

Two Faces of JIHAD

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Two Faces of Jihad

Islamic theologians claim Islam a religion of peace, while the evidences on the nature of Islam in Quran and the Hadiths confirm it to be gradually changing and ultimately aggressive and violent, particularly against the non-Muslims.

Historically the Islam has itself divided the period into two parts, pre-Islam as of Jahillya or ignorance and post-Islamic as period of enlightenment; the states of the world in two groups, as *dar-ul-Islam*—the land of Islam, and *dar-ul-Harb*—the land where Muslims live but not ruled by Islamic law and the humanity into two factions—as *Ummah* the believers and *Kafirs* as Unbelievers in Islam.

Similarly there are two distinct faces of Jihad in Islam as well as two widely different faces of Prophet Muhammad, if we honestly and systematically examine the Quran. These changes and developments are gradual, slow and progressive, and not abrupt; and are easily lost sight of. In fact, the nature of Islamic Jihad, in Quran, is quite complex, multifarious and multidimensional. It is not consistent, stable and uniform, but is variable depending upon the numerical strength and political power of the Muslims, in a particular situation. The nature of Islamic Jihad had been progressively changing and passed through several stages. The true nature of Jihad, its operational methodology and strategy is not simple and straight forward as is generally contemplated.

However, two quite distinct faces of Jihad, in Islam, and two widely different spectrums of life of Prophet Muhammadan are quite evident in the ayats of Quran revealed to Prophet Muhammad at Mecca (610-622) and Medina (622-632 AD), if we systematically examine the Quranic ayats in their chronological order. Hopefully one will arrive at the above conclusions.

Problems in Understanding the True Nature of Jihad

Islamic scholars, both Muslims and non-Muslims, have been facing several problems and difficulties in understanding the true nature of Jihad of wide acceptance from the very beginning. The problems are more from the Quran itself, particularly regarding its authorship, completeness, originality, alterations, additions, subtractions, language and prefixed letters in the twenty-nine Medinan Suras, which are a mystery. (*Walker, pp. 152-170*). But now we are concentrating on the existing edition of Quran; and some of the problems in understanding the true spirit of Jihad are as follows :

The first problem is that the entire Quran was not revealed by Allah to Prophet Muhammad continuously through angel Gabriel, self inspiration and other sources, unexpectedly or sometimes even at odd times. But the revelation continued in piecemeal for twentytwo years and four months intermittently from 5th Aug. 610 till his death on 8th June 632 AD. After the first sura No 96, the next

was revealed with a gap of three years (*Walker, ibid, p. 46*). So there is discontinuity in the subject matter in several suras.

Second the entire Quran was neither compiled by Prophet Muhammad himself during his life time, nor he made any arrangement for its systematic writing and compilation, immediately after its revelation at all the times. No one knows who wrote the first revelation!

Third we are not sure how much of the entire material revealed to the Prophet at odd times, was compiled while he was out riding, or having his hair washed or while eating (*Wensinck p. 624*), at public meeting in response to special circumstances which demand instant answers (*Walker, p. 148*). Whatever material was available on flat stones, wooden plates, scrapes of parchment papers, palm leaves, shoulders and ribbons, horns, leather pieces and in the heart of the faithful believers of Islam, the same was collected and compiled by Zaid ibn Thabet on the instruction of first Khalifa Abu Bakr. Ultimately it was finalised by a Committee of Zaid ibn Thabet who, in addition to Arabic, was well versed in Persian, Greek, Ethiopic, Coptic, Syric and Hebrew, and could read Jewish scriptures and Abdullah ibn al Zubayer, Saad ibn al Aas and Abdul Rahman ibn al Harith. To settle the problem of language, the third Khalifa Othman (643-656 AD) instructed them to give preference to the dialect of the Koraysh. Thus the present edition of Quran was finalised in 655 AD, and all other existing compilations available at that time as that of Ali b. Ab. Taleb Ali (*Dashti. p. 78*) were destroyed.

Fourth besides these "the animals had devoured copies on the palm fronds belonging to some of the Prophet's companions slain in the battle at Yamama, (*Dashti p. 28*). So we don't know what we missed in them. Fifth, the Prophet used to forget the ayats," (*Bukhari, vol. 6 : No 558, 562, pp. 508-509*). Sixth it is not certain whether all the Quran preserved with Allah in a Tablet (43 : 4; 85 : 21-22) has been revealed to Muhammad.

Seventh, the greatest difficulty is that the ayats and the suras in the Quran have not been arranged in their chronological order *i.e.* they are not arranged in the order of their time of revelation. On the otherhand, the suras have been compiled arbitrarily, in the order of their length, irrespective of their time of revelation. Consequently most of the suras revealed to Prophet Muhammad later on, at Medina, being longer in size and political in content and nature, are compiled in the beginning, while the shorter ones revealed earlier at Mecca, are placed in the later part in Quran. Due to this procedure, several suras are the mixed ones as sura no 3.

It is amazing why the editors of the Quran did not keep the logical method of compiling the suras in the order in which Allah revealed them to Prophet Muhammed for the welfare of the humanity. This arrangement of compiling the suras has disturbed significantly the sequence of subject matter and the theme of the suras in the Quran.

Table 1 : Suras Revealed During Different Periods in Mecca and Medina According to Sell

Meccan Suras	
First Period	96, 74, 111, 106, 108, 104, 107, 102, 105, 92,
610-617 AD	90, 94, 93, 97, 86, 91, 80, 68, 87, 95, 103, 85, 73, 101, 99, 82, 81, 53, 84, 100, 79, 77, 78, 88, 89, 75, 83, 69, 51, 52, 56, 70, 55, 112, 109, 113, 114, 1 = 48
Second Period	
617-619 AD	54, 37, 71, 76, 44, 50, 20, 26, 15, 19, 38, 36, 43, 72, 67, 23, 21, 25, 17, 27, 18 = 21
Third Period	
619-622 AD	32, 41, 45, 16, 30, 11, 14, 12, 40, 28, 39, 29, 31, 42, 10, 34, 35, 7, 46, 6, 13 = 21
Medinan Suras	
622-632 AD	2, 98, 64, 62, 8, 47, 3, 61, 57, 4, 65, 59, 33, 63, 24, 58, 22, 48, 66, 60, 110, 49, 9, 5 = 24

Source : The Historical Development of the Quran by Cannon Sell.

Eighth, besides these, in some suras, a part has been revealed at a time, while the rest has been revealed at different time, with a gap of days, months and even years, causing discontinuity in the subject matter.

Ninth, the Quran itself does not indicate in what context a particular ayat has been revealed; and most of the controversies in the interpretation of Quran arise from this lack of contextualisation of the ayats. However attempts have been made, later on, by Islamic scholars to arrange the suras, of Quran with the help of Hadiths.

Tenth, some scholars argue that there are several inconsistencies and contradictions in the Quran, mainly due to the Doctrine of Abrogation in Quran. But the Quran does not specify which ayat has been abrogated by which ayat. This is why the number of the abrogated and abrogating ayats varies amongst the authors. Yet the Muslim scholars use the abrogated ayats of the Quran also, as per their convenience and expediency.

Chronological Order of the Suras

Despite these limitations, attempts have been made to understand the true spirit of Jihad by several Islamic scholars by arranging the suras of Quran in their chronological order. Sell gives the number of suras revealed in different periods. (Table 1).

Most Islamic scholars agree that out of total 114 suras, about 85 to 90 were revealed at Mecca and the rest 24 to 29 at Medina. (Table 2) Out of these Madinan suras, most of the ayats, concerning Jihad, are in 19 Suras. And according to More (p, 336) the chronological order of these 19 suras is as follows : 22, 2, 28, 47, 3, 61, 57, 4, 59, 33, 63, 24, 58, 48, 66, 60, 49, 5 and 9. Though there are differences in the chronological orders provided by different scholars, yet they all agree that

sura 9 is the last one, which has the main and maximum number of ayats on Jihad.

Hence, despite of several limitations enumerated above, the true nature of Jihad and its conceptual development, can be best understood by examining the ayats, concerning Jihad, revealed to Prophet Muhammad at different times at Mecca, and also at Medina in their chronological order, and not by taking them in piecemeal as is generally done by apologists of Islam as well as by its critics as per their expediency.

Table 2 Approximate Chronological Order of Suras of Quran by Different Scholars.

Existing Number	Jalaluddin Suyuti (1)	Noldeke (2)	Muir (3)	Rodwell (4)
1	11	96	6	8
2	86	74	11	91
3	88	111	AH 2to10	97
4	91	106	U	100
5	112	108	AH6to10	114
6	54	104	81	89
7	38	107	91	87
8	87	102	AH?	95
9	113	105	Tha Last	113
10	50	92	79	84
11	51	90	78	75
12	52	94	77	77
13	95	93	89	90
14	71	97	80	76
15	53	86	62	57
16	69	91	88	73
17	49	80	87	67
18	68	68	69	69
19	43	87	68	58
20	44	95	75	55
21	112	103	86	65
22	103	85	85	107
23	73	73	84	64
24	102	101	AH5	105
25	41	99	74	66
26	46	82	61	56
27	47	81	70	68
28	48	53	83	79
29	84	84	90	81
30	83	100	60	74
31	56	79	50	82
32	74	77	44	70

33	89	78	U	103
34	57	88	79	85
35	42	89	66	86
36	40	75	67	60
37	55	83	59	50
38	37	69	73	59
39	58	51	45	80
40	59	52	72	78
41	60	56	53	71
42	61	70	71	83
43	62	55	76	61
44	63	112	58	53
45	64	109	57	72
46	65	113	64	88
47	94	114	U	96
48	111	1	AH 6	108
49	106	54	U	112
50	33	37	56	54
51	66	71	68	43
52	75	76	55	44
53	22	44	43	46
54	36	50	48	49
55	96	20	40	48
56	45	26	41	45
57	93	15	U	99
58	105	19	U	106
59	101	38	A.H. 4	102
60	90	36	A.H. 7	110
61	110	43	U	98
62	105	72	U	94
63	104	67	65	104
64	109	23	82	93
65	108	21	U	101
66	107	25	A.H.7 to 8	109
67	76	17	42	63
68	2	27	52	17
69	77	18	51	42
70	78	32	37	47
71	70	41	54	51
72	39	45	65	62
73	3	16	46	3
74	4	30	21	2
75	30	11	36	40

76	97	14	85	52
77	32	12	34	36
78	79	40	33	37
79	80	28	47	35
80	23	39	26	24
81	6	29	27	32
82	81	31	11	31
83	85	42	32	41
84	82	10	28	33
85	26	34	31	28
86	35	35	29	22
87	7	7	23	25
88	67	46	25	38
89	9	6	14	39
90	34	13	15	18
91	25	2	4	23
92	8	98	12	16
93	10	64	16	4
94	11	62	17	5
95	27	8	8	26
96	1	47	19	1
97	24	3	24	92
98	99	61	U	21
99	92	57	3	30
100	13	4	2	34
101	29	65	7	29
102	15	59	9	14
103	12	33	1	27
104	31	63	10	18
105	18	24	13	19
106	28	58	5	20
107	16	22	39	15
108	14	48	18	9
109	17	66	38	12
110	101	60	30	111
111	5	110	22	11
112	21	49	20	10
113	19	9	U	6
114	20	5	U	7

U = Un known

Different Stages of Jihad

A careful and critical study of Quran and life of Prophet Muhammad reveals that the concept and mode of operation of jihad passed through several stages from Mecca to Medina. The command of war against the non-Muslims was not in the initial stages of Islam. Actually, it progressively developed in different stages from the peaceful and harmonious Jihad at Mecca to universal, aggressive and violent Jihad at Medina, against the non-Muslims, under different situations. All Islamic scholars agree on this issue. It is another matter that they differ in the number of stages in this journey of Jihad.

They also agree that the nature and contents of the ayats revealed at Mecca are entirely different, and even totally divergent from those revealed at Medina. It is so because of these two entirely different and divergent political, social and religious situations and tribal systems. The Islamic scholars have classified these changes in the nature of jihad in 3 to 5 different stages as can be seen below.

Three Stages of Jihad : Muslim historian Ibn Abidin has clarified; “Know thou that the command of fighting was revealed by degrees; for the Prophet was at first commanded to deliver his message; then to discuss and dispute and endeavour to convince the unbelievers by arguments; then the believers were permitted to fight; then they were commanded to fight at any time except the sacred months, then absolutely without any exception.” (*Levonian, Moslem Mentality*, p. 24; *More*, p. 335 *Gabriel*, pp. 85-88)

Similarly in the preface of *Sahih-al Bukhari (Vol. 1 pp. xxiv-xxvi)*, while translating the views of Sheikh Abdullah bin Muhammad bin Hamid of the Sacred Mosque of Mecca, Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan writes : “He (Prophet Muhammad) carried on inviting people to Allah (Islamic Religion) and persisted in (this) invitation for 13 years inspite of the harm and injuries (which he suffered), and he used to forgive the ignorant"... And when Allah wanted to reveal His religion (Islam) and to fulfill His promise and to make victorious His Prophet, Allah, the Most High ordered him to emigrate to Al-Medina" ...Then, at that time Allah permitted them (Muhammad and his followers) “The (jihad) fighting” but He did not make it obligatory”. ...Then after that He made (jihad) “Fighting” obligatory against all those who fight you (Muslims), so He said; “And fight in the way of Allah those who fight you” (2 : 190)... “Then Allah revealed in Sura Baraat (Repentance IX) the order to discard (all) the obligations (covenants etc.) and commanded the Muslims to fight against all the pagans as well as against the People of the Scriptures (*Jews and Christians*) if they do not embrace Islam, till they pay the Jizia with willing submission and feel themselves subdued (*as it is revealed in verse 9 : 29*)” ...

So at first, (1) “The fighting was forbidden, then, (2) it was permitted and after that (3) it was made obligatory—(1) against those who start “the fighting” against you (Muslims).....(2) And against all those who worship others along with Allah”as mentioned in Suras 2, 3, 9 and other suras. Allah made “the fighting” (Jihad) obligatory to the Muslims and gave importance to the subject matter of Jihad in all the Suras which were revealed (at Medina) as it is in Allah’s

statement : "March forth whether you are light (being healthy, young, and wealthy) or heavy (being ill, old and poor) and strive hard with your wealth and your lives in the Cause of Allah. That is better for you if you (but) knew," (9 : 41).

Four Stages of Jihad

(1) Brill's Encyclopedia of Islam (p. 538) describes four stages of jihad as below :

"Jihad is a duty. This precept is laid down in all the sources. It is true that there are to be found in the Quran divergent and even contradictory texts. These are classified by the doctrine, apart from certain variations of detail, into four successive categories : those which enjoin pardon for offences and encourage the invitation to Islam by peaceful persuasion; those which enjoin fighting to ward off aggression; those which enjoin the initiative in attack provided it is not within the four sacred months; and those which enjoin the initiative in attack absolutely, at all times and in all places. In sum, these differences correspond to the stages in the development of Muhammad's thought and to the modifications of policy resulting from particular circumstances; the Mecca period during which Muhammad, in general, confines himself to moral and religious teachings, and the Medina period when, having become leader of a politico—religious community, he is able to undertake, spontaneously the struggle against those who do not wish to join this community or submit to his authority. The doctrine holds that the later texts abrogate the former contradictory texts.....to such effect that only those of the last category remain *indubitably* valid." (*Jihad Juggernaut*, p. 56)

(2) Similarly Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) mentioned 4 stages of Jihad in his book 'Milestones' :

(1) "Thus for thirteen years after the beginning of his Messengership, he called people to God through preaching, without fighting or Jiziyah, and was commanded to restrain himself and to practice patience and forbearance. (2) Then he commanded to migrate and later permission was given to fight. (3) Then he was commanded to fight those who fought him, and to restrain himself from those who did not make war with him. (4) Later he was commanded to fight the polytheists until God's religion was fully established." (p. 53)

"He also clarified that only the last stage is valid, and says, "After the period of the Prophet (peace be on him) only the final stages of the movement of *Jihad* are to be followed ; the initial or middle stages are not applicable." (p. 63)

Five Stages of Jihad

Prof. S.T. Lokhandwala says, "The (Muslim) Jurists describe five stages of the Quran, and validate the fifth stage; first the period of trust, forgiveness and withdrawal; the second stage of summoning them to Islam; the third stage of fighting in selfdefence; the fourth stage of aggressive wars at, certain times and the final stage of general aggressive wars." Of these the first stage (610-613 AD) of three years covers secret preaching. The next stage is the period upto *Hijrat*

(622 AD). These belong to Meccan period. The third stage covers the period from *Hijrat* up to the Battle of Badr (624 AD). The fourth stage is until the conquest of Mecca (630 AD) and the fifth and final stage upto the last year (632 AD) (*Engineer and Shakir Communalism in India, p 5; More, pp. 219-220*).

Six Stages of Jihad

According to our studies, there were six stages of Jihad from secret stage to universal aggressive Jihad during 610 to 632 AD. But finally only the last stages (5th & 6th) of the universal aggressive Jihad were considered valid against the non-Muslims till to-day, and all earlier four stages were abrogated.

First Stage of Secret Jihad (610-613 AD)—After declaring his prophethood in August 610 AD, Muhammad secretly propagated Islam among his near and dear ones through personal contacts (*Siddiqi, p. 55*). When the number reached 38, Abu Bakr urged the Prophet to publicise his mission. But the Prophet replied “No, Abu Bakr, we are too few”. Umar also protested : “Why should we keep our Islam secret, when we are in right ? And why should others be allowed to publicise their faith when they are in the wrong ?” The Prophet gave the same reply, “We are too few, Umar”. “As long as Prophet remained in Mecca, he adopted this cautious posture.” (*Wahiduddin, The Prophet of Revolution, p. 116, More, p. 48*)

During these years, the ayats revealed though had the word Jihad, but they refer ‘to strive’ only, and the entire emphasis was on, ‘to worship only One God—Allah and none else, to accept Muhammad as Messenger of Allah, join the faith of Islam, recite and follow Quran, and have patience and be polite to the Unbelievers as below : (All translations of Quran are by A. Yusuf Ali).

- (i) "And if any *strive* (with might and main), they do so for their own souls : for Allah is free of all needs from all creation." (29 : 6, p. 229)
- (ii) "We have enjoined on man kindness to parents; but if they (either of them) *strive* (to force) thee to join with me (in worship) anything of which thou hast no knowledge, obey them not we have (all) to return to me, and I will tell you (the truth) of all that ye did." (29 : 8, p. 230).
- (iii) And those who *strive* in Our (Cause),—We, will certainly guide them to Our Paths : for verily Allah is with those who do right." (29 : 69 ; p. 233).

So in these Meccan ayats Jihad refers to ‘strive’ only for himself and not to fight with the sword to the non-Muslims. Further,

- (iv) "Seest thou not that We have set Satans on against the Unbelievers, to incite them with fury ? So make no haste against them, for We but count out to them a (limited) number (of days). (19 : 83-84, p. 172)
- (v) "Had it not been for a Word that went forth before from thy Lord, (their punishment) must necessarily have come : but there is a term appointed (for respite). Therefore be patient with what they say, and celebrate (constantly) the praises of thy Lord, before the rising of sun; and before its

- setting; yea celebrate them for part of the hours of the night, and at the sides of the day : that thou may be pleased." (20 : 129-130, p. 179)
- (vi) "Have patience at what they say." (38 : 17, p. 270)
 - (vii) "(Allah has knowledge) of the (Prophet's) cry "O my Lord ! Truly these are a people who believe not ! But turn away from them, and say, "Peace". But soon shall they know"! (43 : 88-89, p. 298)
 - (viii) "So leave them (unbelievers) alone until they encounter that Day of theirs, wherein they shall be thunderstuck." (52 : 45, p. 324)
 - (ix) "Now await in patience the command of thy Lord : for verily thou art in Our eyes; and celebrate the praises of thy Lord the while thou standest forth." (52 : 48, pp. 324-325)
 - (x) "And have patience with what they say, and leave them with noble (dignity). And leave Me (alone to deal with) those in possession of the good things of life (who (yet) deny the Truth); and bear with them for a little while." (73 : 10-11, p. 375)
 - (xi) "Therefore listen not to the Unbelievers, but *strive* against them with the utmost strenuousness, with the (Quran)." (25 : 52, p. 207)
 - (xii) "And dispute ye not with the People of the Book, except in the best way, unless it be with those of them who do wrong but say, "We believe in the Revelation which has come down to us and in that which came to you; our God and your God is One, and it is to Him we submit (in Islam). (29 : 46, pp. 231-232)

Second Public Sermon Stage (614-622 AD)

When more people joined the Prophet, he openly preached the message of Quran as revealed to him. He criticized idolatry and asked his followers to arise to deliver the message of Allah as below :

- (i) "O thou wrapped up (in a mantle) ! Arise and deliver thy warning ! And thy Lord do thou magnify ! And thy garments keep free from stain! And all abomination shun ! Nor expect, in giving, any increase (for thyself) ! But, for thy Lord's (Cause) be patient and constant ! Finally, when the Trumpet is sounded, that will be-that Day-a Day of Distress—far from easy for those without Faith." (74 : 1-10; p. 377)
- (ii) "Nay, We hurl the Truth against falsehood, and it knocks out its brain, and behold, falsehood doth perish ! Ah ! woe be to you for the (false) things ye ascribe (to us)." (21 : 18, p. 182).
- (iii) "Therefore expound openly what thou art commanded, and turn away from those who join false gods with Allah." (15 : 94, p. 143)
- (iv) "Say : O ye that reject Faith ! I worship not that which ye worship, nor will ye worship that which I worship. And I will not worship that which ye have been wont to worship, Nor will ye worship that which I worship. To you be your Way, and to me mine." (109 : 1-10, p. 423)

- (v) "We know best what they say : and thou art not one to compel them by force." (50 : 45 p. 319)
- (vi) "Fie upon you, and upon things that ye worship besides Allah ! Have ye no sense ?" (21 : 67, p. 184)
- (vii) " So shun the abomination of idols, and shun the word that is false." (22 : 30, p. 189)
- (viii) "And He is Allah : there is no god but He. To Him be praise, at the first and at the last." (28 : 70, p. 227)
- (ix) "Let there is no compulsion in religion. Truth stands out clear from Error." (2 : 256, p. 22)
- (x) "O ye who believe ! Guard your own souls; if ye follow (right) guidance. No hurt can come to you from those who stray. The return of you all is to Allah : it is He That will inform you of all that ye do." (5 : 105, p. 63)
- (xi) "Invite (all) to the Way of the Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching : and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious : for thy Lord knoweth best, who have strayed from His path, and who receive guidance And if ye punish, let your punishment be proportionate to the wrong that has been done to you : but if ye show patience, that is indeed the best (course) for those who are patient." (16 : 125-126, p. 151)

Thus in the second stage of Jihad, Allah commands believers to arise and expound the faith they believe politely, be firm to your faith and be devoted to Allah; and asks not to force anyone. But simultaneously the ayats revealed here condemn idolatry and emphasise that their religion Islam is of truth, but force no compulsion to accept it. Though about 75 percent of Quran was revealed, at Mecca and there are several ayats 'to strive for the cause of Allah' or in the Way' of Allah', yet there was no command of war against the Unbelievers though some of Muhammad's followers wanted to fight them.

Nature of Jihad in Meccan Ayats

Scholars have commented on the nature of ayats revealed during the Meccan period. S.K. Malik argues that :

"Meanwhile, the tiny Muslim community in Mecca was the object of the Koraish tyranny and oppression since the proclamation of Islam. They were continuously subjected to the most inhuman torture, repression and persecution. They were ridiculed, brow-beaten and assaulted; those within the power of the enemy, were chained and thrown into the prisons : others were subjected to prolonged economic and social retribulations. The enemy repression reached its zenith when the Koraish denied the Muslims access to the Sacred Mosque to fulfil their religious obligations. This sacrilegious act amounted to an open declaration of war upon Islam. It eventually compelled the Muslims to migrate to Medina, twelve years later, in 622 A.D." (*The Quranic Concept of War, p. 11*)

But here the question arises when Muslims don't believe in the worship of gods other than Allah, why did they want to worship in the Masjid of Ka'ba

which housed innumerable idols of tribal gods and goddesses of Arabia? Secondly, it was the Muslims who annoyed the Koraish first by insulting their gods and goddesses, condemning idolatry and created enmity and tension, and not the otherwise as is generally propagated by apologists of Islam repeatedly. Regarding this, Burke comments, "Mohammad was forced to flee Mecca by the wealthy rulers, who liked neither his rejection of their authority in favour of God's nor his attacks on the worship of the idols in the main shrine in the Ka'ba 'on which a lucrative pilgrim industry was based." (*Al-Qaeda*, p. 30)

In this context Sell, a reputed scholar on Islam writes in his book, *'The Historical Development of the Quran'* thus :

"In religious matters, the Meccans were not narrow-minded, nor was their religion exclusive. They tolerated various creeds then accepted in Arabia and opened the Ka'ba to men of all sects. Waraqa, the cousin of Muhammad, one of the Hanifs, embraced Christianity, but no one blamed him or interfered with him on that account. So at first they treated Muhammad with good-humoured contempt. The opposition against him was aroused when he set up his own teaching as the exclusive way of life and explicitly and implicitly condemned all other religions. So long as he kept to general statements, such as exhortations to lead good lives, or allusions to the Last Day, the people of Mecca cared little; but, when he began to attack the idolatry of the Ka'ba, the case was quite altered and active opposition commenced. The chief cause of this was the intense dislike they had to the changing of what had been long established. They had great reverence for the religion which made Mecca a sacred centre for the Arab people." (p. 4)

"Besides this there was another reason for the opposition of Muhammad that he wanted the Koraish to accept him a prophet like earlier Prophets as Abraham, Moses, Solomon, Jacob, Jesus etc. as he had a theo-political system in view from the very beginning.

Sell further writes *"It would not be difficult to show that he was, from the first, influenced by patriotic motives and that he had a politico-religious system in view."* (p. 5).

This is supported by history that though Abu Talib did not accept the creed of Muhammad-the Islam, and died as a pagan, yet he gave all protection to Muhammad, and also persuaded the Koraish to bring peace by mutual concessions.

In this context, Sell comments thus, "Abu Talib there upon asked him (Muhammad) to make some concession and stated that the Quraish would also do the same. To this Muhammad replied : "Well then, give me a word whereby the Arabs may be governed and the Persians subjugated;" (*Koettle, Muhammad and Muhammadanism*, p. 74) and added, "Say, there is no God except Allah and renounce what you worship beside Him. In other words, accept my teaching and Arabia shall be united and her enemies subdued. The Meccans realised the danger and replied : "We are not sure whether dominion will not be taken from

us." The political factor in the inception of Islam has been far too overlooked." (*ibid* p. 5)

"The men of Mecca saw that acceptance of Muhammad's teaching might mean war and possible defeat, and this feeling no doubt added strength to their increasing opposition. They now called him liar, sorcerer, poet, soothsayer, demoniac. Even at the door of the Ka'ba, they assailed him. Once he lost his temper and said, "Hear, ye Quraish, I come to you with slaughter". (*Sell, p. 6*). This little incident also shows that from the first he had thoughts of political power" (*Koettle, ibid, p. 87*).

Regarding this, Muir, the biographer of Prophet Muhammad describes the situation as below :

Infuriated by this, they (body of Elders) approached Abu Talib, and said, "*This nephew of thine hath-spoken opprobriously of our gods and our religion, and hath upbraided us as fools, and given out that our forefathers were all astray. Now, avenge us of our adversary; or (seeing that thou art in the same case with ourselves) leave him to us that we may take our satisfaction.*" Meccans went and said to Abu Talib, "*And now verily we can not have patience any longer with his abuse of us, our acestors, and our gods : wherefore either do thou hold him back from us, or thyself take part with him that the matter may be decided between us.*" On this Abu Talib sent for Muhammad and communicated to him what Quraish said and remarked. "*Therefore, save thyself and me also; and cast not upon me a burden heavier than I can bear.*" To this Muhammad replied to his uncle, "*If they brought the sun on my right hand and the moon on my left, to force me from my undertaking, verily I would not desist therefrom until the Lord made manifest my cause, or I should perish in the attempt.*" (*The Life of Mahomet, p. 87*)

This reflects that from the very beginning his thoughts of political power were firm. But he did not allow his followers for a bloody Jihad against the non-Muslims because primarily he was not strong enough initially (610-619 AD), and after the death of his wife Khalida and of his protector uncle Abu Talib, in 619 A.D., he became further weak, unable to undertake any offensive war.

When Muhammad was struggling with the Quraish in Mecca, he tried to seek support from the Christian ruler Negus of Abyssinia in 615 AD by sending about 15 of his followers there including his daughter Rukaiya and her husband Usman, but all in vain. Similarly in 619 A.D. within 15 days of his protector uncle Abu Talib's death, the prophet himself accompanied by Zaid went to Taif, a nearby strong tribe of Thaqif and stayed there for ten days to seek their help against the Meccans. However the people of Taif were not convinced (*More, p. 63*), and one of them even said, "Could not God find some other suitable person than you to make him His prophet ?" Another said, "I will not talk to you at all." (*Siddiqi, p. 85; Rodinson, p. 137*).

So during this period, none except his followers accepted him as Prophet, and he was totally disappointed in Mecca, and therefore, he turned his attention to Medina where he had close relations. His father and grandfather were married to

the daughters of Khazirajs of Medina. At that time, 60 to 70 percent of the population of Medina was comprised of pagans of Khazirajs and Aus tribes, and the rest were Jews of 3 tribes viz. Banu Kainuka, Banu Nadhir and Banu Kuraiza. The pagans, due to their own internal feuds and also due to conflicts with the Jews, were exhausted and wanted to support Muhammad to buy peace with his help as an arbitrator.

In 620 A.D. six pagans of Medina were converted to Islam who assured, "We will preach to them (Medinites) and make known to them this religion. If God convinces them and they accept this faith, you will become more powerful than anyone." (*Arnold, p. 20; Rodinson, p. 143; Wahiduddin, p. 131, 141; More, p. 66*)

Later on, in April 621, twelve Medinites (ten Khazraj and two Aus) met Muhammad and pledged loyalty to him. This is called "The First Pledge of Akebah" (*Syed Ameer Ali, p. 43, More, p. 66*). After they took the oath, the Prophet addressed them, "If ye fulfil the pledge, Paradise shall be your reward. He that shall fail in any part thereof, to God belongeth his concern either to punish or to forgive." (*Muir, p. 118*)

After their this pledge, Muhammad migrated to Medina.

Nature of Jihad in Medinan Ayats

After arriving at Medina on 23rd Sept. 622, Prophet Muhammad decided to strengthen himself with wealth, weaponry, war materials and warriors. In order to win over the Koraishtes who were custodians of Mecca Masjid which was the seat of religious and political power of Arabia at that time. For this objective in view, he made all Muslims compulsory to come and stay in Medina, and started looting the caravans. It is worthwhile to mention here that seven campaigns, the Prophet Muhammad carried out within a year of his Hijarat. (*More, p. 95*)

The first expedition was carried out after seven months *i.e.* in 623 AD with 30 men under Abu Hamza—an uncle of the Prophet, second after one month with 60 men under Ubaid and the third led by Sa'd with 20 men. Another three more campaigns under Prophet Muhammad himself in the same year also failed. Thus the six campaigns in the first year ended in a failure. However, the seventh campaign of Nakhala on Quraish's caravan is important in Islam as it was carried out on the last day of the Holy month of Ramadan in which the whole of Arabia used to observe a vow of non-violence. Incidentally, in this campaign, one man was killed and two were arrested. Initially the Prophet did not approve it, but an ayat was revealed to him from Allah exonerating the raider's impropriety thus :

"(O Prophet !) They ask thee concerning fighting in the Prohibited Month. Say : "Fighting therein is a grave (offence); but graver is it in the sight of Allah to prevent (men) access to the path of Allah, to deny Him, to prevent access to the Sacred Mosque, and drive out its members. "Tumult and oppression are worse than slaughter." (2 : 217, p. 18)

On receiving this message from Allah, the Prophet justified the violation of tradition in the Sacred month and accepted loot, one-fifth going to himself (for the state) and rest to the participants in the raid and the two captives were released after receiving the ransom; and Abdullah, the Commander was honoured with the title of "*Commander of the Faithful.*" Historian Ibn Hisham (d. 834 AD) says, "*This was the first booty which the Muslims obtained, the first captives they seized and the first life they took.*" (More, p. 96)

Thus the warner Prophet of Mecca became a warrior at Medina. This approach and incidence changed the nature of Jihad hereafter.

Third Permission Stage of Jihad

Allah for the first time, at Medina, permitted the Prophet and his followers to fight the non-Muslims as shown below :

- (i) "To those against whom war is made, permission is given to (fight), because they are wronged; –and verily, Allah is Most Powerful for their aid; (They are) those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right, (for no cause) except that they say, "Our Lord is Allah." (22 : 39-40, p. 190)
- (ii) "Those who leave their homes in the Cause of Allah and are then slain or die—on them will Allah bestow verily a goodly Provision." (22 : 58, p. 191)
- (iii) "And *strive* in His Cause as ye ought to *strive* (with sincerity and under discipline). He has chosen you, and has imposed no difficulties on you in religion; it is the religion of your father Abraham. It is He Who has named you Muslims." (22 : 78, p. 192)

About the exact time, when permission was given to fight, More (p. 97) points out, "When exactly this permission came is uncertain. If it had not been received prior to the above campaigns, the use of arms in them would loose sanction. Had it been received prior to these campaigns, it can not be said to have been given to fight "in self-defence" because, in those cases, there was not even an allegation about aggression from Mecca." (note p. 97). However this permission period appears to be before the battle of Badr.

In this context Muhammad Ali remarks, "These are the first ayats in the Medinan period permitting to fight for Allah's Cause." (*Religion of Islam*, p. 553; *More*, p. 337). Similarly M.A.K. Azad says, "This permission was given to the followers of the faith after they had suffered increasing persecution, at the hands of the Quraish for nearly thirteen years." (*Tarjuman Quran*, Vol. 3, p. 467)

In this connection, S.K. Malik writes, "The Muslim migration to Medina brought in its wake events and decisions of far-reaching significance and consequence for them. While in Mecca, they had neither been proclaimed an *Ummah* (a people or community) nor were they granted the permission to take recourse to war. In Medina, a divine revelation proclaimed them an '*Ummah*' and granted them the permission to take up arms against their oppressors. The

permission was soon afterwards converted into a divine command making war a religious obligation for the Faithful." (*ibid*, p. 11)

It is worthwhile to note that in the above Quranic ayats (22 : 39-40) permission for war was given against the disbelievers of Mecca who had compelled the believers to forsake their homes. But actually the Meccans had not committed any aggression on Medinaite Muslims except on the Meccan Muslims nor they had declared any war on them. So this permission is simply an aggression by Medinaites on Meccans implying that sanction was given for avenging the past eviction of believers from their homes or for punishing the disbelievers. So in fact, permission for taking sword here is given to punish the Meccans for their earlier deeds; and therefore, it cannot be taken for selfdefense, but revenge.

Fourth-the Conditional/Defensive Stage of Jihad

A few months after granting permission to fight, the command was given for making war against those who attack the Muslims. In the beginning, in Mecca, the 'Unbelievers' of the Quraish tribe were the enemies who were idol worshippers. But at Medina, after the Battle of Uhad, some Hypocrite Muslims began to show themselves as enemies. In the beginning, at Medina, the Jews were not enemies but later on they were also considered as enemies. The Quranic commands at this time were as follows :

- (i) "Fight in the Cause of Allah those who fight you, but do not transgress limits : for Allah loveth not transgressors. And slay them wherever ye catch them and turn them out from where they have turned you out ; for Persecution is worse than slaughter; but fight them not at the Sacred Mosque, unless they (first) fight you there; but if they fight you, slay them. Such is the reward of those who reject Faith. But if they cease, Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful. And fight them on until there is no more Persecution and the religion becomes Allah's. But if they cease, let there be no hostility except to those who practice oppression." (2 : 190-193; p. 16)
- (ii) "The prohibited month for the prohibited month,- and so for all things prohibited—there is the law of equality. If then anyone transgresses the prohibition against you, transgress ye likewise against him. But fear Allah, and know that Allah is with those who restrain themselves." (2 : 194, p. 16)
- (iii) "Say to the Unbelievers, if (now) they desist (from Unbelief), their past would be forgiven them; but if they persist, the punishment of those before them is already (a matter of warning for them). And fight them on until there is no more Persecution, and religion becomes Allah's in its entirety but if they cease, verily Allah doth see all that they do. If they refuse, be sure that Allah is your Protector-the Best to protect and the Best to help." (8 : 38-40, p. 94)
- (iv) "If ye gain the mastery over them in war, disperse, with them, those who follow them, that they may remember. If thou fearest treachery from any

group, throw back (their Covenant) to them, (so as to be) on equal terms : for Allah loveth not the treacherous. Let not Unbelievers think that they have escaped they will never frustrate (them). Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies, of Allah and your enemies, and others besides, whom ye may not know, but whom Allah doth know. Whatever ye shall spend in the Cause of Allah, shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly. But if the enemy incline towards peace, do thou (also) incline towards peace, and trust in Allah." (8 : 57-61, p. 95).

- (v) "Quite a number of the People of the Book wish they could turn you (people) back to infidelity after ye have believed, from selfish envy, after the Truth hath become manifest unto them : but forgive and overlook, till Allah brings about His command; for Allah hath power over all things." (2 : 109, p. 10)
- (vi) "And know that out of all the booty that ye may acquire (in war), a fifth share is assigned to Allah,— and to the Messenger, and to the near relatives, orphans, the needy, and wayfarer, —if ye do believe— in Allah and in the revelation We sent down to Our Servant on the Day of Discrimination—the Day of the meeting of the two forces." (8 : 41, p. 94)

Thus in the fourth stage of Jihad, Allah in the above Quranic commands asks the believers to, (i) make utmost preparations mentally and physically with all war materials, (ii) to fight against the Unbelievers conditionally, if they fight, and also (iii) to desist from war and make peace with the Unbelievers if they offer for a treaty. Besides this, the Quran gives incentives of booty to fighters, and also makes provision for war preparation through one-fifth of booty to the Prophet.

Fifth Obligatory Stage of Jihad

Later on, the Quran commands all Muslims to wage war against the non-Muslims whether they like it or not. Earlier at Mecca, the Jihad was commanded against the polytheist pagan tribes and the Quraishies, but at Medina it was extended to the Christians and Jews also, but with a choice between *Jezia* and war as evident below :

- (i) "Fighting is prescribed upon you, and ye dislike it. But it is possible that ye dislike a thing which is good for you, and that ye love a thing which is bad for you. But Allah knoweth, and ye know not." (2 : 216, p. 18)
- (ii) "Then fight in the Cause of Allah, and know that Allah heareth and knoweth all things." (2 : 244, p. 20)
- (iii) "Remember thy Lord inspired the angels (with the message) : "I am with you : give firmness to the Believers : I will instil terror into the hearts of the Unbelievers : smite ye above their necks and smite all their finger-tips off them. This because they contended against Allah and His Messenger :

- if any contend against Allah and His Messenger. Allah is strict in punishment." (8 : 12-13, p. 92)
- (iv) "O ye who believe ! When ye meet the Unbelievers in hostile array, never turn your backs to them. If any do turn his back to them on such a day— unless it be in a stratagem of war, or to retreat to a troop (of his own)-he draws on himself the wrath of Allah." (8 : 15-16, p. 92-93)
- (v) "It is not ye who slew them : it was Allah : when thou threwest (a handful of dust), it was not thy act, but Allah's : in order that He might confer on the Believers a gracious benefit from Himself : for Allah is He Who heareth and knoweth (all things)." (8 : 17 p. 93).
- (vi) "Therefore, when ye meet the Unbelievers (in fight), smite at their necks; at length, when ye have thoroughly subdued them, bind (the captives) firmly : therefore (is the time for) either generosity or ransom : until the war lays down its burdens. Thus (are ye commanded) : but if it had been Allah's Will, he could certainly have exacted retribution from them (Himself) : but (He lets you fight) in order to test you, some with others. But those who are slain in the way of Allah, —he will never let their deeds be lost." (47 : 4, p. 308)
- (vii) "Let those fight in the Cause of Allah who sell the life of this world for the Hereafter. To him who fighteth in the Cause of Allah, —whether he is slain or gets victory soon shall We give him a reward of great (value). (4 : 74, p. 46).

Exemption : However only the healthy ones should fight and disabled, blind and ill ones are exempted as below :

- (viii) "No blame is there on the blind, nor is there blame on the lame, nor on one ill (if he joins not the war); but he that obeys Allah and His Messenger, (Allah) will admit him to Gardens beneath which rivers flow : and he who turns back,(Allah) will punish him with a grievous Chastisement." (48 : 17, p. 313)

Sixth Stage of Permanent War against the non-Muslims

When Prophet Muhammad became in quite strong position, the Quran commands the Muslims to allow four months time to Jews, Christians and others to consider whether to accept Islam or wage a war. They were also freed from the obligation of their mutual alliance as given below :

- (i) "A (declaration) of immunity from Allah and His Messenger, to those of the Pagans with whom ye have contracted mutual alliances :—Go ye, then for four months, (as ye will), throughout the land, but know yet that ye cannot frustrate Allah (by your falsehood) but that Allah will cover with shame those who reject Him." (9 : 1 -2, p. 98)
- (ii) "Fight those who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, nor hold that forbidden which hath been forbidden by Allah and His Messenger, nor acknowledge the Religion of Truth, from among the People of the Book,

- until they pay the *Jizia* with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued." (9 : 29, p. 100)
- (iii) Say to the desert Arabs who lagged behind : "ye shall be summoned (to fight) against a people given to vehement war : then shall ye fight, or they shall submit, then if ye show obedience; Allah will grant you a goodly reward, but if ye return back as ye did before, He will punish you with a grievous Chastisement." (48 : 16, p. 313).
- (iv) "And why should ye not fight in the Cause of Allah and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated (and oppressed) ? –men, women, and children, whose cry is "Our Lord ! rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from Thee one who will protect; and raise for us from Thee one who will help"! "Those who believe fight in the cause of Allah, and those who reject Faith fight in the cause of Evil (Tagut) : so fight ye against the friends, of Satan : feeble indeed is the cunning of Satan. (4 : 75-76, p. 46)

After the victory of Muslims over Mecca in 630 AD., the Quran commands an eternal and offensive war against all the non-Muslims *i.e.* Hindus, Buddhists, Athiests and also including the People of the Book *i.e.* Jews and Christians. Allah gives four months time to accept Islam Further the Quran has laid out strict rules to deal with them as evident below :

"But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the Pagans wherever ye find them, and seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war); but if they repent, and establish regular prayers and pay Zakat then open the way for them : for Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful." (9 : 5, p. 98).

This ayat is also known as the 'Verse of Sword' and has been accepted by all shades of Muslims as a clear command of war against all the non-Muslims till they are converted to Islam and offer regular prayers. Here the term "Wherever" indicates not only the Arabia, but the whole world. This ayat is the final command of Allah to fight against all the non-Muslims of the entire world; and how this message will be implemented to take over all the non-Muslim nations, one by one, Allah asked Muslims to adopt the following procedure.

In Nov. 630 AD Allah commanded the Muslims of Arabia through an ayat at Tabuk a place quite close to the then territory of Byzantine empire in the province of Syria to wage Jihad against those non-Muslim countries which are adjacent to them, *i.e.* near a Islamic state as below :

"O ye who believe ! Fight the Unbelievers who are near to you and let them find harshness in you : and know that Allah is with those who Fear Him." (9 : 123, p. 107)

In this ayat, the term '*near to you*' is very important. Maulana A.K. Azad explains it in his commentary of this ayat and concludes, '*near to you*' means Arabian Christians and Romans in Syria as Romans had an army of 200,000 while Muslims were 24,000. (*Tarjuman Quran Vol. 3*

p. 79) This is why, taking this ayat as command of Allah, all Muslim states wage Jihad by different ways and leave no stone unturned to bring its adjoining non-Muslim states into an Islamic state. This is why Pakistan and Bangladesh are adopting all types of military and/or non-military approaches to overpower the truncated India.

Thus these different stages reflect different shades of Jihad—from tolerant, coexisting and peaceful to aggressive and bloody war against the innocent and unprovoked non-Muslims who have to face violent war simply because they wish to worship and live in their own way. So the Jihad is nothing less than a tyranny on non-Muslims by imposing Islam on them and dominating their country by crude forces.

The Law of Abrogation

Before we analyse the comprehensive nature of Jihad, it would be worthwhile to examine the law of abrogation in Islam also which is equally important in relation to Jihad. According to the Dictionary of Islam by T.P. Hughes (pp. 519-520) : "Some passages of the Quran are contradictory, and are often made the subject of attack; but it is part of the theological belief of the Muslim doctors that certain passages of the Quran are *mansukh* or abrogated by verses revealed afterwards, entitled *nasikh* or abrogating." This was the doctrine taught by Muhammad in Quran as below :

- (i) "None of Our revelations do We abrogate or cause to be forgotten, but we substitute something better or similar : knowest thou not that Allah hath power over all things ?" (2 : 106; p. 10)
- (ii) "Allah doth blot out or confirm what He pleaseth : with Him is the Mother of the Book." (13 : 39; p. 135)
- (iii) "When We substitute one revelation for another, —and, Allah knows best what He reveals (in stages), —they say, "Thou art but a forger "but most of them know not." (16 : 101, p. 150)

This convenient doctrine fell in with the law of expediency which appears to be a salient feature in Muhammad's prophetic carrier. Hughes further writes :

"In the *Tafsir-i-Azizi*, it is written that abrogated (*mansukh*) verses of the Quran are of three kinds : (1) Where the verse has been removed from the Quran and another given in its place; (2) Where the injunction is abrogated and the letters of the verse remain; and (3) where both the verse and its injunction are removed from the text. This is also the view of Jalauddin Siyuti who says that "the number of abrogated verses has been variously estimated from five to five hundred."

(Hughes *ibid*, p. 5 20).

About the abrogation of earlier ayats, the modern scholar Sayyid Qutb explicitly says that "After the period (632AD) of the Prophet (peace be on him)

only the final stages of the Movement of Jihad are to be followed; the initial or the middle stages are not applicable" (*Milestones*, p. 63).

Similarly according to Sayyid Abul Maududi, "There are 200 such abrogated ayats." (*Message of Islam*, quoted by More, p., 218).

However, all scholars of Quran agree that ayat 9 : 5 abrogates all the ayats revealed earlier either at Mecca or Medina. Muir, the renowned Islamic scholar says that ayat 9.5 abrogates 225 ayats about Jihad revealed earlier (*ibid*, p.xxvi). Abdallah Azzam makes this point explicitly clear while writing in 1986 that "The sword verses abrogate around 140 verses on Jihad revealed previously. They give definite answer to anyone who questions (the Quran's) clear definition (of Jihad)." (*Quoted by Burke, ibid p. 32*).

"Jalaluddin Siyuti in his Itqan gives 20 verses presented by T.P. Hughes in the *Dictionary of Islam* (p. 520) and out of them only concerning jihad are presented below :

Sr. No.	Abrogated Ayat	Abrogating Ayat	Subject of Abrogated Ayat
1.	4 : 88	4 : 89; 9 : 5;	Jihad or war with infidels
2.	2 : 216	9 : 36	Jihad in the Sacred months
3.	2 : 191	9 : 5	Slaying enemies in the sacred mosque.
4.	7 : 66	7 : 67	Jihad or war with infidels
5.	9 : 39	9 : 92	Jihad or war with infidels

In this context, R. Bailey commented, in July 2002, "Although all Muslim scholars believe that God replaced some earlier verses by substituting later verses, there is a great difference of opinion among them as to which verses supersede which verses. Nevertheless, most are agreed that ayat 9 : 5 (called "the verse of the sword") supersedes most of the previous verses regarding Jihad." "Some believe, it supersedes as many as 111 previous verses. In spite of this general agreement, many today quote the previous replaced verses in order to validate their perception of Islam being a peaceful religion. Thus modern, liberal Muslim leaders, especially here in the West, are teaching what could be called, "the Islam of Mecca" with its emphasis on non-violence and tolerance. At the same time, "the Islam of Medina," with its more aggressive, totalitarian nature is what is being practiced and taught by orthodox, fundamentalist Muslims in most parts of the Muslim world." (*The Jihad Juggernaut*, p. 56).

Comments on the Stages of Jihad

The abovementioned lengthy discussion clearly reveals that the nature of Jihad travelled a long journey from a peaceful, harmonious and coexisting Jihad at Mecca to fullfledged, eternal and bloody war at Medina against the non-Muslims wherever they exist in the world.

Not only this, the Medinan ayat 9 : 5 and others of this sura, 9 which chronologically is the last one of the Quranic revelations, automatically abrogate all the earlier Quranic injunctions revealed at Mecca or Medina. In view of this,

the peaceful Jihad of Mecca, against the non-Muslims, is no more valid, as approved by all Islamic scholars including Jalalluddin Siyuti, Saiyyd Qutb, T.P. Hughes, Muir, Maududi etc. Therefore, the oft-repeated ayats of Mecca as “*There is no compulsion in religion*” (2 : 256) and “*To you, your religion, to me, my religion*” (109 : 6), are no more valid in Islam.

However, the Muslim scholars use all the Quranic ayats and injunctions about Jihad from Mecca to Medina as per their convenience, situation, political power and physical strength, assuming that non-Muslim world and media may not be aware of the invalidity of Meccan and Medinan ayats revealed earlier than 9.5.

As a matter of fact, when the Muslims are in minority, weak and out of political power, as they are in India, U.K. USA etc. now, they argue in favour of peaceful jihad, on the basis of Meccan ayats which stand abrogated. And when they are strong, and in political power, as in Islamic countries, they adopt the commands of Suras 8 and 9 revealed at Medina, of total war against the non-Muslims to annihilate them as had been being done since 630 AD in all the countries won over by the Islamic armies earlier in Europe, Africa, Asia etc. And since 1947, bloody Jihad, has been continuing against the non-Muslims *i.e.* the Hindus, Bauddhs, Jains, Sikhs, Christians, Atheists and others etc. in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. So, in brief, all hues of Jihad are visible in the international political scenario of today; and Muslim scholars often quote those ayats which suit them politically and religiously as per their physical strength and political power in the state.

In India, full-fledged bloody Jihad is operative in Kashmir, during the last 20 years, and a semi-bloody Jihad is on in Kerela and west Bengal; and peaceful but assertive Jihad in other parts of India. All hues of Jihad are fully and vigorously operating in different parts of India at present with the connivance of pro-Muslim political parties like, Congress, CPM, RJD, SP, Muslim League and other regional parties with a single aim to capture the political power at the States and Central Government level.

Such various shades of Jihad are visible in other countries also where the Muslims are in political power, and also in those countries where their population varies from 5 to 45 percent of the total, and they are not in power.

Shift in the Nature of Jihad from Mecca to Medina

Now the question arises why did the concept and mode of operation of Jihad change from peaceful to bloody Jihad in early Islam ? Why was a shift from spiritualism and social reform in Mecca to dictatorial politics in Medina ? Why are there, the divergently opposite faces of Islam at Mecca and Medina ? When Allah-the revealer of the Quranic ayats described as All Knowing, Almighty, Destroyer, Powerful, Avenger, Just, Pardoner, Kind etc., is the same, then why is there change in the nature of Jihad from Mecca to Medina ? When Allah is the

Creator of all human beings, then why does the Merciful Allah dictate violent commands against the non-Muslims only?

Historically in brief, the Quran shows several distinct phases in the conceptual development of Jihad. These are closely linked with the Quranic revelations initially at Mecca and later on at Medina after the Hijira. This progressive development, and shifting of thought about Jihad, from spirituality to world Islamic empire is closely linked with the strength of the followers and personal political ambitions of Prophet Muhammad. These can be termed as the two faces of Jihad in Islam-one of Mecca and the other of Medina.

All scholars of Islam have observed this drastic change in the nature of Quranic ayats, and have commented and tried to explain these two faces of Jihad in their own way :

(1) In this context, Hitti writes in his book "*History of the Arabs*" (pp. 124-125).

"The Makkan surahs, about ninety in number, and belonging to the period of struggle, are mostly short, incisive, fiery, impassioned in style and replete with prophetic feeling. In them the Oneness of Allah, His attributes, the ethical duties of man and the coming retribution constitute the favorite themes.

The Madinese surahs, the remaining twenty-four (about one-third of the contents of the Koran) which "were sent down" (*unzilat*) in the period of victory, are mostly long, verbose and rich in legislative material. In them theological dogmas and ceremonial regulations relating to the institution of public prayer, fasting, pilgrimage and the sacred months are laid down. They moreover contain laws prohibiting wine, pork and gambling; fiscal and military ordinances relating to alms-giving (*zakah*) and holy war (*jihad*); civil and criminal laws regarding homicide, retaliation, theft, usury, marriage and divorce, adultery, inheritance and the freeing of slaves. Surahs 2, 4 and 5 contain most of the this legislative material."

(2) In the same tone, Iranian scholar Ali Dashti finds clear differences between Mecca and Medinite ayats and comments in his book "*Twenty Three Years : A Study of the Prophetic Career of Muhammad*" as below :

"The hejira started a great historical transformation, but also followed from a transformation of Muhammad's personality which requires meticulous psychological and spiritual analysis." (p. 80)

"(At Mecca), Muhammad was devout and free from the vices of his time. He pictured the end of the world and the Day of judgement as near at hand. With his thoughts fixed on the Hereafter, he implored his Meccan compatriots to revere the Lord of the Universe, and condemned violence, injustice, hedonism, and neglect of the poor. Like Jesus, he was full of compassion. After the move to Madina, however, he became a relentless warrior, intent on spreading his religion by the sword, and a scheming founder of a state. A Messiah was transformed into a David. A man who had lived for more than twenty years with one wife became inordinately fond of women." (p. 81).

"After the move to Madina, at the age of 53, *i.e.* at an age when most men's physical and emotional faculties are on the wane, a new Muhammad emerged. During his last ten years which he spent at Madina, he was not the same man as the Muhammad who for thirteen years had been preaching humane compassion at Mecca. The Prophet bidden by God "to warn your tribe, your nearest kin" (*sura 26, verse 214*) reappeared in the garb of the Prophet intent on subduing his own tribe and on humbling the kinsmen who for thirteen years had mocked him. Shedding the gown of the warner to "the mother town (*i.e.* Mecca) and the people around it" (*sura 42, verse 5*), he donned the armor of the warrior who was to bring all Arabia from the Yaman to Syria under his flag." (*p. 81*)

"The beauty and melody of the Meccan *suras*, so reminiscent of the preachings of Isaiah and Jeremiah and evocative of the fervor of a visionary soul, seldom reappear in the Madinan *suras*, where the poetic and musical tone tends to be silenced and replaced by the peremptory note of rules and regulations."

"At Madina orders and rules were issued on the authority of a commander who could allow no infringement or deviation. The penalties prescribed for violation or negligence were very severe." (*pp. 81-82*).

"At Madina, however, particularly after the expansion of Moslem power, the mere cursing of the deities of the Qoraysh was no longer at issue; peaceful and affable contact with unbelievers was categorically forbidden. In the words of the Madinan *sura 47 (Mohammad)*, verse 35, "So do not be weak and call for peace when you are uppermost ! God is with you and will not deprive you of (the proceeds of) your deeds." (*pp. 82-83*)

Dashti further observes that :

"Initially there had been no sanction for the use of force and harshness," and "There had been no question of war while the Prophet remained at Mecca." "Amiable behaviour towards possessors of scriptures is recommended in several Meccan and early Madinan verses." (*pp. 83-84*).

"Muhammad's announcement of this edict (*sura 9.29; 98 : 5-6* about the People of the Book) after the elimination of the Madinan Jews, the seizure of the Jewish villages of Khaybar and Fadak, and the conquest of Mecca, indicates that with Islam in power, polite and rational discussion with dissentients was no longer deemed necessary. The language of future discourse with them was to be the language of the sword." (*p. 85*).

Thus, Dashti clearly narrates the opposite faces of Muhammad at Mecca and Medina.

Muir-the biographer of Prophet Muhammad divided Muhammad's life into two periods, the Meccan period and the Medinan period : during the first period of Mecca, Muhammad was a religiously motivated, sincere seeker after truth, but in the second period, Muhammad the man shows his feet of clay, and is corrupted by power and worldly ambitions. (*Muir, vol. 1, pp. 503-506; Ibn Warraq, p. 87*).

(3) Muir in his book "The Life of Mahomet" writes : "In the Meccan period of his life, there certainly can be traced no personal ends or unworthy motives belying this conclusion... Mohammad then was nothing more than he professed to be, "a simple Preacher and a Warner", he was the despised and rejected prophet of a gainsaying people, having no ulterior object but their reformation. He may have mistaken the right means for effecting this end, but there is no sufficient reason for doubting that he used those means in good faith and with an honest purpose."

"But the scene changes at Medina. There temporal power, aggrandisement, and self-gratification mingled rapidly with the grand object of the Prophet's life; and they were sought and attained by just the same instrumentality. Messages from heaven were freely brought down to justify political conduct, in precisely the same manner as to inculcate religious precept. Battles were fought, executions ordered, and territories annexed, under cover of the Almighty's sanction. Nay, even personal indulgences were not only excused but encouraged by the divine approval or command. A special license was produced, allowing the Prophet many wives; the affair with Mary the Coptic bondmaid was justified in a separate Sura; and the passion for the wife of his own adopted son and bosom friend was the subject of an inspired message in which the Prophet's scruples were rebuked by God, a divorce permitted, and marriage with the object of his unhallowed desires enjoined. If we say that such "revelations" were believed by Mohammad sincerely to bear the divine sanction, it can only be in a modified and peculiar sense. He surely must be held responsible for that belief; and in arriving at it, have done violence to his judgement and the better principles of his nature."

"As the natural result, we trace from the period of Muhammad's arrival at Medina a marked and rapid declension in the system he inculcated. Intolerance quickly took the place of freedom; force, of persuasion. The spiritual weapons designed at first for higher objects were no sooner devoted to the purposes of temporal authority, than temporal authority was employed to give weight and temper to those spiritual weapons. The name of the Almighty imparted a terrible strength to the sword of the State; and the sword of the State yielded a willing return by destroying "the enemies of God" and sacrificing them at the shrine of the new religion. "Slay the unbelievers wheresoever ye find them," was now the watchword of Islam. "Fight in the ways of God until opposition be crushed and the Religion become the Lord's alone." The warm and simple devotion breathed by the Prophet and his followers at Mecca, when mingled with worldly motives, soon became dull and vapid; while faith degenerated into a fierce fanaticism, or evaporated in a lifeless round of formal ceremonies." (pp. 519-521).

However, Muir's final judgement is, "The sword of Mahomet, and the Coran (Koran) are the most stubborn enemies of civilisation, liberty and truth, which the world has yet known." (*Caetani Annali dell' Islam, trans. in MW Vol. VI; Ibn Warraq, p. 88*)

(4) In this context, Caetani, while writing at the beginning of the century, came to a similar conclusion : "In Medina, Muhammad, is far more sure of himself, is conscious of his superiority. It is thus the person of Mohammed that stands out above all in the front rank, till to God is given a secondary position in His capacity as the auxiliary of the Prophet. He is no longer the Supreme Being, for whose service everything should be sacrificed, but rather the all-powerful Being who aids the Prophet in his political mission, who facilitates his victories, consoles him in defeat, assists him in unravelling all the mundane and worldly complications of a great Empire over men, and helps him smooth over the difficulties which rise up every day as he works out these new phases of his prophetic and political career. This "*deus ex machina*" becomes supremely useful to him in a society of rude, violent, sanguinary men, quickly angered, immoveable in hatred and their passion for revenge, indifferent towards human blood, greedy of plunder, changeable as the wind in their sympathies...It is from [Muhammad's] mouth and not from God that [Muhammad's men] await replies to questions, the verdict which is to decide their destinies, and for the most part it is no longer God that counts but only the Prophet. Mohammad is a fact more visible and tangible every day; God becomes ever more a useful theory, a supreme principle, who from above the heavens follows with affectionate solicitude the capricious movements and the neither few nor small weaknesses of his favorite prophet, assisting him with legions of angels in brigand expeditions, meeting with revealed verses every troublesome question, smoothing over errors, legalising faults, encouraging fierce instincts with all the immoral brutality of the tyrannical God of the Semities.

If Mohammad deviated from the path of his early years, that should cause no surprise; he was a man as much as, and in like manner as, his contemporaries, he was a member of a still half-savage society, deprived of any true culture, and guided solely by instincts and natural gifts which were decked out by badly understood and half-digested religious doctrines of Judaism and Christianity. Mohammad became thus the more easily corruptible when fortune in the end smiled upon him...[In Medina], he offered very little resistance to the corrupting action of the new social position, more particularly in view of the fact that the first steps were accompanied by bewildering triumphs and by fatal sweetness of practically unlimited political power...The deterioration of his moral character was a phenomenon supremely human, of which history provides not one but a thousand examples. It is easier to die holy on the cross or at the stake than on a throne after a titanic struggle against pitiless and obstinate enemies. The figure of Mohammad loses in beauty, but gains in power." (*Caetani ibid ; Warraq, ibid pp. 88-89*).

(5) According to Walker, "The early or Meccan suras show tolerance for faiths, even for the pagan Arabs. They are full of high idealism, prompted by religious conviction and deep spirituality, in consonance with the Jewish and Christian traditions. God is generally referred to as al-Rahman, "the Merciful".

“These (early Meccan) suras consist of religious teachings, moral principles, brief homilies and other inspired sayings of the Prophet. Their message is delivered in a short and simple rhapsodic style, full of visionary power and poetic fire, usually in rhymed and rhythmic prose. (*saj*).

“These glowing and impassioned verses, with their striking images and stately rhythms, their mystical beauty and religious insight, were known as the “terrific suras”, because they were often preceded by spells of unconsciousness.”

“The Meccan suras, embodying the faith of Abraham for the Arab people, comprise about one-third of the whole Koran, and would make up a slender volume. Many of these suras, in whole or in part were on the lips of Muhammad’s followers. Despite being transmitted orally, they generally remained unchanged and uncorrupted, to form the nucleus of the faith and the foundation of early Islam. Much of the material had a hymnic or psalmic character, making it suitable for liturgical purposes, so it was also used in public worship and on other religious occasions.” (*Foundations of Islam*, p. 150)

“In Medina, as Muhammad’s status rose and his power increased, a change appears to have taken place in his character and in the nature of the Koranic message. This change is reflected in a marked alteration in both the style and the content of his utterances. The long passages in the Koran that Western critics have pronounced tedious, pedestrian and toilsome to read are almost exclusively suras composed in Medina.”

“In Medina there is a marked decline in the religious enthusiasm and poetic fervor that illumine the Meccan revelations. The visionary becomes a preacher, the prophet a theologian. Few of the suras bear the marks of divine influence. Muhammad’s energy begins to spend itself; his inspiration falters, with only an occasional flash of the old fire. Discursive prose takes the place of ecstatic utterance. Some passages underline his own importance, or deal with personal problems, and show a growing intolerance and hostility to those who oppose him.”

“The Medinan suras are clearly the product of the Prophet’s conscious mind. They consist of exhortations, appeals, regulations and proclamations. The texts begin to resemble doctrinal sermons and take on a more didactic and legalistic tone. The inspired “readings” become little more than a ‘text’. In the Medinan period, the term ‘Koran’ is used less frequently, the term ‘al-Kitab’, the Book, being used instead.” (*ibid*, p.151)

While replying to the reasons in the changing behavior of the Prophet, Walker argues, : “Two likely reasons for this change have been advanced. To begin with, in Medina Muhammad no longer had the restraining hand of his wife Khadija to guide him. She had died a little over two years before the Hegira, and with her death, says Sprenger, “*Islam lost in purity and the Koran in dignity*”. It has further been suggested that Muhammad’s seizures, which had apparently remained untreated, had caused a slow but progressive impairment of his state

of his mind, which continued to worsen during his ten remaining years in Medina.”

Hitherto restricting himself to one wife, Muhammad soon became polygamous. His increasing preoccupation with women during the Medinan period became painfully evident. At the same time, his ambition soared. He was now desirous of worldly success, and indulged in political opportunism. His personal conduct and his religious teachings declined in quality as his influence increased.” (*ibid p. 221*)

“The persecuted reformer who lacked all temporal authority in Mecca, had become in Medina an administrator and statesman, general and warlord, judge and legislator, tribal ruler and worldly prince, sovereign potentate and patriarch of the people. He attained a completely new status, achieving absolute authority, with the power of life and death over individuals, families and entire tribes. He was as free to exercise this authority without restraint, and often succumbed to the temptations of power.” (*pp. 221-222*)

“He moved from tolerance to bigotry. The man of peace who once bore opposition with fortitude now emerged as overbearing and autocratic, bent on vengeance against his enemies. He recalled with bitterness the rejection of his prophethood by Jews and Christians, and dealt with them accordingly. He could not forget his treatment by the Meccans, and led his followers on raids on their peaceful merchant caravans. He ordered the assassination of those who opposed or ridiculed him. He directed several military campaigns, ending in a command for the mass killing of unbelievers and the waging of war for the propagation of Islam.” (*p. 222*).

Walker further observed :

“Muhammad had once asserted that God had ‘appointed peoples and tribes that you might have knowledge of one another’ (49 : 13), and that it was one of the signs of God that he had created a diversity of languages and complexions among people’ (30 : 21). Now, in Medina, Arabic was held up, as the language of God and the angels. Now, on the day of resurrection, all sinners will become black-faced, and the faces of those who believe will shine white (3 : 102). Now, the Arabs are portrayed as a superior race, and the best nation ever brought forth unto mankind (3 : 106).”

“During the last years of Muhammad’s life some of his more zealous followers accorded him reverential honor, amounting almost to deification (*Glubb, p. 268*). Everything associated with him was regarded as being endowed with a special blessed virtue (*baraka*).” (*p. 222*).

Walker further observed :

“The preacher and warner of Mecca became, in Medina, a religious pontiff and divine oracle. Where he had once made no distinction between his own message and the prophets and the holy scriptures of other peoples, he now

asserted that all earlier revelations were incomplete and flawed, and that Islam, sent down through him, was the only perfect faith, to be exalted above every religion' (48 : 28)". (p. 223)

"All the prophets before him were only his forerunners. He was the last and greatest among those to whom divine revelations had been vouchsafed. He was the seal of the prophets. With him the succession of prophets had ended, the gates of prophecy were shut, the tongue of prophecy was silenced."

"In the Meccan suras Allah is mighty indeed, and there is none besides Him. His name alone must be glorified. He alone must be obeyed. In the Medinan chapters, the stress is on Muhammad as the leader of the new community and founder of a new religion. Muhammad– the messenger becomes as important as the message he is elected to bring, and almost as important as Allah from whom the message is brought. In seals and talismans the names of Muhammad and Allah are linked and intertwined."

"Muhammad begins to be mentioned in the same breath as the Almighty, and almost invariably it is Allah and his prophet to whom allegiance is due. In one hadith Muhammad says, "He who does not believe in me does not believe in God" (Kazi and Flynn, p. 123). Since Muhammad now bears the authority of God, he is the one whom obedience is due. As the Koran says, "Who obeys the Prophet, obeys God"(4 : 80) (ibid. p. 223).

(6) Similarly Burke observes, "Early Quranic verses, delivered to Muhammad between 610 to 623 CE while his community was small, unpopular and barely tolerated by vastly superior forces, urge patience and the spreading of the word of Islam through non-violent means alone. "There is no compulsion in religion, for the right way is clear from the wrong way", the Quran says (2.256). After the time of the hijra, Allah appears to have given permission for Muslims to engage in defensive warfare. Later verses, received by Muhammed when at the height of his power, enjoined an offensive against unbelievers "fight and slay the pagans wherever ye find them, and seize them, beleaguer them and lie in wait for them". (9 : 5). These verses, known as the "sword verses", were held by the Ulema of the powerful and expansionist Ummayyad and Abbasid dynasties to abrogate the previous more pacifistic Quranic injunctions. This interpretation provided a religious justification for armed expansions by the newly confident dominant ruling group. Though modern moderates prefer to quote the early verses, contemporary radicals, such as bin-Laden, following the ideologies of the Ummayyads and the Abbasids, maintain that they are abrogated by the later more aggressive verses". (Al-Qaeda, pp. 31-32)

(7) In this connection, John Laffin comments in his book, 'Holy War Islam Fights' :

"The chapters of the *Koran* revealed to Muhammad in Mecca (610-622) taught patience under attack. Muslims, being then in the minority, had no option but to be patient. In the chapters he produced at Medina (after 622) the right to repel attack became dominant. Gradually this grew into a prescribed duty of the

Muslims of Medina to take the initiative and fight to subdue the hostile people of Mecca. Thus holy war had its origin in the vital need of Muhammad to establish his authority. We cannot be certain that Muhammad realized that the position he was taking up implied constant and unprovoked war against the unbelieving world until it submitted to Islam. He certainly had a universal Islam in his mind, as the stories of his letters and messages to the surrounding tribes indicate." (p. 44)

(8) Now we conclude with Ibn Warraq's remarks,

"One can unhesitatingly agree with so many scholars that at Mecca, Muhammad was totally honest and sincere in his conviction that he had conversed with the deity. But it cannot under any circumstances be denied that at Medina, his conduct and nature of his revelations changed". (*Why I am Not a Muslim*, p. 347). In relation to the mode to jihad, it is quite evident that the concept of violent and warlike jihad is a later development at Medina only which was non-existent at Mecca.

Why did Allah Change His Policy of Jihad?

In this context, M.R.Baig remarks that, "When Muslims were small then Quran advises them not to be aggressive but afterwards when they became strong and masters of Arab and we find references to fighting." (*More, ibid p. 401, Muslim Dilemma in India, p.12*).

Similarly the encyclopedia of Islam says, "In Meccan Surahs of the Quran, patience under attack is taught; no other attitude was possible. But at Madina the right to repel attack appears, and gradually it became a prescribed duty to fight against, and subdue the hostile Meccans...The Quranic passages speak always of the unbelievers who are to be subdued as dangerous or faithless...It was now a *fard ala l-Kifaya* (incumbent duty), a duty in general on all male, free adult Muslims... (to enter Muslim army)... It (jihad) must continue to be done until the whole world is under the rule of Islam. It must be controlled or headed by a Muslim sovereign or Imam...The people, against whom *jihad* is directed, must first be invited to embrace Islam. On refusal they have another choice. They may submit to Muslim rule, become *dhimmis* and pay *jazia* or fight. In the first case (*i.e.*, of *dhimmis*) their lives, families and property are assured to them, but they have a definitely inferior status, with no technical citizenship, and a standing only as protected wards (in the second case) if they fight, they and their families may be enslaved and all their property seized as booty...If they embrace Islam...they become part of Muslim community with all its (equal) rights and duties...Apostates must be put to death." (*quoted by More pp. 400-401*)

Similarly Maududi explained this change in policy as, "With migration to Medina, the struggle between Islam and unbelief entered a new phase. Hitherto, the message of Islam had been spread in the heart of disbelief...Even though they, (believers) were persecuted and subjected to many wrongs, they were carrying on missionary work there. After the migration, all these scattered

Muslims gathered in Medina, formed a body-politic and established a small independent state." (*Towards Understanding the Quran, Vol. 1. p. 41*)

About the nature of Quranic verses at Mecca and Medina on Jihad, Syed Kamran Mirza remarks," : "Prophet Muhammad while he was in Mecca did not have too many supporters; hence, he was very weak in power compared to the Pagans. It was at that time he brought some soft verses (maximum one dozen in the whole Quran). But in Medina Muhammad quickly assumed both religious and political power and leadership over the whole Medina community. It was at that time he brought all those harsh/hateful (several hundreds of them) Quranic verses just to incite his followers to fight." (*Jihad Juggernaut, p. 48*)

Thus lack of sufficient manpower capable of challenging the mighty Qureshites at Mecca; and with the increasing military power, clubbed with the political ambition of prophet Muhammad at Medina, to dominate the whole world, appear to be the main reasons of the shift in the nature of Jihad.

Two Faces of Prophet Muhammad

The aforementioned statements of Islamic scholars also reflect the gradual transformation in the behaviour of Prophet Muhammad, towards the non-Muslims, in the ayats revealed at Mecca and Medina. These observations alike the nature of jihad, also show two faces of Prophet Muhammad—a man and a statesman.

Prophet Muhammad—a Man : In the the Meccan ayats Probhet Muhammad himself says, I am a man like you, and have nothing to interfere or arrange your affairs as shown below :

(i) Say, "I am but a man like yourselves." (18 : 110),

(ii) "I am not (set) over you to arrange your affairs." (10 : 108)

(iii) "I am not (here) to watch over your doings". (6 : 104)

He also did not claim to possess the treasures of heaven or to know anything secret;

(iv) Say : "I tell you not that with me are the Treasures of Allah, nor do I know what is hidden. Nor do I tell you I am an angel.' I but follow what is revealed to me". (6 : 50)

(v) "With Him are the keys of the Unseen." (6 : 59)

Though he talked a lot about Day of Judgement but did not know exactly when it will be :

(vi) "They ask thee about the (final) Hour-when will be its appointed time ? Say : The knowledge thereof is with my Lord (alone) : none but He can reveal as to when it will occur." (7 : 187)

(vii) "I am indeed a clear Warner". (29 : 50)

But in *Kalmah* or confession, by which a person becomes a Muslim, Muhammad has been given a status of the Prophet. While accepting Islam, one confesses : *ash-hadu an la illaha illallah, ash-hadu Muhammad ur rasulullah'* meaning

thereby "I bear witness that there is no God but Allah; I bear witness that Muhammad is His Prophet" (*Burke, ibid, p. 34*).

So by this confession, a Muslim witnesses the acceptance both of Allah and Prophet Muhammad as an essential and obligatory condition to become a true Muslim. No one can be a Muslim by accepting Allah alone as the only God, one must also confess Muhammad as His Messenger.

Though this confession (*Kalimah*) is the foundation of Islam, yet it does not occur as such completely in the Holy Quran (*Hughes, ibid p. 261*). But it occurs in parts : "There is no god but Allah" is in ayat (47 : 19), and "Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah" is in ayat (48 : 29), and both these ayats were revealed in Medina. However, the whole *Kalimah* occurs in the Hadiths, which are the later compilations. It is oft-recurring clause in the daily prayers (*namaz*) also.

The *Kalimah's* meaning leads to the following three main conclusions : (1) There is only one God Allah; (2) There is no other adorable god except Him and (3) Muhammad is His Messenger. The first two declarations establish pure monotheism in Islam. But by the third essential condition of joining Muhammad as His messenger leaves it no more a pure monotheism. There are several ayats in Quran establishing unity of God as below :

- (i) "Allah ! There is no god but He". (4 : 87)
- (ii) "Nay-all Honour is with Allah : (4 : 139)
- (iii) " Is there any God beside Allah ? Say: Bring your proof, if ye are truthful !" (27 : 64).
- (iv) "He is the Absolute Owner of praise" (31 : 26)

Allah not only declares Muhammad as His Messenger but commands Muslims to obey and worship him and fear from him. This appears quite practical and convincing as Allah is Invisible, while the Prophet is visible. And during his life time, he was always available then and there for practical advice to people, if need be.

However, the early Muslims did not appreciate associating Muhammad with the Allah. Walker comments thus :

"Muhammad's long time opponent Abu Sofyan regarded the second part of the creed as unacceptable. He could not bring himself to utter it, and eventually did so only reluctantly and under duress. There have been mystics and contemplatives in Islam who used only the first part of the creed, without acknowledging the special rank of Muhammad."

"A similar development took place in the call to prayer. At first, it was a simple call, in no set form, shouted out by a crier walking the main streets and summoning the people : 'Come to public prayer. Allah is great. There is no God but Allah'. Then Mohammad, accepting as God-sent an alleged dream-inspiration of a zealous follower, introduced his own name into a new formula summoning his people to their devotions : "Allah is great.....I testify that Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah.....Come to prayer'."

"Muslims who had objected to the inclusion of the Prophet's name in the creed further deprecated the linking of Muhammad's name with that of God in

the call to prayer (*Schimmel, 1975, p. 214*). It was, they felt, contrary to the spirit of Islam, and a form of the heresy of association (*shirk*) that Mohammad himself had often condemned." (*ibid p. 224*).

Some of the commands of Quran to obey Prophet Muhammad are as below :

(i) Say : "If ye do love Allah; follow me : Allah will love you and forgive you your sins." (3 : 31)

(ii) Say : "Obey Allah and His Messenger" but if they turn back, Allah loveth not those who reject faith." (3 : 32)

(iii) "Those who deny Allah and His Messengers, and wish to separate between Allah and His Messengers, saying, "we believe in some but reject others" and wish to take a course midway, they are in truth Unbelievers, and we have prepared for Unbelievers a humiliating punishment." (4 : 150-151).

(iv) "O ye believe ! obey Allah, and obey the Messenger, and make not vain your deeds !" (47 : 33).

(v) "I have come to you with a Sign from your Lord. So fear Allah and obey me." (3 : 50).

There are hundreds of such ayats in Quran in which Allah exhorts the Muslims to obey His Messenger. He even emphasises that obeying the Prophet Muhammad is as good as obeying Allah :

(vi) "He who obeys the Messenger, obeys Allah : but if any turn away, We have not sent thee to watch over them." (4 : 80).

Further Allah threatens of dire punishment to those who oppose Allah and His Messenger.

(vii) Quran says, "If any contend against Allah and His Messenger, Allah is strict in punishment." (8 : 13)

These Quranic concepts are further supported by the Hadiths as given below :

(i) "He who does not obey Muhammad, disobeys God (Allah)." (*Mishkat, 144*).

(ii) "The Prophet himself said : "None of you is a believer till I (Muhammad) am dearer to him than (the members of his household) his child, his father and the whole of mankind." (*Sahih Muslim, Vol. 1 : 71, p. 37*).

Not only this, Allah has made Prophet Muhammad an ideal person and model of behaviour in all circumstances as below :

(i) "Ye have indeed in the Messenger of Allah an excellent exemplar for him who hopes in Allah and the Final Day, and who remembers Allah much." (33 : 21)

He also declared that Muhammad is the last of the chain of prophets, and no more prophet, will be sent hereafter by Allah to the world :

(ii) "Muhammad is not the father of any of your men, but (he is) the Messenger of Allah and the seal of the prophets and Allah has full knowledge of all things." (33 : 40)

So according to Islam, Quran is the last revelation and final message from Allah to the mankind.

It may be pointed out here that in Meccan ayats Prophet Muhammad admits himself to be 'a man' only. But when Prophet Muhammad becomes strong and powerful, Allah Himself commands in Medinan ayats that obeying His Messenger is as good as obeying Allah Himself; and disobeying His Messenger means disobeying Allah; and He threatens those, of severe punishment, who do not obey the Prophet.

Thus on becoming strong at Medina, the Prophet becomes worthy of being obeyed like Allah. So the Prophet Muhammad-a man in Mecca, becomes equivalent to Allah, in Medina, as far as obeying by Muslims is concerned.

In view of the differing nature of the ayats revealed at Mecca and Medina, Richard Bell concluded that :

"the Koran was definitely closed about the time of Badr (624 AD) less than two years after the Hegira (*Watt, p. 138*). This means that the spiritual part of the Quran is mainly confined in the Meccan suras. However on becoming quite powerful at Medina, a remarkable change appeared in the life and the personality of Prophet Muhammad; and, "some passages (in Quran) underline his own importance or deal with personal problems and show a growing intolerance and hostility to those who oppose him," remarks Walker (*ibid, p. 151*)

Hurgrone also observed these changes and pointed out :

"Nowhere in the life of Muhammad can a period of turning be shown; there is a gradual changing of aims and readjustment of the means of obtaining them" (*Mohammadanism pp. 37-38, quoted by Sell ibid p.5*).

Several scholars, quoted earlier, observed that after gaining power in Medina, Prophet Muhammad, from a man gradually became a 'statesman', 'dictator', 'warrior', 'law giver', 'adminstrator, and a 'ruler' etc. After winning over and consolidating the entire Arabia under Islam, he wrote letters to the then neighbouring kings of Byzantine and Roman states to accept Islam reflecting his political ambitions.

These slowly changing attitudes of Prophet Muhammad in the ayats of Mecca and Medina reflect his two different faces of life style, policies and personalities. And the same have become the examples for all Muslims in the history of Islam and thereafter. This is why wherever Islam is politically weak in a particular country it behaves like a tolerant and peaceful religion of Mecca; and wherever it is strong, it acts as a totalitarian and a dictator as of Medina. Since Islam revolves around the examples, actions and life style of Prophet Muhammad at Mecca as well as at Medina, these two divergent personalities of the Prophet are fully reflected as two faces of Islam, depending upon the strength and political power in particular situation.

The examples and actions of Prophet Muhammad at Mecca and Medina are his two different faces which also confirm the two faces of Islam.

In brief, the Meccan suras mainly reflect the spiritual Islam while the Medinan suras indicate political Islam which ultimately overshadows the spiritual Islam. However, both are so intimately interstratified that it is impossible to sieve them out. Both are complementary to each other. In the

modern terminology, religion of Meccan suras can be termed Islam to some extent while the Medinan suras, impregnated with political agenda and fundamentalism, is Islamism; and various shades of mixtures of Islam and Islamism can be seen quite active in different Islamic and non-Islamic countries depending upon the political power of the Muslims.

Main Conclusions

The lengthy discussion, presented above confirms that the nature of Jihad progressively changed with the attitude and policies of Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina. This clearly shows that the meaning of the word Jihad is not static and fixed. But it is variable with the strength, political power and circumstances of the community, as a whole.

Though the word Jihad occurs three-four times in the Meccan verses, in Quran, but here the command to the believers is to "struggle with one's own self for the self development and self control. But in the Medinan ayats, it is repeatedly used in the sense to fight the non-Muslims. As the Allah had not permitted His believers to take up armed struggle against the non-Believers, in Mecca, any argument to explain the meaning of Jihad, in the sense of self-struggle and peaceful efforts, on the basis of Meccan ayats, can not explain the true and complete meaning of the word Jihad as applied to the Medinan ayats where it is used to fight, particularly in relation to the non-Muslims. So the spirit of the commands of the Meccan ayats is not, and can not be applicable, to explain the true spirit of the Jihad as used in the Medinan ayats where armed struggle against the Disbelievers was not only permitted, but it was made obligatory by Allah to all able bodied Muslims to fight still the whole world comes under the shade of Islam.

'Verse of Sword' Abrogates Earlier Ayats

Besides this, all Muslim scholars, theologians and Ulema are unanimous, and agree, as concluded earlier, that Quranic ayat 9 : 5, known as '*Verse of Sword*', is of the last sura (al Tauba, number 9) revealed to Prophet; and, through this ayat Allah has abrogated all the ayats of Quran, concerning Jihad, revealed earlier to Prophet Muhammad, whether at Mecca or Medina. So according to Quran (9 : 5), the Almighty Allah finally commands to the Muslims to "*fight and slay the Pagans (non-Muslims) wherever ye find them till they repent and establish regular prayer. (accept Islam)*".

In view of this "*Verse of Sword*" (9 : 5), counting of the number of stages of Jihad, from Mecca to Medina whether three, four, five or six is meaningless, Because Allah validates this final command of ayat 9.5 only. So after this '*Verse of Sword*', there is one and only one stage, of Jihad, which is the valid one to subjugate the Disbelievers of Islam and their countries by all possible means. In view of this verse (9 : 5) all earlier ayats concerning Jihad, in Islam, being abrogated, are invalid, and do not form a part of validated and authentic jihad.

Yet it is amazing that some apologists of Islam, particularly the Sufis, moderate Muslims, politicians, journalists etc. repeatedly quote the abrogated

Meccan ayats like, "*there is no compulsion in religion*" and the alikes in support of peaceful jihad; and proclaim Islam a religion of peace. On the other hand, Ulemas, Sunnies, Islamists, and Islamic political organizations fully justify the '*Verse of Sword*'. This is particularly so in non-Islamic and secular countries like U.S.A., U.K., India etc. ; and the present Islamism and Islamic terrorism is based on this ideology of '*Verse of Sword*' of the Quran.

Two Faces of Islam

Now the question arises why is this transformation in the attitude of Allah and the Prophet Muhammad regarding Jihad-the pivot of Islam ? And Islamic scholars again concede, as pointed earlier, that when Prophet Muhammad was weak at Mecca, he talked of peace, tolerance, restraint, patience, self-control, Unity of God, social justice and reforms, fear of Day of Judgement etc, and no revenge or retaliation against his critics and persecutors. But gradually, on getting stronger and stronger, by asking his followers to stay in Medina, through military power, and financially by raids of commercial caravans, the politically ambitious and warner Prophet became a dictator, a warrior, a law-giver and a statesman of the tiny Muslim state of Medina. He transformed the reformative, peaceful and spiritual Islam into political Islam, which dominates over it since then.

Actually, the Meccan and Medinan ayats of Quran, on Jihad reflect two totally opposite and divergent facets of Islam, and today these both types of Jihad of Islam are clearly reflected to varying degrees in various religious and political denominations of Islam in different Muslim and non-Muslim countries. This is why, on one hand we see the Sufism predominatly spiritual in nature, and then on the other hand, is Sunni Wahaabism type as political. So all shades and spectrums of Jihad can be seen even today in various religious sects and political organizations of Islam on the basis of these Meccan and Medinan ayats revealed to Prophet Muhammad under different situations.

Even during the life time of Prophet Muhammad, after the Verse of Sword, the political Islam of Medina mostly superseded the spiritual Islam of Mecca. This precedence controls the psyche of the Muslim masses even today aiming to win over the whole world of the non-Muslims.

These concepts and religious passions of violent jihad, aiming for world's political power, through violent jihad as per the '*Verse of Sword*' of Medina, are reflected in the mode of operation of the jihad even today, while the Mecca-type of jihad has been, and is still operative by the Muslims under politically weak and Muslim minority situations and non-Muslim countries.

So practically, there are two faces of Islamic Jihad being strategically adopted by the Muslims under two divergently opposite situations. In politically weak and secular countries, like USA, UK, India and European countries etc., the non-violent and spiritual jihad of Mecca is adopted to achieve slowly the long-term hidden agenda of the Islamic state. On the other hand, under the predominantly Muslim populated Islamic countries violent, aggressive and political jihad of Medina-type is undertaken against the non-Muslim minorities and even against

the unreligious and politically opposite Muslims as we have witnessed in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Algeria, Nigeria Indonesia etc. where millions of Hindus, Sikhs, Bauddhs, Christians, Jews and even Muslims of Shia, Ahmediya and other sects were killed by the islamists.

Another feature of these two faces of Jihad in Islam, is that under secular democratic and unislamic countries, the Muslims though in minority, take full advantages of the freedom of religion, freedom of expression, democracy, equality in law, and secularism-in which they do not believe, and freely wage Mecca-type Jihad and legally operate their political, religious, and economic policies and strategies to promote Islam by all possible methods. And if the nonislamic or secular government, takes any legal step like the Shaha Banu case in India, even for the welfare of the Muslim community, they agitate in the name of interference in Shariah.

On the other hand, in the Muslim majority and Islamic states, they adopt Medina-type jihad; and do not allow their non-Muslim minorities any freedom of religion and freedom of expression, equality in law, and even freedom of worship, which they enjoy freely to propagate and promote their religion in the Muslim minority states. Rather the non-Muslims are treated as *Dhimmies* with legal discrimination and persecution in the name blasphemy as routinely happens in states like Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. The genocide of the Hindus, Christians and Bauddhs in Chittagaon Hills and other areas in Bangladesh is well documented (*Paliwal, pp. 1-188*). Muslim states never allow any of these rights and privileges to their minorities which Muslims themselves enjoy as minorities in non-Muslim states.

Therefore, Jihad is a strategy to promote the political, religious, economic and social welfare of the Muslims for which they adopt Mecca-type spiritual jihad in non-Muslim states, and Medina type jihad in Muslim majority or Islamic states. So this two types of jihad is waged by the Muslims strategically depending upon their political power in a particular state.

Practically Jihad serves both religious and political purposes and "Since Jihad is a religious as well as a political struggle, two level of success can be recognized," says Prof. Johnah Winters (p. 51) as 'Religion and politics are two sides of the same coin of Islam'. (Jansen, p. 17).

Besides this, it is amazing how the Islamic God-Allah who is claimed to be the Creator of all human beings revealed different standards of waging Jihad, against the non-Muslims, at Mecca and Medina. If Muslims accept "*Jihad is worship*" then why a single and uniform method of worship or uniform pattern of Jihad for the Cause of Allah, was not commanded by Allah Himself. If Allah is Just then why is there disparity and discrimination amongst his own children; Paradise for Believers and Hell-Fire for the-Unbelievers ?

Though seventyfive percent of the Quran was revealed at Mecca, and the rest at Medina, yet the psyche of the Muslim masses is mainly controlled by the Medinan suras which are mainly political in nature and are placed in the beginning (sura 2 to 9) of the Quran. These suras are infused with the political

ambitions of establishing Islamic rule throughout the world. So the mental make up of the students of tender age of the Madarsaas and common Muslims, who start reading the Quran, their minds are filled with the commands of Allah of the initial suras of the Quran. This is why the political leaders of Islam like Iqbal, Maulana Maududi, Sayyid Qutb, Ayatollah Khomeini, Usama bin Laden etc. have been able to exploit the religious sentiments of the Muslim masses on the basis of Medinan suras. After the success of political revolution in Iran and bomb blasts in New York, London, Madrid, Delhi, Bombay etc. during recent years the Islamism is at a rise, world wide.

Finally the divergent nature of ayats revealed at Mecca and Medina have divided the Quran into two main parts, which ultimately had shaped two distinct personalities of Prophet Muhammad, two diverse faces of Jihad and finally two faces of Islam. And despite of different stages of Jihad, in Quran the "Verse of Swrod" (9 : 5) has abrogated all soft ayats revealed earlier like "*there is no compulsion in Religion*", leaving an aggressive Jihad against the non-Muslims world-wide valid only since 632 AD.

What to do

Now we are in the 21st century and the political systems throughout the world have tremendously changed since the establishment of Islam in the seventh century. We find religious minorities in almost all Muslims and non-Muslim countries. But Muslim countries discriminate their religious minorities and wage jihad against them as a part of ethnic cleansing as was practised by prophet Muhammad himself and later Khalifas.

So there is an urgent need that all countries should legally deal their religious minorities equally; and all Islamic countries should provide the same rights and privileges to their non-Muslim minorities which the Muslims themselves enjoy as minorities in non-Muslim secular countries. The UNO should take up all legal steps to ensure equal rights and privileges to the minorities both in Islamic and non-Islamic countries of the world .

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Anwar Shaikh of Islamic Jihad

“The concept of Jihad has been presented by Islam as “a holy war in the way of Allah” as well as, “a defensive struggle against unbelievers”. There is no truth, whatever, in either of these assertions. History clearly demonstrates that it is an absolutely aggressive war against non-Muslims, who refuse to accept the Islamic faith and want to worship God the way they like, but this is not acceptable to Allah, who does not acknowledge the veracity of any other faith and ardently desires to eliminate all other beliefs along with their followers.” *This is Jihad (preface, p. 1)*

“Jihad is all about massacre, mutilation and misery and not about any moral, social or humanitarian service as the Muslim divines pretend. *This is Jihad* (p. 5)

“Jihad is a perpetual war against infidels, which include Hindus, Buddhists, Atheists, Deists, Sceptics as well as Jews and Christians. According to this doctrine, a person’s biggest crime is to deny Allah and Muhammad’s exclusive right to be believed in and adored. Therefore, this is a sufficient cause for a Muslim state to raid and subjugate non-Muslim territories.” (*Islam, Sex and Violence*, p. 112).

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