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He was the light and the brilliance we followed.
He was sight and hearing second only to God.
The day they laid him in the grave
And cast the earth upon him
Would that God had not left one of us
And neither man nor woman had survived him!
The Banu’l-Najjar were utterly abased,
But it was a thing decreed by God.
The booty was divided to the exclusion of all the people
And they scattered it openly and uselessly among themselves.¹

Hassan also said:

I swear that no man is more careful than I
In swearing an oath true and without falsehood.
By God, no woman has conceived and given birth
To one like the apostle the prophet and guide of his people;
Nor has God created among his creatures
One more faithful to his sojourner or his promise
Than he who was the source of our light,
Blessed in his deeds, just, and upright.
Your wives stripped the tents in mourning
And did not strike the pegs behind the curtains.
Like nuns they put on garments of hair
Certain of misery after happiness.
O best of men, I was as it were in a river
Without which I have become lonely in my thirst (921).

¹ Apparently 'the people' are the Ansar and 'they' are the Quraysh. The connection of this line with the preceding is obscure. This and the following poem come via I.I.

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10. What I have just written about the prophet's genealogy back to Adam and about Idris and others I was told by Ziyad b. 'Abdullah al-Bakrī on the authority of Muhammad b. Isḥāq.


God willing I shall begin this book with Isma'il son of Ibrāhīm and mention those of his offspring who were the ancestors of God's apostle one by one with what is known about them, taking no account of Isma'il's other children, for the sake of brevity, confining myself to the prophet's biography and omitting some of the things which I.I. has recorded in this book in which there is no mention of the apostle and about which the Quran says nothing and which are not relevant to anything in this book or an explanation of it or evidence for it; poems which he quotes that no authority on poetry whom I have met knows of; things which it is disgraceful to discuss; matters which would distress certain people; and such reports as al-Bakrī told me he could not accept as trustworthy—all these things I have omitted. But God willing I shall give a full account of everything else so far as it is known and trustworthy tradition is available.

11. Some say Miqād. Jurhum was the son of Qābytān from whom all the people of the Yaman are descended, the son of 'Abīr b. Shālīkh b. Ārafah-šāhād b. Šām b. Nūh.

12. The Arabs say Hajar and Ājār, changing the h into a as in the verb harāqa and arāqa 'to pour out'. Hajar was an Egyptian. 'Abdullah b. Waḥb from 'Abdullāh b. Laḥā on the authority of 'Umar client of Qhufra told me that the apostle said: 'Show pity in dealing with the protected peoples, those of the settled lands, the weak, the cringly haired, for they have a noble ancestor and marriage ties (wir us). The said 'Umar explained that by ancestry the prophet referred to the fact that the prophet Isma'il's mother came from them, and the marriage tie was contracted when the apostle took one of them as concubine.

Ibn Laḥā'ī said: Isma'il's mother Hāğar, the mother of the Arabs,¹ came from a town in Egypt facing Faramā,² and Ibrāhīm's mother Māra, the prophet's concubine whom the Muqawqis gave him, came from Ǧafnī in the province of Anṣānā.

13. All the Arabs are descended from Isma'il and Qābytān. Some of the people of the Yaman claim that Qābytān was a son of Isma'il and so according to them Isma'il is the father of all the Arabs.

¹ The text (both W. and C.) has 'came from Umm al-'Arab', but I have followed the reading of W.'s MS. D. Yaqūt, i, 355, who agrees with W. and C., adds: 'Others say Umm al-'Arīk; and it is said that she came from a town called Yaq near Umm Dunayn.'

² Said to be the ancient Pelusium.

³ In the Sa'id on the east bank of the Nile.


And ‘Akk b. ‘Adnān who made a mock of1 Ghassān
Until they were driven out completely.

Ghassān is the name of the water got from the dam at Mārib2 in the Yaman which was drunk by the descendants of Māzin b. al-‘Aṣid b. al-Ghauth and they were named after it. Others say that Ghassān is the name of water at al-Mushballah near al-Julāf,3 and those who drink of it and take their name from it are the tribes descended from Māzin b. al-‘Aṣid b. al-Ghauth b. Nabi b. Malik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabā’ b. Yashhub b. Ya’rub b. Qaḥṭān. Among the verses of ‘Adnān b. Thābit al-Ansārī— the Ansār being the tribes of Aws and Khazraj, the two sons of Ḥaritha b. Tha’laba b. ‘Amr b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Haritha b. Iṣrū‘ul-Qays b. Tha’laba b. Māzin b. al-‘Aṣid b. al-Ghauth—is this:

If you ask us about we are a noble people.
Al-‘Aṣid is our forefather and Ghassān our water.


Sons of the noble renowned shakh we are,
Qul‘ā‘a b. son of Malik b. Ḥimyar.
Our descent is famous and undisputed,
It is engraved on stone beneath the pulpít.4

16. The name is also written Qanāṣ.


A reading talāġāh ‘got the name of’ yields a better sense.1
2 Or Ma‘rib here and hereunder.
3 Mushballah is a mountain near Medina. Al-Julāf lies on the Medina–Mecca road.

The second hemistich is missing in W’s edition and the first is taken as a chapterheading. Yāqūt describes Julāf as the ruin of an old city that once was of considerable size possessing a pulpít.
27. The order should be Yashjub b. Ya'rūb b. Qaḥṭān.
28. Of him it was said:
   Would that it were my lot to get from Abū Karib
   The exclusion of his evil by the good he has!
25. The poem in which this line occurs is a later invention and therefore we have not recorded it.
26. The rhyming words are not inflected.
27. In Bahrayn according to what a scholar told me.
28. Another reading is libābī libābī.
29. Nahlīnās is a Ḥimyarī word meaning 'head'.
30. Uḥhdūd means a long trench such as a ditch or a brook and so on. The plural is abhhdūd. Dhu'l-Rummā whose name was Ghaylān b. 'Uqba, one of B. 'Ady b. 'Abdū Manāf b. Udd b. Ṭabikha b. Iyās b. Muṣār, uses the word in one of his odes:
From the 'Iraqi land which an uḥhdūd waters
Between the desert and the palm.
Here the word means a canal. The mark of a sword or a knife in the skin is called uḥhdūd and so is the weal from the cut of a whip.
31. His mother was al-Dhi'bā' and his name was Rabī'a b. 'Abdu Yāfīl b. Sālim b. Mālik b. Iḫṭayt b. Jushām b. Qaḥṭān.
32. Zubayd b. Salama b. Māzin b. Munabbīh b. Ša'b b. Sa'd al-'Ashira b. Madhīj; others say Zubayd b. Munabbīh b. ša'b b. Sa'd al-'Ashira; or Zubayd b. Ša'b; and Murad is Yuhābir b. Madhīj. Abū 'Ubayda told me the following: 'Umār b. al-Khaṭṭāb wrote to Salmān b. Rabī'a al-Bāḥili—Bāhil being the son of Yaʻṣur b. Sa'd b. Qays b. 'Ayun—when he was in Armenia ordering him to show preference to those who possessed pure Arab horses, as against those who owned mixed breeds, when distributing spoils. Accordingly he mustered the cavalry and as he passed by 'Amr b. Māći Karib's horse he said: 'This horse of yours is of mixed breed.' 'Amr was furious and said: 'A mongrel knows a mongrel like himself!' Qays sprang forward and threatened him, whereupon 'Amr recited the verse just quoted.
This is what Šaṭīb the soothsayer meant when he said (v.t.):
The Ethiopians on your land shall bear
Ruling from Abyan to Jurash everywhere.
And what Shiqa the soothsayer meant when he said:
The blacks on your land shall bear,
Pluck your little ones from your care,
Ruling from Abyan to Najrān everywhere.
These words occur in one of his odes. The ṭajaz poet says:
And they were made as blades of corn that have been devoured.

An explanation of the idiom employed here is to be found in works on grammar.
The words Ilaf Quraysh mean ‘their assembling the party to go to Syria for trade.’ They had two expeditions; one in winter and one in summer.
Abū Ṭayy al-Anṣārī told me that the Arabs use the first and fourth forms of ṭalaf in the same sense and he quoted to me the words of Dhu’l-Rummāna:

Of the sand-dwellers are the tawny-backed white-bellied (gazelles) In whose colouring the rays of the sun become clearly seen.

[This man was Sa’id b. A’s b. Thābit. Cf. Yaq. 4, p. 235.]
Maṭrūd b. Ka’b al-Kaunātī said:

Those words are genuine when the stars fail to bring
And who act out upon their accustomed way.

I shall mention this and other verses of his later on if God will. Ilaf is also used of a man who has a thousand camels, cattle, or sheep, or other possessions. In one of his odes al-Kumayt b. Ṭayy, one of B. Asd b. Khazazīna b. Muṭrīkā b. Iyiṣī b. Muṭrī b. Nizār b. Ma’add, said:

In a year of which the owner of a thousand camels says
This makes the man who longs for milk walk on foot.

Ilaf is also used when a people become a thousand in number. In one of his odes al-Kumayt b. Ṭayy said:

The family of Muzayyiqā on the morn they met
The Banū Sa’d b. Ḍabbā were a thousand strong.

Ilaf also means the joining of one thing to another so that it adheres and sticks to it. It also means to complete the thousand.

This ode is also attributed to Umayyā b. Aḥūl-Ṣalt.
Abū Ṭayy al-Anṣārī quoted me his words ‘Upon the passes,’ &c., which occur in an ode of Abū Qays which I shall refer to later, God willing. The kunya Abū Yūsuf applies to Abraba.

These lines of his occur in an ode on the Battle of Badr which I shall refer to later, God willing.

The lines are ascribed to Umayyā b. Aḥūl-Ṣalt b. Abū Rabī’ al-Taqafī.

Abūl-Fārāzdaq—his name was Hashim b. Ḥālib, one of B. Mūṣabīh b. Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanṣāla b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm—eulogizing Sulaymān b. Abūl-Malik b. Marwān and satirizing al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and mentioning the elephant and his army, said:

When al-Ḥajjāj’s presumption led him to excess He said ‘I will mount to the skies’

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As Noah's son said 'I will climb
A lofty mountain to escape the waters,'
God smote him in his body as he smote
In defence of His holy Temple
The armies leading the elephant until
He turned them to dust halfly as they were.
May you be preserved as the temple was when
The leader of the foreign polytheists brought his elephant!

Abdullah b. Qays al-Ruqayyāt, one of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy b. Ghulāb mentioning Abraha the split-nosed and his elephant, said:
Split-nosed bringing his elephant drew near
But retreated, his army overthrown;
Birds with pebbles hovered over them
So that they were as though they had been stoned.
Whosoever shall attack it will withdraw
Defeated and covered with shame.

49. Abu Ubayda told me that when Sayf b. Dhu Yazan entered his presence he bowed his head and the king said: 'Does this fool come in to me by a high door and then bow his head?' When Sayf was told of this he said: 'I did this only because of my anxiety, for everything presses on me!'

50. Khalil b. Qurra al-Sadūsī quoted to me the last of these verses as coming from an ode of Aḥṣā' of B. Qays b. Tha'laba, but other authorities on poetry deny that he wrote it.

51. Others say Umayya b. Abd'il-Ṣalt.

52. These lines which Ibn Iṣra'il reported are genuine except the last verse which belongs to al-Nābiḥa al-Ja'dī whose name was Ḥibbon b. 'Abdullāh b. Qays, one of B. Ja'da b. Khub b. Rabi'a b. 'Amir b. Ṣa'īa' b. Mūrāya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin.

53. i.e. one of the sons of Imru'l-Qays b. Zayd Marāt b. Tamūm, or as others say, 'Ady b. one of the 'Ibād of al-Ihira.'

54. Abu Zayd al-Anṣārī quoted to me the verse 'The day that the barbarians, &c.' as from al-Muṣfaḍāl al-Dabbī.

This is what Ṣāṭīḥ meant when he said that Imr b. Dhu Yazan would come against them from Aden and not leave one of them in the Yaman; and it is what Shiqīq meant by his words:

'A young man neither remiss nor base
Coming against them from Dhu Yazan's house.'

55. When Wahrīz died, Chosroes appointed his son al-Marzūbān ruler of the Yaman. When Marzūbān died, Chosroes appointed his son al-Taymūnān b. ruler over the Yaman, and when he died he appointed his son,

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afterwards depositing him and appointing Bādhān. This man continued in office until God sent Muhammad the prophet.

I was told on the authority of al-Zuhri that he said that Chosroes wrote to Bādhān the following letter:

'I have been told that a man of the Quraysh has come forth in Mecca asserting that he is a prophet. Go to him and invite him to withdraw. If he withdraws, well and good, if not, send his head to me.'

Bādhān sent Chosroes' letter to the apostle of God, who replied, 'God has promised that Chosroes will be killed on such-and-such a date.' Now when Bādhān got this letter he waited to see what would happen, saying that if he were a prophet, what he said would come to pass. God killed Chosroes on the day which the prophet had named. He was killed by his son Shīrawyā. Khalil b. Ḥīq al-Shaybānī said:

And Chosroes, when his sons cut him in pieces
With swords as the butcher cuts up joints,
The fate was hatching an evil day for him.
It came, for every child must come to the birth.

Al-Zuhri said: When the news reached Bādhān, he sent word to the apostle of God that he and the Persians with him accepted Islam. His messengers said to the apostle of God, 'To whom do we belong?' He replied, 'You are of us and related to us, the people of the house.'

I have been told that al-Zuhri said, It was then the apostle of God said, 'Salman is of us, the people of the house.'

This is what Ṣāṭīḥ meant when he said: 'A pure prophet to whom revelation will come from on high', and what Shiqīq meant when he said: (his kingdom) would be ended by an apostle who would bring truth and justice from a people of religion and virtue. Dominion shall rest among his people until the Day of Separation.

56. Dhimār should be spelt Dhamār according to what Yūnus told me.

57. THE STORY OF THE KING OF AL-ḤADR

Khalil b. Qurra b. Khalīl al-Sadūsī on the authority of Jannād, or of one of the learned genealogists in al-Kūfah, told me that al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir was descended from Sāṭīrān b. king of al-Ḥadr, a great fortress built like a town on the bank of the Euphrates. It is he to whom 'Adi b. Zayd refers in his lines:

When the master of al-Ḥadr built it
When the Tigris and Khabūr were brought to it
He constructed it of marble and plastered it with gypsum,
Birds nested in its roof.
Yet the fate did not respect it.
Its lordship departed, its gate is forsaken.

1 On p. 6 bayn for min here.
2 According to Nöldeke, Gesch. des Perser u. Araber, p. 33, al-Ḥadr was in ruins by 363 and so Ḫābūr (II) cannot have been its destroyer. The point is made by the Cairo edition of Ibn Hishām.
3 I.e. the income arising from the land they watered.
He it is to whom Abū Duwâd al-Iyâdī refers in his line:

I saw that death had descended from al-Ḥâdîr,

Upon al-Sâṭirîn lord of its people.

This verse occurs in one of his odes, but it is also attributed to Khalâf al-Abîmar; others say to Ḥammâdî the reciter.

Now Chosroes Sâdbûr Dhu’ll-Ātâkî f had attacked Sâṭirîn, king of al-Ḥâdîr, and besieged the town for two years. One day the latter’s daughter, looking down from the castle, had seen Sâdbûr in his silk brocade with his golden crown inset with topazes, rubies, and pearls on his head, a fine figure of a man, and she sent secretly to ask him if he would marry her if she opened the gate to him. He agreed to do so. Night came and Sâṭirîn became drunk; for he never went to bed sober. She took the keys of the castle from beneath his head and sent them with one of her freedmen who opened the gate and Sâdbûr came in and killed Sâṭirîn and gave al-Ḥâdîr to the soldiery and destroyed it. He took away the girl and married her.

At night as she was sleeping upon her bed she began to toss about restlessly and could not sleep, so he called for a lamp and the bed was searched and a myrtle leaf was found in it. Sâdbûr asked if that was the cause of her waking, and when she said that it was, he asked how her father had brought her up. She answered that he had given her a bed of brocade, clothed her in silk, fed her on marrow, and given her wine to drink. ‘If this is the way you reward your father you will soon betray me,’ he said, and ordered that her hair should be tied to a horse’s tail; the horse galloped away with her until she was killed. Here are some lines of A’shâ of B. Qays b. Tha’labâ:

Have you thought of al-Ḥâdîr when its people prospered,
But does prosperity ever endure?
For two years Shâbbâr kept his armies there
Smiting it with axes.
When he prayed to his Lord
He turned to him and took no vengeance.2

Here are some lines of ‘Adîy b. Zayd on the subject:

Fate descended on al-Ḥâdîr from above,
A grievous disaster.
A spoil darted did not protect her father
When her watchman gave up hope because of her treachery3
When she made his evening cup of unmixed wine
(For wine destroys the mind of the drinker).
She betrayed her people for a night of love,
Thinking that the prince would marry her.

1 He of the shoulders.
2 A poor sense. Evidently Abû Dharr was not satisfied as he adds to his gloss the phrase which refers difficulties to the divine omniscience.
3 This line has given much trouble to commentators. The first word can be read as rabî’a, meaning ‘watcher’, and would then refer to the girl looking down from the wall. Lishababîhâ, the reading adopted above, is taken from the variant given by the Cairo editors in place of the lihayyâh of their and W’s text. Mas’ûd, Muyî’tul-Dhâhâb, iv. 86, has lihaybîhâ. However, lihaybîh ‘to her own destruction’ is the reading first given by Abû Dharr and ‘to her own destruction’ yields a good sense.
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69. I shall have more to say about this later on, God willing.

70. Allies of the sons of Abū Ṭalib especially. Sulaym was b. Maṣūr b. Ṭikrīma b. Khaṣafā b. Qays b. 'Aylān.

71. These two verses were composed by Abū Khudayr al-Hudalī whose name was Khuwaylid b. Murra, and are taken from a longer poem. Guardians means those in charge of the affairs of the Ka'bah. Cf. the lines of Ṭu'bā b. al-Ājīj in one of his rajā'a poems which I shall say more about later on God willing:

Nay, by the lord of the birds who rest safely
In the victim's enclosure and the overseer's house.

72. Al-Kumayt b. Zayd, one of B. Asad b. Khuzayma b. Muḍirīka, said in one of his odes:

Tribes swore they would not flee
Turning their backs on Manār.

The apostle of God sent Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarīb—others say 'Aly b. Abī Ṭalib—with orders to destroy it.

73. The name is also spelt Dhūl-Khuṣṣa. A certain Arab said:

If you, Dhūl-Khuṣṣa, were the avenger of blood
As I, and your father had been slain,
You would not forbid the killing of enemies!

His father had been killed and he wanted to take vengeance; but first he went to Dhūl-Khalaṣa to get an oracle from the arrows. When the arrow forbidding him to proceed came out he spoke the verses quoted above. Some attribute them to Ibrā'īl b. Qays b. Ḥujr al-Kindī. The apostle of God dispatched Jarīr b. 'Abdullāh al-Baṣāli to destroy the idol.

74. I was told by a traditionist that the apostle of God sent 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalib to destroy it, and he found there two swords called al-Rāsūb and al-Mikhḍham. When he brought them to the apostle of God he gave them back to him. They are in fact the two swords which 'Alī had.

75. I have given an account of it in the preceding pages.

76. The second half of the verse was uttered by a man of B. Sa'd. It is said that al-Mustaughrīb b. Rabī' b. Ka'b b. Sa'd lived 330 years. He, who lived longer than any man of Muḍār, said:

I am weary of life and its length.
I have lived for hundreds of years.

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A century was followed by two more.
From countless months I have added to my years.
What remains is as what went before.
Days pass and nights follow them.

However, some people ascribe these verses to Zuhayr b. Janāb al-Kalbī.

77. This is really a verse of al-Aswad b. Ya'fur al-Nahshali, Nahshali being the son of Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik b. Zayd al-Manīr b. Tamīm. Abū Muhirz Khalaf al-Ahmār quoted the verse to me in the form:

The people of al-Khawānaq and al-Sadīr and Bāriq
And the temple Dhūl-Shurāfi, of Sindā.

78. It is said that anything that she gives birth to after that belongs to her sons and not their daughters.

79. All this information according to the Bedouin is wrong, except so far as concerns the Ḥārīn; there Ibn Isḥāq is right. Among the Arabs the Bahīra is the she-camel whose ear is slit and who is not ridden, whose hair is not shorn and whose milk is only drunk by the guest or given in alms, or left to their gods. The Sa'ība is a she-camel which a man vows that he will set free if he recovers from his sickness or if he gains an object which he seeks; and when she has freed a she-camel or a camel for one of their gods, then it runs free and pastures, no profit being made from it. The Wāṣila means a ewe whose mother has twins at every birth. Its owner gives the ewes to his gods and keeps the males for himself. If her mother gives birth to a male lamb with her, they say Wāṣalat (she has joined) her brother, and her brother is freed with her, no profit being made from him. I was given this information by Yūnūs b. Ḥabib the grammarian and others, each contributing his part thereto.

80. The poet says:

Round the Wāṣila in Shurayf is a three-year-old camel,
And those whose backs are taboo and those who are set free.

81. Tamīm b. Ubayy b. Muṣbil, one of B. 'Amir b. Sa'sa'an, said:

Therein is the rumbling of the young onager stallion
Like the grumbling of the Diyarī camel in the midst of the Bahīras.

This verse belongs to one of his odes and the plural of Bahīra is Bahā'ir and Bahir. The plural of Wāṣila is Wāṣal and Wusul. The plural of mulūtī of Sa'ība is Sawā′îb and Swayyab, and the plural of mulūtī of Ḥārīn is Ḥarawīn.

1. And the Khuzā'ī say we are the sons of 'Amr b. Rabī' b. Ḥāritha b. 'Amr b. 'Amir b. Ḥāritha b. Isrā'īl b. Qays b. Tha'lab b. Māzin b. al-Asd b. al-Ghaouth; and Khindif is his mother, according to what Abū 'Ubayd and other learned traditionists told me. Others say Khuzā'ī are the sons of

1. These verses (with unimportant variants) are in K. al-Mu'ammarin, ed. Goldscher, Jérusalem, 1899, No. X and p. 7.

2. One's confidence in Ibn Hishām is not strengthened by this quotation. However, it to be noted that he does not claim that this notorious forger's version is to be preferred.

3. These lines contain all three terms.
Hāritha b. 'Amr b. 'Amir. They were called Khuţa'ā because they separated from the descendants of 'Amr b. 'Amir when they left the Yaman on their way to Syria. They settled in Marr al-Zahrānī and dwelt there. 'Aun b. Ayyāb al-Anṣārī, one of B. 'Amr b. Sawādī b. Ghamī b. Ka'b b. Salama of al-Khaza'rij in Muslim times, said:

When we dropped down to the vale of Marr Khuţa'ā separated from us with troops of horsemen. They protected every valley of Tihamā And they were protected by their firm lances and sharp swords.

Abū'l-Muţazār Isamī'īl b. Rātı' al-Anṣārī, one of B. Hāritha b. al-Hāriz b. al-Khaza'rij b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aus, said:

When we dropped down to the vale of Mecca, Khuţa'ā Found the home of the tyrant agreeable. They settled in hordes and sent their horses far afield Over every tribe between hill and lowland. They drove Jurfum from the vale of Mecca and Wrapped themselves in Khuţa'ā's power and glory.

These verses occur in one of his odes. God willing, I shall refer to the expulsion of Jurfum later on.

82. Others say the name should be spelt al-Haun.

83. The mother of al-Naţr and Mālik and Mīlkan was Barra d. Murr. The mother of 'Abdu Manāt was Hāla d. Suwā'y d. al-Chītrīf b. Asd Shānā'ī. Shānā'ī was 'Abdullāh b. Ka'b b. Abdullāh b. Mālik b. Naţr b. al-Asd b. al-Ghaţhū. They were called Shānā'ī because of the hatred between them. 'Shānā'ī means hatred.

Al-Naţr is Quraysh, one born of his line is a Qurayshite, but those outside his line are not. Jarīr b. 'Aţiyya, one of B. Kula'b y. Yarbū'ī b. Hanza'ī b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, in a eulogy of Hīshām b. 'Abdullāh Mālik b. Marwān, said:

The mother who bore Quraysh Is of no mean lineage nor sterile, No sire is nobler than your ancestor, No maternal uncle nobler than Tamīm.

He meant Barra d. Murr sister of Tamīm b. Murr, the mother of al-Naţr. It is said that Fīhr b. Mālik is Quraysh, and the line of Quraysh is in his descendants alone. The name Quraysh is derived from tagarrush, meaning merchandise and profit. Ru'ba b. al-'Aţījāf said:

Fat meat and pure milk Make them despise poor wheat And the fallings of the doom-palm.3

Shugāhā means 'wheat'; and ḥushāl means the knobs of anklets and

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bracelets and the like; and qurūsh means trade and profit. The poet means that fat and milk used to make them independent of this. Muḥāf means pure milk.

Abū Jīlīda al-Yashkurī, Yashkur being Ibn Bakr b. Wā'il, said:

Brethren have slandered us! In our early days and of late.

84. Al-Salt too was a son of al-Naţr according to Abū 'Amr al-Madāni; the mother of all three was d. Sa'd d. Zābir al-Adwānī. 'Adwān was the son of 'Amr b. Qays b. Ayyāb. Kurhāyirī b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, namely Kurhāyirī of 'Azza one of B. Mula'y b. 'Amr b. Khuţa'ā, said:

Is not my father al-Salt or are not my brethren The best known to the nobles of the Banū al-Naţr? You can see the same Yamanī warp in us and them, The same Ḥaţramī sandals of peculiar design. If you are not of the Banū Naţr then leave The green arāk trees at the ends of the valleys.

Of those who are related to al-Salt b. al-Naţr of Khuţa'ā are B. Mula'y b. 'Amr the tribe of Kurhāyirī of 'Azza.

85. He was not the eldest son of Muţād.

86. Jandala was the d. Fīhr, and the mother of Yarbū'ī b. Ḥanża'ā b. Mālik b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, her mother being Layāl d. Sa'd d. Jarīr b. 'Aţiyya b. al-Khaţṭālī, the latter's name being Hudayha b. Badr b. Salama b. 'Aţf b. Kula'b y. Yarbū'ī b. Ḥanża'ā, said:

When I was angry the sons of Jandala In my defence threw stones which were like rocks.4

87. A third son was Qays whose mother was Salmā d. Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Khuţa'ā. She was the mother of the two sons just mentioned.

88. Some say that al-Hārizī was a son of Luʿayy. They are the Jusham b. al-Hārizī among Hīzān of Rāfīa. Jarīr said:

Sons of Jusham, you belong not to Hizzān. Relate Yourselves to the nobles of Luʿayy b. Ǧālib. Give not your daughters to the tribe of Ǧaur. Nor to Shūkayās; they are bad dwellings for strange women.


1 qurūsh. Like all words of this kind, which originally meant some form of physical violence, the original meaning is 'to crush the bones'. The name Quraysh is probably taken from the dugong. Cf. Kula'y, &c.

3 There is a play on the word jandala, large stone. For the idiom see Lammens, L'Arabie seculaire, 173 n. 2.

3 Two classes of the 'Azza; see Cairo edition, p. 100.

3 This is an easy day's journey from Mecca in the direction of Medina.

2 Tabhazzahā, to separate or remain behind; in this case both meanings apply.

3 The rendering given above is based on Abū Dhar's commentary. He rightly abandons Ibn Hishām's opinion in favour of the view of al-Waqasī which suits the context better.
They were called Jadara because 'Amir b. 'Amr b. Ju'uthuma married d. al-Hārith b. Mudād b. al-Jurumī, Jurum being lords of the Ka'ba, and built a wall for the Ka'ba and so was called al-Jādir, while the name in the plural attached itself to his offspring.

95. Nu'm d. Kālib was the mother of Sa'd and So'ayd sons of Salm b. 'Amr b. Huṣayy b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy. Her mother was Fāṭima d. Sa'd b. So'ayl.

96. The name is also written Ḥubshiyā b. Sa'lūl.


Other children of 'Abd Manāf were Abū 'Amr, Tumādār, Qilāb, Ḥiyya, Raṣṭa, Umm al-Aḥkātām, Umm Sūfīyā. The mother of Abū 'Amr was Ra'yta, a woman of Tāqīf; the mother of the rest of the girls was Ḥātīka d. Murra b. Qālib, mother of Ḥāshim b. 'Abdul Manāf; her mother was Šaffiya d. Ḥāura b. 'Amr b. Sā'il b. Šay'a b. Muʕāwiyā b. Bakk b. Ḥawqūk; Šaffiya's mother was d. Šay'yā Allah b. Sā'd b. 'Ashira b. Mādhāhī.

Ḥāshim b. 'Abd Manāf had four sons and five daughters: 'Abdul-Muṭṭalib, Asd, Abū Šayf, Naḍla, Šīfi, Khālidā, Da'īf, Ruqa'yya, Ḥayya. The mother of 'Abdul-Muṭṭalib and Ruqa'yya was Salmā d. 'Amr b. Zayd b. Labīd b. Ḥārām b. Khidāsh b. 'Amr b. Qānnā b. Adīy b. al-Najār b. Tāyμu'ul-'Ilā. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. al-Khazraj b. Ḥāritha b. 'Amr b. 'Amr. Her mother was Āmūra d. Šakk b. al-Hārith b. Tha'laba b. Māzīn b. al-Najār, and 'Āmūra's mother was Salmā d. 'Abdul-Ashāl b. al-Nāfirā. Asd's mother was Qayla d. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Khūṣā. The mother of Abū Šayf, Ḥayya, and Hind d. 'Amr b. Tha'laba b. al-Khazrajātī. The mother of Naḍla and Šīfi was a woman of Qadā; and the mother of Khūlidā and Da'īf was ʕāṣida d. Abu Adīy al-Māzhīnā.

THE CHILDREN OF 'ABDUL-MUṬṬALIB B. ḤĀSHIM

'Abdul-Muṭṭalib had ten sons and six daughters: al-Abbās, Ḥamza, 'Abdullah, al-Ṭālib (whose name was 'Abdu Manāf), al-Zubayr, al-Hārith, Ḥāji, al-Muqawwim, Dirār, and Abū Lahab (whose name was 'Abdu'l-Uzза), Šaffiya, Umm ʕalāk b. al-Bayya, Ḥātīka, Umayma, Arwā, and Barra.


The mother of Ḥamza, al-Muqawwim, and Ḥāji (who was nicknamed al-Ghāydaq because of his great liberality and weighed) and Šaffiya, was Ḥāla d. Wuhayb b. 'Abdu Manāt b. Zuhra b. Kālib b. Murra b. Kāb b. Lu'ayy.

The mother of 'Abdullah, Abū ʕalīb, al-Zubayr, and all the girls other than Šaffiya was Fāṭima d. 'Amr b. ʕīdah b. ʕirrān b. Makhzūm b. Yaṣṣār b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghašīb b. Ḥīr b. Mālik b. al-Nādār. Her mother was Ṣakhrā b. ʕirrān of the same line. Ṣakhrā's mother was Ṣakhrā b. al-Da'ib b. Qasāyy b. Kālib b. Murra, &c.
The mother of 'Abū Lāhab was Lubnā d. Ḥājir b. 'Abd Manţā b. Ǧādir b. Ḥubshiyā b. Salūl, &c.
'Abdullāh b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib begat the apostle of God (may God bless and preserve him), lord of the children of Adam, Muhammad b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib. May the blessing of God, His peace, His mercy, and His grace be upon him and his family. His mother was Ṭhāminā d. Wahb b. 'Abd Manţā b. Zuhra b. Kālīf b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'yāy b. Galiḥ b. Fīhr b. Malik b. al-Naḍr. Her mother was Barra d. 'Abdu'l-Uzza b. Uthmān b. 'Abdu'l-Dār b. Quṣayy b. Kālīf b. Murra, &c. Barra's mother; was Umm Ǧaḥb b. 'Abdu'l-Uzza b. Quṣayy, &c. Umm Ḥaṭib's mother was Barra d. 'Auf b. 'Ubayd b. 'Uwajy b. 'Adīy b. Ka'b b. Lu'yāy b. Galiḥ, &c.
Thus the apostle of God was the most noble of the sons of Adam in respect of his descent both from his father's and his mother's side.

98. Others spell the name Miḏād.
99. 'Abū 'Ubayd told me that Bakka is the name of the valley of Mecca because it is thickly populated and quoted to me the verse:
When great heat overtakes him who waters his camels with yours, 
Leave him alone until his camels are rounded up.
i.e. leave him until he gets his camels together, i.e. until he brings them to the water and they crowd upon it. Baccā is the place of the temple and the mosque. These lines are from 'Āmān b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Zayd Manţā b. Tamīm.
100. The words 'his sons are ours' are not from I.I.
101. This is as far as the genuine poetry goes. Some learned authorities told me that these verses are the first poetry spoken among the Arabs and that they were found inscribed on stone in the Yaman. I was not told who their author was.
103. Ṣa+jwān was the son of Ḥanjā b. Shijna b. 'Uṭṭārid b. 'Auf b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Zayd Manţā b. Tamīm.
104. The name is sometimes written Shuddāk.
105. A poet has said:
By my life Quṣayy was called 'uniter'
Because Allah united the tribes of Fīhr by him.
106. These verses are attributed to Zuhayr b. Ḥanjā b. Kalbī.
107. One of the authorities on poetry in the Hijāz gave me the line 'A people in Mecca', &c. [The point of this comment is that the line exists in another form which violates one of the canons of poetry,]

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108. The meaning of fajār is 'gift', as in the lines of Abū Khirāsh al-Hudhali:
Jamīl b. Ma'mar has starved my guests
By killing a generous man to whom widows resort.¹

109. This speech and the preceding one from a tradition of 'All about the digging of Zamzam are saj and not poetry in my opinion.

110. A poet has said:
God send rain to the wells whose site I know,
Jurāb and Malkūm and Baddhār and al-Gha'mar.

111. He was the father of Abū Jahl b. Ḫudhaya'a.

112. He means 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib. I shall mention this ode later if God will. [See p. 112 W.]

113. 'Ā'idh was b. 'Imrān b. Malikūm.

114. Another reading is 'man or beast'. [This is its reading.] Inserted in this story is a rajaz poem which no authority on poetry regards as genuine.

115. Marāḏi are mentioned in the sûra of Moses, 'We made foster-mothers unlawful for him'. [The point is that rādā'a in the text means 'children at the breast' whereas we should expect 'foster-mothers'. Therefore either we must suppose that ḥawa'īd is to be mentally supplied or we must take the word literally: where there are babies at the breast there must needs be women to suckle them.]


117. The mother of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib was Salma, d. 'Amr, the Najiārite, and this is the maternal relationship which I.I. mentions in linking the apostle with them.

118. I have never met any authority on poetry who knows these verses, but since they are quoted on the authority of Muhammad b. Sa'id b. al-Musayyib I have included them here.

119. Al-Musayyib was the son of Ḥazān b. Abū Wahh b. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzmūm.

120. 'Thy mother was a pure pearl of Khuzā'a' refers to Abū Lāhab whose mother was Lubnā d. Ḥājir the Khuzā'ite. The words 'In the path of his forefathers' come from a source other than I.I.

121. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzmūm.

122. Libbī belong to Aṣz Shana'a.

123. It was like the mark of a cupping-glass.

124. When the apostle was 14 or 15 years old according to what Abū 'Ubayda the grammarian told me on the authority of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Ala'a a sacrilegious
war broke out between the Quraysh and their allies the Kina'a and Qays 'Aylân. The cause of it was that 'Urwa al-Rahîl b. 'Utba b. Ja'far b. Kllâb b. Rabî b. 'Amir b. Sa'â'a b. Mu'awiyâ b. Bakr b. Hawâzin had given safe conduct to a caravan of al-Nu'mân b. al-Mundhir. Al-Barräd b. Qays, one of B. Dâma b. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manât b. Kina'a, said to him, 'Did you give it safe conduct against Kina'a? to which he replied, 'Yes, and against everybody else.' So 'Urwa al-Rahîl went out with the caravan and al-Barräd also went out with the object of taking him off his guard. When he was in Tayman Dhu 'Tîlâ in the high ground 'Urwa failed to post a guard and al-Barräd leapt upon him and killed him in the sacred month: that is why the war was called sacrilegious. Al-Barräd composed the following lines about it:

Many a calamity which has disquieted men before me
Have I met with determination, O Banû Bakr.1
I destroyed thereby the houses of the Banû Kllâb
And I reduced the clients to their proper place.
I lifted my hand against him in Dhu 'Tîlâ
And he fell dizzyly like a hewn down tree.

Labîd b. Rabî b. Malik b. Ja'far b. Kllâb said:
Tell the Banû Kllâb and 'Amir if you meet them
Great events have those who can deal with them.2
Tell the Banû Numayr if you meet them
And the uncles of the slain, Banû Hîlî
That the traveller al-Rahîl is dead
Lying by Tayman Dhu 'Tîlâ.

A messenger came to Quraysh saying that al-Barräd had killed 'Urwa while they were in 'Ukâb3 in the sacred month, and they rode off without the knowledge of Hawâzin. When the latter heard of it they pursued them and overtook them before they reached the sacred territory, and they fought till nightfall. When they entered the sacred territory Hawâzin gave up the fight. Sporadic encounters took place on the following days, but the people had no commander-in-chief, each tribe being commanded by its head. The apostle was present at some of these encounters, his uncles having taken him with them. He used to say that he picked up the arrows which the enemy had shot and gave them to his uncles to shoot.

125. The story of the struggle is too long to be mentioned here. I cannot allow it to interrupt the prophet's biography.

1 The line occurs in a different form in al-Isâl al-Farûd. Cf. Yaq. iii, 579 and Asb. xii, 75.
2 The text, metre, and translation in Brockelmann's edition (p. 57 Arabic and p. 51 German) are at fault here. There is a play on the word maqall rendered 'clients' in the first poem; here it means 'masters'. Maqall is one of those elusive terms whose meaning can be determined only by the context. Originally it meant a relative pure and simple without differentiating between a tribe's men by birth or by sworn alliance. Already in the poetry of the Sîra the muqall is lower than the jamîl or jarmîl, the pure-bred blooded tribesman. Cf. 7.14 hilfikâh tu-samumihâh. In the Qur'an muqall means 'lord' and also 'helper'. After the Arab conquers the word meant 'client', 'freed slave'.
3 On the site of 'Ukâb cf. the excellent article with map by Hanad al-Jasir in the Majalla of the Arab Academy of Damascus, 1931, iii, 377 L., where I. I. is cited from Shufal'al-ghârdim bi-ahbabul-labolî baladam as saying that it lay between Nakhla and 'Ullî.
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B. 'Āmir and Ḥassān b. Mu'āwwiya al-Kindi was slain. He was known as Ibn Kabsha. Yazīd b. al-Ṣa'iq al-Kīlābī was taken prisoner and al-Tufayl b. Mālik b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Kīlāb the father of 'Āmir b. al-Tufayl fled. About him al-Farazdaq said:

Of them was Ṭufayl b. Mālik who delivered
On his horse Qurzul a man swift to flee.
We smote the head of Ibn Khuvaylīd,
Adding to the owls that haunt a man's grave.¹

To this Jarir replied:

We dyed the crown of Ibn Kabsha.
When the cavalry met he encountered a man who shattered his skull.²

The story of the battles of Jabala and Dhū Najab is too long to be dealt with here for the reasons given when the Sacraligious War was discussed.

135. Raḥaq means rebellion and folly, as in the line of ṣa'īd b. al-ʿAjīb:

When fever makes the vicious camel mad. [Cf. Dīwān xli. 4.]

This verse occurs in one of his rajaz poems. Raḥaq also means seeking a thing until you get near it whether you take it or not. The same poet, describing wild asses, says:

Their tails flick and they shudder when they fear they will be overtaken.
The word is also used as a maṣdar. 'I have borne (raḥāt) a crime or hardship which you have laid upon me as a heavy burden.' It is used in the Qurʾān in the same sense: 'We feared that he would press hardly upon them in rebellion and unbelief' (18. 79); also, 'Do not treat me harshly for what I have done' (18. 72).

136. Al-Ghayṭala was of B. Murra b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kīnāna, brothers of Mudlij b. Murra. She was the mother of the Ghayṭīl whom Abū Ṭalib mentions in his lines:

Ghayṭīl is the name given to her sons among B. Sahm b. ʿAmr b. Ḥusayn.

137. This is ṣa'īd, not poetry.

138. Another version is 'A man will cry in eloquent language, saying, There is no God but Allah.' An authority on poetry recited to me the following lines:

I was amazed at the jinn and their dumbfounding,
As they saddled their beasts with their cloths,
Making for Mecca, seeking guidance.
Believing jinn are not like impure jinn.

¹ A reference to the ancient belief that owls came forth from the skulls of the slain and remained by their graves. The text in Naq. 386. 3 is superior.
² This is the meaning given to muṣāqā by A. Dh. (cf. Naq. 435. 4). The rendering given by Well is rightly rejected by the Arabic commentators, though the alteration of ḍāma from ṭamāma 'meeting' to ḍayāma, 'embrace' seems to be due to someone who gave the more usual meaning of 'loud-voiced' or 'eloquent' to muṣāqā.

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139. Yaḥṣafihān means 'they asked for help.' It also means 'they arbitrated' as in the verse of the Qurʾān, 'O our Lord judge between us and our people rightly, thou being the best of judges' (7. 87).


Noble sons of Ḥayla! None who mingled with them
Found fault with their company;
Generous, heroes, rejoicing in hospitality,
Following the traditions of their fathers as a duty.

141. Ḫurāsān means trembling from cold, and shuddering fits; if accompanied by sweating it is the sweat of fever.

142. There is a story about ʿUthmān which I cannot repeat for reasons given above. [See Suḥaylī.]

143. These verses really belong to an ode of Umayya b. Abū-l-Ṣalt, except for the first two, the fifth, and the last verse. The second half of the first verse does not come via I. I.


145. Another reading is: 'Piety preserves, not pride.' The words 'facing the Ka'bah' are from a traditionist.

146. The first two verses of this poem are attributed to Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt and the last verse occurs in one of his odes. The words 'vain idols' have not been given in I. I.

147. The Arabs say tahannūth and tahannuf meaning the Ḥanafīte religion, substituting f for th, just as they say ḥudath and ḥadaf meaning a grave.

'Abu b. al-ʿAjīb said:

If my stones were with the other grave-stones (ajdāf), meaning ajdāfat.

This verse belongs to a rajaz poem of his, and the verse of Abū Ṭalib to an ode by him which I will mention, please God, in the proper place. Abū ʿUbayd told me that the Arabs say ṣumma instead of thumma.

148. Qub here means a hollow pearl. One in whom I have confidence told me that Gabriel came to the apostle and said, 'Give Khadija greetings from her Lord.' The apostle said, 'O Khadija, Gabriel proclaims peace to you from your Lord.' She replied, 'God is peace, from Him comes peace, and peace be upon Gabriel.'

149. Sa'āt means 'to be quiet.' Umayya b. Abū-l-Ṣalt the Thaqīfī (Dīwān viii) said:

When he came by night my friend was asleep
And the night was quiet in blackest gloom.
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You can say of the eye when its glance is fixed it is șajia.
Jarir said:
They shot you as they went with quiet eyes
Slaying you from between the howdah curtains.

‘A’il means ‘poor’.
Abû Khiråsh al-Hudhāli said:
The destitute went to his house in winter
A poor man clad in two garments finding his way by the barking of the
dogs.\(^1\)
The plural is ‘ala and ‘a‘yāl. ‘A’il also means one who has a large family
and one who is afraid; and in the Quran ‘That is more likely that you will
not be unjust’ (4. 3).
Abû Țalîb said:
In a just balance he gives full weight of barley.
He is in himself an unerring witness. (See further 175. 17.)

‘A’il also means a tiresome, wearisome thing; you can say, ‘this thing has
exhausted me’ ‘alami, i.e. oppressed and wearied me.
al-Farazdaq said:
You see the most prominent chiefs of Quraysh
Whenever a great misfortune occurs.

150. Some add ‘and Țalîb’.

of slaves among whom was Zayd, then a young man. His aunt, who by that
time was the apostle’s wife, came to see him and invited him to choose
anyone of the young slaves she liked. She chose Zayd and took him away with
her. When the apostle saw him he asked her to give him to him. She did so and he freed him and adopted him as his son. This was before revelation
came to him.
His father Ḥâritha was exceeding sorrowful at his loss and mourned him
in the following verse:

I wept over Zayd, not knowing what had happened—
Whether I could hope to see him again or whether he was dead.
By God I do not know, often though I ask,
Whether he lies dead on hill or plain.
Would that I knew if thou wouldst ever return!
All that I ask of the world is that thou return to me.
Sunrise reminds me of him; the sunset brings his memory before me.\(^2\)
When the winds blow they stir up thoughts of him.

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Long will I grieve and fear for him!
I shall use the best camels in scouring the land
Nor weary of searching though the camels tire,
So long as I live till death comes to me.
For all must die, though hope deceives men.

Then he came to him while he was with the apostle, who told Zayd that
he could stay with him or if he preferred go away with his father. He replied
that he would certainly stay with him, and he remained with the apostle until
God made him His prophet, when he believed in him, prayed with him, and
became a Muslim. When God revealed ‘name them after their fathers’
(Sūra 33. 5) he said, ‘I am Zayd b. Ḥâritha.’

152. Abû Bakr’s name was ‘Abdullah. He was called ‘Atīq because of his
fine handsome face.

153. The words ‘at his invitation’ are not from I.I. ‘ahama ‘hold back’
means talābbuth ‘delay’, as in the line of Ru’ba b. al-’Ajāj:

Watthāt took her away and delayed not (’akama).

154. This latter was of B. Tamīm; others say of Khuada.

155. Al-Qāra was their nickname; it is said of them

Those who challenged the Qāra at shooting played them fair.
They were a tribe of archers.

156. ‘Anz b. Wā’il was the brother of Bakr of Rabi’a b. Nizār.

157. The reason he was called al-Nahjām was because the apostle said,
‘I heard his singing in Paradise.’ His nāhm means his voice.

158. He had been born a slave among al-Asd; he was a black and Abû Bakr
bought him from them.

159. Or Humayna.

160. His name was Mihāsham b. ’Utba b. Rabi’a . . . b. Lu’ayy.

161. Bāhila brought him and sold him to al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl who adopted
him; but when God revealed, ‘Call them after their fathers’ names,’ he said,
‘I am Wāṣiq b. ‘Abdullah,’ according to what Abû ’Amr al-Madani said.

162. ‘Ammār was an ’Anat from Madībihj.

163. Namir was the son of Qasît b. Ḥinb b. Afṣā b. Jadīla b. Asad b. Rabi’a b.
Nizār; some say of Afṣā b. Du’āmī b. Jadīla. It is said that Șubayh was
the freedman of ‘Abdullah b. Judān b. ’Amr b. Ka’b b. Sa’d b. Taym. It is
also said that he was a Greek. One of those who maintain that he was from
al-Namir b. Qasît said that he was a prisoner in Byzantine territory and was
bought from them. There is a tradition of the prophet which runs: ‘Şubayh
is the first of the Greeks’ (cf. to accept Islam).

164. Şada means ‘distinguish between truth and falsehood’. Abû Dhu’ayb
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al-Hudhayl whose name was Khawwaylid b. Khallid, describing wild asses and their mates, said:

It was as though they were a bundle of gaming arrows
And a shuffler thereof dealing out the arrows and proclaiming what he produced.

i.e. distinguishing the arrows and making their shares clear. [The allusion is to the game of mayā'sir which was popular among the ancient Arabs. See Muṣaf. 863. 171.

Ru’ba al-’Ajīj said:

You are the clement and the avenging prince
Declaring the truth and driving away the wrongdoer.

165. Abū Sufyān’s name was Šākrh.


167. I have left out two verses in which he violently insulted him.

168. A variant reading is ‘his root is in copious water’.

169. ‘Arīd means ‘obstinate opponent’ as in the line of Ru’ba b. al-’Ajīj:

We were omitting the head of the obstinate (unnad).

170. basara means ‘he had an angry expression’ as in the words of al-’Ajīj:

Firm in jaw, angry in visage, a biter,

describing a forbidding face.

171. The singular of ’idān is ’idā. You say ’addāihu, meaning ‘they divided it’ as in the line of Ru’ba.

The religion of God is not divided.

172. This is as much of the ode as seems to me to be genuine; many competent authorities on verse deny the authenticity of most of it.

A man I can trust told me that in a year of drought the people of Medina came to the apostle and complained of their trouble. He mounted the pulpit and prayed for rain. Hardly had the rain begun than the people living in exposed districts came to complain that they were inundated. The apostle said: ‘O God, round us, not on us!’ Thereupon the clouds moved away from the town itself and encircled it like a crown. The apostle said, ‘If Abū Ṭalib could but have seen this day how he would have rejoiced!’ One of his companions said, ‘I suppose you refer to his line:

A noble man for whose sake the clouds drop rain,
The support of orphans and the defense of widows,’

and he said ‘Quite so.’

The expression ‘its bushes’ is not from I.1.

173. He was called al-Akhnas because he withdrew (hīna’sa) with the people at the battle of Badr. Of course his name was Usayy; he came from B. ‘Ilaj b. Abū Salma b. ’Auf b. ’Uqba.

Ibn Hisâbah’s Notes

174. The words ‘allied themselves with treacherous people against us’ refer to B. Bakr b. ’Abdu Manâr b. Kinâna. These are the Arabs whom Abū Ṭalib mentions in his verse above. [See p. 127, n. 4.]

175. I.1 relates Abū Qays here to B. Wāqif, whereas in the story of the elephant he is related to Khaṭma. The reason is that the Arabs often relate a man to the brother of his grandfather if he happens to be better known.

Abū ’Ubayda told me that al-Halām b. ’Amr al-Ghifāri was of the sons of Nu’ayla, brother of Ghifār b. Mulâyy. Nu’ayla was the son of Mulâyy b. Ḍamr b. Bakr b. ’Abdu Manâr. They had said that ’Utbā was the son of Ghazwān al-Sulamī, he being of the sons of Māzin b. Manṣūr; Sulaym was J. Manṣūr. Abū Qays was of B. Wā’il; Wā’il, Wāqif, and Khaṭma are brothers of al-Aus.

176. The line ‘its as water poured at random’, and the verse ‘if you buy spears’, &c., and ‘men’s Lord has chosen a religious’ and ‘his cavalry was in the plains’ were quoted to me by Abū Zayd al-Ansāri and others. As to his words ‘Know you not what happened in the war of Dāhīs?’ Abū ’Ubayda told me that Dāhīs was a horse belonging to Qays b. Zhuhayr b. Jadhīmā b. Rawāhā b. Rabī’a b. al-Hārith b. Māzin b. Quṭay’a b. ‘Abīs b. Baghīd b. Rayyāt b. Ghaṭafān which he raced against a mare of Ḥudhayfah b. Badr b. ’Amr b. Zayd b. Jn’ayyā b. Lūḥān b. Tha’labā b. ’Abīy b. Faṣārā b. Dhuqayyā b. Baghīd b. Rayyāt b. Ghaṭafān called al-Ghabrāh. Ḥudhayfah hid some of his men in ambush and ordered them to hit Dāhīs in the face if they saw him taking the lead. This is precisely what happened, and so Ghabrāh came in first. When the rider of Dāhīs came in he told Qays what had happened, and his brother Mālik b. Zhuhayr got up and slapped al-Ghabrāh in the face, whereupon Ḥamal b. Badr got up and slapped Mālik’s face. Afterwards Abū-’l-Junaydīb al-’Abī fell in with ‘Auf b. Ḥudhayfah and killed him; then a man of the F. Faṣārā met Mālik and killed him, and Ḥamal, Ḥudhayfah’s brother, said:

We have killed Mālik in revenge for ‘Auf.

If you try to get more than your due from us you will be sorry.

Al-Rabi’ b. Ziyād al-’Abī said:

After Mālik b. Zhuhayr has been killed,
Can women hope for carnal delights?

Thus war broke out between ’Abs and Faṣārā, and Ḥudhayfah b. Badr and his brother Ḥamal were killed. Qays b. Zhuhayr was grieved and composed in elegy on him:

How many a knight who is no knight is called (to war)
But at al-Hab’ā there was a true knight.
So weep for Ḥudhayfah; you will not mourn his like
Until tribes not yet born shall have perished.

He also said:

The young man Ḥamal b. Badr did wrong,
And injustice is an evil food.

1 i.e. War will break out and then sexual relations will be taboo.
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Al-Ḥarith b. Zuḥayr the brother of Qays said:

I left at al-Haba'a without pride
Ḥudhayfa's body 'mid the broken spears.

Some say that Qays raced the horses Dābiṣ and al-Ghabrā', while Ḥudhayfa raced al-Khāṣṭār and al-Ḫanā'; but the first account is the sounder. I cannot go into the story further because it interrupts the apostle's biography.

As to the words 'war of Ḥajjāb' the reference is to Ḥajjāb b. al-Ḥarith b. Qays b. Hayyāh b. al-Ḥarith b. Umayya b. Ma‘ṣwīya b. Mālik b. ‘Amr b. ‘Aud b. Mālik b. al-Aus who had killed a Jew under the protection of al-Khazraj. So Ya‘ṣīl b. al-Ḫāṭib b. Qays b. Mālik b. Aḥmar b. Ḥarīṭa b. Thulāba b. Ka‘b b. al-Khazraj b. al-Ḫāṭib b. al-Khazraj known as 'Uṣūl Fūṣtam from his mother Fūṣtam, a woman of al-Qayn b. Jasr, went out by night with a number of B. Ḥarīṭa b. al-Khazraj and killed Ḥajīb. Thus war broke out between al-Aus and al-Khazraj and was waged bitterly until victory went to al-Khazraj. Suwāyd b. Ǧa‘ṣīt b. Khalīl b. ‘Aṭyja b. Ḥabīb b. ‘Amr b. ‘Aud b. Mālik b. al-Aus was killed by al-Mujādhidhir b. Dhiyāṭ al-Balawi whose name was ‘Abdullah, an ally of B. ‘Aud b. al-Khazraj. Al-Mujādhidhir went out with the apostle to the battle of Uhud and al-Ḫāṭib b. Suwāyd went out with him. Al-Ḫāṭib took al-Mujādhidhir off his guard and killed him in revenge for his father. (I shall mention the story in its proper place if God will.) I cannot go into the details of the war which followed for the reasons which have been given already.

177. A learned traditionist told me that the worst treatment that the apostle met from Quraysh was one day when he went out and everyone that met him, free or slave, called him a liar and insulted him. He returned to his house and wrapped himself up because of the violence of the shock. Then God revealed to him, 'O thou that art envirnapped, Rise and warn!' (Sūra 74).

178. Others put 'Alqama and Kalada in reverse order.

179. He it is who according to my information said, 'I will send down something like what God has sent down.'

180. bākh‘un nafṣak means 'committing suicide' according to what Abū Ubayda told me. Dhū‘l-Rumma said:

O thou that destroyest thyself
In longing for that which fate has taken from thee.

The plural is bākh‘un and bakkha‘a. The Arabs say 'I have impressed (babka‘a) my advice upon him', i.e. I have laboured so to do.

181. Sā‘id means 'the ground'; pl. sū‘ud. Dhū‘l-Rumma, describing a little gazelle, said:

In the morning it leapt gaily over the ground
As though wine coursed through the very bones of its head.

Sā‘id also means 'the way', as you find in the tradition 'Beware of sitting by the wayside' meaning the road. The word jurūz means 'barren land'; pl. ajūzāt. You can say sana jurūz, 'a barren year', and sinnama ajūzāt, i.e. years in which no rain falls, and drought, desolation, and hardship result. The same poet describing camels wrote:

Their bellies contain naught but disease and barrenness.
They are nothing but inflated bones.

182. Raqīm is the book in which their story was inscribed (raqīma), pl. raqīmāt. Al-‘Aṣjāj said:

The place of the inscribed volume (muraqqam).

183. Shuṭṭāf means 'exaggeration and going beyond what is right'. A‘ṣāh b. Qays b. Thulāba said:

They will not cease, nothing will halt the wicked
But a thrust in which the oil and the wick perish.

[i.e. a deadly wound. Dīwān, ed. R. Geyer, xlviii. i, 1, beginning hal not la as here.]

184. Tawṣūra means 'to incline' from zā‘ūr. Imru‘ul-Qays b. Ḥujr said:

I am a chief; if I return a king
'Twill be in such a way as to make the guide appear to be going astray.

Abū‘l-Zahhāf al-Kulaybī describing a district said:

The coarse salt herbage is not what we want.
To do without water for five days makes the camels thin.

Taqriṣhum dhāta l-shīmālī means passing them and leaving them on the left. Dhū‘l-Rumma said:

To howdahs which passed by the sand-dunes of Mushrif
To the left while on their right are the horsemen.

[A.Dh. says that faṣwāri means sandhills.]

Fūṣama means 'space', pl. fījā‘, as the poet says:

You clothed your people with shame and debasement
Until they became outlaws and forsook the space where their dwelling was.

185. Waṣṣīd means 'a door'. ‘Ubaid b. Waḥb al-‘Abṣ said:

In a desert land its door wide open to me
In which my merits are not unknown.

Waṣṣīd also means 'courtyard'. Plurals waṣṣā‘id, waṣṣud, waṣṣān, and waṣṣād and waṣṣādīn.

186. His name was Alexander. He built Alexandria and it was named after him.

187. Yanḥāt means 'water which bursts forth from the earth'. The plural is yanḥātāt. Ibn Harma, whose name was ‘Abd al-Fahri, said:

If you shed a tear in every dwelling
Their source would dry, but your tears would be a spring (yanḥāt).
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Kisaf means 'portions of punishment'. The singular is kisf, like sidra; it is also the singular of kisf. Qabil is that which is opposite before the eyes; compare God's saying, 'Punishment will come to them straight in their faces', i.e. visibly (Sūra 18. 53).

Abū Ubayda quoted to me the lines of A'shā of the Banū Qays:

I will befriend you until you do the same again,
Like the cry of the woman in travail, whom her helper helps.\(^1\)

She is thus called because she faces her and receives her child. Qabil with the plural qabil means ‘gathering’, as in the Quran, ‘We will gather to them everything in groups’ (Sūra 6. 111). The plural is like tabil and sūrur and qumus, all of the fa'il form. Qabil also occurs in a proverb: ‘He does not know the comer from the goer’, i.e. he does not know how to distinguish what is coming forward from what is going back. Al-Kumayt b. Zayd said, ‘Affairs were so divided in their view that they could not tell the comer from the goer.’ It is said that by this word qabil is meant ‘a thread’. What is twisted towards the forearm is the qabil, and what is twisted towards the ends of the fingers is the dabīr, so called because it comes forward and goes back, as I have explained. It is said that the thread of the spindle when it is twisted towards the inner is the qabil, and when it is twisted towards the thigh it is the dabīr. Qabil also is used of a man’s tribe. Zubhruf means ‘gold’. Muzahhruf means ‘adorned with gold’. Al-Ajājī said: ‘A ruined house, whose outlines you would think was a book, gilded and illuminated.’ You can call any ornamented thing muzahhruf.

188. Nasfūn = ‘we will seize and drag’, as the poet said:

A people, who when they hear a cry for help,
You see them briding their mares or taking hold of their forelocks.

The nadīl means ‘the meeting place in which people gather together and settle their affairs’ as in the book of God, ‘And commit not wickedness in your assembly’. Another form of the word is naddīl. ‘Abid b. al-Abrās said:

Look to your own affairs, for I belong to the Banū Asad,
A people of assemblies, generosity, and meetings.

And in the book of God, ‘and the best as a company’ (19. 74). The plural is amātha. ‘Let him call his gang’ is like the expression ‘ask the city’ (12. 81), meaning, of course, the people of the city.

Alīnā b. Jandal, one of B. Sa’d b. Zayd Manāh b. Tamīn said:

There were two days, one a day of conference and meetings,
And a day given up to a foray against the enemy.

And Al-Kumayt b. Zayd said:

No belligerent prayers in the assembly
And none silent under duress.\(^2\)

\(^1\) So A.Dh. But cf. Geyer’s Diction of al-Ashâ (Gilb Memorial Series), 124, where the reading is qabil (not qabil) and where the unknown exponent (cf. pp. xviii f.) shows that the context demands an oath: ‘I will not befriend you’; tabī‘a, he says, means ta‘arrāf.

\(^2\) Inasmuch as amīna is both transitive and intransitive it would be possible to translate by ‘nor silencing others by violence.

Ibn Hisnān’s Notes

Nādīl means ‘those sitting together’ and zabāñiyah means ‘rough, violent people’, and in this context ‘the guardians of Hell’. In reference to this world it means ‘the troops who act as a man’s bodyguard’, and the singular is zilmiyyah.

Ibn al-Zibārā said in reference to them:

Lavish in hospitality, thrusting in battle,
Zabāniyah, violent, coarse are their minds.

He means ‘violent’. Šakhr b. ‘Abdullah al-Hudhali, the ‘erring Šakhr’, said:

And of Kabīr is a number of dare-devils.\(^1\)


190. ‘Uthmān b. Maq‘ūn was in charge of them according to the information a traditionist gave me.

191. Humayna.

192. Mu‘āyqib belonged to Daws.


194. Shamās’s name was ‘Uthmān. He was called Shamās for the reason that a deacon came to Mecca in pagan times, a man so handsome as to excite general admiration. ‘Uthba b. Rabī‘a, who was the maternal uncle of Shamās, said, ‘I will bring you a Shamās more handsome than he,’ and he fetched his sister’s son ‘Uthmān b. ‘Uthmān, and so he was called Shamās according to what I, Shiḥib and others said.

195. Others say Ḥubshiyya b. Sa‘īd who was called Mu‘attib b. Ḥamrah.


198. Sa‘īd b. Khula was from the Yaman.

199. Another reading is dibīran ‘great wealth’, and suyīn ‘you may pasture at will’. Dibr in Abyssinian means ‘mountain’.

200. This traditionist told me that his son added, ‘May God reward him well,’ to which he replied, ‘May God not reward him well’ [presumably because he was not a Muslim].

201. And, it is said, al-Nādīr b. al-Ḥārīth.

202. Tabāt means ‘be lost’ and tabāb means ‘loss’.

Ḥabīb b. Khudra al-Khārīji, one of B. Hilāl b. ‘Amir b. Ša‘ṣa‘a, said:

O Th, we are among a people
Whose glory has departed in death and destruction (tabāb).

\(^1\) Kabīr was a clan of Hudhayl. Cf. Kosegarten 10. 2.

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3 A
203. *فيد* means ‘neck’, as in the verse of A’shâ of B. Qays:

The day that Qutayla showed us a lovely neck
Which necklaces adorned

[Dîdân, p. 140. 6 (with unimportant variants)]. The plural is *afağ*.
*Mâd* is fibre crushed like cotton, and rope is twisted from it. Al-Nâbihgha al-Dhubyâni whose name was Ziyâd b. ’Amr b. Mu’âwiya said:

Many a fat young mare has a tooth
Which has a sound like the waterwheel and the rope.¹

The singular is *maâdah*.

204. The words ‘his religion we loose and hate’ are not from I. I.

205. *Humaza* is one who insults a man publicly. He shuts his eyes upon him and winks at him. Hâssân b. Thâbit said:

I bit into you with a rhyme that burned like fire
And you grovelled in humiliation.²

Plural *humazât*. *Lumaza* is one who insults a man secretly. Ru’ba b. al-Hâşib said:

In the shadow of him who oppresses, despises, and slanders me.

Plural *lumaza*.

206. *Affâh* means ‘liar’. Cf. ‘Lo, it is of their lying that they say God has begotten. Verily they tell a lie’ (Sûra 37. 151). Ru’ba said:

Not of a man who uttered a lying speech.

207. The *jaâb* of Gehenna is everything that is kindled in it. Abû Dhu’ayb al-Hudhâlî whose name was Khûwaylid b. Khâlîd said:

Quench, do not kindle, and do not feed the flame
Of war lest its horrors hasten on you.

Another reading is ‘And do not be the fire-stick’ [the equivalent of our poker].

*Dîdân* xxx, C. 6. As the poet says:

I stirred up my fire for him and he saw the blaze.

Unless I had stirred it he would have missed the way.

208. *Muhî* means molten bronze or lead or any other metal, according to what Abû ‘Ubayda told us. We were told that al-Hasan b. Abû’l-Hasan al-Basîr said: ‘Abdullah b. Mas’ûd was put in charge of the treasury of Kûfi by ‘Umar. One day he ordered silver to be melted down, and it began to change its colour, so he ordered everyone he was near to the door to come

¹ ‘This constant screaming and squalling of the draw-wheels was a characteristic feature of the otherwise silent oasis, rather irritating at first to the new-comer.’ Douglas Cumming, *Arabian Adventure, London*, 1935, p. 91.
² The column of ideas is magical. It will be found that all words of cursing, slandering, and backbiting originally indicate some sort of physical injury and the sense is still apparent here. By I.I.I.’s time it was neglected and all but forgotten. The proper reading must be *fâkhdâ’ta* not ... *te as in G*. The text in *Dîdân* lii. 6 differs widely and is useless for comparison.

209. I. Umm Mukkûm was one of B. ’Amir b. Lu’ayy whose name was ‘Abdullah, or, according to some, ’Amr.

210. *Nubât* means ‘plunder’. I have omitted the last verse.

211. They were all confederates and were called Aḥâbîhîs because they had made an alliance in a valley called Aḥbâsh below Mecca.

212. A traditionist told me that the apostle said to Abû ’Tâlib, O uncle, Allah my Lord has given worms power over the Quraysh document. They have left every name of God in it and destroyed the injustice, boycott, and malice. He said: ‘Did your Lord tell you of this?’ and when he said that He had, he was amazed because none had come to see him. Immediately he went and told Quraysh what Muhammad had said and enjoined them to look to their document. ‘If it is as my nephew says, then end your boycott and your course of action; if he is lying I hand him over to you.’ The people were satisfied with this offer and bound themselves accordingly. On inspection they found that the apostle was right; but this but increased their malice. Thereupon a number of Quraysh took steps, which have just been recorded, to destroy the boycott.

213. The word ‘both’ (in v. 2) is not from I. I. As to the words ‘you protected God’s apostle from them’ the point is this: When the apostle departed from al-Ṭâ’if having failed to convert its people, he went to Hîrâ’. Then he sent to al-Akhbâs b. Sharîq to ask his protection. He replied that he was a bâlîf, and as such could not grant protection. The apostle then appealed to Suhayl b. ’Amr, who replied that B. ’Amir did not give protection against B. Ka’b. Finally he sent to al-Mu’tim b. ’Adîy, who agreed. Thereupon he armed himself and his household and went out to the mosque. Then he invited the apostle to enter. He did so and walked round the temple and

in and look at it, saying, ‘The nearest thing to mulh which you will ever see is this.’”

The poet said:

My Lord will give him molten metal to swallow at a draught.
It will shrivel the faces while it is molten in his belly.

It is said that mulh also means pus. I have been told that Abû Bakr when he was at the point of death ordered that two old garments should be washed and that he should be wrapped in them. ’A’isha said to him, ‘My dear father, Allah has so enriched you that you do not need them, so buy a shroud.’ He answered: ‘It will be only an hour until it becomes pus.’

The poet said:

He mingled loathsome pus from it with water
Then he drank death draught after draught.

214. A traditionist told me that the apostle said to Abû ’Tâlib, O uncle, Allah my Lord has given worms power over the Quraysh document. They have left every name of God in it and destroyed the injustice, boycott, and malice. He said: ‘Did your Lord tell you of this?’ and when he said that He had, he was amazed because none had come to see him. Immediately he went and told Quraysh what Muhammad had said and enjoined them to look to their document. ‘If it is as my nephew says, then end your boycott and your course of action; if he is lying I hand him over to you.’ The people were satisfied with this offer and bound themselves accordingly. On inspection they found that the apostle was right; but this but increased their malice. Thereupon a number of Quraysh took steps, which have just been recorded, to destroy the boycott.

¹ The text has al-mutâhâ, which means ‘the sides of the back’. This seems to yield a poor sense and I have adopted the reading suggested to me by Professor Affâh: al-mamânah.
² The bâlîf, often rendered ‘ally’, was a refuge protected by a solemn covenant and oath, so that the jâr was often a bâlîf. A refugee, though admitted to a tribe, could not act in the name of the tribe and give a protection which would be upheld by every other member. Thus al-Akhbâs’s reply was perfectly correct.
prayed there. Then he went to his house. That is what Ḥassān is referring to. [This is an abbreviation of I.L.’s account in T. 1203.]

214. Ḥishām was one of Suḥām or Sukhām.

215. Or ḥimā.

216. AL-ʾAŠĪA OF THE BANUGHQAYS B. THA’LABA

Khalilā b. Quorra b. Khalil al-Sadūṣī and other shaykhs of Bakr b. Wāh from scholars told me that al-ʾAšīa of B. Qays b. Tha’labah b. ʿUkāba b. Ṣaʿbā. ʿAli b. Bakr b. Wāh went to the apostle desiring to accept Islam and composed the following poem in praise of the apostle:

Did your sore eyes not close the night
You lay sleepless as though a snake had bitten you?
Tawwār was not for desire of women, for before this
You had forgotten the society of Mahdadh.
But I see that Time the deceiver
Destroys again what my hands have repaired.
Youth, maturity, and wealth I’ve lost!
In God’s name, how this Time does change!
Ever since I was young have I sought wealth
In four stages of man’s growth.
I made full use of the swift tawny camels
Racing across the land between al-Nujayr and ʾAṣqahda.
If you ask me about (and many an important
Asks about ʾAṣhā) whither he has gone
O you who ask me whither they are going,
I tell you they have a meeting with the people of Medina.
She urges forward her swift hind legs,
Folding back her forelegs but not as though hobbled.
In the noonday’s savage heat she’s frisky
When you’d think the chameleon would sink his head.
I swore I would not spare her fatigue
Or sootness till we met Muhammad.
She flies at the door of Ḥashim’s son
She may rest and partake of his bounty.
A prophet who sees what you cannot see,
Whose reputation has reached the lowlands and the hills.
His gifts and presents are not intermittent:
If he gives today it does not stop him giving tomorrow.
I adjure thee, did you not hear the counsel of Muhammad
The prophet of God when he counselled and witnessed.
If you do not travel with provision of piety
And after death meet one who has taken such provision
You will regret that you are not like him

1 See Gudichte von ʿAbd Baṣīr Maʿānīn b. Qays al-ʾAṣhā . . . , ed. Rudolf Geyer (Geb Memorial Series), London, 1928, pp. 101 f. I have transposed verses 7 and 8 in the text of the Sin, as the order of the Dhat is obviously right. The text will repay collation.
1a This creature flies at the sun throughout its daily course, and as at noon it would (and should) peer up at the sky.

Ibn Ḥishām’s Notes

With preparation such as he has made,
Beware of the bodies of animals—touch them not,
Bleed them not with an iron arrow.
Do not venerate standing stones
Nor worship idols, but worship God.
Come not near a free woman—she is unlawful to you.
Marry or remain celibate.
Wrong not your kinsman
Nor the prisoner in bonds.
Glorify God night and morning.
Praise God and not Satan.
Mock not the poor man in his need,
Nor think that wealth can make a man immortal.

When he was near Mecca or actually in it one of the heathen Quraysh met him and he told him that he was making for the apostle of God to adopt Islam. He said to him, ‘Abū Baṣīr, he prohibits fornication!’ Al-ʾAṣhā replied, ‘But that’s something I’ve no desire for.’ ‘Ah, but he forbids wine!’ ‘Now then that’s something that I still take pleasure in. I will go away and drink long and deeply for a year and then return and accept Islam.’ So he went away and died in the year, so that he did not return to the apostle.

217. Some say Irāsha.

218. ʿUṣfātūna ʿilāhih means ‘incline to’ and ʿilāhā is ‘inclining away from the truth’. Ru’ba b. al-ʾAjājī said:

When every heretic (mulhād) followed al-Dahēbāk.

Al-Dahēbāk the Khārijite.

219. The owner of Maḥāb was ʿAbī b. al-ʾAbwāṣ b. Jaʿfar b. Kīlāb who died in Maḥāb. When he said ‘at al-Rida’ is the house of another great man’ he means Shurayh b. al-ʾAbwāṣ who died in al-Rida’. By Kauthar he means kathīr, for the former is derived from the latter. Al-Kumayt b. Ẓayd said in praise of Ḥishām b. ʿAbduʾl-Malik b. Marwān:

You are kathīr, O Ibn Marwān, good;
And your father, the son of noble women, was great (kauthār).

Umayya b. Ṣaʿīd al-Hudhali describing a wild ass said:

He protects his females when they run
And bray in clouds of dust as though covered with a cloth.

By kauthār he means a cloud of dust which he likens to horsecloths because of its denseness.

220. i.e. Jaʿfar b. ʿAmr b. Umayya al-ʾAmrī.

221. The following description of the apostle comes from ʿUmar, freedman of Ghufra from ʿIrāḥīm b. Muhammad b. ʿAbī b. ʿAbd al-Tālīb. ‘All used to
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say when he described the apostle: 'He was neither too tall nor unduly short but of normal height; his hair was not too curly nor lank, but definitely curly; his face was not fat nor rounded; it was white tinged with red; his eyes were black, fringed with long lashes; he was firmly knit and broad shouldered; the hair on his body was fine, thick on hands and feet. When he walked he picked his feet up smartly as though he were going down hill, when he turned he turned his whole body; between his shoulders was the seal of prophecy, he being the seal of the prophets. He was the most generous of men, the boldest, most veracious, most faithful to his undertaking; the gentlest, with easy manners, the noblest in social intercourse. Those who saw him for the first time were overcome with awe; those who knew him well loved him. Neither before nor after him have I seen his like. God bless and preserve him!'  


223. I have omitted a verse which is obscene.

224. Abû 'Ubayda told me that the woman who stood up in defence of Diirâr was Umm Jamil; and since others say it was Umm Ghaylân, it may well be that both played their part with the other women who were there. When 'Umar came to power Umm Jamil came to him, for she thought that he was his brother and when her genealogy had been given he knew her story and said to her, 'I am not his brother except in Islam. He is now on active service. I know how much he owes you.' So he made her a gift as though she were a traveller. The narrator says: I.H. said, Diirâr had met 'Umar at the battle of Badr when he began to beat him with the flat of his sword saying, 'Be off with you, I. al-Khaßâb, I will not kill you!' 'Umar remembered this in his favour after he had become a Muslim. [This is a passage which W. relegated to his critical notes, but C. prints it without comment. The expression 'The narrator (râdâl) said' is unique in the Sha'd and therefore to be suspected; on the other hand, the story rings true.]

225. 'Abîd b. al-Abraș said:

News came to me from Tamim that they were indignant and wrathful at the slaying of 'Amir.

See Dhâ'ân of 'Abîd, ed. Sir Charles Lyall, 1913, p. 16. Considerable uncertainty about the word dhâ'îrâ prevails. [Commentators, ancient and modern, differ. The reading of the Dhâ'ân and T. taghâfubâb seems preferable to C.'s ta'a'sâbâb.] W. has tu'f a'âbâ, 'found it hard to bear'.

226. Rabî'a b. 'Abîd is the correct form.

227. Al-Nâbihâma said:

As though you were a camel of the Banû Uqaysh
With an old skin rattling behind your legs
(to scare it into movement).


Ibn Hishâm’s Notes

230. 'Afrâ' was d. 'Ubayd b. Thâ'lab b. Ghanm b. Mâlik b. al-Najîr.

231. Others say 'Amir b. al-Aszâq.

232. Dhâ'ân was an emigrant and a helper.

233. They were called Qâwâqîl because whenever anyone asked for their protection they used to say as they handed him an arrow, 'Walk where you like in Yathrib with it.' Qâwâqîl means a way of walking.

234. Tayyân can be spelt Tayhân like mâyût and mâyêt.

235. Zafâr's name was Ka'b b. al-Ârhs b. al-Khzârîj b. 'Amr b. Mâlik b. al-Aus.

236. The two verses beginning 'were it not' and the last line were quoted to me by a man of the Anşâr or a man of Khuzâ'a.

237. 'Aun b. Ayyûb al-Ansârî said:

To us belongs the man who was the first to pray
Facing the Rahmân's Ka'ba between the sacred sites.

meaning al-Barâ' b. Ma'rûr.

238. Hadâm can be read hadâm, meaning sanctity; i.e. what is sacred to you is sacred to me and your 'blood' is my blood.

239. He was Ghanm b. 'Auf, brother of Sâlim b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf.

240. Though some say the last name should be b. Khunâya.

241. The learned number among them Abû'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyâhân, but they do not include Rîfî'a.

Ka'b b. Mâlik mentions them in the poem which Abû Zayd al-Ansârî quoted to me:

Tell 'Ubayy that his opinion was false.
He died on the morning of the gully and death is inevitable.
May God refuse what your soul desires.
He sees and hears as He watches the affairs of men.
Tell Abû Sufyân that there appeared to us
A shining light of God's guidance in Abâm.
Don't be too eager in gathering what you want,
But gather whatever you can.
Beware! Know that when the tribe gave their allegiance
They refused to allow you to break our covenant.
Both al-Barâ' and Ibn 'Amr refused,
As did also As'sâd and Rîfî'.
Sa'd al-Sâ'id refused and Mundhir
Would cut off your nose if you attempted it.

1 i.e. where fealty was sworn; e.g.
2 Or, 'when they followed one after the other'. This is one of the forger's favourite words.
Ibn Rabi' if you got his word
Would not surrender him. Let none hope for that.
Likewise Ibn Rawâha would not give him up to you.
He would rather drink deadly poison than perjure himself
In loyalty to him. And Al-Qaawâli b. Šâmî
Is far from doing what you propose.
Abû Haytham also was faithful,
Bound by his word.
You cannot hope to get Ibn Ḥudāy's help.
Why don't you abandon your foolish error?
Sa'd the brother of 'Amr b. 'Auf
Is utterly opposed to your suggestion.
These are stars which will bring you ill fortune
When they rise in the darkness of the night.

Thus Ka'b mentions Abû'l-Haytham among them, but he passes over Rîfâ'a.

242. Sha'd was a woman of Khuzâ'a named Umm Ubayy b. Mâlik b. Al-

243. The name is also written I. Uzayb.

244. The man who took pity on him was Abû'l-Bakhtari b. Hishâm.

244a. For hâmat harîyan some say hâna hağîyan.

245. The name is sometimes spelt Zâ'âra'.

246. I.I. relates him to B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, but he was of B. Ghanm b. Al-
Salm. It often happens that when a man lives among a tribe he is supposed
to be related to them.


250. The genealogy of Ghazîya should be Ghaziya b. 'Amr b. 'Atiya b. Khansâ'.

251. Some say Wadâ.

252. Some spell the name Jabbar.

253. Sa'îf was I. Aswad b. 'Abbâd b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Sawâd. Sawâd had
no son called Ghanm.

254. 'Umayr was the son of Al-Ḥârîth b. Labda b. Tha'laba.

255. The Aus referred to above was I. 'Abbâd b. 'Adîy b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Udhan b. Sa'd. (For Udhan W. has Udayy.)

256. His ancestor Ghanm b. 'Auf was the brother of Sâlim b. 'Auf b. 'Amr
b. 'Auf.

257. Al-Ŏubâla was Sâlim b. Ghanm b. 'Auf and he got the name from his big belly. [See S. in loc.]


259. Al-Mundhir was the son of 'Amr b. Khansâ.

260. This verse really comes from an ode of Abû Du'a'd al-Iyâdî. The
word hîbî means 'painful distress'. Some manuscripts add 'in another context
''need'' is the meaning; the word also means ''sin''.

261. The word qull means 'one', as in the line of Labîd b. Râbî'a:
The fate of every freeborn man is one
However many they be.

(Dheën, Châlîfî, 19.)

262. Others say Ḥumayzra.

263. The words 'anywhere but to Yathrib' and 'when friendship is lacking'
are not from I.I. By i'dî he means i'dî 'when' as in the word of Allah
(Sûra 34. 30) 'I'dî the sinners are stationed before their Lord'. Abû Najm
al-Ijli said:

Then may God reward him for us when He awards
The gardens of Eden in highest heaven.

264. One I can trust told me that the apostle said when he was in Medina: 'Who
will bring me 'Ayyâsh and Hîshâm?' Al-Walîd b. Al-Walîd b. Al-Mughîra
volunteered to do so and came to Mecca secretly. He met a woman carrying
some food and asked her where she was going. She said that she was going
to two prisoners, and he followed her so that he could learn where they were.
He found that they were in a house which had no roof, and when night fell
he climbed the wall; then he took a stone and put it under their fetters and
cut them through with a stroke of his sword. For this reason his sword was
called 'the stone-cutter'. Then they mounted on him on camel and led them
away. He stumbled and cut his toe and said:

You are naught but a toe that bled.
This has happened to you in the way of Allah.

Then he took them to the apostle in Medina. [W. ascribes this passage to
I.I. himself.]


266. It was mentioned to me that Abû 'Uthmân al-Nahdi said that he had
heard that when Suhayb wanted to emigrate the unbelieving Quraysh said,
'You came to us a penniless beggar and have acquired wealth among us,
and then you think that you can go off with your money. By God, that shall
not be!' However, Suhayb was so eager to be off that he made his money
over to them, and when the apostle heard of it he exclaimed twice: 'Suhayb
has made a profit!'
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267. Or Husayn.

268. Sa‘līm was the former slave of Thubayta d. Ya‘ār b. Zayd b. ‘Ubayd b. Zayd b. Mālik b. ‘A’uf b. ‘Amir b. ‘A’uf b. Mālik b. al-Aus. When she freed him she was attached to Abū Ḥudhayfa, who adopted him. Others call him Sa‘līm, freedman of Abū Ḥudhayfa; and it is said that Thubayta was the wife of the latter and that she freed him and so he got the name of Abū Ḥudhayfa’s freedman.

269. Manān means ‘death’; raybū‘l-manān means its dread and its occurrence as in the line of Abū Dhu‘ayb al-Hudhali:

Are you distracted at the thought of death and its occurrence?
Fate does not excuse those who fear.

270. A learned traditionist told me that al-Ḥasan b. Abū’l-Ḥasan al-Bāṣri said that when they came to the cave at night Abū Bakr went in and searched it to see if it harboured wild beasts or snakes, guarding the apostle with his own life.

271. I have heard more than one learned traditionist say ‘She of the two girdles’, the explanation being that when she wanted to fasten on the bag she tore her girdle in two, using one piece as a rope and the other as her girdle.

272. Umām Ma‘bad belonged to B. Ka‘b of Khuzā‘a. The words ‘who rested in the two tents’ and ‘they came with good intent and went off at nightfall’ do not come from I.I. [However, ‘I.’ (1240–1) who often ignores I.I.’s verses quotes these lines with a few variations as does I.S. 156. 17.]


275. Others say Līf, as in the line of Ma‘qīl b. Khuwaylid al-Hudhali:

A stranger from the people of Līf drawing milk
For a clan between Athla and Nihām.

276. Or Mījūj.

277. Or al-‘Adwayn.

278. Or al-‘Abābīb or al-‘Ithyāna which means al-‘Abābīb.

279. Or al-Qāḥa.

280. Or al-Ghā’ir.

281. This is no rojaz but bald prose. [Few will be found to dispute this statement!]

282. I asked more than one authority on poetry about this rojaz and all they would say was that they had heard that ‘All composed it, but it was not known whether he had or not.

Ibn Hishām’s Notes

283. The mufrāb is one burdened with debt and a large family as the poet says:

If you never return what has been left in your care
And take charge of more property the trust-money will make you a pauper.

284. Another version is ‘in beneficent loyalty’. Yūṯīgh means ‘to destroy’ or ‘ruin’.

285. Ja‘far at that time was absent in Abyssinia.

286. I have heard more than one learned person say that Abū Dharr was Jundub b. Junāda.

287. Some say ‘Uwaymir was the son of ‘Āmir or of Zayd.

288. I. Jurayj mentioned that ‘Atā‘ said to him: ‘I heard ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr al-Laythi say: The prophet and his companions had conferred about a clapper for summoning to prayer and while ‘Umar was intending to buy two pieces of wood for the clapper he heard in his sleep a voice saying, “Don’t make a clapper but call to prayer”.’ So he went to the apostle to tell him of what he had seen and the prophet himself had actually had a revelation of it. ‘Umar had hardly got back to his house when Bilāl was calling. When he told the apostle of this he said, “Revelation got before you!”’


290. There is a variant farfudāhūm for farfūjāhūm.

291. The line beginning ‘Go where you will’ and the following verse are the work of Ummūn al-Ṭaḥlibī who was Ṣuraym b. Ma‘shar.¹

292. Or Luṣayt.

293. Or I. Ḍayf.

294. Or Azār b. Azār.

295. Alīm means ‘painful’. Describing camels Dhū‘l-Rummah said:

We urge on the tall camels
While the painful heat of noon smites them in the face. [Dīwān Ixxvi. 16.]

296. al-Mujadhdhar had killed Suwayd b. Shāmit in one of the engagements between Aṣṣ and Khahraj, and at Uḥd al-Ḥarīth sought to take al-Mujadhdhar unaware to kill him in revenge for his father. It was only this man that he killed. I have heard more than one learned traditionist say this. The proof that he did not kill Qays b. Zayd is that I. does not mention him among those that died at Uḥd.

297. Mu‘āṭtib b. Qushayr and Tha‘labah and al-Ḥarīth, the two sons of Ḥaṭib of B. Umayya b. Zayd, were at Badr and were not hypocrites, according according to Hirschfeld included this poem in Ḥassān’s Dīwān. Cf. No. xix and H’s note on p. 41.
to what a trustworthy traditionist told me. I.I. himself includes Thalaba
and al-Harith among the B. Umayya who were at Badr.

298. i.e. 'Amr b. Malik b. al-Aus.

299. 'Aura means 'open to the enemy and abandoned', plural 'aurat. Al-
Nabigha al-Dhubyani said:
When you meet them you don't find a house exposed to attack.
The guest is not forbidden and nothing is neglected.

'Aura means a man's wife, and also the pudenda.

300. Adrijak means 'Go back by the way you came', as in the words of the poet:
He went back and retraced his steps
And he who was there behaved unjustly.

301. Ladn means 'a blow with the clenched fist'. Tamim b. Ubayy b.
Mugib said:
The heart pounded beneath its arteries
Like the thump of a stone which a boy throws into soft ground.

Ghayb means 'low ground'. Abhar are the arteries of the heart.

302. Sa'ida b. Ju'ayya al-Hudhali said:
They said, We saw people standing round him.
There was no doubt that a man had been killed there.

Rayb also means 'suspicion', as in the line of Khalid b. Zuhayr al-
Hudhali:
As though I suspected him.
He was the son of the brother of Abu Dhulayy al-Hudhali.

303. 'Amiha means 'bewildered'. The Arabs say a man is 'amih and 'amih.
Ruha b. al-'Ajjaj describing a country said:
The blindest guidance is from the ignorant in perplexity.
Plural of 'amiha is ummah, and plural of 'amiha is amihan; fem. 'amha and 'amih'elle.

304. Sayyid means rain from saba, yasib, like sayyid from sada, yasida
and mayyit from mada, yamitu. Plural sayyidha. 'Aliqama b. Abada, one of
B. Rab'a b. Malik b. Zayd Manat b. Tamim, said:
When the clouds poured down on them
They were like birds creeping about in terror of the thunder.
and the line:
Do not think me an inexperienced wight.
May rains refresh you wherever they fall.

305. Andad means 'the like things'; singular nidid. Labid b. Rab'a said:
Praise God who has no rival.
In His hands is good: what He wills He does.

306. Yahra means 'so that we can see clearly with nothing to conceal Him
from us'. Abu'l-Akbar al-Humani, named Qutayba, said:
Making plainly visible the midst of the waters which was covered with
sand.

Here yahara means 'bringing the water to light and clearing away from it
the sand and other matter which was hiding it'.

307. Mann is something which fell on their trees in the early morning and
they used to gather it: it is sweet like honey. They both ate and drank of it.
al-'Ashu of B. Qays b. Thalaba said:
If they were given manna and quails to eat on the ground
A man would never see good food among them!

Salwa are birds, singular salwat; another name for them is sumana. Honey,
too, is called salwat. Khalid b. Zuhayr al-Hudhali said:
He swore to them, By God it's true,
You're sweeter than honey fresh from the comb.

Hitta means 'Remove our sins from us'.

308. The tradition appears in a slightly different form with hinta for hint
and sha'ira for sha'ir.

309. Fun is wheat. Umayya b. Abu'l-Salt al-thaqaft said:
On large dishes like cisterns there were
Pieces like silver among the pure wheat.

Wadhal means pieces of silver and fun is flour; singular fuma.

310. Ila armaiya means 'except reciting' because the ummi is one who
can recite but cannot write. He says that they do not know how to write but
they can read a book. I.H. said on the authority of Abu 'Ubayda and Yuman
that they interpreted what God says to refer to the Arabs. Abu 'Ubayda
told me about that. Yuman b. Habib the grammian and Abu 'Ubayda told
me that the Arabs say tamaam in the sense of 'he recited' and in the Quran
we find 'We never sent an apostle or a prophet before thee but when he
recited Satan cast (something) into his recitations' (Sur a 22. 51). As
the sequel shows, this could mean: 'when he desired something Satan cast
something into his desire.' Abu 'Ubayda the grammian quoted me to:
He recited God's book at the beginning of the night
And at the end of it death claimed him.
and also:
He recited God's book at night alone
As David recited the psalms at his ease.

The singular of armaiy is ummiya; armaiy can also mean a man's desire for
wealth and other things. [There is no real distinction between reading and
reciting. Right down to the Middle Ages it was a matter of surprise if a
man was able to read a text without forming the words with his lips and so
reciting it.]
311. Safaba means 'pour out'. The Arabs say 'he shed his blood' and 'he poured out wine'. The poet says:

Whenever a guest comes into our land
We shed the blood of the victims in the dusty earth.

By ḥāl is meant clay mingled with sand which the Arabs call saḥla. The word occurs in a hadīth: when Pharaoh said 'I believe that there is no God but He in whom the children of Israel believe' Gabriel took some river mud and slime and threw it in his face. Ḥāl is like ḥamā'a.

312. Ba‘āb bi-ghādābin means 'they admitted it and bore it'. A‘shā of B. Qays b. Tha‘labā said:

I will befriend you until you do the same again
Like the cry of the woman in travail whom the midwife helps.

[This line has been quoted on W. 199, q.v.] Yassarāthā means 'made her sit down to bring forth'.

313. Shaf‘un means 'shoots', singular shaf‘atun. The Arabs say god ḥaḍrā aṣ-ṣar‘ū ‘the seed has sprouted' when it has put forth its shoots. Azōr means 'strengthened'. That which preceded it is like mothers. [Because he has explained 'shoots' by firāḥ which could mean 'chicks'.] Imrū‘ul-Qays b. Ḥufr al-Kindi said:

On a slope whose herbage equalled the lote trees
The track of conquering and defeated armies.
Humayd b. Mālik b. al-Arqat of B. Rabi‘a b. Mālik said:

Seed produce and clover whose herbage is matted and strong.
Sūq without hamza is plural of sūq, the stem of a plant.

314. Sādū‘un means the middle (of the path), as in the lines of Ḥassān b. Thabit:

Alas for the prophet's helpers and family
After he was concealed in the middle of the grave!

315. Shāṭra means 'towards'. 'Amr b. Aḥmar al-Bāhili (Bāhila was the son of Ya‘ṣūr b. Su‘d b. Qays b. 'Ayān) describing his camel, said:

She takes us towards Jam' tucking her tail between her legs, Her tail nearly reaches her girth.
Qays b. Khuwaylid al-Hudhali, also describing his camel, said:

The sluggish (v.l. untrained) camel has an all-pervading disease.
One looks at her with a tired eye.
Na‘ūs is his camel; she had a disease and he looked at her with a tired eye.
The word occurs in Sūrah 67: 4. (The singular is rabbānī). A poet said:

Were I living as a monk in a cell
Her voice would have enticed me forth and the most learned of them too!

1 Lane, 32 b, c, indicates that 'engirdled' is a possible meaning.

317. Abū Qays b. al-Aslat said:

I was pained at the loss of a doûghty defender.
A permanent grief afflicted me.
Though you killed him, a
Sharp sword has bitten into 'Amr's head.

The story of Bu‘lāth is too long to go into here for the reasons which I have given above. Sinān is the same as māsimn from sānalla, 'he sharpened it'.

318. The ānā of the night are the hours, the singular being inayn. Al-Mutanabkhkhil al-Hudhali whose name was Mālik b. 'Uwaymir said bewailing the loss of his son Uthayfa:

Sweet and bitter was his nature like the shuffling of gaming arrows. At any hour the night demanded he stood ready shod.
Labīd b. Rabi‘a describing a wild ass said:

Throughout the day he is as excited as though he were a misguided fellow
Whom a boon-companion had given wine among the wine sellers.
According to what Yūnus told me you can say īnān with alīf maqṣūra. [S. points out that īnān is used in the Qur'an.]

319. Tamasa means to rub off and make level so that eye, nose, mouth, and everything that made up the face is no more to be seen; similarly 'We blotted out their eyes' (Sūrah 54: 37), the effaced of eye with no gap between his eyelids; and you can say 'I erased the writing and the mark' so that nothing can be seen of it. Al-Akḥāl whose name was al-Ghauth b. Hubayra b. al-Salt al-Taghlibi, describing a camel he had tried hardly, said:

We gave her the hard task of going to every distant well whose mark was obliterated
Where you can see the chameleons writhing in the heat. (Akhtāl 7: 5.)

Sūra in the singular is ṣawvār, which means a mark to indicate a road or a waterhole. He says that it was rubbed off and made level with the ground so that there was nothing showing above the soil.

320. Al-jīb among the Arabs means whatever is worshipped other than God. Tāghāt means everything that leads away from the truth; plural jābit and ṣawdāghit. I was told that Abū Najīb said that jīb means sorcery and ṣawdā hit Satan.

321. This paragraph is what I.I. said: what follows continues the preceding hadith.