbouring empires, Byzantium, Persia and Abyssinia, and to believe the author of the *Kitâbuttîjân*, even Alexander the *Bicorned*² thought it important enough to pay a visit to its sanctuary, the Ka'bah.³

As for Byzantium, from the time of Aellius Gallus down to Nero all the emperors cherished the desire of extending their influence to the important station of Mecca and made tentative efforts in this direction.⁴ According to Ibn Qutaibah,⁵ the Byzantine Emperor helped Quşaiy in his attempt to capture the city of Mecca. But later, Quşaiy seems to have become independent and neglected Byzantine interests. So, some generations later, when a Meccan, 'Uthmân ibn al-Huwairith of the clan of Asad, embraced Christianity, the Emperor put a crown on his head and sent him to Mecca with a Ukase ordering the Meccans to accept him as their king. 'Uthmân was in a very favourable position, since the Meccans, who were largely dependent upon the Byzantine provinces of Palestine and Syria for their victuals and for their trade, could not disregard the Imperial Ukase. But at the last moment, a kinsman of 'Uthmân himself harangued the mass meeting of the Meccans and protested against and ridiculed the impossible innovation of aristocracy and kingship for the free citizens of Mecca. 'Uthmân was disgusted and returned to Syria. The Emperor retaliated by closing the routes of his dominions to Meccans and imprisoned those who sojourn-

1. Ṭabarîy, *Annales*, I, p. 2817; of Gibbon, *Decline & Fall*, V, p. 555 (Oxf. Univ.)

2. I think, the appellation of Dhu'l-qarnain (bicorned or two-horned) for Alexander the Great, had been suggested to the Arabs by the national head-dress of the Macedonians. In 1935, when King Alexander of Yugoslavia was assassinated in Marseilles, his *bicorn* was among the many relics and ornaments which were placed, in state, by the side of the body of the dead king. Cf. also Balâdhurîy, *Futûḥ* (ed. Egypt) p. 51 for the expression "the horned Romans" (ar-rûm dhât al-qurûn).

3. Cf. also 'Ainiy, *Commentary of Bukhârîy*, vol. VII. 365; Azraqîy, *in loco*.

4. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, p. 239. 234.

5. *Al-Ma'ârif*, p. 313 (ed. Europe).

ed there at that time.¹ This happened probably after the Emperor had given the charter of permission to Hashim to come to Syria and had given a letter to the name of the Negus, recommending him to open his country to the Meccan caravans.² The Emperor could not push further his designs as the way with Iran had begun. Al-Wāḥidiy in his *Asbābunnuzūl*³ records that the Medinite Abū-ʿĀmir Rāhib also used to threaten that he would bring in the armies of the Emperor.

As for the Persians, after their conquest of Yeman, they began to believe that Mecca had automatically come under their influence. Hence the order of the Chosroes to his governor of Yeman to command the Prophet to go over to Iran to see the Emperor. If the Prophet did not obey the order, he was to be arrested and sent to Ctesiphon.⁴

The Abyssinians had actually undertaken an expedition⁵ under Abraha with his famous elephant Maḥmūd⁶ (mammoth?).

The evidence of many Meccan and other Arab notables having been received by the emperors of Byzantium, of Iran, of Abyssinia etc. also tend to prove that these emperors wished to extend their influence in the interior of the desert Peninsula through pacific means.

TOPOGRAPHICAL

THE NORTHERN and western Arabia is generally barren and desert. A small oasis with a spring is a sufficient attraction for men to settle down there. If it happens to be on any of the main trade-routes, as Mecca was, it becomes much easier to have there a fixed population. Mecca already existed at the time of Abraham who is said to have visited it, and the author of *Aghānī*⁷ assures us that there existed in the valley where Mecca is situated dense forests and good pastures. Quṣaiy, an ancestor of the Prophet, had hewed down⁸ a large number of trees in order to make room for the houses which he and his tribesmen constructed around the sanctuary of *Ka'bah*. And there is evidence in other periods to the same effect.⁹ Even today the Boahirs' lodge at

1. Al-Fāṣiṭy, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 144; as-Suhailiy, *Rawḍ'ul-unf* I, 146; Lammens, *La-Mecque*, p. 267. Sprenger, *Das Leben u die Lehre des Mohammed*, I, 89-90

2. Ya'qūbiy, I, 280; Ṭabariy, p. 1089; Ibn Sa'd, I/1, p. 43, 45, *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. 'ilat'; Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 128, etc

3. p. 195.

4. Ṭabariy, p. 1572 ff

5. See Conti Rossini for Abyssinian Wars in Arabia in J.A., 1911, pp. 5-36 and R. S. O., IX, 378 ff; *La Mecque*, p. 280 ff.

6. Ibn Hishām, p. 29 ff.

7. Vol. XIII, 108; cf. Azraqiy, p. 47.

8. Ibn Hishām, p. 80; Qutbuddīn, *I'lam bi-a'lam balad' allāh al-ḥaram*, p. 34; Ṭabariy, p. 1097.

9. Regarding the Jurhumite time, see Azraqiy, *Akhbār Makkah*, p. 47.

Mecca is more like a palace on the Malabar Hill, Bombay, than as a building in the *wādi ghair dhi zar'*¹ where it is situated. It was an important junction of the trade-routes to Syria, Yeman, Ṭā'if, and Najd, situated near the spring of Zamzam and protected on all sides by high and impregnable mountains. Its early history is obscure. Its political life we shall discuss in the next section. Certain peculiarities of town-planning may be dealt with here.

Like the *polis* and *asty* (or *high* and *low* towns) of the Greek cities, Mecca had also been divided from time immemorial into *Ma'lāt* and *Masfalah*, a division which has persisted to this day. In the remoter antiquity, *Bakkah* and *Makkah* seem to have been the terms in vogue. In his classical history of Mecca al-Azraqiy quotes² that "Bakkah is the place where the sanctuary is situated and Makkah is the city". The Quran confirms this indirectly when it says "the first sanctuary erected for the people is the one situated in Bakkah",³ and again, "It was He Himself who prevented them from attacking you and prevented you from attacking them in the valley of Makkah."⁴ The terms *two Meccas*⁵ and *two cities*⁶ used in Ibn Hishām and in the Quran respectively, to denote the sister cites of Mecca and Ṭā'if, also suggest the same thing.

Naturally the aristocracy lived in the *ma'lāt* or the acropolis where also the sanctuary and the graveyard were, and are, situated. We know for certain⁷ that when Quṣaiy took possession of Mecca, he transferred all his kinsmen from the *ẓwāhir* (suburbs) to the *baṭ'hā'* (the centre or the heart of the city). And *vis-a-vis* the sanctuary was erected the house containing the council hall of (*darunnadwah*).⁸ The temple had become a pantheon containing 360⁹ idols of various tribes and clans. The *Lāt* and *'Uzzā* were originally the deities of Ṭā'if and Nakhlah respectively¹⁰ but their duplicates were placed around the Ka'bah and were venerated by the Meccans as well.¹¹ Again, like all Greek towns,¹² Mecca too had its

1. Quran, 14 : 37

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 196, l. 12 ('*Bakkah mawḍi' al-bait wa Makkah al-qaryah*').

3. 3 : 96.

4. 48 : 24

5. (*Mukḥḥatam*). cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 121, 519

6. (*Qaryatam*), cf. Quran, 43 : 30. See also Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, p. 291, Balādhurī (*ansāb?*) p. 34, 37 (cited by Lammens).

7. Ibn Hishām, p. 80.

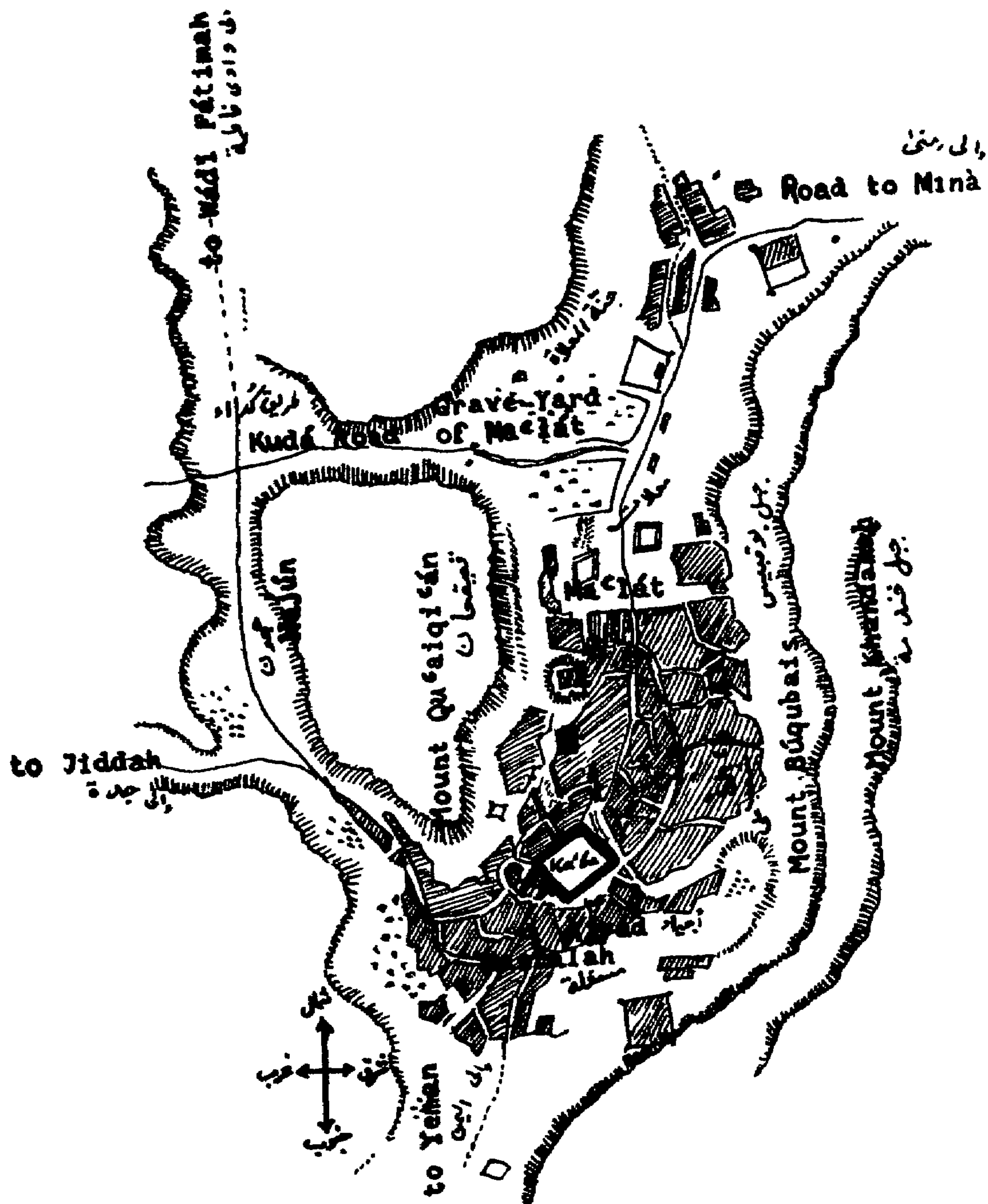
8. Qutbuddīn, *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

9. Azraqiy, p. 75-76; A'ū Nu'aim *al-Muntaqā*, (Ms. Bazm Adab, Hyderabad - Dn), fol 205b-206a.

10. Ibn Hishām p. 55, Kalbī, *al-Asnām*, *in loco*

11. These must have been small transportable idols since Abū Sufyān was carrying them at the battle of Uḥud, Ṭabarī, p. 1395; *Aghāni*, XIV, 15.

12. Cf. Phillipson, *International Law and Custom in Ancient Greece and Rome*, I, 28; Warde Fowler, *City State*, *in loco*; Halliday, *History of the World* ed. Hammerton, Ch. Greek City States, p. 1107.



MAP OF MECCA

surrounding territory, called *ḥaram*, extending roughly to 125 sq. miles.¹ Islam later extended the area of *ḥaram* and the limits in each direction are called *miqāt*. We do not know if there were in Mecca the necessary forum, race-course, mobilisation ground and reserve pastures, of the existence of which at Medina and other cities there is plenty of evidence.

Prof. Halliday in his interesting article on the Greek city-states observes:²

"After the turmoil of the ages of migration had subsided there was a change from a normal state of war to one of cosmopolitan peace and from a wandering to a settled life.

"But how these cities came into being? The earliest settlements were undoubtedly in villages . . . But in general a group of villages found it convenient to fortify some hill or strongly defensible position in the plane, to the shelter of which their women and cattle might be sent when their neighbours crossed the mountain on a summer raid . . . In this stronghold was usually placed the temple of the god and the palace of the king.

"A natural tendency then arose for the commonalty to leave their villages for dwelling near the city of refuge, and from there to go out daily to their fields; while the nobles found it convenient to establish themselves round the king and the centre of the Government. In this way a lower town (*asty* is the Greek word) developed round the citadel or 'polis'. In course of time a wall of fortification was erected round the *asty*."

Mutatis mutandis this is true of the Hedjaz also.

Mecca is situated in a deep valley surrounded by high and impregnable mountains. There is only one high way passing through the city and two byeways approaching the city.³ The people did not need to bother much about a wall of fortification. We read, however, in Qutbuddin's history of Mecca:—⁴

"that in ancient times Mecca had walls of fortification. So, in the direction of the *ma'lāt* there was a wide wall between the mountain of 'Abdullāh-ibn-'Umar and the mountain opposite to it. There was a gate there with iron plates which the king of India had presented to the prince of Mecca . . . And there was another wall in the direction of *masfalah* in the street called *Darbulyaman* . . . At-Taḳīy al-Fāṣīy has mentioned: 'that there was a wall in the higher town besides the one mentioned . . . and I do not know when these walls of Mecca were cons-

1. Calculated from the delimitation of the Ḥaram as given by Azrāqīy, (p. 360-61). Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khaḍrāwīy, *al-'Iqd ath-thamīn fī faḍā'il al-balad al-amīn*, (p. 13 ed. Cairo, 1290) and others.

2. Halliday, *Op. cit.*, p. 1110

3. *Mir'āt al-ḥaramam*, I, 178 See also any map of the city of Mecca.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

tructed nor who constructed them nor who repaired them' And I have seen" continues Qutbuddin, "in some histories to the effect that there existed a wall in the time of the Abbasid caliph al-Muqtadir".

These must have been the renewals of ancient, crude fortifications of pre-Islamic days.

The finest esplanade has from the very beginning been reserved for the sanctuary-edifice, and the Arab authors¹ assure us that the ancient inhabitants of this valley were so superstitious that they would not construct any house near the House of God. They preferred to live in the suburbs, and around the Sanctuary they had only tents. It was Quṣaiy, they say, who first thought of erecting dwelling houses around the sanctuary, and in order to reconcile the populace to this innovation, he pointed out:—

"If you will live around the Sanctuary people will have fear of you and will not permit themselves to fight you or attack you." And moreover, Quṣaiy began himself and constructed the council hall of *dārunnadwah* in the north side... and it is said that it was situated where there is the Ḥanafī-Muṣallā today, wherefrom the Ḥanafī Imam conducts the five daily services."

"The lands on the remaining three sides of the sanctuary were distributed by him among the Quraishite tribes where they constructed their dwelling houses."³

POLITICAL

QUṢAIY had married the daughter of the Jurhumite chieftain of Mecca. Hence his claims to the chieftainship after the former's death. His relatives of the tribe of Quḍā'ah as well as his partisans in the city helped him; and if we believe Ibn Qutaibah,⁴ even the Byzantine emperor aided Quṣaiy in his enterprise, obviously to extend the imperial authority as far into the interior as possible, in order to assure the security of the overland trade-route to and from India.

Quṣaiy⁵ must have inherited many political institutions, such as the guardianship of the sanctuary of Ka'bah. No wonder if this man of genius himself created some new institutions to secure and to improve his position. It will, however, be difficult to ascertain how many of the ten⁶ public offices which became prominent in the time of Quṣaiy were

1. Ṭabariy, p. 1097; Qutbuddin, *Op cit.*, p. 34.

2. Cf. Quran 29 : 67, "Do they not see that We have made [of Mecca] an inviolable and secure asylum, while men are spoiled in the territories round about them."

3. Qutbuddin, p. 34.

4. *al-Ma'ārif*, p. 313.

5. Cf. on him Martin Hatmann's article in the *Z. F. Assyriologie*, XXVII, p. 43—49.

6. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'iqd al-farid*, II, 45-46, Zuhair ibn Bakkar, *Ansāb quraish* (Ms. of Istanbul) cited by Lammens, *Triumvirat*, p. 114

ancient institutions and what reforms were due to the genius of this brilliant and truly great chieftain. The erection of a Council Hall (*dārunnadwah*)¹ as well as the imposition of an annual tax, called *rafādah*, are expressly attributed to Quṣaiy. We also know that the institutions of *Nasi' Ijāzah* and *ifādah* were left in the hands of ancient families.² Generally, however, only six offices are mentioned as having been in charge of Quṣaiy³ and they were the more important and lucrative ones.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi⁴ and other authors mention, as just remarked, that there were ten public offices held hereditarily by ten clans of the Quraishites of Mecca. They may have been originally only ten, as was the case in Venice and Palmyra. Citing Chabot⁵, Lammens⁶ remarks:—

"... un Conseil des Dix, composé des chefs des dix familles principales. Ce Conseil de Dix, l'épigraphie nous en révèle l'existence et le fonctionnement à Palmyre, à côté d'un sénat avec son président et son secrétaire. Conseil et Sénat légifèrent, contrôlent l'exécution des lois fiscales, édictent, au besoin, des pénalités."

And adds:—

"Ce serait peine perdue de chercher les traces d'une organisation analogue à la Mecque."

In fact, we find many more than ten institutions, reference to which one can glean from the pages of Arabic authors. Although Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi himself expressly mentions that there were only ten chiefs, yet he enumerates 17 functions and ascribes more than one function to several of the said ten holders of offices. To these, four or five more can easily be added from available sources. This is a list of them:

Nadwah, mashûrah, qiyâdah, sadânah, hijâbah, siqâyah, 'imâratulbait, ifādah, ijāzah, nasi', qubbah, a'innah, rafādah, amwâl muḥajjarah, aysâr, ashnâq, hukûmah, sifârah, 'uqâb, liwâ', ḥulwân-un-nafr.

Leaving aside the vexed question of the Council of Ten, I would rather try to explain in my own way the political structure and the working of the constitution of the city-state of Mecca.

To begin with, the community or the population was termed "*Jamâ'ah*,"⁷ a word retained by the Prophet in order to designate and distinguish his adherents from others, as his epistle to the prefect of Bahrain⁸ also testifies. The word *millat*,⁹ however, had a sense more

1. Ibn Hishâm, p. 80, 83; Ṭabariy, p. 1099; Ibn Sa'd, 1/1, p. 41; Geog. of Yâqût, s.v. Makkah; *Akhbâr Makkah*, ed. Wüstenfeld, IV, p. 31-32.

2. Ṭabariy, p. 1134; Ibn Hishâm, p. 66, 67, 77, 78.

3. Azraqiy, p. 66 (umûr sittah).

4. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Op. cit.*, II, p. 45-46.

5. *Choix des Inscriptions de Palmyre*, 24, etc.

6. *La Mecque*, p. 69.

7. Wâqidîy, p. 59, l. 3.

8. Ibn Sa'd, 2/1, p. 27; cf. Hamîdullah, *Corpus des Traités*, No. 55; idem *Documents sur la Diplomatie musulmane*, p. 74.

9. Cf. Quran, 2 : 130; 3 : 95; 4 : 125; etc.

religious than political. The word *qawm* has been used in the Quran¹ in a meaning wider than the general body of voters. Those who possessed the right of vote and a voice in the public deliberations are always termed as *mala'*.² It is only with the *trâdi* (consent) of the *mala'* that the local potentate could act. The Quran has also employed the word in this sense.³ The Quran in mentioning the *mala'* of Pharoah always excludes the Israelites who had no franchise. The king of Egypt in the time of Joseph and the queen of Sheba both had, according to the Quran,⁴ their respective *mala'* for consultation. They are the *ûlû quwah* and *ahl-ul-hall wa al-'aqd*, and they interfere if anything goes wrong.⁵ The same is reported to have been the case in Palmyra.⁶ This Senate house of Mecca was a council of elders only, since al-Azraqiy⁷ and Ibn Duraid⁸ assure us that only the quadra generian citizens of Mecca could attend a meeting of the *dârunnadwah*. The sons of the chieftain Quṣaiy, however, were privileged to be exempt from this age limit.⁹ It is probably of this age of franchise that we have a souvenir in the Quranic Verse¹⁰ *hattâ idhâ balagha ashuddahu wa balagha arba'ina sanatan*. In later times more liberal concessions seem to have been in vogue and we hear, for instance, that Abu-Jahl was admitted therein although he was only thirty years of age and this franchise of his was on account of his wise council (*lijûdi ra'yihî*)¹¹, and Hakîm Ibn Hizâm was admitted when he was only 15 or 20 years old.¹² The Council of Elders in Sparta was in fact a council of elderly people, and none under sixty years¹³ of age could be a member of the local Gerousia.¹⁴

Prior to Quṣaiy, the Meccans must have deliberated in the open forum or the tent of their chieftain. Anyhow it remained for Quṣaiy to erect a special hall for the meetings of the city-council and to name it *dârun-nadwah*, a word which has also been commemorated by Ḥassân ibn Thâbit¹⁵, the poet-laureate of the Prophet. It was situated a few yards to the North of Ka'bah but it has since been demolished in order

1. Quran, 7 : 60, 66, 109, 127, 11 : 27, 37; 23 : 24, 33; etc.

2. Quran, 2 : 246, 28 : 20; etc.

3. Quran, 2 : 233; 4 : 29.

4. Quran, 12 : 43; 27 : 29, 32.

5. Al-Fâsiy, p. 109.

6. Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 79.

7. *Op cit*, 64, 65, 465.

8. *Ishtiqâq*, p. 97.

9. Azraqiy, p. 64, 65, 465.

10. Quran, 46 : 15.

11. Ibn Duraid, *Op cit.*, p. 97, l. 6.

12. Ibn 'Asâkir, IV, 419, l. 2.

13. Cf. the Hindustani expression "a youngster of sixty" (*saiha paṭha*)

14. Plutarch's *Lives*, *Lycurgus*, Warde Fowler, p. 71, n. 2.

15. *Diwân*, No. 145, 183.

to extend the mosque of the *Haram* around the Ka'bah. Naturally the Council did not meet at regular intervals but only as occasion required.¹

It was here that the consultations were held and wars declared or defensive measures discussed.² It was here again that marriages were celebrated and treaties of commerce concluded.³ Foreign guests were also entertained here.⁴ Like the aborigines of Nilgiris,⁵ the pre-Islamic Meccans also performed a particular ceremony when a girl reached her puberty, and clad her in the gown of grown up women (*dirc*). This also was done in the *darun-nadwah*.⁶

Apart from this central municipal council, there were as many ward councils or communes as there were tribes or clans in the municipal area. These were called *nâdî*,⁷ corresponding to the *saqifah* of Medinite tribes. The *dârun-nadwah* was the "*nâdî*" *par excellence*, a common and central *nâdî* for all the local tribes. And in fact the famous traditionist and lexicographer Abû-'Ubaid⁸ derives *nadwah* and *nâdî*, both, from the same root *nadâ*. The Quran also immortalises this *nâdî* by its "*fal-yad'u nâdiyahu*"⁹ and "*ta'tûn fî nâdikum al-munkar*"¹⁰. It was in these family-circles or clubs that foreigners were affiliated to the family¹¹ and also the ex-communication (*ṭard* or *khal'*) of some hot-headed culprit was proclaimed.¹² It was here that family-members and casual visitors sometimes assembled for hearing night-tales (*musâmarah*).¹³ Commercial transactions were done here, and here was the starting point and the goal of caravans.

Regarding Athens we read the following in Jowett's *Thucydides*:¹⁴

"In the days of Cercrops and the first kings, down to the reign of Theseus, Athens was divided into communes, having their own town-halls and magistrates. Except in case of alarm the whole population did not assemble in Council under the king but administered their own affairs and advised together in their several townships.

In Mecca there were professional heralds (called *munâdî* and also *mu'adhdhin*,—(*mu'adhdhin* being retained up to this day, in the original

1. Ibn Duraid, p. 97

2. As an instance, the plan to murder the Prophet which led to his migration to Medina.

3. Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 72.

4. Wâqidîy, ed von Kremer, p. 23.

5. Hamîdullah, *Nilgiri*, p. 26 (ed Hyderabad).

6. Ibn Hishâm, p. 80.

7. For a description, see Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 88 etc.

8. *Gharîb al-hadith*, fol 191a (cited in *La Mecque*, p. 73.)

9. Quran. 96 . 17.

10. Quran. 29 . 29.

11. Ibn Hishâm, p. 243, 246; *Aghânî*, XIV, 99.

12. *Aghânî*, VIII, 52, 53.

13. Azraqîy, p. 376; *La Mecque*, p. 88 ff n. 8; *Aghânî*, XIII, 112.

14. Vol. I. 104 (cited by Warde Fowler, p. 48-49).

sense, among the Syrian nomads,)¹—to call the meeting.² Each tribal chief had his particular *munādī* or *munādīs*.³ These heralds were used not only for emergency meetings but also for inviting to feasts and for making known the banishment of some member of a family. Non-professional heralds and even foreigners could call for the emergency meeting, and for that purpose they used to put off their clothes and cry completely naked. The Arabists know them very well by the common term *an-nadhīr al 'uryān*.

Qusā'iy is represented as a veritable monarch, an autocrat and a supreme chief of the whole city. His word was law,⁴ and he was gratefully remembered by posterity for uniting the tribes of Quraish, and converting them into the elite of the city, hence his sobriquet of *Mujammi*⁵ (one who unites). After the death of Qusā'iy, however, an oligarchy ensued because Qusā'iy, himself had distributed his several offices among his several sons⁶, and probably this was the origin of the reputed Council of Ten⁷ at the dawn of Islam. Who do not deny the possibility of Qusā'iy's exercising the supreme authority, nobody challenging him owing to the great deeds he had performed. Yet in later times, terms like *saiyid-un-nās*⁸ etc., should not mislead us to take them in the sense of "doge" of Venice renown. The office of *qiyādah*⁹ in Mecca is to me of dubious character. The brilliant sketch of Wellhausen on *Ein Gemeinwesen ohne Obrigkeit* also inclines to arrive at the same conclusion. Yes, there was a marked tendency in various parts of Arabia towards monarchy. As already said, 'Uthmān ibn al-Huwairith had attempted it in Mecca.¹⁰ In Medina 'Abdullāh ibn Uba'iy ibn Salūl was to be crowned king (*liyutawwijūhu*) as Ibn Hisham¹¹, al-Bukhārī¹², and at-Ṭabariy¹³ have recorded, when the immigration of the Prophet to Medina changed the idea of his partisans. Sprenger¹⁴ believes that:—

"Schon in ihrem wilden Zustande also haben diese Leute monarchische Ueberzeugungen."

1. Cf. *La Mecque*, p. 160. n. 3.

2. The word was used even as late as the year 9 H., cf. Abū 'Uba'id, *kitāb al-amwāl*, section 445

3. Ya'qūbiy, I, 281 (l. 14), 290, 292; cf. Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 64-65; idem, *Berceau*, 229; Aghānī, XI, 65, l. 5; Ibn Duraid, p. 94; *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Thorbecke, 2/2.

4. Ibn Hishām, p. 84.

5. Ṭabariy, p. 1095; Ibn Hishām, p. 80

6. Mas'ūdīy, *Tanbīh*, p. 293.

7. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, p. 45; Mas'ūdīy, *Murūj*, III, 119-20, IV, 121

8. Azraqīy, p. 64; *La Mecque*, p. 69

9. Azraqīy, p. 64.

10. Suhailiy, I, 146. Cf. *supra*.

11. p. 727; cf. *Quran*, 63 : 8 in any commentary.

12. *Saḥīh* of Bukhārī, 79 : 20.

13. p. 1511 ff.

14. *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, I, 249.

RELIGIOUS

THE MOST important civil function in those days of self-help was the administration of the temple. With this are connected the offices of *sadānah*, *hijābah*, *siqāyah* and *'imārat'ul bait*. Again, the offices of *aysār* and *azlām* remind us of Greek oracles of the temples of Delphy and others. Similarly there were individuals pretending to possess supernatural powers like *'ā'if*, *kāhin*, *'arrāf*, *khirrūt*, *munajjim* and even a certain number of those called *shā'ir* or poet. People also believed in the *Hâtif* or the unseen talker. One met there also with sacrifices (*qurbân*).

Sadānah (administration of the sanctuary) and *hijābah* (gate-keeper of the temple) also meant the possession of the key of the door of the sanctuary-edifice and the exclusive power of letting devotees inside the sacred edifice, which was a source of income to the officer concerned. It is well-known how Quṣa'iy bought the office of the gate-keeper for a bagful of wine¹ and how the Prophet returned the key to the head of the old family entitled to its possession.²

The offices of *siqāyah* (supplying water) and *'imāratul-bait* (keeper of the temple) are taken notice of by the Quran³ also. Supplying the pilgrims with water must have been a lucrative job in Mecca where water is so scarce and the sacred water of Zamzam was required by every pilgrim. In Palmyra a similar office brought in annually the considerable sum of 800 gold-dinars.⁴ Probably the citizens and other inhabitants of Mecca were exempt from paying any fee in this connection. The office of *'imārah* (keeper) meant, according to Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, to make casual rounds and see that the sanctity of the temple was not violated by abusive talks and quarrels and loud speaking. Al-'Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet, attended to that function.⁵

I do not know if the pre-Islamic Ḥajj consisted of as many rituals as they are to-day and whether certain acts are not amalgamated which had formerly separate existence and had nothing to do with the cult of the Ka'bah. It is noteworthy that in the Quran⁶ the same verb has been employed both in connection with the Ka'bah and the hillocks Ṣafā and Marwah: يطوفنهما — يطوفوا بالبيت العتيق Still, a circumambulation is observed regarding the Ka'bah and only a walking to and fro (between those two hills). In connection with Ḥajj, the offices of *ijāzah* and *ifādah*,⁷

1. Ṭabariy, chapter Quṣa'iy.

2 See any biography of the Prophet, conquest of Mecca

3 Quran, 9 . 19.

4. Chabor, p. 30 (cited in *La Mecque*)

5. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 46

6 Quran, 2 . 158, 22 : 29.

7. Ibn Hishām, p. 76 ff.

also had a certain importance and gave the privilege of first departure to certain families. But I will dwell more on the institution of *nasi'* or intercalation.¹

Even in the primitive conditions of their civilization the Meccans of pre-Islamic times had known the inequalities and differences between the lunar and solar years. So, with a rough calculation, every third year an extra month was added to the usual twelve months and this month was intercalated between Muharram and Safar, and declared with ceremony, by the office-bearer who always belonged to the family of Banu Fuqaim and was called Qalammas² or Qalanbas³.

Intercalation brings us to *ashhur-hurum* or the months of the "truce of God". As customary at all such places, the pilgrimage to the sanctuary of Ka'bah during fixed time of the year was also the occasion for considerable commercial activity, as the influx of the pilgrims demanded more imports of victuals, and the new-comers also carried on private business. Thus the trade in goods made the pilgrimage also a fair. The Quran⁴ also sanctions the continuation of the custom in the verse: *ايس عليكم جناح ان تبتغوا فضلا من ربكم* As this periodical fair brought large sums in the form of *'Ushr* or tithes of the chieftain in possession of the site of the fair, he employed all possible means, including the well-developed system of escorts, to induce foreigners to come over there in larger and larger numbers. The institution of *ashhur-hurum* or months of general truce owes its origin to the same need of attracting foreigners and customers. The longest period of these *ashhur-hurum*, known to Arabian history was of three months and was connected and made to coincide with the hajj of Ka'bah.⁵ This clearly shows, in spite of the persistent and repeated denial of Lammens⁶ and his partisans, the great importance of this fair which was attended by people from all parts of Arabia and even Syria and Egypt.⁷ Incidentally it may be mentioned that certain privileged families of the Quraishites enjoyed this truce of God for eight months consecutively and it was referred to in history as *basl*.⁸ It is to be noted that this was a personal privilege

1. For its practical bearing on the history of the time of the Prophet, see my paper in the Proceedings of the second session of the Idara Ma'arif Islamiya, Lahore. For a general treatment of the subject see the thesis of Mahmoud Effendi (later M. Pacha Falaki) in J. A., 1885, pp. 109—92 (also Arabic version), "Mémoire sur le calendrier arabe". Axel Moberg's recent monograph *An-Nasi' in der Islamischen Tradition* is useful for the references of the literature.

2. Qalammas is generally given as the title of the individual who first introduced intercalation in Arabia, but have also come across the plural form *qalamisah*.

3. A synonym, cf. *Lisan*

4. Quran, 2 : 198.

5. See also the commentaries of the Quranic verse 9 : 36.

6. Specially in his monographie *L'Organisation militaire de la Mecque*, J. A., 1916.

7. Azraqly, p. 107; Ibn Hisham, p. 282; Ibn Sa'd, 1/1, p. 145.

8. Ibn Hisham, p. 66; cf. *Qamūs*, s. v. BSL.

and the general people could not enjoy its protection. Anyhow it shows a marked tendency in the country towards general pacification instead of *bellum omnium contra omnes*.

It was certainly unfortunate though perhaps not intentional, that every three years the Qalammas proclaimed in the month of hajj (Dhul-hijjah) that the next month would not be the sacred month Muharram but that it would be a profane month during which the Bedouins were not bound to observe the truce. The continuity of the three consecutive months of truce was therewith broken, and the result was that hardships were caused to those intending early departure.

The Meccans recognised a truce for three consecutive months and one stray month, viz. Dhul-qa'dah, Dhul-hijjah and Muharram for the Hajj-Akbar of the Ka'bah and 'Arafât;¹ and Rajab for the celebration of the Hajj-Asghar or 'Umrah² of the Ka'bah. The Quraishite influence was responsible for an almost universal respect of this "truce of God" in Arabia. There were other truces connected with other localities and other fairs and hence the famous expression of the "Rajab of the Mudarite tribes" occurring in the oration of the Prophet on the occasion of his last pilgrimage,³ as contradistinguished from the "Rajab of the Rabī'ah tribes". These non-Quraishite truces were less rigorously observed. As remarked just now, the Quraishite truces were universally observed except by the two professionally bandit tribes of Ṭay' and Khath'am.⁴ This was certainly due to the extensive commercial relations of the Quraishites and their wide spread alliances. In this connection, it may be interesting to read a paragraph from the very important work of Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245 H.) which has not yet been edited and of which there is a unique manuscript in the British Museum, I mean the *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*.⁵

"Every trader who set out from Yeman or Hedjaz (for Dūmatul-jandal in the extreme North of Arabia), acquired the services of the Quraishite escort as long as he travelled in the country inhabited by the Mudarite tribes, since no Mudarite nor ally of the Mudarites harassed the Quraishite traders. So, the Kalbites never harassed them as they were allied to the Banu al-Jusham, and the Ṭay'ites also never harassed them on account of their alliance with the Banu Asad."

It may be recalled that the Ṭay'ites and Khath'amites⁶ did not

1. Cf. the instructions of the Prophet to 'Amr ibn Ḥazm where the terms hajj *akbar* and *asghar* are clearly explained (Ibn Hishām, p. 961; cf. also *Tafsīr Ṭabarīy* for the verse 9 : 3).

2. *Ibid.*

3. See for the complete text, Ibn Hishām, p. 968—70; Ṭabarīy, p. 1753—55; Jāḥiẓ, *al-bayān wa at-tabyīn*, II, 24—26; Ya'qūbiy, II, 122-23; Ibn 'Abd Rabbīhī, chapter *Khuṭub*; etc.

4. Ya'qūbiy, I, 313-14; Marzūqiy, vol. I, 90; II, 166.

5. Chapter '*aswāq al-'arab*', fol. 94—96.

6. No wonder that it was a Khath'amite who consented to serve as a guide for Abraham in his expedition against the Ka'bah, cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbīhī, II, 78.

believe in the truce of God. Our author continues:

"The travellers acquired the services of the escorts of Banu 'Amr ibn Murthid which protected them in the whole of the country inhabited by the tribes of Rabi'ah... When going to al-Mushaqqar in Bahrain the Quraishite escorts were sought... When going to the fair of Maharah in the southern extremity of Arabia, escorts of Banu Muhârib were employed... In the fair of ar-Râbiah in Ḥadramut, the Quraishites were escorted by the Banu Âkil al-murâr and the rest of the people were escorted by the Al-Masrûq of Kindah. It brought glory and eminence to both these tribes, yet the Âkil al-murâr superceded their rivals on account of the patronage of the Quraishites¹... 'Ukaz was the greatest of the Arab fairs and was visited by the tribes of Quraish, Hawâzin, Ghatafân, 'Adl, ad-Dish, al-jabbâr, al-muṣṭaliq, al-Aḥâbish and others."

Although the offices of *qubbah* (canopy) and *a'nnah* (reins of the horse) are explained by later Arab authors² as "pitching a public tent in order to collect donations and contributions for some public emergency" and *hipparch* or "the master of the cavalcade" respectively, yet probably Lammens³ is right when he says that originally *qubbah* meant the sacred canopy sheltering the transportable idols in wars or during festivals. And by the office of the reins, the same author understands the privilege of conducting a horse by its reins when a deity was taken in procession on horseback.

The mention of the sacred canopy is not rare in Arabic literature, and naturally it is difficult to believe that in the primitive Meccan society there could have been two separate offices for the master of the cavalcade and the commander of the rest of the army.⁴ In Islamic times, when many of the rites and rituals of the days of the Jâhiliyah were forgotten owing to their desuetude for centuries, ingenious lexicographers often explained antiquated terms, the signification of which they did not know by the root-meaning, and thus isolated them from their associations. The mastership of the reins was inherited, it is said, by Khâlid ibn al-Walid; this was probably inferred from the fact that it was he who led the Meccan cavalry at the battle of Uḥud.⁵ But excepting at Uḥud the Quraish never used any cavalry worth mentioning

1. Cf. Olinder. *The Kings of Kinda of the family of Âkil al-murâr*, (Lund, 1927)

2. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, II, 45.

3. His monographie "Le culte des Bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites" in "L'Arabie occidentale".

4. Regarding Athens, however, it is recorded that: "There are also ten Taxiarchs, one from each tribe... and each commands his own tribesmen and appoints captains of companies (Lochagi). There are also two Hipparchs, elected by open vote from the whole mass of the citizens, who command the cavalry, each taking five tribes." (*Athenian Constitution* by Aristotle, Eng. trans., p. 112-113).

5. In fact the hipparch of the right flank was Khâlid ibn al-Walid and the left flank was led by 'Ikrimah ibn Abi Jahl. Cf. Ibn Hishâm p. 561.

either in Badr or Khandaq or any other battle, horses always being a luxury for the Arab. Moreover, the offices of canopy and of reins are inseparably connected in literature and entrusted to the custody of the same person,¹ and obviously it is not necessary that the commander of the cavalry alone should be the collector of public subscriptions and vice versa.

FINANCE

THE INGENIUS Quṣa'iy is said² to have found a very good pretext for imposing an annual tax on the people of Mecca by explaining to them the necessity of feeding the poor pilgrims and inviting others to a feast called *ṣanī'ah*, on behalf of the city as was done by various doges in other parts of Arabia.³ The feast was given, and the surplus naturally enriched the coffers of the chief. The family of Nawfal⁴ inherited this privilege from Quṣa'iy and perhaps the richness of Khadijah may partly be attributed to this source. Al-Ya'qūbiy⁵ asserts that when Quṣa'iy had introduced many innovations, like the construction of houses in close proximity to the sanctuary, he suggested this feast to appease the wrath of foreign pilgrims. Anyhow Quṣa'iy retained the custom to his profit and the profit of his successors. This tax was called *rafādah*. Quṣa'iy also exercised the right of escheat on the property of foreigners dying without heirs.⁶

The import-customs,⁷ especially during the fair, have been another great source of income. The Jurhum-Qaṭūrā confederacy of Mecca had divided the city into two spheres of influence, and each of the unit-chiefs could levy the tax on whoever entered from the main entrance situated in his part of the city.⁸ Quṣa'iy needed not this division as he was the sole beneficiary⁹ of this and of course the inhabitants of the city themselves were exempt from this tax.¹⁰ The same was the custom in other cities of Arabia, and generally a tithe was the tariff *ad valorem*.¹¹ A curious incident of free import is mentioned by al-Azraqiy,¹² viz.

1. Ibn Abd Rabbihī, II, 45

2. Ibn Hishām, p. 83; Ṭabariy, p. 1099; Ibn Sa'd, I/1, p. 41; Yāqūt, s. v. Makkah

3. Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *op cit*, fol. 94—96; Marzūqiy, II, 161—66

4. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, II, 45.

5. I. 275-76

6. Balādhuriy, *Ansab* fol. 28a (cited in *La Mecque*, p. 44).

7. Even the pre-historic Amalekites are said to have exercised the same right, in Mecca. Cf. *Manā'ih al-karam*, cited in the *Mir'at al-Haramain*, I, 69.

8. Ibn Hishām, p. 72, Azraqiy, p. 47; Aghānī, XIII, 108.

9. Ibn Sa'd, I/1, p. 39.

10. Ibn Sa'd, I/1, p. 39.

11. Cf. Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb and Marzūqiy are fairs in Arabia

12. p. 106-7

that once when the Ka'bah was burnt and subsequently demolished by a flood, the Meccans bought a ship, wrecked on the port of Shu'aibiyah, and permitted the crew to come to Mecca and sell whatever they had rescued without paying the customary tithes.

Again, the offerings to the sanctuary must have some guardian and in fact we are assured¹ that the Banû-Sahm held this office of the *amwāl muḥajjarah*. Another source of income, but not one of public order, was the compulsory purchase of a suite of garments from some inhabitant of Mecca as only in that dress, or quite naked, could one accomplish the circumambulation of the Ka'bah.² Further, they had developed a system of paying-guests for the foreign pilgrims and took from them some garments or beast of sacrifice; this tax or fee was called *ḥarīm*.³

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

PUBLIC COUNCIL and judiciary must be distinguished from each other. The latter was concerned with crimes and torts only. In Arabia as elsewhere, to rule meant to arbitrate and decide as the very word *ḥakama* signifies.⁴ The chief of each tribe was also its arbiter.⁵ Inter-tribal disputes, however, necessitated recourse to oracles and well-known foreign arbitrators. The *kāhin*, *ḥatīf*, *ʿaʿīf*, *azlām* and *aysār*⁶ remind us of the oracles of Delphi and other Greek temples. There was no common judge for the whole city of Mecca after Quṣaiy, as owing to family jealousies discord reigned, and hence the order of chivalry, the famous *ḥilfulfuḍūl*, was instituted to help the oppressed, be he a citizen or a foreigner arrived within the city-limits.⁷ It could have developed into a fixed and organised institution but presently the Islamic movement began and rendered it superfluous in the face of the well-organised judiciary appointed by the central government embracing the whole of Arabia and southern Palestine in the very time of the Prophet.⁸

The office of *ashnāq* may be mentioned in this connection. It is said that the family of Hazrat Abūbakr held it hereditarily.⁹ It meant¹⁰

1. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, II, 46

2. *Tafsīr* of Ṭabarīy, VIII, 120, commentary of 7 : 31.

3. Ibn Duraid, 171-72.

4. For a detailed description see my article in *Majjālā 'Uthmāniya*, XI.

5. Cf. Ya'qūbiy, I, 300.

6. Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *op cit*, ascribes a whole chapter for the details of the procedure of the Arab oracles.

7. Ibn Hishām, p. 85-86; Suhailiy, I, 90-94; Ibn Sa'd, I/1, p. 41; *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, I, 190.

8. See for details my article in the *Islamic Culture*, April 1937, 'Administration of Justice in early Islam'.

9. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, II, 45.

10. *Ibid*.

that whoever committed a compoundable tort or crime, the officer in charge of *ashnâq* determined the extent and value of the pecuniary liability. The whole city was bound by his calculations, and the family of the culprit subscribed towards the amount. The custom has very clearly been explained in the constitution of the city-state of Medina promulgated by the Prophet soon after his migration to it, and the document containing the said constitution has fortunately come down to us *in toto*.¹ I do not know wherefrom Lammens² has taken the explanation which he ridicules, that the officer in charge of *ahsnâq* paid the blood or compound-money from his private purse.

AMBASSADORSHIP

THE LAST item in civil administration, though by no means the least, was that of the *safîr-munâfir*.³ This is ascribed to Banû 'Adîy, the family of Hazrat 'Umar. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi explains this in a succinct manner:—

“Whenever there was war, they sent 'Umar as their envoy plenipotentiary, and if and when a foreign tribe challenged the priority of the Quraish it was again he who went and replied and the Quraish agreed to whatever he uttered.”⁴

MILITARY

IN CONNECTION with war, our authors mention several hereditary offices. Of these *canopy* and *reins* have already been disposed of. Others are *'uqâb*, *liwâ*, and *hulwân-an-nafr*:

The office of *'uqâb* or standard-bearer is said⁵ to have reposed in the Banû Umaîyah. Apparently this was the office of custodian of the national flag in time of peace, and of unfurling it as a call to mobilisation. For the actual expedition any other person could as well be elected and entrusted with this responsibility.⁶

Our authors⁷ distinguish between the office of *'uqâb* and that of *liwâ* (Banner), but they do not give the difference between them. I have not been able to solve the difficulty, especially as the offices belonged to two different families.

1. Ibn Hishâm, p. 341—44; Abû-'Ubaid, *kitâb al-amwâl*, es 517; Ibn Kathîr, *al-bidâyah*, III, 224—26.

2. *La Mecque*, p. 67-68.

3. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 45.

4. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 45.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi concludes his narrative with the description of a very curious office which is mentioned nowhere else, and says:—¹

"As for the *hulwân'an-nafr* Mobilisation Gratuity, there was no monarchic king over the Arabs (of Mecca) in the Jâhiliyah. So whenever there was a war, they took ballot among the chieftains, and elected one as king, be he a minor or a grown up man. Thus on the day of Fijâr, it was the turn of the Banû Hâshim, and as a result of the ballot al-'Abbâs, who was then a mere child, was elected, and they seated him on the shield.

This is not the place to describe in detail the military organisation² and the laws and practices of the Quraish in time of war and neutrality. I will only make a passing reference to the *mirbâ'* or the fourth part of the booty, the *fudûl* or the undividable fractions, the *nashîṭah* or the captures before the general plunder and the *ṣafîy* or the 'choice' which were the rights and prerogatives of the commander of the tribe in a razzia or other expedition.³ Ra'sulhajar al-Khushaniy al-Qa'qâ' at-Tamîmiy, and Dirâr ibn al-Khaṭṭâb al-Fihriy are mentioned by Ibn Duraid⁴ among those who were entitled to the *mirbâ'* in the Jâhiliyah.

It would exceed the scope of this paper if I were to give in detail all the arguments which Lammens⁵ has put forward in support of his interesting thesis that the Meccans had established and developed a standing army of mercenaries and negro slaves. The article is considerably documented, yet the main purpose of the learned—though unfortunately in the main much prejudiced and unsympathetic—Jesuite Father was professedly to show that the Quraish were a cowardly people who dreaded fighting, and only in order to assure their communications, so essential for the maintenance of their wide commercial interests, they had organised in Mecca a standing army of mercenaries and slaves. A conqueror like Napoleon was astonished at, and had envied,⁶ the military achievements⁷ of these early Meccans, and if a prejudiced Jesuit priest does not like to see any value in the valour of Meccans like Khâlid ibn al-Walîd, Sa'd ibn Abî Waqqâs and Abû 'Ubaidah, it will not be their fault.

SOCIAL

THE GREEKS called the outsiders Barbarians, and the Greek word

1. Idem, p. 46.

2. For certain details see Mas'ûdiy, *Tanbih*, p. 279-80.

3. Marzûqiy, II, 330.

4. *Ishtiqâq*, p. 64, 145, 318.

5. "Les Abâbîsh et l'Organisation militaire de la Mecque au siècle de l'Hégire" in J. A., 1916 or in "L'Arabie occidentale" pp. 273—93.

6. Mémorial de Sainte Hélène, III, 183.

7. See *supra*, introduction.

for enemy actually meant the outsider.¹ The Arabs on the contrary used, while referring to foreigners, the harmless term '*ajamî*', meaning a dumb person, i.e., not possessing the Arab oratory and rhetoric. But everywhere in Arabia as in Greece foreigners sojourned and even became domiciled.

In Greece the resident aliens formed a special class between the slaves and citizens and were called metics.² "The metics enjoyed for themselves and their families all the protective rights held by the citizens; but they could hold none of the state offices, neither could they vote or own real property in the state. They must each have as patron some citizen to stand as surety for their good behaviour. They had to pay a direct metic tax of twelve drachmas for each man, 6 drachmas for each unmarried woman. In other respects they were on a footing of equality with citizens, serving the city-state in its wars and taking part in all public religious festivals."³ The Arab *mawâlî*, especially the Meccan ones, were less harshly treated. There were no special taxes imposed upon them. They enjoyed with their patrons all the civil rights (the client and the patron both being alike termed *mawlâ*) with this obvious limitation that a client could form no new foreign client of his own. He became a full member of the family of his patron and exercised all the privileges of an original tribesman with the exception, however, that he should not accord protection or asylum to a foreigner without the concurrence and assent of his patron.⁴ In fact the Arabs were bent upon Arabicisation⁵ whereas the Greeks were told by their philosophers that Nature intended the foreigners to be the slaves of the Greek.⁶

In Greece "the members of a political group were united primarily by a common ancestry, and a common religion. Society was organised in 'phratriæ' or brotherhoods, that is, in groups of related families, and these 'brotherhoods' were in turn united by a supposed common ancestry in a larger group called 'phyle' or tribe. The bond of blood was reinforced by the bond of religion."⁷

The internal organisation of the Meccans was much more elaborate and complex, owing to the unusual importance attached to geneology in their life. There were '*arîfs*' or the leaders of ten persons (cf. Decurion), and the *qâ'id*s are said to command groups of a hundred (cf. Centurion). Then there were the subdivisions of *qabîlah*, *batn*, *fakhidh*, *sha'b*, etc. described in detail by Wüstenfeld in the preface of his "Register" of the *Geneological Tables*, on the authority of Arab authors.

1. *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, I. Introduction; cf. also F. Roth, *Ueber Sinn und Gebrauch des Wortes Barbar* (Nuremberg, 1814)

2. Halliday, p. 1124

3. *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, Introduction, ch. "The city state domination".

4. Ibn Hishâm, p. 251; Ṭabarîy, p. 1203

5. For details see Hamidullah, *La Diplomatie musulmane*, I, 74.

6. Aristotle, *Politics*, I, 2, 6 quoted by Lawrence in *Principles of International Law*.

7. Halliday, p. 1108-9

The pre-Islamic Meccans lacked a common religion believed in by all the populace and they lacked a sacred Book or written code of law to be observed by all. Among the Meccans there were pagan idolators, polytheists, associators, atheists and even animists and materialists besides those who had embraced Magism, Judaism and Christianity. Nevertheless the average citizen had reached the stage of believing one common, supreme god over and above all the petty tribal deities and they called Him Allah. Their political consciousness too had developed so much that the interest of the state was everywhere the supreme consideration. So when the Meccans were unexpectedly beaten in the battle of Badr they subscribed to the war-fund, the whole of the profits of the caravan just returned under Abu Sufyan from Syria.¹ The Meccans used to send their new born children to Sahara or desert habitations of bedouins for being reared under the care of bedouin women. Brought up in the pure and simple village life, they possessed many virtues of the bedouin and none of the vices of the metropolitan life. The Prophet himself had spent several of his early years in the same manner. I may refer you here to the social laws of Lycurgus, which, though barbarous, aimed at the physical and mental training of the younger generations of the Spartans in Greece.

The Greek nature was characterised by love of knowledge as a contrast to, for example, the love of wealth attributed to Phoenicians and Egyptians. The Quraishite Meccans may be said to be distinguished by their love of arts and letters. It was this love of art which probably induced 'Utbah ibn Rabi'ah ibn 'Abdshams to build a crystal palace (*Dar-al-Qawarir*) in Mecca. They felt so much at home in poetry that the very terms *bait*, *misra*, *asbab*, *awtad*, *fawasil* mean a tent and its parts as a couplet and its constituent elements. The sole object of life according to the Greek philosophers was good life. 'One is tempted to quote here in the end the famous Quranic verses in which the end of human life according to the pagans and the Muslims has so vividly been described —

'There are some men who say, O Lord give us good in this world, but such shall have no portion in the next world. And there are others who say, O Lord, give us good in this world and also good in the next world, and deliver us from the torment of the Fire. They shall have a portion of that which they have gained. God is swift in taking an account.'⁴

Note — After the article was sent to the press I received the following observations from Prof. Dr. Salim (Fritz) Krenkow on my paper which he read in manuscript, and I reproduce his remarks with thanks.

It must have been evident to any serious thinker that conditions

1 Ibn Hisham p. 555. Ibn Sa'd 2/1 p. 25 ff.

2 Baladhuriy *Futuh* (ed. Egypt) p. 63-64.

3 *Politics* I 2 8.

4 Quran 2: 200-02.

prevailed in Arabia which made such a mission [by the Prophet] possible. It was so at all times whether at the Mosaic or Christian mission . . . A high state of civilisation did exist [at Mecca] and one other proof of this, apart from the religious side, was the number of men of outstanding quality in administration etc.

"You mention the tribes of Ṭay' and Khath'am as bandit-tribes. I believe the facts may be a little different. Both tribes were largely Christian, so that the Arab sanctuaries and customs had not the sacred character for them; in addition the Ṭay' were settled, a Yemanite tribe in the midst of Muḍarite ones, the cleavage between these two large sections of the Arab people endured for centuries after the Hijrah . . .

"I do not know whether you have seen the little alabaster statues from South-Arabia which may be deities. Berûnî suggests in the *kitâb al-jamâhir* that the idol Hubal was such; I do not know where he got this information, but he may well be right.

"As regards the public race-course in Mecca, this was the Ajyâd in the lower city. The author of the *Tijân* discussed the origin of the strange name. See also the article Ajyâd in *Yâqût*. I am sure *Ajyâd* is a rare plural of *jawâd*, horses of noble-breed, race-horses."