322. Ayyāna means 'when', as in the line of Qays b. al-Ḥudādiya al-Khuzā‘ī:

With a secret that we shared I came
To ask her when he who was away would return.

Munādā means 'end' and the plural is munāsin. Al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī said:

And those who found the door which others missed
The haven of the principles of Islam. (Agh. xv. 123, 26.)

The munāa of a ship is where it comes to rest. Ḥaṭīya’s munā comes in a sentence in which the order is inverted. He says: 'They will ask you about it; as though you would favour them,' i.e. tell them what you will not tell anyone else. Al-ḥaṭīya means the kind, the considerate, and in God's book 'Verily He is gracious to me' (19. 48). The plural is ʿaṭfiyā‘. Aʾshā b. Qays b. Thaʿlabā said:

If you ask me about them, many a one asks about Aʾshā,
Where has he gone? Good friends that you are.

Ḥaṭī also means al-muṣṭaḥfi, the one who exceeds all bounds in asking questions.

323. Yudāhīna means they imitate their speech, the speech of the infidels. If you say something and someone says the same thing he copies (yudāhī) you.

324. Zābir means 'help'. The Arabs say tāzāhārā‘ alayhi, i.e. they helped one another against him. The poet said:

O namesake of the prophet, you were a support to religion
And a help to the imam.

The plural is zūhārā‘.

325. al-ṣanad means one on whom one depends and in whom one takes refuge. Hind d. Maḥd b. Naḍlā mourning ‘Amr b. Maṣʿūd and Khālid b. Naḍlā her two uncles the Asadīs (they were killed by al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir al-Lakhmī and he built the two standing stones which are in Kūfa over them) said:

One came early to tell me of the death of the two best of Asad,'Amr b. Maṣʿūd and the dependable chief (al-ṣanad).

[The meaning of this word is most obscure and commentators on the Quran differ widely. The Ghârîyān were two standing stones which were smeared with the blood of the victims sacrificed there. See W. R. Smith, RS. 157, 201, 210 and the literature cited there. For the present-day survival of the rite see Freya Stark, A Winter in Arabia, London, 1940, 153.]

326. Others say Kurz.

327. I have heard that the chiefs of Najrān used to inherit books from their predecessors. Whenever one chief died and authority passed to his successor he would seal those books with the seals that were before his time and not

broach them. The chief, contemporary with the prophet, went out walking and stumbled and his son said: 'May so-and-so stumble,' meaning the prophet, and his father said to him, 'Don't say that, for he is a prophet and his name is in the deposits', meaning the books. As soon as he was dead his son ran and broke the seals and found in the books the mention of the prophet, so he became a good Muslim and went on pilgrimage. It was he who said:

To you she runs with loosened girth,
Her foil 'tis clear soon comes to birth.
The Christians' faith she scorcs it's worth.

Wadā‘ means a camel's girth. Ḥishām b. 'Urwa said that the 'Irāqī added the second line; but Abū 'Ubayda quoted it in its place.

328. Kaffalāhā means 'he took her to himself'.

329. Aqūlāmahum means their arrows by which they cast lots for her. Zachariah's lot came out and he took her according to what al-Ḥasan b. Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said.

330. al-aknrāh is one who is born blind. Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjāb said:

I cried out and it withdrew as a blind man does.

Plural kurnh. Harrafā‘ means 'I cried out at the lion and threatened it'.

331. Abū 'Ubayda said naktahāl means 'let us invoke a curse'. Aʾshā b. Qays b. Qays said:

Don't sit down when you have kindled the fire of war
Praying for protection from its evil when it comes and cursing loudly.

[C. reads 'we', &c., but the context (see Dīwān vi. 52) shows that W. is right.] He means 'We will invoke a curse'. The Arabs say God bahala someone, i.e. 'May he curse him'; and 'on him be the bahala of God' or bahala, i.e. the curse. Tabītabāi also means to be earnest in prayer. It would seem more natural to adopt this meaning here in spite of I.H.]

332. There is a variant reading mādin for nakhlun.

333. Muzāhārā is the name of a fort.

334. The second verse has not I.I.'s authority.

335. By his faṣṣ he means his ṭāqā (might).

336. Shāmā and Ḥāfīl are two mountains in Mecca.

337. He left Sa’d b. 'Ubādā in charge of Medina.

338. This was the first of his raids.

339. I. Abū 'Amr b. al-ʾĀlā' from Abū 'Amr al-Madanī told me that Mikraz b. Ḥaṣb al-Akhyaf, one of B. Maṣʾs b. 'Amr b. Luʾayy b. Ghālib b. Fhir, was in command of them.

340. Most authorities on poetry deny that this ode is from Abū Bakr.
341. I have omitted one verse. Most authorities on poetry deny that 1. Ziba'ra was the author of this ode.

342. Most authorities on poetry deny that Sa'd wrote this verse.

343. Most authorities deny that this is Ḥamza's verse.

344. Most authorities deny that Abū Jahl was the author.

345. He put al-Sā'ib b. 'Uthmān b. Maqūn in charge of Medina.

346. He put Abū Salama 'Abdu'l-Asad in charge of Medina.

347. Some traditionists say that this took place after Ḥamza was sent.

348. He left Zayd b. Ḥāríthah in charge of Medina.

349. His name was 'Abdullāh b. 'Abdād or according to others Mālik b. 'Abbād, one of al-Ṣadīf. Ṣadīf's name was 'Amr b. Mālik, one of al-Sakūn b. Ashrās b. Kinda or Kindī.

350. It was the first booty taken by the Muslims, and 'Amr b. al-Ḥadramī was the first man that the Muslims killed, while 'Uthmān b. 'Abdullāh and al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān were their first prisoners.

351. The verses come from 'Abdullāh b. Jahsh.

352. Or Ḥāshim.

353. Fārāṣ elsewhere means 'a determined man', but here a 'sword'. 'Ayyah means 'without intelligence', and it can be applied to a buck or the male ostrich. Al-Khalif said that it means a man too weak to exact vengeance. [Lexicographers callulate between ayyah and ghuyah. Most of this useful note is lacking in W.]

354. On Monday 8th and left 'Amr (or 'Abdullāh) b. Umm Maktūm brother of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy to preside over prayers. Later he sent back Abū Lubāba from al-Ru'āfī to take command in Medina.

355. It was white.

356. The Anṣār's flag was with Sa'd b. Muʿādh.

357. Dhātu'l-Jaysh.

358. The word Zabya is not from I.I.

359. Said to be Abū Bakr.

360. The old man's name was Sufyān al-Ḍamrī.

361. The last two lines come from more than one rāvi.

362. al-Ḥanzaliyya was the mother of Abū Jahl; her name was Asmā' d. Mukharriba, one of B. Nahshal b. Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanẓala b. Mālik b. Zayd Manīt b. Tamīm.

363. Getting it ready.

364. Sahr is the lungs together with the parts above the navel adjoining the windpipe; what is below the navel is called qubh, as in the prophet's saying related to me by Abū 'Ubayda: I saw 'Amr b. Luḥayy dragging his guts (qubh) in hell fire.

365. According to some Sawād. Sawād of the Anṣār was another man.

366. Another reading is mustanjil.

367. Others read la'udjamarnah, 'I will strike his jaw with my sword'.

368. al-mart is not from I.I. It means a camel whose milk is drawn with difficulty.

369. Abū'l-Bakhtarī was al-Āṣ b. Hishām b. al-Ḥarīth b. Asad.

370. By 'milk' he meant 'I shall redeem myself from my captors with camels rich in milk'.

371. A learned traditionist told me that 'Ali said: 'Turban are the crowns of the Arabs. The mark of the angels at Badr was white turbans flowing freely behind them except Gabriel who wore a yellow turban.'

372. The war-cry of the apostle's companions that day was 'One! One!'

373. Itaraq means 'thickly matted growth'. There is a tradition that 'Umār asked a Badū what the word meant and he said that it was a kind of growth which could not be penetrated.

374. Dabatha means 'to clutch and hold someone'. Ďahi b. al-Ḥarīth al-Burjumī said:

   Because of the love between me and you
I've become like one who holds water in his hand.

Others said that he said: 'Is it a disgrace for a man to be killed by you?' Then he asked for tidings of the battle.

375. Abū 'Ubayda and others of those learned in the wars told me that 'Umār said to Sa'd b. al-Āṣ when he passed him: 'Methinks you've something on your mind. You are thinking that I killed your father. Had I killed him I should not apologize to you for having done so. As a matter of fact I killed my maternal uncle al-Āṣ b. Hishām b. al-Mughrīa. I passed by your father as he was tearing up the ground as an ox does with his horn and I turned to one side. It was his cousin 'Ali who went for him and killed him.'


377. Abū Bakr called his son 'Abdu'l-Rahman who was at that time among the polytheists saying, 'Where is your property you rascal? And he replied:

   Save weapons and horses nothing is left
But a sword to slay a senseless old dol!

378. His name was Ṣudāy b. 'Ajlān.
379. Said to have been ‘Adly b. Abū’l-Zaghbā’.

380. al-mala‘ means the nobles and chiefs.

381. The name of this place is not mentioned by I.I.

382. It is said that ‘Ali killed him. Al-Zuhri and other traditionists told me so.

383. Hamit means a ziqq.

384. Abū ‘Azīz was the standard-bearer of the polytheists at Badr after al-Nadhr, and when his brother Muṣṣab said these words to Abūl-Yassar who had captured him he said, ‘Brother, is this the sort of advice you give about me?’ Muṣṣab answered, ‘He is now my brother in your place.’ His mother asked what was the most that was paid to redeem a Qurasht, and when she was told that it was 4,000 dirhams she sent the money and redeemed him.

385. Abū Sufyān’s name was al-Mughira.

386. Here is an example of faulty rhyming known as iqna‘ which is often found in their verse. We call it ikfa‘. I have omitted some better known lines that occur in I.I.’s narrative.

387. Some authorities on poetry deny that these lines are Ibn Dukhshum’s.

388. I shall mention the tradition about that stand later, God willing.

389. Some authorities on poetry deny the authenticity of these lines.


391. ‘Ali had captured him.

392. Khāridh b. al-Ṣimma, one of B. Ḥarām, had captured him.

393. It was Abū Khaythama.

394. Another reading is ‘a shirt of fire’.

395. Abū Sufyān’s sworn friend who is referred to here was Uqba b. Abduhil-Hārith b. al-Ḥaṣrāmī. As for ‘Amr b. al-Ḥaṣrāmī, he was slain at Badr.

396. I.I. has named the man in his account as Nafi‘ b. ‘Abdu Qays.

397. Abū ‘Ubayda told me that when Abūl-‘Aṣ came from Syria with the property of the polytheists he was asked if he would like to become a Muslim and take the property because it belonged to polytheists. He answered: ‘It would be a bad beginning to my Islam if I were to betray my trust.’ ‘Abu’l-Warīth b. Sa‘id b. ‘Amīr al-Sha‘bī told me the same thing as Abū ‘Ubayda about Abūl-‘Aṣ.


399. The ransom of the polytheists was fixed at 4,000 dirhams per man, though some got off with 1,000. Those who had nothing the apostle released freely.

400. Rif‘a‘ b. Rāf‘i‘, one of B. Zurayq, captured him.

401. Naṣṣaqa means ‘returned’. Aus b. Ḥājar, one of B. Usayd b. ‘Amr b. Ṭāmūn, said:

You turned on your heels the day you came
Leading away the spoils of a large army.

[In W.’s text this line reads:
You turned on your heels then you came (on)
Hoping for the spoils &c.]

402. Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī quoted to me the line ‘When he came to them noble of race’.


404. The NAMES OF THE HORSES OF THE MUSLIMS AT BADR

A learned person told me that at Badr the Muslims had the following horses: al-Sabal belonging to Marthad . . . al-Ghanawi; Ba‘za‘a belonging to al-Miqdād b. ‘Amr al-Bahrānī (others say its name was Sabba); al-Ya‘ṣūb belonging to al-Zubahy b. al-Mawām. The polytheists had one hundred horses.

405. Musba‘a means whistling and tāṣīya means clapping.

‘Antara b. ‘Amr b. Shaddād al-Abā‘ī said:

Many an equal have I left on the ground
His blood whistling in his throat like a camel’s breath,
meaning the sound of the blood rushing out of the wound like whistling.
Al-Ṭirimmāh b. Ḥakīm al-Ṭā‘īy said:

When it is frightened it stamps its feet and stands listening
In a safe distant refuge of the two mountains of Ibn Shāmām.
He is speaking of the mountain goat which when frightened stamps on the rock with its feet, and then stands still and listens. Its stamping on the rock makes a noise like clapping. Mushādān means a safe refuge. Ibn Shāmān are two mountains. [No. 47, line 28, in Krenkow’s edition.]

406. Ankal means fetters, singular nīḥl. Ru‘ba b. al-‘Ajāj said:

My fetters will keep you from wanting any other fetters.

407. Tahhawwufa is an alteration of the word that I.I. wrote which I have not recorded. [ADh. writes: ‘the word (tahhawwufa) is written ta, kha, wav, with fatha. It is said that tahhawwufa was written originally and that I.I. corrected it because it is the wrong way to speak of God.’ This seems probable because elsewhere in this section I.I. ventures to put words into the mouth of God when explaining the meaning of this sûra. W. reads yatahhawwufa (or the corresponding passive); C.’s reading seems preferable.]
408. The explanation of this passage has already been given.

Labīd b. Rabī‘a said:
The bending of the polisher over his hands
Stooping to find the rust on the arrow-heads.

He means the polisher who bends over his work. *Nuqāb* means ‘rust’ on a sword; *yajālī* means polishing a sword. *Salm* also means ‘peace’, and in the book of God ‘Be not weak and call to peace when you have the upper hand’. It is also read as *silm* with the same meaning. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā said:
You said if we can possibly attain peace
By money and good words we will make peace.\(^2\)

I was told that al-Ḥasan b. Abū l-Ḥasan b. al-Baqṣī said that ‘and if they incline to *salm* meant Islam; and in the book of God ‘O you who believe enter into *silm* all of you’ can be read as ‘into *salm*’ which is Islam. Umayya b. Abū l-Ṣalt said:
They did not come back to *salm* when God’s apostles
Warned them, and they were not supporters of it.

The Arabs call a long bucket a *salm*. Ṭarāfa b. al-‘Abd, one of B. Qays b. Ṭha‘labā, describing a she-camel of his, said:
Her two forelegs are splayed as though
She was borne down by the weight of two buckets.

There is a variant reading *dālīj*.\(^3\)


411. Anesa was an Abyssinian and Abū Baksha a Persian.

412. Kannāz b. Ḥuṣayn.

413. Abū Ḥudhayfa’s name was Miḥshām; and Sālim a freed slave of Thubayta d. Ya‘ar b. Zayd b. ‘Ubayd b. Zayd b. Miḥlīk b. ‘Auf b. ‘Āmir b. ‘Aff b. Miḥlīk b. ‘As. She set him free and he was attached to Abū Ḥudhayfa, who adopted him as a son. It is said that Thubayta d. Ya‘ar was the wife of Abū Ḥudhayfa and she freed Sālim. Others say he was Abū Ḥudhayfa’s freedman.

414. Midlāj.

415. Abū Makhshā was a Ṭayy, his name being Suwayd b. Makhshā.

\(^1\) 2. 204.
\(^3\) Op. cit., p. 35, l. 21, shows that this is the true reading. The *dālīj* is the man who carries two large buckets from well to cistern holding them away from his body to avoid wetting his clothes. In this attitude his arms remind the poet of the widespread legs of his camel.

416. Abū Balta’a’s name was ‘Amr, a Lakhmite; his freedman Sa‘d was a Kalbite.


418. Al-Qāra is their nickname as in the line:
Those who compete in archery with the Qāra will have been fair to them.

They were great bowmen.

419. He was called Dhū‘l-Shimālayn because he was ambidextrous; his name was ‘Umayr.

420. Khabbāh belonged to B. Tamīm and has descendants in Kufa; others say that he belonged to Khuzā‘a.

421. His real name was ‘Abdullah; he was nicknamed ‘Atīq because he was so handsome.

422. He too was born a slave among the Asd. He was a black whom Abū Bakr bought from them.

423. Al-Namr was the son of Qāṣīt b. Hīb b. Aṣāf b. Jadīla b. Asad b. Rabī‘a b. Nizār; others say Aṣāf b. Du‘mī b. Jadīla b. Asad b. Rabī‘a b. Nizār. It is said that ‘Uṣayb was the freedman of ‘Abdullah b. Jud‘ān b. ‘Amr b. Ka‘b b. Sa‘d b. Taym and that he was a Rūmi. ‘Those who say that he belonged to al-Namr maintain that he was merely a prisoner among the Byzantines and that he was bought from them (i.e. ransomed). However, there is a tradition that the prophet said ‘‘Uṣayb is the first-fruits of Byzantium’.

424. Shammas’s name was ‘Uthman; he was called Shammas for the reason that a Shammas 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 Shammas, said, ‘I will bring you a Shammas who is more handsome than he’, and he brought his nephew ‘Uthmān b. ‘Uthmān. Thus he was called Shammas according to what Ibn Shihab and others told me. [This is a repetition of what I.H. has already said on W., p. 212.]

425. The latter was an ‘Anṣār of Madīhib.

426. Miḥjā’ was from ‘Akk b. ‘Adnān.


429. Sa‘d b. Khuali came from the Yaman.


431. Or Za‘warā.
432. Aslam was the son of Ḥarīr b. 'Adiy.
433. Others say 'Āṭik b. al-Tayyabahān.
434. 'Abdullāh b. Sahl was the brother of B. Za'ūrā. Others say he belonged to Ghassān.
435. Zafār was b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aus.
436. 'Ubayd was called Muqarrin because he bound four prisoners together at Badr. It was he who captured 'Aqīl b. Abū Ṭālib.
437. Others say his name was Mas'ūd b. 'Abdu Sa'd.
438. 'Umayr b. Ma'bad is correct.
439. The latter was his mother's name.
440. He sent them back from al-Rauhā. Ḥāṭib was b. 'Amr b. 'Ubayd b. Umayya, and Abū Lubāba's name was Bashir.
442. He was Abū Ḥarrāb's brother, and it is said that his name was Abū Ḥabba. It is said that it was Imrū'ul-Qays who was called al-Burak b. Thālabā.
443. Others say Thābit was b. 'Amr b. Thālabā.
446. 'Arfaja was b. Ka'b b. al-Nāḥjāt b. Ka'b b. Ḥarītha b. Ghanm.
447. Tamīm was the freedman of Sa'd b. Khaythama.
448. Others say Julās, but I regard that as wrong.
449. Others say Qays was b. 'Abasa b. Umayya.
450. Fushūm was his mother, wife of al-Qayn b. Jasr.
453. Zayd was b. al-Murayy.
454. Sālim b. Ghanm b. 'Auf got the name of Ḥablā from his big belly.
455. Others say 'Amr b. Salama. He was of Bally of Qudā'a.
456. Ma'bad was b. 'Ubāda b. Qasāghur b. al-Muqaddam; and it is said that 'Ubāda was b. Qays b. al-Qudām.
457. 'Āmir b. al-'Ukayr; others say 'Āṣim b. al-'Ukayr.
458. This is Ghamā b. 'Auf, brother of Sālim b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj, and Ghamān b. Sālim preceded him according to I.I.

459. Another form of the name is Quryās.
460. His full name was Mālik b. al-Dukhsham b. Mālik b. al-Dukhsham b. ʿArabān b. Marjālkhā.
461. It is said that 'Amr b. Ḥayās was the brother of Rabī' and Warāqa.
462. She was their mother, their father being 'Amr b. Ḥumārā.
463. Others say Qasr b. Tamīn b. Irāsha and Qismīl b. Fārān. al-Mujadādhar's name was 'Abdullāh.
465. 'Utbā b. Balz from B. Sulaymān.
467. It is said that al-Mundhir was b. 'Amr b. Khanbāsh.
468. Mālik b. Mas'ūd was b. al-Badīy according to some learned authorities.
469. It is said that Ka'b b. Jammiṣ and was from Ghubshān.
470. Da'mmā and Ziyād were the sons of Bishr.
471. In all the above cases it was al-Jamāḥ b. Zayd b. Ḥarām except for the grandfather of al-Ṣimmā b. 'Amr, who was al-Jamāḥ b. Ḥarām. 'Umayr b. al-Ḥārith was b. Labda b. Thālabā (is the name of the twelfth on the list).
472. It is said that Jabbār was b. Shahr b. Umayya b. Khunās.
473. Others say Buldhuma or Buldumā.
474. Others say Sawād was b. Rīzān b. Zayd b. Thālabā.
475. Others say Ma'bad b. Qays was b. ʿAyff b. Shahr b. Ḥarām b. Rabī'a.
476. Sawād had no son with the name Ghanm.
477. 'Antara was from B. Sulaymān b. Marṣūr, then of B. Dhaḥwān.
478. Aus was b. 'Abbad b. 'Adiy b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Udayy b. Sa'id. I.I. relates Muṣāhid b. Jabal to B. Sawād because he lived with them; he was not of their stock.
479. 'Amr is said to be the son of al-Azraq.
480. Others say Qays b. Ḥīṣn.
481. His name should be spelt Busr.
482. Or Wāḏa.
483. Or Rukhayyla.
484. Others say 'Ulayfa.
485. Others say 'Usayr or 'Ushayra.
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486. Ḥāriṭha b. al-Nuʿmān was the son of Nafʿ b. Zayd.
487. Of Ḥabīd.
488. She was d. 'Ubayd b. Thaʿlabā b. 'Ubayd b. Thaʿlabā b. Ghānim b. Mālik b. al-Najjār. It is said that Riḍāʿa was b. al-Ḥārith b. Sawādā.
489. Of Nuʿaymān.
490. Abū'l-Jāmrah was the freedman of al-Ḥārith b. Riḍāʿa.
492. They are the B. Maghāʿa d. ‘Aṭīb b. ‘Abdu Manāt b. ‘Amr b. Mālik b. Kīnāna b. Khuzayma. Others say that they are of B. Zarayq. Maghāʿa was the mother of ‘Adīy b. ‘Amr b. Mālik b. al-Najjār and the B. ‘Adīy trace their descent from her.
493. Abū Shaykh was Ubayy b. Thābit, brother of Ḥassān b. Thābit.
494. Others say Sawādā.
495. Others say Abūl-Aʿwar was al-Ḥārith b. Zālim.
498. Brother of Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ according to I.H.
499. Zayd b. Ḥāritha killed him; others say Ḥamza, ‘Ali, and Zayd killed him between them.
503. Ḥamza and ‘Ali shared in the killing of him.
505. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir killed him.
506. Ḥamza and ‘Ali killed him.
507. Abūl-Bakhtā as al-‘Āṣ b. Ḥāshim.
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531. Others say Abū Dujāna did so.

532. Abū 'Ubayda from Abū 'Amr told me that the polytheists lost 70 killed and an equal number of prisoners. This agrees with Ibn 'Abbas and 'Abdullāh b. al-Musayyab's account; and in God's book (we read) 'and it is not a fact that when a disaster befall you you had brought twice as great a disaster on them'; this He said in reference to those who took part in the battle of Badr. Those of them who were martyred numbered 70 men. He says: 'You brought disaster at Badr on twice as many as you lost as martyrs at Uhud, 70 dead and 70 prisoners.' Abū Zayd al-Anṣāri quoted to me the line of Ka'b b. Mālik:

There remained where the camels rest (by the trough)
Seventy dead, among them 'Uthān and al-Aswad.

He means the slain at Badr. God willing, I shall mention this ode of his later on.

Here are some of the names which I.I. does not mention of the slain at Badr:

Of B. 'Abdu Shams: Wahb b. al-Hārith b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān: an ally; and 'Abd-ar-Rahmān's ally from the Yaman. Total 2.

Of B. 'Abdīl-'Uzza: 'Uqba b. Zayd an ally from the Yaman and 'Umray a freedman of theirs. Total 2.


From B. Taym b. Murra: Mālik b. 'Ubaydullah, brother of Tālha, who was taken prisoner and died in captivity and so is counted among the slain; and some add 'Amr b. 'Abdullāh b. Judān. Total 2.

Of B. Mālik: Ḥudhayfah b. Abū Ḥudhayfah whom Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās killed; and Ḥishām b. Abū Ḥudhayfah whom Ṣuhayb killed; and Zuhayr b. Abū Rifi'a whom Abū Usayd killed; and Al-Sā'ib b. Abū Rifi'a whom Abū'l-Rahmān b. 'Auf killed; and 'A'ishah b. Al-Sā'ib who was taken prisoner, then redeemed, and then died on the way home from a wound which Ḥamza had given him; and 'Umray an ally from 'Ṭayyi'; and Khiyār an ally from al-Qārā. Total 7.


533. Others say Ibn Abū Wābaya.

534. He was al-Hārith b. 'A'ishah b. Uthmān.

535. There is a variant reading for 'backs', namely 'heels'. Khālid was from Khuzā'ah; according to others an 'Uqaylī.

536. One name is missing from I.I.'s list to make up the total number he gives. Among the prisoners he does not mention are the following:

From B. Ḥishām b. Abū Manaf: 'Urba, an ally of theirs from B. Fīhr. 1

1 This remark is interesting for more than one reason. Abū Dharr says of the Ḥishāmīte list: 'He does not mention al-'Abbas b. Abūl-Mu'tadhīl with the other two because he hid

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From B. al-Muṭṭalib: 'Aqil b. 'Amr, an ally, and his brother Tamīm, and his son. 3

From B. 'Abdu Shams: Khālid b. 'Asad b. Abū'Il-'Ij; and 'Abdullāh b. Jarīd Yasār, freedman of al-'Aṣ b. Umraya. 2

From B. Naufal: Nabiḥān, one of their freedmen. 1


From B. al-'Aṣb: 'Aqil, an ally of theirs from the Yaman. 1

From B. Taym b. Murra: Musaḥa b. 'Īyād b. Ṣahh b. 'Āmir b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym; and Jābir b. al-Zuhayr, an ally. 2

From B. Mālik: Qays a. al-'Aṣb. 1

From B. Jumāh: 'Amr b. Ubayy b. Khālaf; and Abū Ruhm b. 'Abdullāh an ally; and an ally of theirs whose name escapes me; and two freedmen of Umraya b. Khālaf, one of them Nisāṭ, and Abū Rā'fī a slave of Umraya b. Khālaf. 6

From B. Shām: Aslam freedman of Nubayh b. al-Hujjāj. 1

From B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy: Ḥabīb b. Jābir; and Al-Sā'ib b. Mālik. 2

From B. al-Hārith b. Fīhr: Shā'ī and Shafi', two allies of theirs from the Yaman. 2

537. Most authorities on poetry refuse to accept it and its counterpart as authentic.

538. We have changed two words in I.I.'s version of this ode, namely, 'boastful' at the end of line 21 and 'kindly' at the beginning of line 23, because he casts aspersions on the prophet in them.

The following verses which I.I. attributes to 'Abi b. Abū Tālib are not recognized by any authority on poetry, nor is the counterpart. We have included them only because they mention that 'Amr b. 'Abdullāh b. Judān was killed at Badr, although I.I. does not mention him among the slain as these verses do.

539. Others say the author was al-'Aṣbā b. Zurārā b. al-Nabhāsh one of the B. Usayd, b. Abū Tamīm an ally of B. Naufal b. Abū Manaf.

540. We have omitted three verses of Ḥassān's poem because they are obscene.

541. We have left out one verse which is obscene.

542. Some say that 'Abdullāh b. al-Hārith al-Ṣahmā was the composer.

543. The fifth verse comes from Abū Zayd al-Anṣāri.
559. The last line was cited to me by some authorities on poetry.

560. One tradition of this poetry separates the line, 'no lion of the jungle', &c., from the two preceding verses.

561. Most authorities on poetry deny that Hind said this.

562. It is said (though only God knows the truth) that when the apostle heard this poetry he said, 'If I had heard this before he was killed I would have spared him.'

563. He put in charge of Medina Sibāʾ b. 'Urfaṭa al-Ghifārī or Iba' Unm Maktūm.

564. He put Bashr b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir who was Abū Labāba in charge of Medina.

565. It was called the raid of al-Sawīq because most of the provisions which the raiders threw away was saqīq, i.e. parched corn, and the Muslims seized a great deal of it. This is what Abū 'Ubayda told me.

566. He put 'Uthmān b. 'Affān in charge of Medina.

567. He put I. Unm Maktūm in charge of Medina.

568. 'Abdullah b. Ja'far b. al-Miswar b. Makrama from Abū 'Aun said, 'The affair of the B. Qaynuqā' arose thus: An Arab woman brought some goods and sold them in the market of the B. Qaynuqā'. She sat down by a goldsmith, and the people tried to get her to uncover her face but she refused. The goldsmith took hold of the end of her skirt and fastened it to her back so when she got up she was immodestly exposed, and they laughed at her. She uttered a loud cry and one of the Muslims leapt upon the goldsmith and killed him. He was a Jew, and the Jews fell upon the Muslim and killed him, whereupon the Muslim's family called on the Muslims for help against the Jews. The Muslims were enraged, and bad feeling sprang up between the two parties.'

569. This was called dhātu'l-fuḍūl.

570. He besieged them for fifteen nights and put Bashr b. 'Abdu'l-Mundhir in charge of Medina.

571. Furāt belonged to B. 'Ijl, an ally of B. Sahm.

572. Abū Sufiyya b. al-Hārith b. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib wrote a counterblast which we shall mention together with the verses of Ḥassān in their proper place, God willing. [See p. 449.]

573. The words tubba' and usarru binwalṭin do not come from I.I.

574. Most authorities on poetry deny Ḥassān's authorship. The first two words are not from I.I.

575. Her name was Maymūna d. 'Abdullah. Most authorities on poetry deny that she wrote these verses and that Ka'b composed the counterblast to them.
576. Another version is: 'Will you give me your wives as a pledge?' He answered: 'How can we give our wives to you as a pledge when you are the most amorous, highly seduced man in Medina?' He retorted, 'Then will you give your sons as a pledge?'

577. These verses occur in an ode of his on the battle with B. Naḍīr which I shall mention in its proper place, God willing. [See p. 441.]

578. I shall mention the killing of Sallām in its proper place, God willing. The word 'deadly' does not come from I.1.


580. Abū ‘Ubaydya told me on the authority of Abū ‘Amr, the Medinan, when the apostle got the better of the B. Qurayya he seized about four hundred men from the Jews who had been allies of Aus against Khazraj, and ordered that they should be beheaded. Accordingly Khazraj began to cut off their heads with great satisfaction. The apostle saw that the faces of Khazraj showed their pleasure, but there was no such indication on the part of Aus, and he suspected that that was because of the alliance that had existed between them and the B. Qurayya. When there were only twelve of them left he gave them over to Aus, assigning one Jew to every two of Aus, saying, 'Let so-and-so strike him and so-and-so finish him off.' One of those who was so handed over to them was Kāb b. Yahūdā, who was an important man among them. He gave him to Muḥāyyiya and Abū Burda b. Niyyār (it was Abū Burda to whom the apostle had given permission to sacrifice a young goat on the feast of Adhā). He said, 'Let Muḥāyyiya strike him and Abū Burda finish him off.' So Muḥāyyiya fetched him a blow, which did not cut in properly, and Abū Burda dispatched him and gave him the finishing stroke. Ḥuwayyisā, who was still an unbeliever, said to his brother, Muḥāyyiya, 'Did you kill Kāb b. Yahūdā?,' and when he said he did, he said, 'By God, much of the flesh on your belly comes from his wealth; you are a miserable fellow, Muḥāyyiya.' He replied, 'If the one who ordered me to kill him had ordered me to kill you, I would have done so.' He was amazed at this remark and went away astounded. They say that he used to wake up in the night astonished at his brother's words, until in the morning he said, 'By God, this is indeed a religion.' Then he came to the prophet and accepted Islam. Muḥāyyiya then spoke the lines which we have written above.

581. Others say Ruqayya.

582. A traditionist told me that the apostle said: 'I saw some cows of mine being slaughtered; they are those of my companions who will be killed. As to the beast which I saw in my sword, that is one of my family who will be killed.'

583. He put I. Umm Maktūm in charge of the public prayers.

584. For kullāb some say kilāb. [A small hook or peg on the hilt of the sword is meant.]

585. The apostle allowed Samura b. Junub al-Farāzī and Rāfī b. Ḥadhājī brother of B. Ḥaritha to go to battle, although they were but fifteen years of age and he had sent them back at first. But he told that Rāfī' was a good archer so he let him go, and after having given him permission he was told that Samura could throw Rāfī' in wrestling so he let him go too. The following he turned back: Usāma b. Zayd, 'Abdul-lah b. 'Umar b. al-Khathāb; Zayd b. Thābit, one of B. Mālik b. al-Najjār; al-Ša‘īr̄ b. A‘āb, one of B. Ḥaritha; ‘Amr b. Ḥazm, one of B. Mālik b. al-Najjār; Usayd b. Zuhayr, one of B. Ḥaritha. He let them fight at the Trench when they were fifteen years of age.

586. The companions' war-cry that day was 'Kill, Kill!' More than one traditionist has told me that Abū ‘Zuhayr b. al-Awāmī said, 'I was annoyed when I asked the apostle for the sword and he refused me and gave it to Abū Dujāna. I thought, 'I am the son of Sāfiya, his aunt, and belong to Quraysh, and I went and asked him for it before this man, yet he gave it to him and left me. By God, I will see what he is doing.' So I followed him. The man drew out his red turban and wrapped his head in it. The Anṣār said, "Abu Dujana has donned the turban of death." This is what they used to say when he put it on. As he went forth he was saying,

Among the palms of that mountain side,
In solemn words my comrade cried,
Behind the ranks I'll never hide,
With God's own sword their ranks divide.'

There is a reading kāfūl for kassūl.


589. A kind of bird inclining to black in colour.

590. I have heard that Waḥṣī was always being punished for drinking wine until he was struck off the pension list. 'Umar used to say: 'I knew that God would not leave the slayer of Ḥamza unpunished.'

591. Maslama b. Aqlama b. Māzīnī told me: When the fighting was fierce on the day of Uhud the apostle set under the flag of the Anṣār and sent a message to 'Ali to tell him to bring the flag forward, which he did, saying, 'I am Abū'l-Qasām' or 'Abū'l-Fusām' according to I.H. Abū Sa‘d b. Abū Taḥla, who was in charge of the standard of the polytheists, called to him, 'Would you like to meet my challenge, Abū'l-Qasām?' When 'Ali accepted the challenge they fought between the ranks and exchanged two blows until 'Ali smote him and laid him on the ground. Then he left him without dispatching him. When his companions asked why he did not finish him off he said: 'He exposed his person to me (as a sign of abject surrender) and the tie of kindred made me pity him and I knew that God would certainly kill him.'

It is said that Abū Sa‘d went out between the ranks and cried, 'I will break in pieces anyone who fights me,' and none went out against him. Then he cried: 'O you companions of Muhammad, you allege that your
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dead are in paradise and our dead are in hell. By al-Lāt you lie. If you knew that was true one of you would come out to me.' So 'Ali went forth and after exchanging a couple of blows 'Ali smote him and killed him.

592. Some say that he heard a cry for help. You find this expression in the hadith: 'The best man is he who takes hold of his horse's bridle; whenever he hears a cry of fear he flies towards it.' Al-‘Tirimmāb b. Ḥakim al-‘Tālīy (‘Tirimmāb means 'a tall man') said:

I am of the family of Mālik, glorious champions
Whenever the timorous cry for help.

593. Ḥassān b. Thābit, according to Ibn Hibān, answered him thus:

You mention the proud stallions of Hāshim's line
And there you lie not but speak the truth.
Are you pleased that you killed Ḥamza
The noble one whom you yourself call noble?
Did they not kill 'Amr and 'Utbah
And his son and Shayba and al-Hajjāj and Ibn Ḥabib
The day that al-‘Aṣ challenged 'Ali who frightened him
With a blow of his sword dripping with blood?

594. The words 'or jackals' do not come from I.I. [This is an interesting note from I.H., because it indicates that he knows that the text of the poem has been tampered with. In this case we are able to recover the true text from Ṭab. 1414 which reads: 'hyaenas and jackals would have crushed his bones', with fatfarat for garrarat. The alteration consists of one dot; but one would have expected that I.H., knowing the true text, would have followed it.]

595. al-Ḥārith answered Abū Sufyān thus because he suspected that he was hinting at him when he said 'my horse remained but a stone's throw off', for he had fled on the day of Badr.

596. The one who cried aloud was the spirit of the hill, i.e. Satan.

597. The last verse is ascribed to Abū Khirāb al-Ḥudhali. Khalaf al-Ahmār quoted it to me as his with the reading 'her hands', meaning his wife's, with no connexion with ʿUḥd. The verses are also ascribed to Maʿqil b. Khuwaylid al-Ḥudhālī.

598. Ruhayb b. 'Abdul-Raḥmān b. Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī from his father from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī said that 'Utbah b. Abū Waqqās petted the apostle that day and broke his right lower incisor and wounded his lower lip, and that 'Abdullah b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī wounded him in the forehead, and that Ibn Qamī a wounded his cheekbone. Two rings from his helmet were forced into his cheek, and the apostle fell in a hole which Abū 'Amir had made so that the Muslims might fall into it unaware. 'Ali took hold of the apostle's hand and 'Abdulrahmān al-laceshī lifted him until he stood upright, Mālik b. Ṣirān, the father of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, sucked the blood from the apostle's face. Then he swallowed it. The apostle said, 'He whose blood mingled with mine will not be touched by the fire of hell.' 'Abdul-Raḥmān b. Muhammad al-Dārīwārdī said that the prophet said, 'He who wishes
to see a martyr walking on the face of the earth, let him look at Ṭalīh b. 'Ubaydullāh.'

'Abdul-Raḥmān b. Ishaq b. Yahyā b. Ṭalīh b. Ishaq from 'Abū Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ pulled out one of the rings from the apostle's face and his front tooth fell out. He pulled out another ring and the other incisor fell out. So Abū 'Ubaydah was short of his two front teeth.

599. We have omitted two obscene verses.

600. 'Umāra's mother, Nusayba d. of Ka'b al-Māziniya, fought on the day of ʿUḥd. Saʿīd b. Abu Zayd al-Anṣārī said that Umūm Saʿīd d. of Saʿīd b. al-Rabī' used to say: 'I went in to see Umūm 'Umāra and said, 'O aunt, tell me your story,' and she answered: 'I went out at the beginning of the day to see what the men were doing, carrying a skin with water in it, and I came up to the apostle who was with his companions while the battle was in their favour. When the Moslems were defeated, I betook myself to the apostle and stood up joining in the fight and protecting him with my sword and shooting with my bow until I suffered many wounds.' Umūm Saʿīd said, 'I saw on her shoulder a deep gash and asked who was responsible for it. She said, 'Ibn Qamī a, God curse him! When the men fell back from the apostle he came forward saying 'Lead me to Muhammad; let me not survive if he does.' Muṣ'ab b. 'Umār and I and some men who held their ground with the apostle blocked his path. It was he who gave me this wound, but I struck him several times for that. However, the enemy of God was wearing two coats of mail'.

601. A learned traditionist told me that 'Abdul-Raḥmān b. 'Afn was injured in the mouth and his teeth were broken and he had twenty wounds or more, one of them in his foot so that he became lame.

602. The 'sha'ra' is a fly that stings.

603. Tadā dā'a means 'he began to roll off his horse'.

604. Usra means 'tribe'.

605. Khālid b. al-Walīd was commanding the cavalry.

606. I heard on the authority of 'Ikrima from I. 'Abbās that the apostle did not reach the step cut in the Glen. 'Umār, the client of Ghufra, said that the prophet prayed the noon prayer on the day of ʿUḥd sitting, because of the wounds he had suffered; and the Muslims prayed sitting behind him.

607. A traditionist in whom I have confidence told me that al-Ḥārith killed al-Mujaddādhar but did not kill Qays. An indication of the same fact is that Ishaq does not mention him among those who were slain at ʿUḥd. The reason that he killed al-Mujaddādhar was because he had killed his father Suwāyq in one of the skirmishes between Aus and Khazraj. We have mentioned that in an earlier passage of this book. While the apostle was with a number of his companions, suddenly al-Ḥārith appeared from one of the gardens of Medina wearing two blood-stained garments. The apostle
ordered 'Uthmān to cut his head off. Others say it was one of the Anṣār who did so. v.s. p. 242.

668. We have omitted three obscene verses.


670. This is only one of the verses he composed; others also wrote rhyming in d and dh which I have omitted because of their obscenity. [T. gives them. I commend I.H.’s reticence.]

671. I. Qamī’u’a’s name was ‘Abdullāh.

672. Abū Bakr al-Zubayrī told me that a man went into Abū Bakr while Sa‘d’s little daughter was in his arms and he was kissing her. The man said to him, ‘Who is this?’ and he replied it is the daughter of a better man than I, Sa‘d b. al-Rabh', who was one of the chief men on the day of al-‘Aqṣaba who were present at Badr and found martyrdom at Uhud.

673. When the apostle stood over Ḥamza’s body he said, ‘I have never been so hurt before. Never have I been more angry.’ Then he said: ‘Gabriel came to me and told me that Ḥamza was written among the people of the seven heavens: “Ḥamza b. ‘Abdūl-Muṭṭalib, the lion of God and the lion of his apostle.”’ The apostle and Ḥamza and Abū Sa‘īda b. Abū ‘Ubayd and Abū ‘Ubayd were foster-brothers whom a freedwoman of Abū Laḥab had fostered.

674. On that day he forbade lamentation. Abū ‘Ubayd told me that when the apostle heard their weeping he said: ‘God have mercy on the Ānṣār; for it has long been their custom to provide consolation. Tell the women to go away.’ (I read ‘atamāt with C. for W.’s ‘qaimtā or ‘alimtā.)

675. Jalāl may mean little or much; here it means ‘little’, as in the verse of Imrū’l-Qays:

> Now that the Bānū Asad have killed their chief
> Everything else is of no account.

and in the verse of al-Ḥārith b. Wa‘l a-Jarmi it means ‘much’:

> If I pardon I shall pardon a great crime.
> If I punish I shall weaken my own bone.

676. The apostle’s sword used to be called Dhū‘l-Faqrā. A traditionist told me that I. Abū Najīh said: ‘Someone called out on the day of Uhud:

> There is no sword but Dhū‘l-Faqrā
> And no hero but ‘Alī.’

A traditionist also told me that the apostle said to ‘Alī: ‘The polytheists will not inflict another defeat like this on us before God gives us the victory.’

677. He put I. Umm Malik in charge of Medina.

678. Abū ‘Ubayd told us that when Abū Sufyān went away on the day of Uhud he wanted to go back to Medina to exterminate the rest of the prophet’s companions. Sā‘īd b. Umayya said to them: ‘Do not do it, for the enemy are infuriated and we fear that they may fight as they did not fight before; so return,’ and they did return. When the prophet who was in Ḥamrā‘ul-Asad heard that they had decided to return he said: ‘Stones have been marked for them.’ Had they been peled with them that morning they would have been like yesterday that is past.’ Abū ‘Ubayd said: ‘On that journey of his before he returned to Medina, the apostle seized Mu‘āwiyah b. al-Mughīra, who was the grandfather of ‘Abdūl-Mālik b. Marvān, the father of his mother A‘isha, and Abū ‘Azza al-Jumānī. The apostle had taken him prisoner at Badr and then released him. He asked the apostle to forgive him, but he said ‘You shall not stone your cheeks in Mecca after this and say ‘I have deceived Muhammad twice.’ Strike off his head, Zubayr’, and he did so.

I have heard that Sa‘d b. al-Musayyab said that the apostle said to him: ‘The believer should not be bitten twice by the same snake. Cut off his head, O ‘Aṣim b. Thābit’, and he did so.

It is said Zayd b. Ḥāriha and ‘Ammār b. Yāsir killed Mu‘āwiyah b. al-Mughīra after Ḥamrā‘ul-Asad. He had taken refuge with ‘Uthman b. Affān, who asked the apostle to give him sanctuary, and he did so on the condition that if he were found three days after he should be killed. He stayed there more than three days and hid himself. The prophet sent the two of them and said, ‘You will find him in such-and-such a place.’ They found him there and killed him.

679. Tubāwets’u means ‘you chose positions and sites for them.’ Al-Kumayt b. Zayd said:

> Would that I before him
> Had chosen a place to sleep in.

680. A traditionist from al-Aṣd said: The two parties said ‘We do not wish that we had not thought as we did because God took us in hand.’

681. Musawawumā means ‘plainly marked’. We have heard that al-Ḥasan b. Abūl-Iṣḥās al-Baṣrī said: ‘They had marked the tails and forelocks of their horses with white wool.’ As for Ibn Iṣḥāq he said: Their distinguishing mark on the day of Badr was white turbans, which I have recorded in the story of Badr. Simā means ‘distinguishing mark’. In the book of God you read: ‘Their mark is on their faces (it is) the result of prostration’ (48. 29), i.e. their distinguishing mark. ‘And stones of clay massed, marked’ (11. 84), i.e. ‘plainly marked’. We have heard that al-Ḥasan said ‘A mark upon them? It was not a mark of the stones of this world, but of the stones of punishment’. Ru‘ba b. al-‘Ajjāj said:

> Proud steeds now meet their match in me.
> Their names keep up with me though marked out (as the finest).
> Their eyes look up helplessly as they gallop full speed.

Ajdamū with dāl means ‘run fast’ and ajdamū with ṭāl means ‘give up’. These verses occur in a rajjāz poem of his Musawawum also means ‘at pasture’, and in the book of God ‘and horses at pasture’ (3. 12) and ‘trees

i.e. stones had been ‘earmarked’ for them.
on which you send beasts to pasture' (16. 10). The Arabs say sawama and asima when a man pastures his horses and camels. Al-Kumayt said:

He was a gentle shepherd and we lost him.
The loss of the pastor is the loss of the pastured.
The word musijub means 'gently leading, kind to the flock'.

622. Yabbiwabuna means 'afflict them to the utmost and prevent them from attaining their desires'. Dhul-Rumma said:

While I forget past sorrow I shall not forget our perplexity, Poised between pleasure and frustration.
The word also means 'that he may throw them on their faces'.

623. Rabbayun, singular rabbî, and al-rabba is applied to the sons of 'Abdu Manâb b. Uuld b. Ṭâbiikha b. Iyâs and to Dhuba because they gathered together and made alliances; by this they mean multitudes. Singular of ribâb is ribba and ribbâh which mean large numbers of sticks and arrows and such-like and they compare them to them. Umayya b. Abû'l-Sâit said:

Round their leaders are swarms, myriads,
Clad in nailed armour.

Ribbâh also means the cloth in which arrows are wrapped. Sanaawwa means armour, and disaur are the nails in coats of mail. God says: 'We carried him on a thing of planks and nails' (54. 13). Abû'l-Akhzar al-Ḥimmâni of Tamim said:

Nails on the ends of a straightened shaft.

624. Haras means rooting out. You can say hasasatu something when you exterminate it by the sword or such-like. Jarîr said:

The swords exterminated them as when
A flame rose high among felled trees.

And Ru'ba b. al-'Ajâj said in a rajaz poem:

When we complained of a year that blasted (by cold)
Devouring the dry after the green.

625. al-Sakan was I. Rafî' b. Imru'ul-Qays, or al-Sakn.
626. Others say 'Atîk b. al-Tayyâhân.
627. Qays was b. Zayd b. Ǧubay'â and Mâlik was b. Ama b. Ǧubay'â.
628. Abû Ḥayya was b. 'Amar b. Thabit.
629. And, it is said, Suwaybiq b. al-Ḥarith b. Ḥāṭib b. Hayasha.
630. 'Amar b. Qays was b. Zayd b. Sawâd.
631. Aus was the brother of Ḥassân b. Thabit.
632. Anas b. al-Nâdir was the uncle of Anas b. Mâlik, the apostle's servant.
633. Abû Ǧâdî's name was Sinân, or as others say Sa'd.

634. 'Ubayd belonged to B. Ḥâīb.
635. We have been told of five others whom I.I. does not mention, namely:

Thus bringing the total to 70.
636. It is said that 'Ali killed him.
637. It is said that 'Abdul-Râhîm b. Afl killed Kîlân.
638. 'Ali, Sa'd b. Abû Waqqâs and Abû Dujâna have also been claimed as his slayer.
639. It is said that 'Abdullâh b. Mas'ûd killed 'Ubayda.
640. 'Ā'idh was b. Ḥîrân b. Makhzûm.

641. Abû Zayd quoted these lines to me as from Ka'b b. Mâlik and the verse of Hubayra, 'many a night when the host warms his hands,' &c., is credited to Jantîb sister of 'Amr Dhu'-l-Kalb al-Hudâlî in some verses of hers about some other fight. [Cf. Dvûn der Hudhâlliten, ed. Koegelmann, p. 243.]

642. Ka'b said, 'Our fighting is on behalf of our stock,' and the apostle asked, 'Would it do to say our fighting is on behalf of our religion?' Ka'b said 'Yes,' and the apostle said: 'Then it is better,' and so Ka'b phrased it thus.

643. Abû Zayd quoted me the words 'an example to be talked of' and the verses preceding and the verses 'Among Quraysâh', &c., as from a source other than I.I.

644. Some authorities on poetry deny that Dîrâr was the author. Ka'b's words 'light-giving straight way' were quoted by Abû Zayd al-Ansâri.

645. Some authorities on poetry deny the authenticity of these last two poems. The words mâtîl-l-shabâtât and waqâyrun yuqâfûna are not from I.I.

646. Ka'b b. Mâlik answered him according to I.H.:

Tell Fîrîr in spite of the distance between us
(For they have true news of us today)
That we were steadfast while death's standards fluttered
That morn on the floor of Yathrib's valley.
We stood firm against them, for steadfastness is our nature:
When poltroons flee we rise to the occasion.
'Tis our wont to go forward firmly.
Of old we did so and gained the first place.
We have an unconquerable band led by a prophet
Who has brought the truth, is clement, and acclaimed as true.
Can it be that the mixed tribes of Fīhr have not heard
Of the maiming of bodies and the splitting of skulls?

647. Some authorities on poetry deny that 'Amr said this.

648. This poem is the best that has been written on the subject. Ḥassān composed it at night and summoned his people, saying: 'I am afraid that death may overtake me before the morning and it may not be recited in my name.'

Abū 'Ubaydā quoted me the verse of al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Īsāt al-Sulāmī in praise of 'Āli in which he mentioned his killing Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdullāh-ibn-Uzāz, the standard-bearer of the polytheists, on the day of Ḫudūd:

By God, what a fine protector of women is Fāṭima's son
Whose paternal and maternal uncles were noble!
You quickly dealt him a deadly thrust
Which left Ṭalḥa with his forehead cleaving to the dust;
You attacked them like a hero and made them retreat
At the mountain foot, where they fell one after another.

649. Most authorities on poetry deny Ḥassān's authorship. The verses 'Who in the winter', 'Who leapt to their bridles', and 'By one who suffered time's misfortunes' are not from I.I.

650. Abū Zayd quoted me the verse 'How we behave' and the next verse and the third verse from it and the beginning of the fourth and the words 'We grow up and our fathers perish' and the next verse and the third verse from it.

651. Abū Zayd quoted me the poem from the words 'Advancing and encouraging us' to the end.

652. Abū Zayd recited it to me as from Ka'b b. Mālik.

653. Abū Zayd quoted me the words 'you have not won' and 'of Him who grants the best favours'.

654. Some authorities on poetry deny Dīrār's authorship.

655. An authority on poetry told me that 'Āli did not utter these words, and I have never met anyone who recognized them as 'Āli's. They were spoken by an unknown Muslim. The phrase 'as night' has not I.I.'s authority.

656. The words 'all of us' and 'they would have a morning draught' have not I.I.'s authority.

657. An authority on poetry quoted to me her words 'In sorrow and tears,' &c.

658. An authority on poetry quoted to me her line 'Some from whom I sought vengeance,' &c. Some authorities deny that Hind uttered it, and only God knows the truth.


660. Ḥabīl means 'bereaved'.

661. They sold them to Quraysh for two prisoners of Hudhayl who were in Mecca.

662. al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir was the maternal uncle of Abū Ihāb. The latter was one of B. Usayd b. 'Amr b. Tamīm; others say one of B. 'Udās b. Zayd b. 'Abdullāh b. Dārīm of B. Tamīm.

663. It is said that the youngster was her son.

664. Khubayb remained imprisoned until the sacred months had passed and then they killed him.

665. al-ʻaladd means one who makes mischief with violent opposition, plural ludd, as in God's book: 'that you may warn thereby a contumacious people' (19. 97). Al-Muhallīl b. Rabi'a al-Tabghibī whose name was Iruru-ul-Qays (others say 'Adiy b. Rabi'a [S. shows conclusively that it was 'Adiy] said:

Beneath the stones lies one a menace to his enemies, a boon to his friends,
A doughty adversary, great in argument.

Others report 'with an argument that silences his opponents'.

mīḥdīq here means alandad as in the line of al-Ṭirīmāh b. Ḥakīm describing the chameleon:

He looks down on tree stumps as though
He were an adversary who had overcome his contumacious rivals.

[Dhūmān, ed. Krenkow, 141, l. 16.]

666. Yashīr nafsahu means 'selling himself'. Sharau means 'they sold'. Yazid b. Rabi'a b. Mufarrigh al-Ṣīmīyari said:

And I sold Burd. Would that I had died
Before I sold him.

Burd was a slave whom he sold. Sharū also means 'he bought', as in the poet's words:

I said to her, Grieve not, Umm Mālik, over your sons
Though a mean fellow has bought them.

667. Some authorities on poetry deny his authorship.

668. For ṭurq there is a variant ṭurq. We have omitted the rest of the poem because he used obscene language.

669. This poem resembles the preceding. Some authorities on poetry deny that Ḥassān composed it. I have omitted some words of Ḥassān about the affair of Khubayb for reasons I have given.

670. Anas was al-Asāmī al-Sulāmī, maternal uncle of Mu'tim b. 'Adly b. Naufal b. 'Abdū Manāf. When he says 'Usdā expelled' he means
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Hujayr b. Abū Ḥaib; others say al-Asā'ī b. Zurārā b. al-Nabbāsh al-Asadī, who was an ally of B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manaf.

671. Zuhayr b. al-Agharr and Jāmi' were the Hudhaylīs who sold Khubayb.

672. Abū Zayd quoted the last line to me.

673. The last verse is on the authority of Abū Zayd.

674. Most authorities on poetry deny Ḥassān's authorship. A variant in the last line is yuṣṣu'da. So C. W. has tuṣṣu'da.

675. The Anṣāri was al-Mundhir b. Muhammad b. 'Uqba b. Uḥayba b. al-Julāb.

676. Of B. Kīlāb. Abū 'Amr al-Madani said that they were of B. Sulaym.

677. Hakam b. Sa'd was of al-Qayn b. Ja'far; Ummul-Banīn was d. 'Amr b. Āmir b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Șa'sa'a and the mother of Abū Bara'ī.

678. The last verse was quoted to me by Abū Zayd. He quoted to me the following as from Ka'b b. Mālik pouring scorn on B. Ja'far b. Kīlāb:

You abandoned your protégé to the B. Sulaym
In your impotence and pettiness fearing to fight.
Had there been a covenant with 'Uqayl,
That agreement would have stood firm.
Or with al-Quraṭa—they would not have betrayed him.
They have ever kept their faith though you have not been loyal.
The Qurata' are a tribe of Ḥawāzīn. There is another reading 'with Nufayl' for 'with 'Uqayl' and this is correct because al-Quraṭa' are near to Nufayl.

679. He left I. Umm Maktām in charge of Medina.

680. This was in Rabī'ul-awwal. He besieged them for six nights and the prohibition of wine came down.

681. Līna are of different kinds. Palms neither fruitful nor bearing good dates according to what Abū 'Ubaydah told me. [This explanation, which is also at S. ii. 177, who says that the prophet did not cut down palms that bore edible dates, should be compared with the lexicons which state that the 'agīa, the best kind of date, grows on the līna. See Lane, 1969a.]

The saddle-frames above it looked like a bird's nest
On the thick-trunked palm as its sides oscillated.

682. Anjaftum means 'You drove them fast and wearied them in running'. Tamīm b. Ubayy b. Muciqil, one of B. Āmir b. Șa'sa'a, said:

Protectors with swords newly polished
From riders when they urged their steeds at a gallop.


684. 'Amr b. Buhtha was of Ghaṭafān. The words 'in a distant place' are not from I.I.

684b. Some of our traditionists tell me that some anonymous Muslim recited the verses. I have never met anyone who knew them as 'Alī's.

685. Or 'Abdullāh b. Rawāhā.


687. He put Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī in charge of Medina, or according to others 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. It was called Dāhu'ul-Riqā' because they patched their flags there. Others say because there was a tree of that name there. [Cf. W. R. Smith, Religion of the Semites, 189.]

688. Abūl-Wārīth b. Sa'id al-Tanūrī, named Abū 'Ubaydah, told us from Yūnus b. 'Ubayd from al-Hasan b. Abūl-Hasan from Jābir b. 'Abdullāh concerning the prayer of fear: the apostle prayed two bows with one section, then he ended with the invocation of peace, while the other section were facing the enemy. Then they came and he prayed two other bows with them, ending with the invocation of peace.

'Abdu'l-Wārīth from Ayyūb from Abūl-Zubayr from Jābir: The apostle ranged us in two ranks and bowed with us all. Then the apostle prostrated himself and the front rank prostrated. When they raised their heads those next to them prostrated themselves. Then the front rank went back and the rear rank advanced until they occupied their place. Then the prophet bowed with them all; then he prostrated and those next him did likewise. When they raised their heads those behind prostrated themselves. The prophet bowed with them all and each one of them prostrated twice.

'Abdu'l-Wārīth b. Sa'id al-Tanūrī from Ayyūb from Nafi' from Ibn 'Umar said: The imam stands and one section stands with him while another section are near the enemy. The imam bows and prostrates with them. Then they withdraw and become those nearest the enemy. The others advance and the imam performs one bow and one prostration with them. Then each section prays with one bow. They have one bow with the imam and one by themselves.

689. It was plated with silver.

690. The two men were 'Ammār b. Yāsir and 'Abbād b. Bīshr.

691. Another reading is unfiḍahā.

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693. Abū Zayd quoted it to me as from Ka'b b. Mâlik.

694. We have omitted the remaining verses because the rhyme is faulty. Abū Zayd quoted to me the line 'that young gazelles,' &c., and the following verse as coming from Ḥassân in connexion with the line 'You can say goodbye to Syria,' &c. He also quoted his line 'Take Abū Sufyân a message'.


696. Līvâdâh means 'concealing something in flight.' Ḥassân b. Ṭhâbit said:

Quaraysh fled from us to hide themselves
So that they stood not firm, their minds unstable.

This is a verse which we have mentioned in the poetry about Badr (p. 626).

697. He put I. Umm Maktûm in charge of Medina.

698. A traditionist whom I trust told me that Mu‘âttib was not one of the disaffected; his argument was that he was at Bâdr.

699. Or 'Amr b. Abû b. Abû Qays [apparently a later attempt to remove the heathen name of Wudd].

700. It is said that Salmân the Persian advised the apostle to make it. A traditionist told me that on this day the Muhâjîrs claimed that Salmân belonged to them, while the Ansâr said that he was their man; but the apostle said, 'Salmân belongs to us, the people of the house.'

701. Most authorities on poetry doubt 'Alî's authorship.

702. Fârî‘il is a young hyena. At the battles of the 'Trench and Quraysh the cry of the apostle's companions was Ḥâ Mim [the letters prefixed to sūras 40, 41, 43, 45, and 46] 'They will not be helped!'

703. It is said that the man who shot Sa‘d was Khafâja b. ‘Âṣim b. Ḥibbân.

704. Marâjîl is a kind of Yaman cloth.

705. He left I. Umm Maktûm in charge of Medina.

706. Others say Ānî.

707. God sent down concerning Abû Lubâbâ according to what Sufyân b. 'Uyayna from Ismâ‘îl b. Abû Khâhil from 'Abdullah b. Abû Qatâ‘âda said, 'O ye who believe, do not betray God and the apostle and be false to your engagements while you know what you are doing (8. 27).

708. He remained tied to a stump for six nights. His wife used to come to him at every time of prayer and entice him for prayer. Then he would return and tie himself to the stump according to what a traditionist told me, and the verse which came down about his repentance is the word of God: 'And others who confess their sins have mingled good actions with bad; it may be that God will forgive them: God is forgiving, merciful' (9. 103).

709. A traditionist whom I trust told me that 'Alî cried as they were besieging B. Qurayṣâ, 'O squadron of the Faith'; and he and al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awvām advanced and he said, 'Either I will taste what Ḥanāza tasted or I will conquer their fort.' They said, 'O Muhammad, we will submit to the judgement of Sa‘d b. Mu‘âdh.'

710. Fuqâ‘îḥâya means a kind of brocade.

711. This was the woman who threw the millstone on Khallâd b. Suwayd and killed him.

712. Qâbîla is the receiving of the bucket of the camel drawing water. Zubayr b. Abû Salmâ said concerning qâbîla:

Whenever his hands get hold of the bottom of the bucket
He sings as he stands pouring out the water.

Another reading is waqâ‘îlîn yatalaqaq, meaning 'the receiver of the bucket takes hold of it '. The nâdhî is the camel that draws the water to irrigate. Cf. Sharî‘ al-Dîwân Zubayr, Cairo, 1944, p. 40. [Here I.H. is explaining the variant qâbîla for failâ.]

713. Aqţâr means 'sides', singular qîr. Qutr, plural aqţâr, has the same meaning. Al-Farsazdaq said:

What wealth did God open to them
As the horses rolled on their sides
[i.e. to get to their feet]. Aqţâr and aqţâr are variant readings.

714. Sulaqā‘îm means 'they injured you with talk, burned and distressed you'. The Beduin say 'an eloquent (sallâ‘) speaker and khaṣîf mislaq and mislaq.' A‘shâ‘ of B. Qays b. Tha‘labâ said:

Among them is glory, toleration, and nobility,
Among them is the sharp eloquent orator.

715. Qadî nabhâhu means 'died'; nabîh means 'breath', according to what Abû ‘Ubayda told me; its plural is nabhîn. Dhûl’-Rumma said:

The night that the Ḥârîthâs fled
After Haubar died (qadî nabhâhu) in the cavalry charge.

Haubar was one of B. al-Hârîth b. Ka‘b. He means Yazîd b. Haubar. Na‘bîh also means 'vow'. Jarîr b. al-Khaṭâ‘îf said:

In Tîkhfa we fought the kings, and our cavalry
Went on the night of Bîstâm to fulfill their vow.

He means the vow they had sworn to kill him and they did kill him. Bîstâm was Bîstâm b. Qays b. Mas‘ûd al-Shaybânî, who was Ibn Dhûl’-Jaddayn. Abû ‘Ubayda told me that he was the knight of Rabî‘a b. Nizâr. Tîkhfa is a place on the Basra road. Na‘bîh also means 'waggers', i.e. 'bats'. Al-Farasazdaq said

When Kalb bet against people which of us
Is more generous and liberal?
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Another meaning is 'weeping'. Nabî also means 'necessity and need'. You can say 'They have nothing I want.' Malîk b. Buwayra al-Yarbû'i said:

'They have nothing I want except that I seek the red-eyed camels of Shudan that you want.'

Nâhar b. Taus'a, one of B. 'Tayyûl-Lât b. Thalâba b. 'Ukâba b. Šâ'b b. 'Ali b. Bakr b. Wîlî, who were clients of B. Ḥanîfa, said:

A long gallop saved Yûsuf al-Thaqafî after the standard had fallen.

Had they overthrown him they would have fulfilled their need of him. There is a protector for every (victim) missed.

Nabî also means 'a gentle rapid gait'.

716. Shūaybî slave of B. al-Ḥaşîhî who are of B. Asad b. Khuzayma said:

The chiefs lay dead on the ground. And Tamûm's women hastened to the forts.

Ṣâ'yârî also means 'horns'. Al-Nâbîgha al-Ja'dî said:

(Death smote the) chiefs of my tribe so that I was alone.

Like the horn of a bull whose other horn is broken off.

Abû Dûwâd al-Iyâdî said:

The blackness of their horns scared us. Their feet as it were sprinkled with pitch and tar.

Ṣâ'yârî also means the weaver's implement according to what Abû 'Ubayd told me, and he quoted me the line of Durayd b. al-Ṣîmna al-Jushânî, Jusham b. Muʾawiya b. Bakr b. Ḥawāzîn:

I looked at him as the spears went through him. As the sâ'yârî go through the outstretched web.

Ṣâ'yârî also means the protuberances on the feet of cocks like little horns. It also means 'roots'. He told me that the Arabs say, 'May God cut off his šâyiya, i.e. his root'.

717. The metaphorical meaning of this tradition is (explained in) the words of 'Āisha: 'The apostle said, The grave has a hold on people; if anyone were to escape from it it would be Sa'd b. Mu'âd.'

718. She was Kubaysa d. Râfî b. Muʾawiya b. 'Ubayd b. Thalâba b. Abû l-Aḫjar, who was Khudra b. 'Auf b. al-Ḥârîth b. al-Khaṭrâj.

719. You can say saḥmu gharbîn and saḥmîn gharbîn with or without idâfa. It is not known whence the arrow comes or who shot it.

720. He was 'Uthmân b. Umâyya b. Munabbîh b. 'Ubayd b. al-Sabbâq.

721. I have heard from al-Zuhrî that they gave the apostle 10,000 dirhams for his body.

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722. A trustworthy person told me that he was told on the authority of al-Zuhrî that that day 'Ali killed 'Amr b. 'Abdû Wudd and his son Ḥilî. Others say 'Abdû b. 'Abd. [Presumably the name of the heathen deity has been dropped.]

723. One whom I can trust told me from 'Abdû l-Malîk b. Yâhîya b. 'Abbâd b. 'Abdullâh b. al-Zubayr: When Ka'b said, 'Quraysh came to contend with their Lord', &c., the apostle said: 'God thanks you, Ka'b, for saying that.'

724. Abû Zayd quoted to me verses 8 and 2o; and v. 11 with the variant 'as though to the top of Quds al-Mashrîq'.

725. The verses 'We kept every fine . . . courser' and the following verse and the third and fourth and the verse 'Haughty as an angry lion' and the following verse are from Abû Zayd.

726. Some authorities on poetry deny his authorship. The words 'Amr to dismount' are not from I.I.

727. Some authorities on poetry deny Ḥassân's authorship.

728. These verses are credited to Rabî'a b. Umâyya al-Dîfî, whose last verse runs:

You brought the Khazrajî to his knees. And so I saw my desire on him.

The verses are also credited to Abû Uṣâma al-Jushânî.

729. Or his leg.

730. Another reading is yahuttu, 'annuls'.

731. He left I. Umm Mâktûm in charge of Medina.

732. More than one traditionist asserted that Waqqâs b. Muḥrîz al-Mudlijî was also killed that day.

733. Sa'd's horse was Lâhîq; Miqdâd's was Ba'zaja or Sabba; 'Ukâsha's was Dhu'l-Limmâ; Abû Qatîda's was Ḥazwa; 'Abbâd's was Lammâ; Usayd's was Mâsimân; and Abû 'Ayyâsh's was Junlu.

734. He left I. Umm Mâktûm in charge of Medina.

735. When Ḥassân said this Sa'd b. Zayd was enraged against him and swore that he would never speak to him again. He said: 'He has actually attributed my horses and my horsemen to al-Miqdâd!' Ḥassân excused himself, saying, 'That was not my intention, I swear. But al-Miqdâd's name suited the rhyme'. Ḥassân composed other verses to placate Sa'd:

If you seek the stoutest warrior
Or an able man, go to Sa'd,
Sa'd b. Zayd the dauntless.

But Sa'd would not accept the apology and it availed him naught.

736. Abû Zayd quoted me the line 'We feed the guest'. 
737. He put Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī or Numayla b. 'Abdullah al-Laythī in charge of Medina.

738. The war-cry of the Muslims on the day of B. Muṣṭaliq was 'O victorious one, slay, slay!'

739. It is said that when the apostle departed from the raid with Juwayriyya and was at Dhātu-l-Jaysh he entrusted her to one of the Ānṣār and went forward to Medina. Her father al-Hārith came bringing his daughter's ransom. When he was in al-'Aqiq he looked at the camels he had brought as her ransom and admired two of them greatly, so he hid them in one of the passes of al-'Aqiq. Then he came to the prophet and told him that he had brought his daughter’s ransom. He said: 'Where are the two camels which you have hidden in al-'Aqiq in such-and-such a pass?' Al-Hārith exclaimed: 'I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and that you, Muhammad, are the apostle of Allah; for none could have known of this but God.' He and his two sons who were with him and some of his men accepted Islam and he sent for the two camels and brought them and handed all of them over to the prophet. His daughter was handed over to him and became an excellent Muslim. The apostle asked his father to let him marry her and when he agreed he gave her 400 dirhams as dowry.

740. She was Umm Rūmān, Zaynab d. 'Abdu Duhmān, one of B. Firās b. Ghanam b. Mālik b. Kīnānā.

741. Others say it was 'Abdullah b. Ubayy and his companions. The one who had the greater share therein was 'Abdullah, as I.ī. has shown above. [Presumably I.ī.'s note ends at this point.]

742. In the tradition kibrāhu and kibrāhu occur, but the Qurani has kibrāhu with kār. 'Let not those who possess dignity among you,' yu'tālī means 'be reminded', as in the line of Imru'l-Qays al-Kindi:

Many a troublesome opponent have I repelled for love of you,
One who advised and reproved me without ceasing (mu'tallā)
(Mu'all. v. 41). It is said that the Quranic words mean 'Let not those who possess dignity take an oath', which according to what we have heard is what al-Ḥasan Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said. And in God's book 'Those who forsake their wives' (yu'līma) is from alīya and alīya means an oath. Ḥassān b. Thābit said:

I swear that no man is more careful than I
In swearing an oath true and free from falsehood.
I shall mention this verse in its context later (o.ī. W. p. 1026, r. 2). The meaning of an yu'tālī in this case is an lā yu'tā; and in God's book we read: 'God makes it plain to you an tadīlūlī, meaning an lā tadīlūlī; He holds back the sky lest (an) it should fall on the earth, meaning an lā.' I. Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyarī said:

May I never frighten the camels at dawn.
May I not be called Yazīd
If, fearing death, I make my shame public
While the fates watch me lest I should turn aside.
I.e. lā aṣīda.

743. Another version is '... after God has guided you to Islam'.

744. The verse 'a noble woman' and the one after, and 'His rank' are on the authority of Abū Zayd. Abū 'Ubayda told me that a woman praised Ḥassān's daughter in 'Āisha's presence, saying:

Chaste, keeping to her house, above suspicion,
Never thinking of reviling innocent women;
and 'Āisha said, 'But her father did!'

745. Ḥassān and his two companions.

746. He put Numayla b. 'Abdullah in charge of Medina.

747. Others say Busr.

748. Afsā b. Ḥāritha.

749. For yuḍmādīnaka some say yuḍmādīnaka.

750. In saying this 'Urwa meant that al-Mughira before he became a Muslim had killed thirteen men of B. Mālik of Thaqqīf. The two clans of Thaqqīf fought, the B. Mālik the family of the slain, and the allies the family of al-Mughira, and 'Urwa paid the blood-witnes for the thirteen and that settled the affair.

751. Wālī from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khaḍīl from al-Sha'bī mentioned that the first one to pledge the apostle was Abū Sinān al-Asādī. One whom I trust from one who told him with a chain of witnesses going back to Abū Mula'yka and I. Abū 'Umar, told me that the apostle gave himself a pledge on behalf of 'Uthmān, striking one of his hands on the other.

752. Mu'hāf means 'bound'. A'ashā of B. Qays b. Tha'laba said:

'Twas as though the thread kept the beads from scattering
On either side of Umm Ghazar's graceful neck.

753. I have heard that Mūjāhid said, 'This passage came down concerning al-Walīd b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughira and Salama b. Ḥishām and 'Ayyāsh b. Abū Rabi'a and Abū Jandal b. Suhayl and others like them.'

754. The proof of al-Zuhrī's assertion that the apostle went to al-Ḥudaybiyya with 1,400 men is in the words of Jābir b. 'Abdullah: 'Then in the year of the conquest of Mecca two years afterwards the apostle marched with 10,000.'

755. Abū Baṣr was of Thaqqīf.

756. Abū Unayz was an Ash'ārī.

757. The singular of 'iṣām is 'iṣma which means a cord or rope. al-A'ashā b. Qays said:

'To Imru'l-Qays we make long journeys
And we take ropes from every tribe. (Dhūnān iv. 20.)

758. Abū 'Ubayda told us that some who were with the apostle when he came to Medina said to him, 'Did you not say that you would enter Mecca safely?'
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He answered, 'Certainly, but did I say that it would be this year?' They said No, and he went on: 'It is in accordance with what Gabriel said to me.'

759. He put Numayla b. 'Abdullah in charge of Medina and gave the standard to 'Ali. It was white.

760. The war-cry of the companions at Khaybar was 'O victorious one, slay slay!'

761. Abū Zayd quoted the lines thus:

Khaybar knows that I am Ka'b
And that when war breaks out
I advance against terrors, bold and dour.
I carry a sharp sword that glitters like lightning
In the hand of a warrior sans reproach.
We will crush you till the strong is humbled.

Marḥab was from Ḫimyar.

762. It was white.

763. Judhām is the brother of Lakhm.

764. Farrat means 'the eyelids were uncovered from the eyes as an animal's (lips) are uncovered when one looks at its teeth.' He means 'they uncovered the eyelids from the covers of the eyesight' meaning the Anṣār. [But the Jews must be referred to here.]


766. Al-Aswād the shepherd was one of the people of Khaybar.

767. Another reading is 'the spoil of Muhammad,' &c.

768. Abū Zayd quoted these verses to me from Ka'b b. Mālik and he quoted:

What stopped him was the behaviour of his horse.
But for that he would not have been remiss.

769. A rhapsodist quoted to me his words 'when I charged' and 'perished in the feeding place'.

Ka'b b. Mālik said, according to Ibn Hishām on the authority of Abū Zayd:

We came down to Khaybar and its drinking places
With every strong warrior whose veins showed in his hand.1
Brave in dangers, no weaknesses.
Bold against the enemy in every battle,
Generous with food every winter,
Smiting with the blade of an Indian sword.
Their eggs are wondrous if they get the martyrdom
They hope for from God and victory through Ahmad.
Their protect and defend Muhammad's protégé.
The fight for him with hand and tongue.

1 Because he gripped his sword so firmly.

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They help him in every matter that troubles him.
Endangering their lives in defence of Muhammad's,
Sincerely believing in the news of the unseen,
Aiming thereby at glory and honour in the time to come.

770. On the day of Khaybar the apostle decided which were Arab horses and which were of mixed blood.

771. He was called 'Ubayd al-Sihām because he bought the shares. He was 'Ubayd b. Aus, one of B. Hāritha b. al-Jārīth b. al-Khazraj b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. Aus.

772. (Loads refer to) wheat, barley, dates, and datestones, &c. He distributed them according to their needs. [This useful explanatory note from I.H. is not in W.'s text and there is no mention of the reading in his critical notes in vol. iii. C. notes that it is missing in W. but does not state what manuscripts contain it. Datestones were pounded up and used for camel food.] The need of B. 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib was greater and so he gave them more.

773. Some say 'Azza b. Mālik and his brother Mūrūn or Mawwān b. Mālik. [This latter divergence obviously shows that the tradition rested on manuscripts which could not be read with certainty.]

774. According to Mālik b. Anas he said Kabbir Kabbir! There is no difference in the meaning.

775. Or Aslam.

776. Some say 'to Qatāda'.

777. The word khatar means 'share'. You can say akhṭara it fulān khatar, 'someone gave me a share'.

778. Sufyān b. 'Uyyāna from al-Allāh from al-Sha'bī said that Ja'far b. Abū Ta'lab came to the apostle the day he conquered Khaybar. The apostle kissed his forehead and taking hold of him said: 'I don't know which gives me the greater pleasure—the conquest of Khaybar or the arrival of Ja'far.'

779. Others say her name was Humayna.

780. He put 'Umayf b. al-Abīdār al-Dili in charge of Medina. This is also called the 'Pilgrimage of Retaliation' because they prevented him from pilgrimage in Dīlā't-Qa'da in the holy month in A.H. 6; and the apostle retaliated and entered Mecca in the very month in which they had shut him out, in A.H. 7. We have heard that I. 'Abdās said: 'God revealed concerning that, "And forbidden things are subject to retaliation" , (2. 190).

781. The words 'We will fight you about its interpretation' to the end of the verses were spoken by 'Ammār b. Yāṣir about another battle. 'The proof of that is that I. Rawāḥa referred only to the polytheists. They did not believe in the revelation and only those who did would fight for an interpretation of it. [S. says the occasion was the battle of Suffin, and this certainly gives point to the verses which are to be found in the K. Suffin.]
782. She had entrusted her sister Umm al-Faḍil with her affaires; she, being married to al-ʿAbbās, confided the matter to him, and he married her to the apostle in Mecca and gave her as dowry on the apostle's behalf 400 dirhams.

783. God sent down to him—so Abū ʿUbayda told me—'God has fulfilled the vision in reality to His apostle, "You shall enter the sacred mosque if God will in safety with heads shaved and (hair) shorn, not fearing". He knows what you do not know, and He has wrought besides that a victory near by" (48, 27), i.e. Khaybar.

784. Some authorities on poetry quoted the verses to me thus:

You are the apostle and he who is deprived of his gifts
And the sight of him has no real worth.
May God confirm the good things He gave you
Among the apostles, and the victory as they were helped.
I perceived goodness in you by a natural gift,
An intuition which is contrary to what they think of you, meaning the polytheists.

785. Another reading is:

We urged on our horses from the thickets of Qurba.[This is the reading of T. 1212, t. 9 and Yāq. iv. 53, t. 22, who says that Qurba is in the Wādāʾil-Qurā. I.I.'s reading is given in Yāq. iv. 571.] The words 'We arranged their bridles' are not from I.I.

786. Others say 'Ubdāb b. Mālik.

787. A traditionist whom I trust told me that Jaʿfar took the flag in his right hand and we were cut off; then he held it in his left hand and that was cut off; then he held it to his breast with his arms until he was slain. He was 33 years old. For that God rewarded him with a pair of wings in Paradise with which he flew whither he would. It is said that a Greek gave him a blow which cut him asunder.

788. Another reading is 40 skins (manʿa).

789. The words I. al-Irāsh are not from I.I. The third verse is from Khālid b. Qurra: others say Mālik b. ʿRafīʿa.

790. Al-Zuhri according to our information said that the Muslims made Khālid their chief and God helped them, and he was in charge of them until he came back to the prophet.


792. The poem is ascribed to Ḥabīb b. ʿAbdullāh al-ʿAlām al-Hudhali, and the verse 'I remembered the ancient blood-feud' is from Abū ʿUbayda, also the words 'wide-nostirred' and 'strong, lean-flanked', &c.

793. The words 'except Nāfīl' and 'to the slopes of Rādwa' are not from I.I. Concerning him Ḥassān b. Thābit said:

God curse the tribe we left deprived of their best men
With none but Nāqib to call them together.
O Naufal, testicles of a donkey who died last night.
When have you ever been successful, you enemy of baggage!

[The last insult means 'you never equip yourself for a foray', or, perhaps, 'you thief'.]

794. Another reading is 'Help us, God guide you, with strong aid'; and 'We provided the mother and you are the son'.

795. Another reading is 'the worst enemy'.

796. By the words 'By men who had not drawn their swords' he means Quraysh, and by 'the son of Umm Mujallid' he means ʿIkrīma b. Abū Jahl.1

797. He met him in al-ʿUḥfa migrating with his family; before that he had lived in Mecca in charge of the watering with the goodwill of the apostle, according to what al-Zuhri told me.

798. Another reading is 'And one whom I had driven out led me to the truth'.

799. It was called greenish-black because of the large amount of steel in it. Al-Ḥarīth b. Ḥilīzā al-Yaṣhakūrī said:

Then Ḥujr, I mean Ibn Umm Qaṭān,
With his greenish-black horsemen
meaning the squadron; and Ḥassān b. Thābit said:

When he saw Badr's valley walls
Swarming with the blackmailed squadrons of Khazraj
in his poem on Badr [v. s. 525].

800. Said to be 'Umar.

801. He was of Khuzāʾī.

802. An authority on poetry quoted me his saying 'like a pillar' which is credited to al-Riḍāḥ al-Hudhali. On the day of Mecca, Ḥusayn, and al-Ṭaʿif the battle-cry of the mubitās was 'O Banū 'Abdū l-Raḥmān'; of the Khazraj, 'O Banū 'Abdullāh'; of the Aus, 'O Banū ʿAbdullāh'.

803. Afterwards he became a Muslim and 'Umar gave him a governorship and so did ʿUthmān after him.

804. Al-ʿAbbās had put Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm, the two daughters of the apostle, on a camel to take them from Mecca to Medina and al-Ḥaḍawayrī goaded the beast so that it threw them to the ground.

805. They were al-Ḥarīth b. Ḥisām and Zuḥayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra.1

1 W. leaves this sentence under I.I.'s name.
806. Sufyān b. Uyayna mentioned that the apostle said to 'Ali, 'I give you only that which you have lost; not that which you will cause others to lose.'

A traditionist told me that the apostle entered the temple on the day of the occupation, and saw the figures of angels and other beings and a picture of Abraham with divine arrows in his hand. 'God slay them,' he said, 'they have painted our shaykh as a man divine with arrows. What has Abraham to do with such things?' 'Abraham was not a Jew nor a Christian, but he was a ḥanīf, a Muslim, and was not a polytheist' (3. 66). Then he gave orders that all those pictures should be erased. [Azraqī, Mecca, 1352, 104 ult., records a tradition that the picture of Jesus and Mary was retained by the prophet.]

He also told me that the apostle and Bilāl entered the Ka'ba, and when the former came out Bilāl remained behind. Abdullah b. Umar went in to him and asked him where the apostle had prayed, but he did not ask how many times. When Ibn 'Umar went into the temple he walked straight forward until there was a space of about three cubits between the wall and the door behind him; then he would pray, making for the place which Bilāl had told him.

He also said that when the apostle entered the Ka'ba in the year of the conquest in company with Bilāl he ordered him to call the people to prayer. Now Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and 'Attāb b. Asīd and al-Ḥārith b. Hishām were sitting in the courtyard of the Ka'ba. 'Attāb b. Asīd said, 'God has honoured Asīd in not letting him hear this, for it would have enraged him.' Al-Ḥārith said, 'If I knew that he was right I would follow him.' Abū Sufyān said, 'I say nothing. If I were to speak the very stones would tell him of it.'

Then the apostle came out to them and said, 'I know what you said, and repeated their words. Al-Ḥārith and 'Attāb said, 'We bear witness that you are the apostle of God. There was none with us who could have known this so that we could say that it was he who told you.'

807. I heard that the first man for whom the apostle paid the bloodwit was Junaydīb b. al-Akwa'. The B. Ka'b killed him and the apostle paid a hundred she-camels for him.

I heard from Yahyā b. Sa'id that when the prophet entered Mecca he stood on al-Ṣafā praying to God. The Āngār were all round him and were saying among themselves, 'Do you think that now that God has given him power over his land and his town that he will remain in it?' When he had ended his prayers he asked them what they had been saying. At first they would not say, but finally they told him and he said: 'God forbid! The place where I live will be your place, and the place where I die will be yours.'

A traditionist in whom I have confidence with a chain going back to Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri' from 'Ubaydullāh b. Abdullah from Ibn 'Abbās said: The apostle entered Mecca on the day of conquest riding his camel, and went round the Ka'ba on it. All round the temple were images set in lead, and the apostle was pointing at them with a stick in his hand, saying, 'Truth has come and falsehood has passed away: falsehood is bound to pass away' (17. 82). If he pointed at the image's face it fell backwards; if he pointed at its back it fell on its face, until there was not one of them standing. 'Abbās b. Asad al-Khuza'ī said concerning that:

In the idols there is an instructive lesson
To one who hopes for reward or punishment.

808. A traditionist of Quraysh told me that Saffān said to 'Umar, 'Confound you, get away and do not speak to me, for you are a liar,' because of what he himself had done. We have mentioned the latter in the end of the account of the battle of Badr.

809. Some authorities on poetry deny his authorship of this poem.

810. Another version is 'And kinship's cords were severed from you.'

811. Ḥassān said this on the day of the occupation. For 'aṣba' some recite 'alba'. Al-Zuhri is reported to have said: 'When the apostle saw the women flapping their veils at the horses he looked at Abū Bakr with a smile.'

812. This is part of a longer ode of his.

813. 'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulami said:

With us on the day Muhammad entered Mecca
Were a thousand marked men—the valleys flowed with them.
They had helped the apostle and been present at his battles,
Their mark on the day of battle being to the fore.
In a strait place their feet were firm,
They split the enemies' heads like colycynths.
Their hooves had traversed Najd beforehand
Till at last black Hijjā became subject to them.
God gave him the mastery of it.
The judgment of the sword and victorious fortune subdued it to us.
One old in authority, proud in mien,
Seeking the bounds of glory, exceeding generous.

ABBĀS B. MIRDĀS BECOMES A MUSLIM

According to what an authority on poetry told me the father of 'Abbās had an idol which he used to worship. It was a stone called ḏamārī. One day

1 i.e. with a distinguishing turban or emblem; or the word might mean 'released'

'let go.'
became hot. 'Umar said that the first was his son 'Abdullah and the other was Sālim, a client of Abū Ḫudhayfa.

816. Abū 'Amr al-Madani said: When Khālid came to them they said, 'We have changed our religion, we have changed our religion.'

817. The word Būr and 'remained with the marriage-makers' are not from I.I.

818. Most authorities on poetry deny the authenticity of the last two lines.

819. More than one authority on poetry recited the first line to me.

820. The words 'Take to Hawāzin' to the end of the poem deal with this battle. What goes before has reference to some other event. They are quite distinct, but I.I. has made them into one poem.

821. Abū Sufyān's son was named Ja'far, his own name being al-Mughira. Some people count Qutham b. al-'Abbas among them and omit Abū Sufyān's son.


823. Ḥassan b. Thābit lampooning Kalada said:

I saw a black man afar off and he scared me.

'Twas Abū Ḥanbal leaping on Umm Ḥanbal.

'Twas as though that with which he leapt upon her belly

Was the foreleg of a camel sired by a mighty stallion!

Abū Zayd quoted these two verses to us, and in them he lampooned Shafwan b. Umayya who was half-brother to Kalada on his mother's side.

(This passage is not in W.)

824. These two verses were not spoken by Mālik and were about another battle.

825. Or 'the smell of death'.

826. An authority on the oral tradition of poetry quoted to me the second hemistich in the form:

And his cavalry has the best claim to constancy.

827. Ghaylān is b. Salama al-Thaqafi, and 'Urwa is b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafi.

828. Some say I. Ladh'a.

829. The name of the man who killed Durayd was 'Abdullah b. Qunayb b. Uhāb b. Tha'lab b. Rāb'a.

830. These verses of Mālik have nothing to do with this battle. You can see that from the words of Durayd at the beginning of this account, 'What of Ka'b and Kīlāb?' to which they replied, 'Not one of them is here.' Now Ja'far was the son of Kīlāb and in these verses Mālik says Ja'far and B. Hilāl would have returned.'

I have heard that cavalry came up while Mālik and his party were at the
pass and when he asked his men what they could see they said that they saw a force who lay their lances between the ears of their long-flanked steeds. He said that they were B. Sulaym and they had nothing to fear from them. When they came near they took the road at the bottom of the wadi. Next came men with no distinguishing mark carrying their lances at the side. He said that there was nothing to fear: they were Aus and Khazraj. When they came to the bottom of the pass they took the same road as B. Sulaym. Then they said that they saw a horseman long of thigh carrying his lance on his shoulder, his head wrapped in a red cloth. ‘That is al-Zubayr b. al-Awsâm,’ he said. ‘I swear by al-Lát that he will fight you, so stand firm.’ When al-Zubayr came to the foot of the pass he saw them and made for them and kept thrusting at them until he drove them from it.

831. An authority on poetry whom I do not suspect told me that Abū 'Amir al-Ash'ārī met ten polytheists, all brothers, on the day of Aus. One of them attacked and Abū 'Amir fell upon him calling him to Islam, saying, ‘O God, testify against him,’ and he killed him. They began to attack him one by one until he killed nine of them and then he began to fight the tenth calling on God as before. The man cried, ‘O God, do not testify against me,’ and Abū 'Amir let him go and he escaped and afterwards became a good Muslim. When the apostle saw him he said, ‘This is the survivor of Abū 'Amir’s onslaught.’ Two brothers shot Abū 'Amir, al-'Ali and Aufr sons of al-'Jārīrī of B. Jusham b. Mu'āwiya; one of them hit his heart and the other his knee and so he died. Abū Mūsā assumed command and attacked and killed the pair of them. One of the B. Jusham lamenting them said:

The killing of al-'Ali and Aufr was a calamity,
They could not be touched while life was in them.
They were the ones who killed Abū 'Amir
Who was a sharp sword with wavy marks.
They left him on the battlefield
As though wrapped in a crimson robe.
You have not seen their like among men,
Less likely to stumble or better shots.

832. God sent down concerning the day of Hunayn: ‘God gave you victory in many places and on the day of Hunayn when you exulted in your multitude’ to the words ‘That is the reward of the unbelievers’ (q. 25).

833. One of the rhapsoists said about it:

When your prophet's uncle and friends arose
They cried, Help, O squadron of the faith!
Where are those who answered their Lord
On the day of al-'Urayd and the homage of al-Ridwān?

834. The words 'covered with dust' are not from I.I.

835. Khalaf al-'Amrām quoted to me the words 'And cried Stop!'

836. An authority on poetry recited to me 'we were his right wing', &c., but he knew nothing of the verse beginning 'we carried his banner'. After the line 'We had charge of the flag' he recited the line 'We dyed it with blood'.

837. Abū 'Ubaydā told me that Zuhayr b. al-'Ajwā al-Hudhayli was taken prisoner at Hunayn and humiliated. Jamil b. Mu'mar al-Jumāhī saw him and said, 'Are you the man who has been acting offensively against us?', and he struck off his head. Abū Khirārā, who was his nephew, said in lamenting him:

Jamil b. Mu'mar has half-starved my guests
By killing a generous man to whom widows resorted.
The belt of his sword was long, no short one when he brandished it.
And the cord was loose upon him.
So generous he would almost give away his girdle.
When the cold north winds were fierce.
To his tent the poor man went in winter.
And the poor night traveller in his worn-out rags.
Who goes half-frozen when the night winds blow.
Driving him to seek refuge.
What arts the people of the camp that they did not separate
When the eloquent chief had gone?
I swear if you had met him when he was not bound.
Hyenas would have visited you at the mountain foot.
If you had faced him when you met him
And fought him if you are a fighter.
Jamil would have met the most ignominious end;
But a man whose hands are bound cannot defend himself.
We were not as we used to be at home, O Umm Thābit,
But chains were round our necks.
The young man like the old man does naught but what is right,
And the women blamers have nothing to say.
Sincere brethren have become as though
One had poured on them the dust of the grave.
But don't think that I have forgotten the nights in Mecca.
When we could not be held back from what we took in hand,
When men were men and the country was famous.
And doors were not shut in our faces.

838. It is said that his name was Abū Thawāb Ziyād b. Thawāb. Khalaf al-'Amrām quoted me the words 'Red blood flowed because of our rage' and the last verse as not from I.I.

839. Some say 17 days.

840. The apostle shot at them with catapults. One I can trust told me that the apostle was the first to use a catapult in Islam when he fired at the men of Tā'if.

841. It is said that the mother of Dā'ud was Maymūna d. Abū Sufyān who was married to Abū Murra b. 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd, and she bore him Dā'ud.

1 A frequent cliche for a tall man.

2 S. misses the point here.
842. I. I. gave the names of those slaves who came.
843. The word waqīṭu is not from I. I.
844. Others say I. Ḥubāb.
845. Another tradition is 'had we shared our salt with', &c.
846. Zayd b. Aslam from his father said that 'Aqīl b. Abū Bakr went in to his wife Fāṭima d. Shayba b. Rabī'ah on the day of 'Umnayn with his sword dripping with blood. She said, 'I see that you have been fighting, and what plunder have you got from the polytheists?' He said 'Take this needle to make your clothes with' and handed it to her. Then he heard the apostle's order regarding men to return anything they had taken even to a needle and thread; so he came back and said 'I'm afraid you have lost your needle' and took it and threw it into the common stock.
847. Nūsyr b. al-Ḥārīth b. Kalada, and it may be that his name was al-Ḥārīth also.
848. His name was 'Adīy b. Qays.
849. Yūnus al-Nawwāb quoted me the verse with the word 'Mirdās' in place of 'my father'. [This is T.'s reading. Another reading of I. I. is 'my father and my grandfather'.]
850. A traditionist told me that 'Abbās b. Mirdās came to the apostle who said to him, 'So you are the one who said: My spoil and that of 'Ubayd my horse Is shared by al-Aqrā' and 'Uyayna.' Abū Bakr said, 'Between 'Uyayna and al-Aqrā'. The apostle said, 'It's the same thing.' Abū Bakr said, 'I testify that you are as God said, 'We have not taught him poetry and that is not fitting for him' (Sūra 36. 69). A traditionist in whom I have confidence from al-Zuhri—'Ubaydullabh b. 'Abdullabh b. 'Urba-Ibn 'Abbās—said: The apostle accepted the homage of Quraysh and others and gave them on the day of al-Jīrân some of the spoil of 'Umnayn, thus:
B. 'Abdul' Dār: Shayba b. 'Uthmān b. Abū Ṭalīb; Abū Sanāb b. Ba'ak b. al-Ḥārīth b. 'Umayla b. al-Sabbāq; Ikrīma b. 'Āmir b. Ḥāshim.
B. Saul: 'Adīy b. Qays b. Ḥudaybā.
B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy: Ḥuwayth b. 'Abdul' Uzza b. and Hishām b. 'Amr b. Rabī'ah b. al-Ḥārīth b. Ḥuwayth.

851. When the apostle made these gifts to Quraysh and the Beduin tribes and gave nothing to the Anṣār, Ḥassān b. Thābit reproached him in the following verse:
Anxieties increased and tears flowed copiously
While I wept continuously
In longing for Shanāmā the lovely, the slender,
Without impurity or weakness.
Speak no more of Shanāmā since her love has waned,
(When love has grown cold there is no joy in meeting),
And come to the apostle and say, O thou most trusted
By believers from all mankind,
Why were Sulaym invited—mere outsiders,
Before a people who gave you shelter and help?
God called them Helpers because they helped true religion
And they vied in running in the way of God, enduring hardship,
Showing neither cowardice nor alarm.
And when men gathered against us for your sake
And we had but our swords and lances as a refuge
We fought them, sparing none
And abandoned nothing revealed in the sūras.
Those who love war do not shun our assembly
And when their fires blazed we were the kindlers.
As we repelled the hypocrites at Badr their hopes unrealized
And through us victory was sent down,1
We were your army at the mountain slope of Uhud
When Muḥājir insulinously gathered their adherents.
We were not remiss or cowardly,
And they did not find us stumbling though all others were.

852. I have heard that Zayd b. Aslam said that when the apostle appointed 'Attāb as governor in Mecca his allowance was a dirham a day. He got up

1 Or perhaps 'Concerning us the verse about "victory" was sent down'.

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and addressed the people in these words: ‘God make hungry the liver of a man who is hungry on a dirham a day! The apostle has allowed me a dirham every day and I have no need of any one.’

853. The apostle arrived in Medina on 24th Dhul-Qa‘da according to what ‘Amr al-Madani alleged.

854. Another version is Al-Ma‘mūr (the one under orders). The words ‘Tell me plainly’ are not from Ibn Iṣḥāq. An authority on poetry quoted me the lines thus:

Who will give Buja’r a message from me:
Do you accept what I said at the mountain foot?
You have drunk with al-Ma‘mūn a full cup
And he has added a second draught of the same.
You have gone against true guidance and followed him.
Woe to you, to what has he led you?
‘To a religion your parents knew naught of
And your brother has naught to do with.
If you don’t accept what I say I shall not grieve
Nor say if you stumble God help you!

He sent this to Buja’r, and when he received it he did not like to hide it from the apostle so he recited it to him. When he heard the words ‘Al-Ma‘mūn has given you a full cup’ he said, ‘That is true and he is the liar! I am al-Ma‘mūn’; and when he heard the words ‘A religion your parents knew naught of’ he said, ‘Certainly, his father and mother did not follow it.’

855. Or al-Ma‘mūr.

856. Ka‘b composed this ode after he came to the apostle at Medina. His verses “The zurād crawls over her” and “Onagerlike is she” and ‘She lets a tail’ and ‘When he springs on his adversary’ and ‘Albeit ever in his wadi’ are not on the authority of I.I.

857. It is said that the apostle said to him when he recited to him ‘Su‘ād is gone’, ‘Why didn’t you speak well of the Ānār, for they deserve such mention?’ So Ka‘b spoke these words in an ode of his. I was told that ‘Ali b. Zayd b. Jud‘an said that Ka‘b recited ‘Su‘ād has gone’ to the apostle in the mosque.

858. A trustworthy person told me on the authority of Muhammad b. Ṭalḥa b. ‘Abdu‘l-Ra‘bhīn from Isḥāq b. Ibrahīm b. ‘Abdullāh b. Ḥāritha from his father from his grandfather: The apostle heard that the hypocrites were assembling in the house of Suwaylim the Jew (his house was by Jāsūm) keeping men back from the apostle in the raid on Ṭabāk. So the prophet sent Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubaydullāh with a number of his friends to them with orders to burn Suwaylim’s house down on them. Ṭalḥa did so, and al-Daḥbāk b. Khalīfah threw himself from the top of the house and broke his leg, and his friends rushed out and escaped. Al-Daḥbāk said concerning that:

By God’s temple Muhammad’s fire
Almost burnt Daḥbāk and Ibn Ubayriq.

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859. A trustworthy person told me that ‘Uthmān spent on the raiding force a thousand dinars. The apostle said, ‘O God, be pleased with ‘Uthmān for I am pleased with him.’


861. Abū Khaythama (his name was Mālik b. Qa‘ba) said:

When I saw men hypocritical in religion
I undertook that which is more chaste and nobler.
And I beseeched my fealty to Muhammad.
And did no sin or wrong.
I left the dyed one in the hut
Where dates had ripened and camels were full of milk.
When the hypocrite doubted, my soul
Flowed gently to the religion following wherever it led.

862. I have heard that al-Zuhri said: When the apostle passed by al-Hijr he covered his face with his cloak and urged his camel on saying, ‘Do not go among the houses of those who sinned unless you are riding fast for fear that you may meet with the fate that befell them.’

863. Others say I. Lujayy. [Ṭ. also has this reading, so that an early scribe is probably at fault.]

864. Some say Makhshīy.

865. He was called Dhūl-Biyyādān because when he broke away to Islam his people tried to stop him and so persecuted him that they left him with only one garment upon him. (The biyād is a coarse rough wrapper.) He fled from them to the apostle, and when he came near he rent his biyād into two parts, girding his middle with one and wrapping himself in the other. Then he came to the apostle and was called ‘He of the two garments’. Biyād also means a cloak of black hair, as in the words of Imru‘l-Qays:

And when at first its misty shroud bore down on Abān’s top
He stood like an ancient man in a grey-streaked mantle wrapped.

866. Or ‘than their eyesight’.

867. Bi-faṭārinā is the same as bi-faṭarīnā.

868. Latubhayamma is not from I.I. [This is a most interesting note. Obviously I.I. is querying only the one word, and in Ṭ. we have alaḥāyjan which must be right. ‘The doggerel is in the familiar ‘I’m the king of the castle’ mould which seems to have been frequently used by women when uttering taunts. The translation is no worse than the original]
brotherhood Mu‘āwiya took what he left as his heir. Al-Farazdaq said to Mu‘āwiya:

- Your father and my uncle, O Mu‘āwiya, left an inheritance
- So that his next of kin might inherit it.
- But how come you to devour the estate of al-Ḥutāt
- When the solid estate of Ḥarb was melting in your hand?


879. Another version is:

- From us kings are born and we take the fourth
- And from every land submissively, so we are obeyed.

One of the B. Tamīm recited it to me, but most authorities on poetry deny al-Zibriqān’s authorship.

880. Abū Zayd quoted the verse thus:

- Everyone whose heart is devout
- Approves of it and the thing they have begun.

An authority on poetry among B. Tamīm told me that when al-Zibriqān came with the delegation to the apostle he got up and said:

- We have come to you that men may know our superiority
- Whenever they gather at the fairs
- That we are the foremost in every field
- And that none in al-Ḥijāz are like Dārīm.
- That we put champions to flight in their arrogance
- And smite the heads of the proud and powerful.
- Ours is the fourth part in every raid
- In Najd or in foreign lands.

Then Ḥāṣān got up and answered him saying:

- Is glory sought but ancient lordship and generosity,
- The dignity of kings and the bearing of great burdens?
- We helped and sheltered the prophet Muhammad
- Whether Ma‘ād liked it or not
- In a unique tribe whose root and wealth
- Is in Jābiyyat-ul-Jauāl among the foreigners.
- We helped him when he dwelt among us
- Against every wrongful aggressor.
- We put our sons and daughters before him
- And we were pleased to forgo the spoils for his sake.\footnote{At Hunayn.}