The Life of Muhammad

If they drop to the lowland we will pursue them with horse and foot.
So that our road will never deviate.

We will bring upon them the fate of Ād and Jurhum.
A people that disobeyed Muhammad will regret it.

And what a time for showing repentance!

Tell Abū Sufyān if you meet him
‘If you are not sincere in worship, and embrace Islam
Then shame will come on you speedily in this life
And in hell you will wear a garment of molten pitch for ever!’ (394)

Abū Sufyān’s ‘sworn friend’ was Āmīr b. al-Ḥādramī who was among the
prisoners. Al-Ḥādramī was an ally of Ḥarb b. Umayya (395).

When those who had gone out to Zaynab returned Hind said, ‘Utba met
them and said:

In peace are you wild asses—rough and coarse
And in war like women in their courses?

Kinānā b. al-Rabī‘ when he handed Zaynab over to the two men said:

I am astonished at Ḥabbār and the paltry ones of his people
Who wish me to break my word with Muhammad’s daughter.
I care not for their numbers as long as I live
And as long as my hand can grasp my trusty blade.

Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb by Bukayr b. ‘Abdullāh b. al-Asbajī from Sulaymān b. Yāsār from Abū Išāq al-Da‘ūsī from Abū Hurayra, told me that the
latter said: ‘The apostle sent me among a number of raiders with
orders that if we got hold of Ḥabbār b. al-Aswād or the other man who
first got to Zaynab with him (396) we were to burn them with fire. On
the following day he sent word to us “I told you to burn these two men if you
got hold of them; then I reflected that none has the right to punish by fire
save God, so if you capture them kill them.”’

‘Abū’l-‘Āṣ b. al-Rabī‘ becomes a Muslim

When Islam thus came between them Abū’l-‘Āṣ lived in Mecca while
Zaynab lived in Medina with the apostle until, shortly before the con-
quest,2 Abū’l-‘Āṣ went to Syria trading with his own money and that of
Quraṣḥān which they entrusted to him, for he was a trustworthy
trader. Having completed his business he was on his way home when one of
the apostle’s raiding parties fell in with him and took all he had, though he
himself escaped them. When the raiders went off with their plunder Abū’l-
‘Āṣ went into Zaynab’s house under cover of night and asked her to give
him protection. She at once did so. He came to ask for his property.
When the apostle went out to morning prayer—so Yazīd b. Rūmān told me

1 Cf. p. 442.
2 loc. of Mecca.

—said ‘Allah akbar’ followed by all present, Zaynab cried from the
place where the women sat ‘O you men, I have given protection to Abū’l-
‘Āṣ, al-Rabī‘.’3 His prayers over, the apostle turned round to face the men
and asked them if they had heard what he had heard, and when they said
that they had he swore that he knew nothing about the matter until
Zaynab made her declaration, adding, ‘the meanest Muslim can give
protection on their behalf’. He went off to see his daughter and told her
to honour her guest but not to allow him to approach her for she was not
harmful to him.

‘Abdullāh b. Abū Bakr told me that the apostle sent to the raiding party
which had taken Abū’l-‘Āṣ’s goods saying: ‘This man is related to us as
you know and you have taken property of his. If you think well to restore
it to him we should like that; but if you will not it is booty which God has
given you and you have the better right to it.’ They replied that they
would willingly give it back and they were so scrupulous that men brought
back old skins and little leather bottles and even a little piece of wood until
everything was returned and nothing withheld. Then Abū’l-‘Āṣ went to
Mecca and paid everyone what was due, including those who had given
him money to lay out on their behalf, and asked them if anyone of them
had any further claim on him. ‘No,’ they said, ‘God reward you; we have
found you both trustworthy and generous.’ ‘Then’, said he, ‘I bear witness
that there is no God but the God and that Muhammad is his servant
and his apostle. I would have become a Muslim when I was with him but that
I feared that you would think that I only wanted to rob you of your
property; and now that God has restored it to you and I am clear of it I
submit myself to God.’ Thus saying he went off to rejoin the apostle.

Dīwūd b. al-Ḥusayn from Ikrima from b. Abūbās told me that the
apostle restored Zaynab to him according to the first marriage4 after six
years had passed5 without any new procedure (397).

Among the prisoners who, I was told, were given their freedom without
having to pay ransom were: Abū’l-‘Āṣ whom the prophet freed after Zaynab’s
decision to send him; al-Muṣṭalbī b. Ḥanābī b. al-Ḥārīth b. Ṭubayyā b. Ṭumān b. Ṭabārīxīrī, 6 who belonged [by capture] to some of
al-Ḥārīth b. al-Khazzār (He was left in their hands until they let him
go, and he went to his people.) (398); Sayfī b. Abū Rīfā‘a b. Abīd b. Abū’l-
Abdullāh b. Ṭumān b. Ṭabārīxīrī. (He was left in the hands of his captors
and when no one came to ransom him they let him go on condition that
he should send his ransom, but he broke his word to them. Ḥassān b. Ṭa‘ābīt said in reference to that:

Sayfī is not the man to fulfil his pledge
The back of a fox tired at some waterhole or other;6


1 Zaynab called out in a moment of complete silence at the beginning of prayer.
2 Dīwūd, L. ‘The line is not clear to me.
3 These words are not in W.
4 These words are not in W.
and seizing his bandoleer he gripped him round the neck with it. He told the Ansār who were with him to come in and sit with the apostle and to watch the rascal carefully, for he was not to be trusted. When the apostle saw 'Umayr and 'Umar grasping the bandoleer round his neck he told 'Umar to let go and 'Umayr to advance. He came up and said 'Good morning', for that was the greeting of paganism. The apostle said, 'God has honoured us with a better greeting than thine, 'Umayr. It is Salām, the greeting of the inhabitants of Paradise.' By God, Muhammad, you have taken to it only recently.' 'What brought you? I have come about this prisoner you have that you may treat him well.' 'Then why have you a sword round your neck?' 'God damn the swords. Have they done us any good?' 'Tell me the truth. Why have you come?' 'I came only for the reason I have told you.' 'Nay, but you and Šafwān b. Umayya sat together in the hijr and talked about the Quraysh who were thrown into the well. Then you said 'But for debts and family reasons I would go and kill Muhammad.' And Šafwān assumed responsibility for both if you would kill me for him, but God intervened.' I testify that you are the apostle of God. We used to call you a liar when you brought us tidings from heaven and we denied the revelation you brought. But this is a matter to which only I and Šafwān were privy, and none can have told you of it but God. Praise be to God who has guided me to Islam and led me thus.' Then he testified to the truth and the apostle said, 'Instruct your brother in his religion, read the Quran to him, and free his prisoner for him,' and they did so.

Then he said, 'I used to be active in extinguishing the light of God and persecuting those who followed God's religion. I should like you to give me permission to go to Mecca to summon them to God and His apostle and to Islam that perhaps God may guide them; and if not I will persecute them in their religion as I used to persecute your companions,' the apostle agreed and he went to Mecca. When 'Umar had left, Šafwān said, 'You will soon have some good news which will make you forget what happened at Badr.' Šafwān kept questioning riders until one came who told him of 'Umayr's Islam, and he swore that he would never seek to him again nor do him a service. When 'Umar came to Mecca he stayed there summoning people to Islam and treating those who opposed him violently so that through him many became Muslims.

I was told that it was either 'Umar or al-Ĥārith b. Hishām who saw the kill when he turned on his heels on the day of Badr and said, 'Where are we going, O Surīqā?' And the enemy of God lay on the ground and disappeared. So God sent down concerning him, 'And when Satan made his works seem good to them and said None can conquer you today for I your protector' and he mentions how the devil deceived them and took

Reading Khita for C. and W's Khita, but perhaps the meaning is 'It is new to me'.

In another tradition quoted by Suhayfī ii. 85 it is the devil who knocks down al-Ĥārith.

\[\text{Sin } 8, 90.\]
The form of Surāqā b. Mālik b. Ju'shūm when they remembered the quarrel they had with B. Bakr. God said, 'And when the two armies saw each other' and the enemy of God saw the armies of angels by which God strengthened His apostle and the believers against their enemies 'he turned on his heels and said, “I am quit of you, for I see what you do not see,” The enemy of God spoke the truth for he did see what they could not see and said, “I fear God for God is severe in punishment.”' I was told that they used to see him in every camp whenever he appeared in the form of Surāqā not suspecting him until on the day of Badr when the two armies met he turned on his heels and betrayed them after he had led them on.

Hassān b. Thābit said:

My people it was who sheltered their prophet
And believed in him when all the world were unbelievers,
Except a chosen few who were forerunners,
To the righteous, helpers with the Helpers.
Rejoicing in God’s portion
Saying when he came to them, noble of race, chosen,
Welcome in safety and comfort,
Goodly the prophet the portion and the guest.
They gave him a home in which a guest of theirs
Need have no fear—an (ideal) home.
They shared their wealth when the refugees came
While the share of the stubborn opponent is hell.
To Badr we went—they to their death.
Had they known what they should have known they would not have gone;
The devil deluded and then betrayed them.
Thus does the evil one deceive his friends.
He said I am your protector and brought them to an evil pass
Wherein is shame and disgrace.
Then when we fought them they deserted their leaders,
Some fleeing to high ground others to the plain (402).

THE QURAYSH WHO FED THE PILGRIMS

The names of the Quraysh who used to feed the pilgrims are as follows:

From B. Ḥāshim: Al-'Abbās b. 'Abdullāh-Muṭṭalib.
From B. Naufal: al-Ḥārith b. 'Amir and Ṭu’ayma b. 'Adiy by turns.
From B. Asad: Abū'l-Bakhtārī and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām by turns.
From B. 'Abdi'l-Dār: al-Nadr b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥalda b. 'Alqama (49).
From B. Makhzūm: Abū Jahl.

When Badr was over, God sent down the whole Sūra Anfāl about it. With regard to their quarrelling about the spoils there came down: ‘They will ask you about the spoils, say, the spoils belong to God and the apostle, so fear God and be at peace with one another, and obey God and His apostle if you are believers.’

Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, so I have heard, when he was asked about this sūra said: ‘It came down about us, the people of Badr, when we quarrelled about the booty on that day, and God took it out of our hands when we showed an evil disposition and gave it to the apostle, who divided it equally among us. In that there was the fear of God, and obedience to Him and to His apostle, and peace among us.’

Then He mentions the army, and their journey with the apostle when they knew that Quraysh had come out against them, and they had only gone out making for the caravan because they wanted booty, and He said, ‘As thy Lord brought thee out of thy house in truth when a part of the believers were unwilling, they disputed with thee about the truth after it had become plain, as though they were being driven to their death while they looked on.’ i.e. Unwilling to meet the army and disliking to confront Quraysh when they were told of them.

‘And when God promised you that one of the parties should be yours, and you wanted to have the one that was not armed.’ i.e. Booty and not war.

‘And God wanted to establish the truth by His words, and to cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers,’ i.e. By the disaster which He brought upon the chiefs and leaders of Quraysh on the day of Badr.

‘When you asked your Lord for help,’ i.e. Their prayers when they looked at the multitude of their enemies and their own small numbers.

‘And He answered you,’ i.e. The prayer of His apostle and your prayers.

‘I will reinforce you with a thousand angels, one behind another. When He made you slumber as a reassurance from Him,’ i.e. I sent down reassurance upon you when you slumbered unafraid.

‘And He sent down water from heaven upon you,’ i.e. The rain that came upon them that night and prevented the polytheists from getting to the water first, and left the way clear to the Muslims.

‘That He might cleanse you by it, and take from you the impurity of Satan, and strengthen your hearts, and confirm your steps,’ i.e. To take from you the doubt of Satan when he made them afraid of the enemy, and the hardening of the ground for them so that they got to their halting-place before the enemy arrived.

Sūra 8.
Then God said, 'Then thy Lord revealed to the angels, I am with you so strengthen those that believe,' i.e. help those that believe.

'I will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve, so strike off their heads and cut off all their fingers, because they opposed God and His apostle and he who opposes God and His apostle (will find) God severe in punishment.'

Then He said, 'O you who believe, when you meet those who disbelieve on the march, do not turn your backs. He who turns his back except in maneuvering or intending to join another section, incurs the wrath of God and his destination is Hell, a miserable end.' i.e. Inciting them against their enemy so that they should not withdraw from them when they met them, God having promised what He had promised.

Then God said concerning the apostle's throwing pebbles at them, 'When you threw, it was not you that threw, but God.' i.e. Your throwing would have had no effect unless God had helped you therein and cast terror into their hearts when He put them to flight.

'And to test the believers with a good test.' i.e. To let them know of His favour towards them in giving them victory over their enemies in spite of their small number that they might know thereby His truth, and be thankful for His favour.

Then He said, 'If you sought a judgement, a judgement came to you.' i.e. With reference to what Abū Jahl said, 'O God, he who is the worst in severing relations and bringing us things that are unacceptable destroy him this morning.' Isstithā means to pray for what is just.

God said, 'If you cease,' that is addressed to Quraysh, 'it is better for you, and if you return (to the attack) We will return.' i.e. With a similar blow to that which We gave you on the day of Badr.

'And your army will avail you nothing however numerous, and (know) that God is with the believers.' i.e. That your number and multitude will not avail you at all while you are with the believers, helping them against those that oppose them.

Then God said, 'O you that believe, obey God and His apostle, turn not away from him while you are listening.' i.e. Do not contradict his orders when you hear him speak and while you assert that you are on his side.

'And be not like those who said, 'We hear' when they did not hear.' i.e. Like the hypocrites who pretend to be obedient and are secretly disobedient to him.

'The worst of beasts with God are the deaf and the dumb who do not understand,' i.e. The hypocrites whom I have forbidden you to imitate. Dumb in reference to good, deaf to truth, not understanding and not knowing the vengeance and consequence which will come upon them.

'Had God known that there was good among them, He would have made them listen,' i.e. In performing for them the words which they spoke with their tongues, but their hearts contradicted them, and if they had come

forth with you, 'they would have turned their backs, going aside.' i.e. Would not have been faithful to you in the purpose for which they had come out.

'O you who believe, respond to God and the apostle when he summons you to that which will quicken you,' i.e. to the war in which God exalted you after humiliation, and made you strong after weakness, and protected you from your enemies after you had been overcome by them.

'And remember when you were few, despised in the land, fearing that men would pluck you away, and He gave you refuge and strengthened you by His help and nourished you with good things that you might be thankful. O you who believe, betray not God and His apostle and betray not your trust knowingly,' i.e. Do not show Him what is right, which pleases Him, and then oppose Him secretly in something else, for that is destroying your trust and treachery to yourselves.

'O you who believe, fear God and He will make for you a furqān,' and 479 wipe away your evil acts and pardon you. God is exceeding bountiful.' i.e. A distinction between true and false by which God shows your truth and extinguishes the falsehood of those who oppose you.

Then He reminds the apostle of His favour towards him when the people plotted against him 'to kill him, or to wound him, or to drive him out; and they plotted and God plotted, and God is the best of plotters.' i.e. I delivered them with My firm guile so that I delivered you from them.

Then He mentions the folly of Quraysh in asking for a judgement against themselves when they said, 'O God, if this is the truth from Thee,' i.e. what Muhammad has brought, 'then rain upon us stones from heaven.' i.e. As you rained them upon the people of Lot.

'Or bring us a painful punishment.' i.e. Some of that by which You punished the peoples before us.

They used to say, God will not punish us when we ask for His pardon, and He will not punish a people whose prophet is with them until He has sent him away from them. That is what they said when the apostle was among them, and God said to His apostle, mentioning their ignorance and folly and the judgement they asked against themselves when He reproached them with their evil deeds. 'God will not punish them while you are with them, and God will not punish them while they ask for forgiveness.' i.e. When they said, 'We ask for forgiveness and Muhammad is among us.'

Then He said, 'What (pleas) have they that God should not punish them?' though you are among them and though they ask for forgiveness as they say.

1 I.1's explanation of the meaning of furqān is adopted by Ṣaḥābi on 2. 50 and it admirably fits the sense of the verb in Arabic; but Beysfawi on 21. 49 and Zamakhshari on 8. 49 adds that the verb furqān means 'deliberation', and in Christian Arabic it is the common word for 'salvation'. In the Quran furqān means, or seems to mean, 'some sort of book, 2. 50; 3. 2; and 21. 49, &c., but in 14. 62-63, where 'the day of the furqān, the day when the two hosts met', 'deliberation' seems to be the most probable meaning, and the same would seem to apply to this verse. For an illuminating discussion of the evidence and theories formed thereon see Jeffery, Foreign Vocabulary, 239-9.
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While they bar the way to the sacred mosque,' i.e. Against those who believe in God and His servant, i.e. You and those who follow you,

'And they are not its guardians, its guardians are only the God-fearers, who observe its sanctity and perform prayer by it. i.e. You and those who believe

in you. But most of them do not know and their prayer at the temple,' i.e. By which they assert that evil is kept from them. 'Is nothing but whistling and clapping of hands' (405).

And that is what God does not approve of and does not like and what they were not ordered to do.

'So taste the punishment for what you are disbelieving,' i.e. When He brought death upon them at the battle of Badr.

Yahyā b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Zubayr from his father 'Abdād from 'A'isha, who said that only a little time elapsed between the coming down of 'O thou that art enwrapped' and the word of God about it, 'Leave Me to deal with the liars living at ease, and let them alone for a little. We have fettlers and fire and food which choking, and a painful punishment until God smote Quraysh on the day of Badr (406).

Then God said,

'Those who disbelieve, spending their wealth to keep men from the way of God will expend it when they will suffer loss, then they will be overcome, and those who disbelieve will be gathered to Hell.' He means those who went to Abū Sufyān and to everyone of the Quraysh who had money in that merchandise, and asked them to help them with it in the war against the apostle, and they did so.

Then He said, 'Say to those who disbelieve, if they cease, they will be pardoned for what is passed, and if they return, to fight you, 'the example of the ringleaders has been made,' i.e. those who were killed at Badr.

Then He said, 'Fight them so that there is no more persecution, and religion, all of it, shall belong to God.' i.e. So that no believer is persecuted from his religion, and monotheism may be pure, God having no partner, and no rivals.

'If they cease, then God sees what they do, and if they turn away,' from thy commandment to their unbelief, 'then know that God is your friend,' who glorified you and helped you against them on the day of Badr in spite of their great numbers and your small force.

'And be not like those who went forth from their houses hopelessly to be seen of men, i.e. do not be like Abū Jahl and his companions who said, 'We will not go back until we have been to Badr and slaughtered camels there and drunk wine and the singing girls have made music for us and the Arabs will hear of it.' i.e. Let not your affair be outward show and the subject of gossip, nor concerned with men, and purify your intention towards God and your efforts for the victory of your religion and the help of your prophet. Simply do that and do not aim at anything else. Then He said: 'And when Satan made their deeds seem good to them and said, 'No man can conquer you today for I am your protector'" (408).
Then God mentions the unbelievers and what they will meet when they die, and describes them, and tells His prophet about them until He says: 'If you come upon them in war, deal with them so forcibly as to terrify those who follow them, haply they may take warning,' i.e. make a severe example of them to those that come after, that haply they may understand. 'And prepare what strength you can against them, and cavalry by which you may strike terror into the enemy of God and your enemy' as far as His words, 'And whatever you spend in the way of God will be repaid to you: you will not be wronged,' i.e. you will not lose your reward with God in the next life and a rapid recompense in this world. Then He said, 'And if they incline to peace incline thou to it,' i.e. if they ask you for peace on the basis of Islam then make peace on that basis, and rely on God,' verily God will suffice thee. 'He is the Hearer, the Knower.' (484.) 'And if they would deceive thee, God is sufficient for thee,' He being behind thee, 'He is who strengthens thee with His help' after weakness 'and by the believers. And He made them of one mind' by the guidance with which God sent thee to them. 'Hadst thou spent all the world's wealth thou hadst not made them of one mind but God made them of one mind' by His religion to which He gathered them. 'He is mighty, wise.'

Then He said: 'O prophet, God is sufficient for thee and the believers who follow thee. O prophet, exhort the believers to fight. If there are twenty steadfast ones among you they will overcome two hundred, and if there are a hundred of you they will overcome a thousand unbelievers for they are a senseless people,' i.e. they do not fight with a good intention for truth nor have they knowledge of what is good and what is evil.

Abdullah b. Abū Nāījāt from 'Aṭā‘ b. Abū Rībah from Abdullah b. 'Abbas told me that when this verse came down it came as a shock to the Muslims who took it hard that twenty should have to fight two hundred, and a hundred fight a thousand. So God relieved them and cancelled the verse with another saying: 'Now has God relieved you and He knows that there is weakness amongst you, so if there are a hundred steadfast they shall overcome two hundred, and if there are a thousand of you they shall overcome two thousand by God's permission, for God is with the steadfast.' (Abdullah) said, 'When they numbered half of the enemy it was wrong for them to run from them; but if they were less than half they were not bound to fight and it was permissible for them to withdraw.'

Then God reproached him about the prisoners and the taking of booty, no other prophet before him having taken booty from his enemy, Muhammad Abū Jā'far b. 'Ali b. al-Husayn told me that the apostle said: 'I was helped by fear; the earth was made a place to pray, and clean; I was given all-embracing words; booty was made lawful to me as to no prophet before me; and I was given the power to intercede; five privileges accorded to no prophet before me.'

God said, 'It is not for any prophet, i.e. before thee, 'to take prisoners from his enemies until he has made slaughter in the earth,' i.e. slaughtered his enemies until he drives them from the land.1 'You desire the lure of this world,' i.e. its goods, the ransom of the captives. 'But God desires the next world,' i.e. their killing them to manifest the religion which He wishes to manifest and by which the next world may be attained. 'Had there not previously been a book from God there would have come upon you for what you took,' i.e. prisoners and booty, 'an awful punishment,' i.e. had it not previously gone forth from Me that I would punish only after a prohibition—and He had not prohibited them—I would have punished you for what you did. Then He made it lawful to him and to them as a mercy from Him and a gift from the Compassionate, the Merciful. He said, 'So enjoy what you have captured as lawful and good, and fear God. God is Forgiving, Merciful.' Then He said: 'O prophet, Say to those captives in your hands, If God knows any good in your hearts He will give you something better than that which has been taken from you and God will pardon you. God is Forgiving, Merciful.'

He incited the Muslims to unity and made the Refugees and the Helpers friends in religion and the unbelievers friends one of another. Then He said: 'If you do not do so, there will be confusion in the land and a great corruption,' i.e. unless believer becomes friend of believer to the exclusion of the unbeliever even though he is of his kin. 'There will be confusion in the land,' i.e. doubt about the true and the false and the rise of corruption in the land if the believer takes the side of the unbeliever against the believer.

Then He assigned inheritances to next of kin of those who became Muslims after the friendship between Refugees and Helpers and said: 'And those who believed afterwards and migrated and strove along with you they are of you; and those who are akin are nearer to one another in God's book,' i.e. in inheritance 'God knoweth all things.'

The Muslims who were present at Badr

Muhammad, God's apostle the lord of the sent ones, b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdullāh al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim; Hamza b. 'Abdullāh al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, the son of God and of His apostle, the apostle's uncle; 'All b. Abū Ṭālib b. 'Abdullāh Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim; Zayd b. Ḥāritha b. Shurhabīl b. Ka'b b. 'Abdullāh 'Uzzā b. Imru'ullāh al-Kalbī (419); Anas the apostle's freedman; and Abū Kāshābah likewise (411); Abū Marthad Kannās b. Ḥish b. 1 Commentators explain that ḫadhār here means 'reduced to straits', but in view of what Ibn Iṣaḥq goes on to say this is improbable, and in view of what 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sā'ī say it is possible that it means 'reduced to straits'.
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Of B. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manāf: 'Uthmān b. 'Aṣāf b. Abū l-Ṭābi' b. Umayya b. Abū Shams; (He stayed behind on account of his wife. Ruqayya the apostle's daughter, so the apostle assigned him his portion, he asked 'And my reward (from God) as well?' 'Yes', said the apostle.) Abū Ḥudhayfah b. Utba b. Rabī' b. 'Abdu Shams, and Sālim his freedman (413). They allege that Šubayh freedman of Abī l-Ṭābi'i b. Umayya got ready to march with the apostle, but fell sick and mounted on his camel Abū Salama b. 'Abdu l-Ṭābi'i b. Hilāl b. 'Abdullāh b. Ṭabī' b. Makhdūm. Afterwards Šubayh was present at all the apostle's battles.


Of the allies of B. Kābir: Ḥaqīq b. 'Amr and his two brothers Mālik and Mūdlīl (414). They belonged to the B. Ḥajr, a clan of B. Sulaymān; Abī Makhshī a ally of theirs (415). Total 16 men.


Of B. Taym b. Murra: Abū Bakr whose full name was Ṭaṭīf b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAmr b. Abī l-Ṭābi'. Abī ʿAmr b. Abī l-Ṭābi'. Sa'd b. Taym (421). Bilāl his freedman, born as slave among the B. Jumāh. Abū Bakr bought him from Umayya b. Ḥurāf. His name was Bilāl b. Raḥīm. He had no offspring; 'Amīr b. Fuhayra (422) and Šubayh b. Sa'īd b. Asad b. ʿUthmān b. Abī ʿAmr b. Ka'b (423) and Tāljā (413) and Ubayyullan b. ʿUthmān b. Abī ʿAmr b. Ka'b, &c. He was in Syria and did not turn up until the apostle had returned from Badr. Nevertheless, he allowed him a share in the booty as he had done in the case of ʿUthmān. Total 5 men.


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had gone forth to war with his father Suhayl and when the people camped at Badr he fell to the apostle and took part in the battle on his side; and 'Umayr b. 'Auf, freedman of Suhayl; and Sa'd b. Khaula an ally of theirs (430).


The total number of the Emigrants who took part in the battle of Badr to whom the apostle allotted shares in the booty was 83 men (430).

THE HELPERS AND THEIR ADHERENTS WHO WERE AT BADR

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Of B. 'Abuf b. al-Khazzar of the clan of B. 'Ubayd b. Mālik b. Sālim b. Ghamm b. 'Abuf who were the B. al-Ḫubālā (454); 'Abdullāh b. 'Ubayy b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Ubayd best known as b. Sālim, Sālim was a woman, the mother of 'Ubayy; and Aus b. Khāliṭ b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Ubayd. Total 2 men.


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The men of al-Khazraj who were at Badr number 170 (497). Thus the total number of Muslims, emigrants, and Helpers who were at Badr and were allotted a share in the booty was 344, the emigrants providing 83, Aus 61, and Khazraj 170.

The Names of Those Who Died as Martyrs at Badr


As these persons' names have already been given in full their genealogies are omitted here.

Of B. 'Adī b. Ka'b: 'Āqil b. al-Bukayr an ally from B. Sa'd b. Layth; and Miḥrāj freedman of Umar. Total 2.


The Names of the Polytheists Who Were Slain at Badr

The Quraysh losses at Badr were as follows:

Of B. 'Abdu Shams: Ḥanẓala b. Abū Sufyān (499); al-Hārith b. al-Ḥaḍrami and 'Amīr b. al-Ḥaḍrami, two allies of theirs (500); and 'Umayr b. Abū 'Umayr and his son two freedmen of theirs (501); and Ubayda b. Sa'd b. al-Ās b. Umayya whom al-Zubair b. al-Awwām killed; and al-Ās b. Sa'd whom Ali killed; and 'Uṣayma b. Abū Mu'yāt whom 'Āṣīm b. Thābit killed (502); and 'Uba b. Rabi'a whom 'Ubayda b. al-Hārith killed (503); and Shuyba b. Rabi'a whom Ḥamza killed; and al-Walid b. Uthma b. Ali whom al-Anar b. Bağhīd whom 'Ali killed. Total 12.

Of B. Nuwāf al-'Abdu Manāf; al-Hārith b. 'Amir whom Khubayb b. Ḥafis is said to have killed; and Tu'ayma b. 'Adī b. Nuwāf whom 'Ali killed while others say Ḥamza killed him. Total 2.

Of B. Asad b. 'Abdu al-'Uzāz: Zama'a b. al-Awsad (504); and al-Hārith b. Zama'a (505); and Uqayl b. al-Awsad (506); and Abūl-Bakhtari whom al-Ās b. Ḥishām whom al-Mujādhhdhar b. Dhiyād b. Balawī killed (507); and Nuwāf b. Khawwāyld whom b. al-'Adawayya the 'Adī of Khuzā'a; it was he who bound Abū Bakr and Ṭalība b. 'Ubaydullah with a rope when they became Muslims and so were called 'the-two-tied-together-ones'. He was one of the principal men of Quraysh. 'Ali killed him. Total 5 men.

Of B. Abu'l-Dar: al-Nadr b. al-Hārith whom they say that 'Ali executed in the presence of the apostle at al-Safrā' (508); and Zayd b. Mulāya freedman of 'Umayr b. Ḥishām b. 'Abdu Manāf (509). Total 2.


Of B. Makhzūm b. Yaqṣa: Abū Jahl b. Ḥishām (Mu'ādh b. 'Amr) b. 4080 Z
struck off his leg. His son 'Ikrima struck off Mu‘adh’s hand and he threw it from him; then Mu‘awwidh b. Afrã‘ struck him so that he disabled him, leaving him at the last gasp; then 'Abdullah b. Mas‘îd quickly dispatched him and cut off his head when the apostle ordered that search should be made among the slain for him); and al-‘Abî Shâhâm whom ‘Umar killed; and Yazid b. ‘Abdullâh, an ally from B. ‘Ammâr (511); and Abû Mu‘âdh al-Asîrî, an ally (512); and Hârmalâ b. ‘Amr, an ally (513); and Ma‘‘âsî b. Abû Umayya (514); and Abû Qays b. al-Wâlid (515); and Abû Qays b. al-Fâkhîr (516); and Râfa‘î b. Abû Râfa‘î (517); and al-Mundhir b. Abû Râfa‘î (518); and ‘Abdullâh b. al-Mundhir (519); and al-Sâ‘îb b. Abû‘l-Sâ‘îb (520); and ‘Abdullâh al-Asâd whom Hâmza killed; and Hâjib b. al-Sâ‘îb (521); and ‘Uwaymir b. al-Sâ‘îb (522); and ‘Ammâr b. Sufyân; and Jâbir b. Sufyân, two allies from Tâyyîr (523). Total 17.

Of B. Sahm b. ‘Amr: Munabbîh b. al-Hâjîj b. Âbdullâh b. ‘Umar; and his son al-‘Abî (524); and Nubâyah b. al-Hâjîj (525); and Abû‘l-Âbd b. Qays (526); and ‘Âshîm b. ‘Ammîr (527). Total 5.

Of B. Jumâh: Umayya b. Khalaf whom a Helper of B. Mûnîn killed (528); and his son ‘Alî b. Umayya whom ‘Abdallâh killed; and ‘Abî b. Mi‘yar (529). Total 3.

Of B. ‘Amr b. Lu‘ayy: Mu‘awwiya b. ‘Amr, an ally from ‘Abdullâh al-Qays whom ‘Ali killed (530); and Ma‘‘âzûd b. Wahhâb, an ally from B. Kabîh b. ‘A’uf whom Khâlid and Iyâs the two sons of al-Bukâyr killed (531). Total 2.

Thus the total number of Quraysh slain at Badr as given to us is 50 men (532).

513 A LIST OF THE QURAYSH POLYTHEISTS WHO WERE TAKEN PRISONER AT BADR


¹ Here one would expect that the number of the Hâshîmite prisoners would be given, but it is not. A.Dh. says: ‘He does not mention all the ‘Abbâsîs along with these two prisoners because he had become a musician, and used to conceal his religion because he was afraid of his tribe-men.’ However, since I.I. at the end of the list says that the total number was 43, whereas only 42 are named, it is obvious that he must have included ‘Abbâsîs among the prisoners. I.I.’s note is that one prisoner, whose name is not mentioned, is missing from the list.
SOME POETRY ABOUT THE BATTLE OF BADR

Of the poetry about the battle of Badr which the two parties bandied between them in reference to what happened therein are the lines of Hāmza b. 'Abdullāh-Muštālib (537):

Surely one of time's wonders
(Though roads to death are plain to see)
Is that a people should destroy themselves and perish
By encouraging one another to disobedience and disbelief.
The night they all set out for Badr
And became death's pawns in its well.
We had sought but their caravan, naught else,
But they came to us and we met unexpectedly.
When we met there was no way out
Save with a thrust from dun-coloured straight-fashoned shafts
And a blow with swords which severed their heads,
Swords that glittered as they smote.
We left the erring 'Utba lying dead
And Shayba among the slain thrown in the well;
'Amr lay dead among their protectors
And the keening women rent their garments for him,
The noble women of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib
Who surpass the best of Fihr.
Those were folk who were killed in their error
And they left a banner not prepared for victory—
A banner of error whose people Iblis led.
He betrayed them (the evil one is prone to treachery).
When he saw things clearly he said to them,
"I am quit of you. I can no longer endure,"
I see what you do not see, I fear God's punishment
For He is invincible,"
He led them to death so that they perished
While he knew what they could not know.
On the day of the well they mustered a thousand,
We three hundred like excited white stallions.
With us were God's armies when He reinforced us with them.
In a place that will ever be renowned
Under our banner Gabriel attacked with them
In the fray where they met their death.

1 Lit. Did you see a thing that was one of time's wonders?
That a people, &c.
2 Reading faḥnš with C.
3 'aṣl qudrin, lit. by (God's) decree.
4 Cf. Sūrā 9, 30. The preceding lines seem to be the work of the man who wrote the poem attributed to Hāshim. Cf. W. 475, line 2.

Al-Hārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra answered them thus:

Help, O my people, in my longing and loss
My sorrow and burning heart!
Tears flow copiously from my eyes
Like pearls falling from the cord of the woman who strings them,
Weeping for the sweet-natured hero
Death's pawn at the well of Badr.
Bless you, 'Amr kinsman and companion of most generous nature.
If certain men chanced to meet you when your luck was out,
Well, time is bound to bring its changes.
In past times which are gone
You brought upon them a humiliation which is hard to bear.
Unless I die I shall not leave you unavenged.
I will spare neither brother nor wife's kin.
I will slay as many dear to them
As they have slain of mine.
Have strangers whom they have collected deceived them
While we are the pure stock of Fihr?
Help, O Lu'ayy, protect your sanctuary and your gods;
Give them not up to the evil man!
Your fathers handed them down and you inherited their foundations,
The temple with its roof and curtain.
Why did the reprobate want to destroy you?
Forgive him not, O tribe of Ghālib,
Fight your adversary with all your might and help one another.
Bear one another's afflictions with endurance.
You may well avenge your brother,
Nothing matters if you fail to take revenge on 'Amr's slayers.
With waving swords flashing in your hands like lightning
Sending heads flying as they glitter.
As it were the tracks of ants on their blades
When they are unsheathed against the evil-eyed enemy (538).

'Abī b. Abū Ṭalīb said:

Have you not seen how God favoured His apostle
With the favour of a strong, powerful, and gracious one;
How He brought humiliation on the unbelievers
Who were put to shame in captivity and death,
While the apostle of God's victory was glorious
He being sent by God in righteousness.
He brought the Fūqān sent down from God,

1 The text has faḥhr. This must be one of the words which I.H. says that he altered.
The change of a dot would give fahr, which is adopted here.
2 Or 'columns'.
3 Reading dhālim or la'īm for halīm in the text.
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Its signs are plain to men of sense.
Some firmly believed in that and were convinced
And (thanks to God) became one people;
Others disbelieved, their minds went astray
And the Lord of the throne brought repeated calamities upon them
At Badr He gave them into the power of His apostle
And an angry army who did valiantly.
They smote them with their trusty swords,
Furbished well, and polished.
How many a lusty younger,
Many a hardy warrior did they leave prone.
Their keening women spent a sleepless night,
Their tears now strong, now weak.
They keen for erring 'Utba and his son,
And Shayba and Abū Jahl
And Dhū'l-Riṣīl and Ibn Jud'ān also,
With burning throats in mourning garb displaying bereavement.
Dead in Badr's well lay many,
Brave in war, generous in times of death;
Error called them and some responded
(For error has ways easy to adopt).
Now they are in Hell,
Too occupied to rage furiously against us.

Al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughira answered him thus:
I wonder at folk whose fool sings
Of folly captious and vain,
Singing about the slain at Badr
When young and old vied in glorious endeavour,
The brave swordsman of Lu'ayy, Ibn Gha'lib,
Thrusting in battle, feasting the hungry in times of death;
They died nobly, they did not sell their family
For strangers alien in stock and homeland,
Like you who have made Ghassān your special friends
Instead of us—a sorry deed,
An impious, odious crime, and a severing of the ties of blood;
Men of judgement and understanding perceive your wrongdoing.
True, they are men who have passed away,
But the best death is on the battlefield.
Rejoice not that you have killed them,
For their death will bring you repeated disaster.
Now they are dead you will always be divided,

1 Or 'its messengers'.
3 i.e. Al-Aswad whose leg Ḥamza hewed off, v.t.

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Not one people as you desire,
By the loss of Ibn Jud'ān, the praiseworthy,
And 'Utba, and him who is called Abū Jahl among you.
Shayba and Al-Walīd were among them,
Umayya, the refuge of the poor, and Dhū'l-Riṣīl.
Weep for these and not for others,
The keening women will bewail their loss and bereavement,
Say to the people of Mecca, Assemble yourselves
And go to palmy Medina's forts,
Defend yourselves and fight, O people of Ka'b,
With your polished and burnished swords
Or pass the night in fear and trembling
By day meaner than the sandal that is trodden underfoot.
But know, O men that by Al-Lāt, I am sure
That you will not rest without taking vengeance.
All of you, don your mail, take the spear,
The helmet, sharp sword and arrows.

Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās brother of B. Muhārib b. Fhihr said:
I wonder at the boasting of Aus when death is coming to them tomorrow
(Since time contains its warnings)
And at the boasting of the Banū'l-Najjār because certain men died there,
For all of them were steadfast men.
If some of our men were left dead
We shall leave others dead on the field.
Our flying steeds will carry us among you,
Till we slake our vengeance, O Banū'l-Aus,
We shall return to the charge in the midst of the Banū'l-Najjār,
Our horses snorting under the weight of the spearmen clad in mail.
Your dead we shall leave with vultures circling round
To look for help but a vain desire.
Yathrib's women will mourn them,
Their nights long and sleepless
Because our swords will cut them down,
Dripping with the blood of their victims.
Though you won on the day of Badr
Your good fortune was plainly due to Āḥmad
And the chosen band, his friends,
Who protected him in battle when death was at hand,
Abū Bākr and Ḥamzā could be numbered among them

1 Apparently al-Aswād the Makhzanīmīte whose leg was cut off as he tried to drink from the well at Badr is meant. See W, 442.
2 Of the enemy. C and W differ in this line.
And 'Ali among those you could mention, Abū Ḥafṣ and 'Uthmān were of them, So'd too, if anyone was present, Those men—not the begettings of Aus and Najjar— Should be the object of your boasting, But their father was from Lu'ayy Ibn Ghalīb, Ka'b and 'Amīr when noble families are reckoned. They are the men who repelled the cavalry on every front, The noble and glorious on the day of battle.

Ka'b b. Malik, brother of the B. Salima said:
I wonder at God's deed, since He Does what He wills, none can defeat Him. He decreed that we should meet at Badr An evil band (and evil ever leads to death). They had summoned their neighbours on all sides Until they formed a great host. At us alone they came with ill intent, Ka'b and 'Amīr and all of them. With us was God's apostle with Aus round him Like a strong impregnable fortress The tribes of Banū Najjar beneath his banner Advancing in light armour while the dust rose high. When we met them and every steadfast warrior Ventured his life with his comrades We testified to the unity of God And that His apostle brought the truth. When our light swords were unshathed 'Twas as though fires flashed at their movement. With them we smote them and they scattered And the impious met death, Abū Jahl lay dead on his face And 'Utbah our swords left in the dust. Shayba and Al-'Taiyim they left on the battlefield, Everyone of them denied Him who sitteth on the throne. They became fuel for Hell, For every unbeliever must go there. It will consume them, while the stoker Increases its heat with pieces of iron and stone. God's apostle had called them to him But they turned away, saying, 'You are nothing but a sorcerer.' Because God willed to destroy them, And none can avert what He decrees.

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'Abdullah b. al-Zibā'ī al-Sahmī (an ally of the B. 'Abdu'l-Dār),1 bewailing the slain at Badr, said (539):
What noble warriors, handsome men, lie round Badr's battlefield. They left behind them Nubayh and Munabbīh and The two sons of Rabi'ā', best fighters against odds, And the generous Hārith, whose face shone Like the full moon illuminating night; And al-‘Aṣ b. Munabbīh, the strong, Like a long lance without a flaw. His origin and his ancestors And the glory of his father's and his mother's kin raise him high. If one must weep and show great grief Let it be over the glorious chief Ibn Hishām, God, lord of creatures, save Abūl-Walid and his family, And grant them special favour.

Hassān b. Thabit al-Anṣārī answered him:
Weep, may your eyes weep blood, Their rapid flow ever renewed. Why weep for those who ran to evil ways? Why have you not mentioned the virtues of our people And our glorious, purposeful, tolerant, courageous one, The prophet, soul of virtue and generosity, The true man that ever swore an oath? One who resembles him and does his teaching Was the most praised there not without effect.2

Hassān also said:
A maiden obsesses thy mind in sleep Giving the sleeper a drink with cool lips Like musk mingled with pure water Or old wine red as the blood of sacrifices. Wide in the rump, her buttocks ripples of fat, Vivacious, not hasty in swearing an oath. Her well-covered hips as she sits Form a hollow in her back like a marble mortar, So lazy she can hardly go to bed, Of beautiful body and lovely figure, By day I never fail to think of her,

1 In deference to the text these words have been retained; but (a) they occur after I.H.'s interpolation in which he ascribes the poem to al-A'shā b. Zurār, an ally of B. 'Abdu Nūrah, and (b) 'Abdullah, though he belonged to Sahmī who were in the abstention with B. 'Abdu'l-Dār, could hardly be called a habīf. Therefore it looks as if the words refer to al-'Ashā. Whether I.H. inserted them because he knew that I.I. differed from him, or whether someone else did for the same reason, it is impossible to say.

2 The line is clumsy and the syntax questionable.
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By night my dreams inflame my desire for her,
I swear I will not forget to think of her
Until my bones lie in the grave.
O woman who foolishly blames me,
I refuse to accept blame on account of my love;
She came to me at dawn after I woke
When life’s troubles were at hand.
She told me that man is sad all his life
Because he lacks plenty of camels;
If you lied in what you said
May you escape the consequences as Al-Hārith b. Hishām did,
He left his friends fearing to fight in their defence,
And escaped by giving his horse free rein.
It left the swift steeds behind in the desert;
As the weighted rope drops down the well.
His mare galloped away at full speed while
His friends remained in their evil plight
[His brothers and his family were in the battle
In which God gave the Muslims victory—
For God accomplishes His work—war ground them to powder,
Its fire blazed (with them as fuel).
But for God and the animal’s speed (our horses) had left him
A prey to wild beasts trodden under their hoofs.]\(^1\)
Some of them firmly bound prisoners (though they were)
Hawks protecting (their young) when they met the spears;
Some prostrate never to answer to the call
Till the highest mountains cease to be,
In shame and plain disgrace when they saw
The sword blades driving every resolute chief before them.
Swords in the hands of noble valiant chiefs,
Whose noble ancestry is vindicated without searching inquiry.
Swords that strike fire from steel
Like lightning 'neath the storm clouds.

Al-Hārith answered him and said:
The people know well\(^2\) I did not leave the fight until my steed was
foaming with blood
I knew that if I fought alone I should be killed; my death would not
injure the enemy
So I withdrew and left my friends meaning to avenge them another
day.

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\(^1\) These three verses are obviously a later interpolation. The syntax requires that the
partitive min should follow its antecedent ‘his friends’. Moreover, the ostentatious plight of
these verses is foreign to Ḥassān.

\(^2\) C. has ‘God knows best’, but this is almost certainly wrong. I have followed the text
of W.

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This is what Al-Hārith said in excuse for running away from the battle of Badr (540).

Ḥassān also said:\(^1\)

Quaraysh knew on the day of Badr,
The day of captivity and violent slaughter,
That when the lances crossed we were the victors
In the battle of Abūl-Walid.
We killed Rabi’a’s two sons the day they came
Clad in double mail against us.
Ḥakim fled on the day that the Banū-L Najjār
Advanced upon them like lions.
All the men of Fīhīr turned tail,
The miserable Hārith abandoned them from afar,
You met shame and death
Quick, decisive, under the neck vein.
All the force turned tail together.
They paid no heed to ancestral honour.

Ḥassān also said:\(^2\)

O Hārith, you took a base decision in war
And the day when ancestral fame is shown,
When you rode a swift-footed noble mare,
Rapid-paced and long in flank,
Leaving your people behind to be slain,
Thinking only of escape when you should have stood fast.
Could you not have shown concern for your mother’s son
Who lay transfixed by spears, his body stripped?
God hastened to destroy his host
In shameful disgrace and painful punishment! (541).

Ḥassān also said (542):\(^3\)

A bold intrepid man—no coward—
Led those clad in light chain armour.
I mean the apostle of God the Creator
Who favoured him with piety and goodness above all;
You had said you would protect your caravan
And that Badr’s waters could not be reached\(^4\) by us.
There we had come down, not heeding your words so that
We drank to the full without stint,
Holding fast to an unseverable rope,
The well plaiaed rope of God that stretches far.
We have the apostle and we have the truth which we follow

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\(^1\) Dīwān hxxvi.

\(^2\) Dīwān cli.

\(^3\) Dīwān xxxvi.

\(^4\) Reading manūd for mardūd. Dīnār includes anything that must be protected.
To the death; we have help unlimited
Faithful to his promise, intrepid, a brilliant star,
A full moon that casts light on every noble man (543).

Hassān also said:1
The Banū Asad were disappointed and their raiders returned
On the day of the Well in misery and disgrace.
Abū'l-ʿĀs soon lay dead on the ground;
Hurtled from the back of his galloping steed;
He met his end with his weapons, good fighter as he was
When he lay still in death.
The man Zam'a we left with his throat severed,
His life blood flowing away,
His forehead cushioned in the dust,
His nostrils defiled with filth;
Ibn Qays escaped with a remnant of his tribe
Covered with wounds, at the point of death.

Hassān also said:2
Can anyone say if the Meccans know
How we slew the unbelievers in their evil hour?
We killed their leaders in the battle
And they returned a shattered force;
We killed Abū Jahl and 'Utba before him,
And Shayba fell forward with his hands outstretched.3
We killed Suwayd and 'Utba after him.
Tu'ma also in the dust of combat.
Many a noble, generous man we slew
Of lofty line, illustrious among his people.
We left them as meat for hyaenas
Later to burn in Hell fire.4
I'īthā Mālik's horsemen and their followers were no protection
When they met us at Badr (544).

Hassān also said5
Hakīm's speed saved him on the day of Badr
Like the speed of a colt from al-'Awaj's mares,6
When he saw Badr's valley walls
Swarming with the black-mailed squadrons of Khazraj
Who do not retire when they meet the enemy,
Who march boldly in the middle of the beaten track.

How many a valiant chief they have,
Heroes where the coward turns at bay,
Chiefs giving lavishly with open hand,
Crowned ones bearing the burden of blood-wits,
Ornaments in conclave, persistent in battle,
Smiting the bold with their all-piercing swords (545).

Hassān also said:
Thanks to God we fear not an army
How many they be with their assembled troops.
Whenever they brought a multitude against us
The gracious Lord sufficed us against their swords;
At Badr we raised our spears aloft,
Death did not dismay us.
You could not see a body of men
More dangerous to those they attack when war is stirred up,1
But we put our trust [in God] and said:
'Our swords are our fame and our defence.'
With them we met them and were victorious
Though but a band against their thousands.

Hassān also said, satirizing B. Jumāh and those of them who were slain:
Banū Jumāh rushed headlong to disaster2 because of their unlucky star
(The mean man inevitably meets humiliation).
They were conquered and slain at Badr,
They deserted in all directions,
They rejected the scripture and called Muhammad liar.
But God makes the religion of every apostle victorious;
God curse Abū Khuzayma and his son,
The two Khalīds and Sā'id b. 'Aql.

'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith said about the battle of Badr, and the cutting off of his foot when it was smitten in the fight, when he and Ḥamza and 'Alī fought their enemies (546):
A battle will tell the Meccans about us:
It will make distant men give heed,
When 'Utba died and Shayba after him
And 'Utba's eldest son had no cause to be pleased with it.3
You may cut off my leg, yet I am a Muslim,
I hope in exchange for a life near to Allah
With Houris fashioned like the most beautiful statues
With the highest heaven for those who mount there.

1 The metaphor is that of the untimely address of the he-camel to the mare.
2 Here there is a pun on the name Jumāh.
3 'Utba's firstborn al-Walid was also slain at Badr.
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I have bought it with a life of which I have tasted the best,
And which I have tried until I lost even my next-of-kin.
The Merciful honoured me with His favour
With the garment of Islam to cover my faults.
I did not shrink from fighting them
The day that men called on their peers to fight them,
When they asked the prophet he sought only us three
So that we came out to the herald;
We met them like lions, brandishing our spears,
We fought the rebellious for God’s sake;
We three did not move from our position
Till their fate came upon them (547).

When ‘Ubayda died of the wound in his leg at the battle of Badr, Ka‘b b. Malik, the Anṣārī, wrote this elegy on him:

O eye, be generous, not niggardly,
With thy true tears; spare them not
For a man whose death appalled us,
Noble in deed and in descent,
Bold in attack with sharpened sword,
Of noble repute and godly descent.
‘Ubayda has passed away, we cannot hope
For good or evil from him,
On the eve of battle he used to protect our rearguard with his sword.

Ka‘b also said:

Have Ghasān heard in their distant haunt
(The best informant is one with knowledge thereof),
That Ma‘ād shot their arrows at us,
The whole tribe of them were hostile,
Because we worship God, hoping in none other,
Hoping for heaven’s gardens since their prophet has come to us.
A prophet with a glorious inheritance among his people,
And truthful ancestors whose origin made them pure;
Both sides advanced, and we met them like lions
Whose victims have nothing to hope for;
We smote them in the battle
Till Lu‘ayy’s leader fell upon his face;
They fled, and we cut them down with our sharp swords,
Their allies and their tribesmen alike.

Ka‘b also said:

By your father’s life, ye sons of Lu‘ayy,
Despite your deceit and pride,

1 Reading tā‘arruqah.
2 Of reading makṣūrā, of sweet breasts.
3 Lit. ‘guarantor’.

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Your horsemen did not protect you at Badr,
They could not stand fast when they met us;
We came there with God’s light
Clearing away the cover of darkness from us.
God’s apostle led us, by God’s order,
An order He had fixed by decree;
Your horsemen could not conquer at Badr
And returned to you in evil case;
Do not hurry, Abū Sufyān, and watch
For the fine steeds coming up from Kādāh,1
By God’s help the holy spirit is among them,2
And Michael, what a godly company!

Ṭālīb b. Abū Ṭālīb, praising the apostle and lamenting the men of Quraysh who were thrown into the pit at Badr, said:

My eye wept copiously
Over Ka‘b, though it sees them not.
Ka‘b deserted one another in the wars, and
Fate destroyed them, they having greatly sinned.3
And ‘Amir this morning are weeping for the misfortunes (that befell them).
Shall I ever see them closer (to each other)?
They are my brothers, their mother no harlot,
And never their guest suffered wrong;
O our brothers ‘Abdu Shams and Naufal, may I be your ransom,
Put not war between us. After the love and friendship we had
Become not (the subject of) stories in which all of you have something to complain of.

Do you not know what happened in the war of Dabīs
And when Abū Yaksūm’s army filled the ravine?
Had not God the Sole Existent saved you
You could not have protected your people.
We among Quraysh have done no great wrong
But merely protected the best man that ever trod the earth;
A standby in misfortunes, generous,
Noble in reputation, no niggard, no wrongdoer.
His door is thronged by those seeking his bounty,
A sea of generosity, vast, unfailing.
By God, my soul will ever be sad,
Restless, until you smite Khaṭṭāj well and truly.

Ḍūrār b. al-Khaṭṭāj b. al-Fihri lamenting Abū Jahl said:

Alas for my eye that cannot sleep
Watching the stars in the darkness of the night!

1 A place near Mecca. Cf. W. 829, line 8.
2 I.e. Gabriel.
3 The language is reminiscent of Sūrā 45. 20.
It is as though a mote were in it,
But there is naught but flowing tears.
Tell Quraysh that the best of their company,
The noblest man that ever walked,
At Badr lies imprisoned in the well;
The noble one, not base-born and no niggard.
I swear that my eyes shall never weep for any man
Now Abū’l-Hakam our chief is slain.
I weep for him whose death brought sorrow to Lu’ayy b. Ghālib,
To whom death came at Badr where he remains.
You could see fragments of spears in his horse’s chest,
Scraps of his flesh plainly intermingled with them.
No lion lurking in the valley of Bisha,
Where through jungled vales the waters flow,
Was bolder than he when lances clashed,
When the cry went forth among the valiant ‘Dismount’
Grieve not overmuch, Mughfira’s kin, be resolute
(Though he who so grieves is not to be blamed).
Be strong, for death is your glory,
And thereafter at life’s end there is no regret.
I said that victory will be yours
And high renown—no man of sense will doubt it (548).

Al-Hārith b. Hishām, bewailing his brother Abū Jahl, said:
Alas my soul for ‘Amr!
But can grief avail one whit?*
Someone told me that ‘Amr
Was the first of his people to go into the old abandoned pit.
I have always thought it right (that you should be the first),
Since your judgement in the past was sound.
I was happy while you were alive;
Now I am left in a miserable state.
At night when I cannot see him I feel
A prey to indecision and full of care.
When daylight comes once more
My eye is weary of remembering ‘Amr (549).

Abū Bakr b. al-Aswad b. Shu’ub al-Laythi, whose name was Shaddād, said:
Ummu Bakr gave me the greating of peace,
But what peace can I have now my people are no more?
In the pit, the pit of Badr,
What singing girls and noble boon companions!

1 Or, perhaps, ‘To battle’
2 A happy suggestion of the editors of C. is to read fa’til, a Quranic figure for complete insignificance. This is much to be preferred to the obvious qa’til of the MSS.

In the pit, the pit of Badr,
What platters piled high with choicest camel-meat!
In the well, the well of Badr,
How many camels straying freely were yours!
In the well, the well of Badr,
How many flags! and sumptuous gifts!
What friends of the noble Abū ‘Ali,
Brother of the generous cup and boon companions!
If you were to see Abū ‘Aqil
And the men of the pass of Na‘ām
You would mourn over them like the mother of a new-born camel
Yearning over her darling.
The apostle tells us that we shall live,
But how can bodies and wraiths meet again? (550)

Umayya b. Abū’l-Salt, lamenting those who died at Badr, said:
Would'st thou not weep over the nobles,
Sons of nobles, praised by all,
As the doves mourn upon the leafy boughs,
Upon the bending branches,
Weeping in soft dejected notes
When they return at nightfall.
Like them are the weeping women,
The keepers who lift up their voices,
He who weeps them weeps in real sorrow,
He who praises them tells the truth.
What chiefs and leaders
At Badr and al-‘Aqanqaq,
At Madā’īl b. Barqayn and Al-Hannān,
At the end of al-Awāshī,
Grey-beards and youths, Bold leaders,
Raiders impetuous!
See you not what I see
When it is plain to all beholders,
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That the vale of Mecca has altered,
Become a valley deserted
By every chief, son of a chief,
Fair-skinned, illustrious,
Constantly at the gate of kings,
Crossing the desert, victorious,
Strong-necked, stout of body,
Men of eminence, successful in enterprise,
Who say and do and order what is right,
Who feed their guests on fat meat
Served on bread white as a lamb’s stomach;
Who offer dishes and yet more dishes
As large as water pools.
The hungry finds them not empty
Nor wide without depth,
To guest after guest they send them
With broad open hand,
Givers of hundreds from hundreds of milch camels
To hundreds of their guests,
Driving the camel herds to the herds,
Returning from Baladīh.
Their nobles have a distinction
Outweighing the nobility of others
As the weights send down the scale
As the balancer holds it,
A party deserted them, while they protected
Their women from disgrace,
Men who smote the front ranks of the enemy
With broad-bladed Indian swords;
Their voices pained me as they
Called for water crying aloud;
How fine were the sons of ‘Ali all of them!
If they do not raid such a raid
As would send back every barking dog to its lair,
With horses trained to long rides,
With proudly raised heads, kept near the tents,
As young men on fine horses
Against fierce menacing lions;
Each man advances to his enemy
Walking as though to shake hands,

About a thousand or two thousand
Mailed men and spearmen (551).1

Umayya also said, lamenting Zama’a b. al-Aswad and the B. Aswad who 533
were slain:

O eye, weep with overflowing tears for Abu’l-Harith
And hold not thy tears for Zama’a.
Weep for ‘Aql b. Aswad, the bold lion,
On the day of battle and the dust of war.
Those Banū Aswad were brothers like the Gemini,
No treachery and no deceit was in them,
They are the noblest family of Ka’b,
The very summit of excellence.
They produced sons as many as the hairs of the head
And established them in impregnable positions.2
When misfortune visited their kinsmen
Their hearts ached for them.
They gave their food when rain failed,
When all was dry and no cloud could be seen (552).

passed Hubayra b. Abū Wahab as they were running away on the day of 534
Badr. Hubayra was exhausted and threw away his coat of mail and
(Mu‘awiyah) picked it up and went off with it. He composed the following
lines (554):

When I saw the army panic,
Running away at top speed
And that their leaders lay dead,
Methought the best of them
Were like sacrifices to idols,
Many of them lay there dead,
And we were made to meet our fate at Badr.

1 Abū Dharr has an interesting note here of a tradition going back to Abū Hurayra which reads thus: The apostle gave us permission to recite the poetry of the pagan era except the ode of Umayya b. Abū al-Salt about Badr (i.e. this ode) and the ode of al-A’shā which begins ‘Abī ‘Amir (lines 10-18 in No. 18 of the Doxograph ed. Geyer which has many variants). The apostle forbade the recitation of this ode because it lamented the death of the unbelievers and atacked the reputation of the prophet’s companions. It was only for that reason that Ibn Hibān omitted two verses from Umayya’s ode. Similarly al-A’shā’s verse praised ‘Amr b. al-Tufayl and satirized ‘Aliqama b. ‘Ula‘a. ‘Amr died an unbeliever, ‘Aliqama became a Muslim, and when the king of the Byzantines asked him about the apostle he spoke well of him, and the prophet held that in his favour and remembered him. Some scholars say that the prohibition to recite these two odes in the early days of Islam was because of the feeling between Muslims and unbelievers, but when Islam was generally accepted and hatred and enmity ceased, there was no harm in citing them.

2 Manda is explained by the Tib., vol. v, p. 516. In the plural manda is ‘bastions and strongholds’. As manda is a mountain in Husayn territory and manda is high ground in Jabal Zayyil, the general meaning seems clear.
We left the way and they overtook us
In waves, like an overwhelming flood;
Some said, 'Who is Ibn Qays?'
I said, 'Abū Usāma, without boasting,
I am the Juhamite, that you may know me,
I will announce my lineage,
Answering challenge by challenge.
If you are of the best born of Quraysh,
I am from Mu'āwiyah ibn Bakr.
Tell Mālik, when we were attacked,
For you, O Mālik, know of me;
Tell Hubayra of us if you meet him,
For he is wise and influential,
That when I was called to Ufayyīd
I returned to the battle with undaunted heart,
The night the hapless were left unheeded
Old friends and mother's kindred.
So that is your brother, O B. Lu'a'yāy,
And that is Mālik, O Umm 'Amr,
Had I not been there striped hyenas,
Mothers of cubs would have had him,
Digging at the graves with their claws,
Their faces as black as a cooking-pot;
I swear by Him Who is my Lord
And by the blood-stained pillars of the stoning places
You will see what my true worth is
When men become as fierce as leopards,
No lion from his lair in Tarj—
Bold, menacing, fathering cubs in the jungle,
Who has made his den taboo against intruders
So that none can approach him even with a force.
In the sand, bands of men are helpless
He leaps upon all who try to drive him away—
Is swifter than I
When I advance roaring and growling at the enemy
With arrows like sharp lances
Their points like burning coals,
And a round shield of bull's hide
And a strongly fashioned bow, and
A glittering sword which 'Umayr, the polisher,
Whetted for a fortnight.

Abū Usāma also said:
Who will send a messenger from me
With news that a shrewd man will confirm?
Do not you know how I kept returning to the fight at Badr
When the swords flashed around you,
When the army's leaders were left prostrate,
Their heads like slices of melon?
A gloomy fate, to the people's hurt,
Came upon you in the valley of Badr;
My resolution saved them from disaster
And God's help and a well-conceived plan.
I returned alone from al-Abwā
When you were surrounded by the enemy,
Helpless, if anyone attacked you,
Wounded and bleeding by the side of Kurash.
Whenever a comrade in distress called
For my aid in an evil day,
A brother or ally in such case,
Much as I love my life I answered his call.
I returned to the fray, dispelling gloom,
And shot when faces showed hostility.
Many an adversary have I left on the ground
To rise painfully like a broken twig.
When battle was joined I dealt him a blow
That drew blood—his arteries murmured aloud:
That is what I did on the day of Badr.
Before that I was resourceful and steadfast,
Your brother as you know in war and famine
Whose evils are ever with us,
Your champion undaunted by darkest night or superior numbers.
Out into the bitter black night I plunged
When the freezing wind forces dogs to shelter.

1 Commentators differ as to whether this is the name of a place, or a man, or a body of men, the leaders of an attack.
2 The hyena.
3 Lit. 'when skins are changed to leopards' skins'. See note on 741-3.
4 Reading ānu'nī.
5 Or, reading ānu'ī, 'black'.
6 A. Dih. says that 'a prisoner' is meant here.
7 A mountain in the territory of Hudhayl; Yaq. iv. 247; Balāt, 473.
8 W. reads qāṣīf 'from which the fruit has been plucked'.
9 Sārīā means (a) multitude, (b) intense cold. As Such. says, the latter must be the meaning because of the mention of the cold wind in the second hemistich.
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Hind d. 'Uthba b. Rabî'a bewailing her father on the day of Badr, said:

O eyes, be generous with thy tears
For the best of Khindî's sons
Who never returned (home).
His clan fell upon him one morning,
The sons of Hashim and the sons of al-Muţţalib
They made him taste the edge of their swords,
They attacked him again when he was helpless,
They dragged him stripped and spoiled
With the dust upon his face;
To us he was a strong mountain,
Grass-clad, pleasing to the eye;
As for al-Bara’ I do not mention him,
May he get the good he counted on.

She also said:

Fate is against us and has wronged us,
But we can do naught to resist it.
After the slain of Lu’ayy b. Ghalîb,
Can a man care about his death or the death of his friend?
Many a day did he rob himself of wealth
By lavishing gifts morning and evening.
Give Abû Sufyân a message from me:
If I meet him one day I will reprieve him,
"Twas a war that will kindle another war,
For every man has a friend to avenge (537).

She also said:

What an eye which saw a death like the death of my men!
How many a man and woman tomorrow
Will join with the keening women;
How many did they leave behind on the day of the pit,
The morning of that tumultuous cry!
All generous men in years of drought
When the stars withheld their rain.¹
I was afraid of what I saw
And now my fear is realized.
I was afraid of what I saw
And today I am beside myself.
How many a woman will say tomorrow
Alas Umm Mu’âwiya! (558)

¹ The ancient Arabs thought that the stars brought rain.

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Hind also said:

O eye, weep for 'Uthba, the strong-necked chief,
Who gave his food in famine,
Our defence on the day of victory,
I am grieved for him, broken-hearted, demented.²
Let us fall on Yathrib with an overwhelming attack
With horses kept hard by,
Every long-bodied charger.

Ṣâfiya d. Musâfîr b. Abû 'Amr b. Umayya b. 'Abdu Shams b. 'Abdu Manîf, bewailing the slain in the pit of Badr, said:

Alas for my eye painful and bleared
The night far spent, the rising sun still hid!
I was told that the noble chieftains
Fate had seized for ever,
That the riders fled with the army and
Mothers neglected their children that morning.
Arise, Ṣâfiya, forget not their relationship,
And if you weep, it is not for those who are distant.
They were the supports³ of the tent.
When they broke, the roof of the tent was left unsupported (559).

Ṣâfiya also said:

Alas my eye, weeping has exhausted its tears
Like the two buckets of the waterman
Walking among the trees of the orchard.
No lion of the jungle with claws and teeth,
Father of cubs, leaping on his prey,
Exceeding fierce and angry,
Is equal to my love when he died
Facing people whose faces were changed in anger,
In his hand a sharp sword of the finest steel,
When you thrust with a spear you made great wounds
From which came hot foaming blood (560).

Hind d. Utâbah b. 'Abbâd b. al-Muţţalib lamenting 'Ubayda b. al-Hârith b. al-Muţţalib said:

Al-Ṣâfâr¹³ holds glory and authority,
Deep-rooted culture, ample intelligence.
Weep for 'Ubayda, a mountain of strength to the strange guests,
And the widow who suckles a dishevelled baby;

¹ Sub. here presses for the meaning 'clad in mourning', mustaliba, but as all the adjectives
² Psychological such a sense seems out of place here.
³ I follow C. in reading sufûd.
⁴ A place between Mecca and Medina.
To the people in every winter
When the skies are red from famine;
To the orphans when the wind was violent.
He heated the pot which foamed with milk as it seethed;
When the fire burned low and its flame died
He would revive it with thick brushwood.
Mourn him for the night traveller or the one wanting food,
The wanderer lost whom he put at his case (561).

Qutayla d. al-Hārith, sister of al-Nādīr b. al-Hārith, weeping said:
O Rider, I think you will reach Utāhay!
At dawn of the fifth night if you are lucky,
Greet a dead man there for me,
Swift camels always carry news from me to thee.
(Tell of) flowing tears running profusely or ending in a sob,
Can al-Nādīr hear me when I call him,
How can a dead man hear who cannot speak?
O Muhammad, finest child of noble mother,
Whose sire a noble sire was,
I would not have harmed you if you spared him.
(A warrior oft spares though full of rage and anger.)
Or you could have taken a ransom,
The dearest price that could be paid.2
Al-Nādīr was the nearest relative you captured
With the best claim to be released,
The swords of his father's sons came down on him.
Good God, what bonds of kinship there were shattered!
Exhausted he was led to a cold-blooded death,
A prisoner in bonds, walking like a hobbled beast (562).3

The apostle left Badr at the end of the month of Ramadān or in Shawwāl.

THE RAID ON B. SULAYM IN AL-KUDR

540 The apostle stayed only seven nights in Medina before he himself made a raid against B. Sulaym (563). He got as far as their watering place called al-Kudr and stayed there three nights, returning to Medina without any fighting. He stayed there for the rest of Shawwāl and Dhul-Qa'da, and during that time he accepted the ransom of most of the Quraysh prisoners.

1 A place near Medina between Badr and Wādī Safrā.
2 Nöldeke's Dictus, p. 67, has a different text here.
3 Some MSS., followed by Subh. and W., make LH. responsible for its inclusion in the Sira.

When he went away Abū Suḥayl said of Sallām's treatment of him:
I chose one man out of Medina as an ally,
I had no cause to reject it, though I did not say long.
Sallām ibn Miḥshak gave me good wine,
He refreshed me in full measure despite my haste.
When the raiders turned back I said
(Unwilling to burden him),
'Look forward to raiding and booty.
Consider, for the people are the pure stock of Lu'ayy,
Not a mixed rabble of Jurhum'.
It was no more than (spending) part of the night by a traveller
Who came hungry though not needy and destitute.

1 A culpitiucism for abstaining from sexual intercourse.
2 About eight posts distance from Medina.
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T. 1265. [Abū Sufyān had composed some verses to incite Quraysh when he got ready to march from Mecca to Medina:

Return to the attack on Yathrib and the lot of them,
For what they have collected is booty for you,
Though the battle of the cistern went in their favour
The future will restore your fortunes,
I swear that I will not come near women
Nor shall I use the water of purification
Until you destroy the tribes of Aus and Khazzraj.
My heart is burning for revenge.]

Ka'b b. Mālik answered him:
The Muslims¹ are sorry for Ibn Ḥarb's army,
So futile in the ḥarār
When those who were sick of their provision cast away the burden:
Climbing up to the top of the mountain.
The place where their camels knelt can be compared
Only with the hole of foxes;²
Barc of gold³ and wealth and of
The warriors of the vale and their spears.]

THE RAID OF DHŪ AMARR

When the apostle returned from the raid of al-Sawqī he stayed in Medina for the rest of Dhu'l-Hijja, or nearly all of it. Then he raided Najḍ, making for Ghatafān. This is the raid of Dhū Amarr (566). He stayed in Najḍ during the month of Safar, or nearly all of it, and then returned to Medina without any fighting. There he remained for the month of Rabi‘u'll-Awwal, or a day or two less.

THE RAID OF AL-FURU' OF BAHRĀN

Then he made a raid on Quraysh as far as Bahrān, a mine in the Hijāz in the neighbourhood of Al-Furū',⁶ He stayed there for the next two months and then returned to Medina without fighting (567).

¹ T. omits the poem in the Sūra and in its place has the lines above.
² Lit., 'the mother of those who pray'; cf. Sūra 37, 43.
³ The true text is in the Corrigenda. I take al-ṭayyin to be the pl. of al-ṭīrā. See I. 1904-1905.
⁴ The sense is not very clear. The glossary to Tāb. 235 tentatively suggests that the enemy dare not pitch camp there.
⁵ I follow de Jong's conjecture and read al-naḍr for al-naqr.
⁶ A village near Medina.
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‘O you who believe, take not Jews and Christians as friends. They are friends one of another. Who of you takes them as friends is one of them. God will not guide the unjust people. You can see those in whose heart there is sickness’, i.e. ‘Abdullah b. Ubayy when he said, ‘I fear a change of circumstances.’ Acting hastily in regard to them they say we fear that change of circumstances may overtake us. Peradventure God will bring victory or an act from Him so that they will be sorry for their secret thoughts, and those who believe will say, Are these those who swore by God their most binding oath? That they were with you, as far as God’s words, ‘Verily God and His apostle are your friends, and those who believe, who perform prayer, give alms and bow in homage,’ mentioning ‘Uḥdā taking God and His apostle and the believers as friends, and renouncing his agreement and friendship with the B. Qaynuqā‘i’, ‘Those who take God and His apostle and the believers as friends, they are God’s party, they are the victorious.’

The Raid of Zayd b. Ḥāritha to Al-Qarada

The story of the foray of Zayd who captured the caravan of Quraysh, in which was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, when the apostle sent him to Al-Qarada, a watering-place in Najd, is as follows:

Quraysh were afraid to follow their usual route to Syria after what had happened at Badr, so they went by the Iraq route. Some of their merchants went out, among whom was Abū Sufyān, carrying a great deal of silver which formed the larger part of their merchandise. They hired a man from the B. Bakr b. Wā‘il called Furāt b. Habībān to conduct them by that route (571). The apostle duly sent Zayd, and he met them by that watering-place and captured the caravan and its contents, but the men got away. He brought the spoil to the apostle.

Hāssān b. Thābit after Uḥdā concerning the last raid of Badr taunted Quraysh for taking the Iraq road thus:

You can say good-bye to the streams of Damascas, for in between Are swords like the mouths of pregnant camels who feed on arak trees In the hands of men who migrated to their Lord And His true helpers and the angels.

If they go to the lowland of the sandy valley Say to them, There is no road here (572).

The Killing of Ka‘b b. Al-Ashraf

After the Quraysh defeat at Badr the apostle had sent Zayd b. Ḥāritha to the lower quarter and ‘Abdullah b. Rawāḥa to the upper quarter to tell the Muslims of Medina of God’s victory and of the polytheists who had been killed. ‘Abdullah b. al-Mughīth b. Abū Burda al-Zafār and ‘Abdullah b. Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. ‘Amr b. Ḥāzim and ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda

1 Cf. W. 567.

and ‘Abī Umāma b. Sahl each gave me a part of the following story: Ka‘b b. al-Ashraf who was one of the ‘Ṭayyi’ of the subsection B. Nabhān whose mother was from the B. al-Naḍir, when he heard the news said, ‘Is this true? Did Muhammad actually kill these whom these two men mention? (i.e. Zayd and ‘Abdullah b. Rawāḥa). These are the nobles of the Arabs and kingly men; by God, if Muhammad has slain these people ‘they were better to be dead than alive.’

When the enemy of God became sure that the news was true he left the town and went to Mecca to stay with al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wādī‘a b. Dubayyra al-Sahmī who was married to ‘Āṭika d. Abī‘l-Is b. Umayya b. ‘Abdu Shams b. ‘Abdu Manāf. She took him in and entertained him hospitably. He began to inveigh against the apostle and to recite verses in which he bewailed the Quraysh who were thrown into the pit after having been slain at Badr. He said:

Badr’s mill ground out the blood of its people.
At events like Badr you should weep and cry.
The best of the people were slain round their cisterns,
Don’t think it strange that the princes were left lying.
How many noble handsome men,
The refuge of the homeless were slain,
Liberal when the stars gave no rain,
Who bore others’ burdens, ruling and taking their due fourth.
Some people whose anger pleases me say
‘Ka‘b b. al-Ashraf is utterly dejected’.
They are right. O that the earth when they were killed
Had split asunder and engulfed its people,
That he who spread the report had been thrust through
Or lived covering blind and deaf.
I was told that all the Banū‘l-Mughira were humiliated
And brought low by the death of Abī‘l-Ḥakīm
And the two sons of Rabī‘a with him,
And Munabbīh and the others did not attain (such honour) as those
Who were slain?
I was told that al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥishām
Is doing well and gathering troops
To visit Yathrib with armies,
For only the noble, handsome man protects the loftiest3 reputation

Hāssān b. Thābit answered him thus:

Does Ka‘b weep for him again and again
And live in humiliation hearing nothing?

1 Lit. the inside of the earth is better than the outside.
2 Or ‘Tubba’ did not (so A. Dh.). Waq. has hâl for maa and al-tubbâ‘a for yastubbâ‘a.
3 The reading must be ‘ādil, because yâdîl governs an accusative.
4 The question is ironic: let him weep if he wants to. The text of this poem is dubious.