881. There is another verse which we have omitted because it is obscene.

882. Another version is ‘O boil like the boils of a camel and death in the house of a Salili woman!’

883. Zayd b. Aslam from ‘Atá b. Yasir from I. ‘Abbás said: God sent down concerning ‘Amir and Arbad: ‘God knows what every female carries, what the wombs keep small and what grows larger’ as far as the words ‘and they have no friend against Him.’ He said, ‘The mu’aggibát are those who ‘by God’s order’ protect Muhammad.’ Then He mentioned Arbad and how God killed him and said ‘And He sends thunderbolts and He smites whom He will’ as far as the words ‘powerful in device’ (13. 9–14).

884. His verse ‘Who spoiled the spoiler’ is on the authority of Abū ‘Ubayda and his verse ‘Liberal when times were bad’ has not I.I.’s authority.

885. The last verse has not I.I.’s authority. [It is to be found in Die Gedichte des Labd, ed. C. Brockelmann, Leiden, 1891, p. 2, with some variants.]

886. These two verses are part of a larger poem of his [ed. Châlîdi, pp. 15 f.]

887. al-Jârûd b. Bishr b. al-Mu’alla was in the deputation. He was a Christian.

888. Another report is that he said, ‘I am done with him who does not pronounce the shahûda.’

889. Musaylima b. Thumâma surnamed Abû Thumâma.

890. Or al-Jâshiyah [in Najd].

891. Mâlik b. Ḥarîm al-Hamdânî was the leader on that day.

892. ‘The first verse and the words ‘If we conquer’ are from someone other than I.I. [It is not cited by Ť., a fact which might perhaps indicate that it was added by an interpolator.]’

893. Abû ‘Ubayda quoted me the line thus: ‘Hoping for its welfare and the praise of it.’

1 Through the prophet’s great-grandmother. e.v.

894. Abû ‘Ubayda recited the verse to me thus:

I gave you an order on the day of Dhû Śan‘î.
I ordered you to fear God, to come to Him and accept His promise,
But you were like a little donkey
Whose lust beguiled him away.

He did not know the rest of the poem. [Five more verses are given by Ť. (1733 f.).]

895. The word biḥafrî is on Abû ‘Ubayda’s authority.

896. Al-As’hâth was a son of ‘the eater of bitter herbs’ on his mother’s side. The eaters were al-Ḥârith b. ‘Amr b. Ḥujr b. ‘Amr b. Mu’âwiyah b. al-Ḥârith b. Mu’âwiyah b. Thaur b. Marûtî b. Mu’âwiyah b. Khulî or Kindî. He was given this name because ‘Amr b. al-Ḫabûla al-Ghassânî raided them when al-Ḥârith was away and plundered and took captives. Among the latter was Umm Unâs d. ‘Auf b. Muḥallam al-Shaybání, wife of al-Ḥârith b. ‘Amr. On the way she said to ‘Amr: ‘Methinks I see a black man with blubber lips like those of a camel eating bitter herbs who has seized thy neck,’ meaning al-Ḥârith. So he was called ‘the eater of bitter herbs’. Muwâr are plants. Then al-Ḥârith followed him with B. Bakr b. Wâ’il, overtook him and killed him and delivered his wife, and what he had seized. Al-Ḥârith b. Ḥûzila al-Tashkuri said to ‘Amr b. al-Mundhir who was ‘Amr b. Hind al-Lakhmî:

We forced you, lord of Ghassân, to pay for (killing) Mundhir
While the blood that was shed could not be measured;
because al-Ḥârith al-‘Arq al-Ghassânî had killed his father al-Mundhir. The verse occurs in an ode of his. This story is too long for me to relate as I have avoided prolixity. Some say the eater of bitter herbs was Ḥujr b. ‘Amr b. Mu’âwiyah who is the subject of this story, and got the name because he and his companions ate this herb on this raid.

897. THE COMING OF THE DEPUTATION OF HAMDÂN

According to what a trustworthy authority told me from ‘Amr b. ‘Abbâl b. Udhayna al-‘Abdî from Abû Ishâq al-Subayî a deputation from Hamdân among whom were Mâlik b. Namat, and Abû Thaur Dhû-l-Mish‘âr, and Mâlik b. Ayya, and Dîmâm b. Mâlik al-Salmâni, and ‘Amrîma b. Mâlik al-Ḫârîfî came and met the apostle on his return from Tabûk, wearing robes of Yaman cloth, and turbans of Aden, with wooden saddles on Mahri and Arbâbi camels. Mâlik b. Namât and another man were the rûjâs singers of the people, one of them saying:

Hamdân has the best of princes and of subjects;
It has no equal in the universe.
High is its position, and from it come
Warriors and chiefs with godly wealth therein.

1 A.Dh. is wrong in saying that this word (dhib) means ‘what kings take from their subjects’. See Lane.
While the other responded:

Camels halted with ropes of palm
Pass through land knowing water's balm.
The dust of summer does no harm.

This Malik stood before the apostle and said, 'O apostle of God, the choicest of Hamdan's settled and nomad folk have come to you on fine swift camels, linked by the cords of Islam. No blame so far as God is concerned attaches to them from the district of Khārij and Yam and Shāhīn the camel and horse folk. They have answered the apostle's call and have withdrawn from the goddesses and sacrificial stones. Their word will not be broken while stands Mount La'a and while the young hart runs on Saul.'

The apostle wrote a letter for them: 'To the district of Khārij and the people of the high country and the sand hills with their envoy Dhūl-Mīshār Malik b. Nāmaṭ and those of his people who are Muslims. Theirs is the high ground and the low ground so long as they perform prayer and pay alms; they may eat its fodder and pasture on its herbage. For this they have God's promise and the guarantee of His apostle and their witnesses are the emigrants and the helpers.'

Malik b. Nāmaṭ said concerning this:

I remembered the apostle in the darkness of the night
When we were above Bahraḍān and Saḍdad
While the camels tired with sunken eyes
Carried their riders on a far-stretching road.
Strong, long-striking camels
Carried us along like well-fed ostriches.
I swear by the Lord of the camels that run to Minā
Returning with riders from a lofty height
That the apostle of God is held true among us,
An apostle who comes with guidance from the Lord of the throne.
No camel has ever carried one more fierce
Against his enemies than Muhammad,
Nor more generous to one who comes asking for kindness,
Nor more effective with the edge of his sharp sword.

898. Al-Yarbū'i.

899. He put Abū Dūjahān al-Sā'idī—others say Sibā' b. 'Urfaṭa al-Ghīfārī—in charge of Medina.

900. The apostle had sent some of his companions as messengers carrying letters to the kings inviting them to Islam. One in whom I have confidence on the authority of Abū Bakr al-Hudhafī told me: 'It reached me that the apostle went out one day after his 'tamar from which he had been excluded on the day of al-Ḥudaybiyya and said 'God has sent me as a mercy to all men, so do not hang back from me as the disciples hung back from Jesus son of Mary.' 'They asked how they had hung back and he said: 'He called them to that to which I have called you. Those who were sent on a near mission were satisfied and content; those who were sent on a distant mission showed their displeasure and took it as a burden, and Jesus complained of that to God. Every one of them the next morning became able to speak the language of the people to whom they were sent.'

The apostle sent letters with his companions and sent them to the kings inviting them to Islam. He sent Dhiyya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbi to Caesar, king of Rām; 'Abdullah b. Ḥudhafā' to Chosroes, king of Persia; 'Amr b. Umayya al-Dāmiri to the Negus, king of Abyssinia; Ḥādī b. Abū Balta'a to the Muqāqis, king of Alexandria; 'Amr b. al-Āṣ al-Sāhirī to Jayfar and 'Īyād, sons of al-Julād al-Azādīs, kings of 'Umān; Salīt b. 'Amr one of B. 'Amr b. Lu'ayy to Thumāna b. Uthāl and Haudha b. 'Ali, the Ḥasanī, kings of al-Yāmāna; al-'Āli' b. al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā al-'Abdī, king of Bahrayn; Shuja' b. Wahb al-Asdi to al-Ḥārith b. Abū Shmir al-Ghasānī, king of the Roman border.

(He sent Shuja') b. Wahb to Jabala b. al-Ayham al-Ghasānī, and al-Muhammad b. Abū Umayya al-Makhwāzī to al-Ḥārith b. Abū Kulāl al-Hamādī, king of the Yaman. I have given the genealogy of Salīt and Thumāna and Haudha and al-Mundhir.)

901. Another version is 'the colour of gold'.

902. Some say the names were Qurra b. Ashfar al-Dīfarī and Ḥayyān b. Milla.

903. Or al-Ajnaf.

904. The words 'with no hope of an easy release' and 'circumstances her release' are not from I.I.

905. Or b. Rāzīm.

906. 'Abdullah b. Umayya said about that:

I left Ibn Thaur like a young camel
Surrounded by mourning women cutting their shirts into strips.
When the women were behind me and behind him
I fetched him a stroke with a sharp Indian sword
Which could bite into the heads of armoured men
As a flame burns up the tinder.
I said to him as the sword bit into his head:
I am Ibn Umayya, no mean horseman;
I am the son of one who never removed his cooking-pot,
No niggard he—wide was the space before his door.
I said to him, 'Take that with the blow of a noble man
Who turns to the religion of the prophet Muhammad.'
Whenever the prophet gave thought to an unbeliever
I got to him first with tongue and hand.

907. About that al-Farazdaq said:

Ibn Ḥabbīs in the presence of the apostle took the high place
Of one who is resolved on gaining glory.

1 As will be seen in the text T, arranges the list of the messengers in a different order.

Why I.H. should have disturbed L.I.'s account and put it in his own name is obscure. As has been explained in a footnote to W. 572, the expression td taḥtalīf 'aḥyayn may mean 'do not differ in your response to me'.
For him (Muhammad) released the prisoners in his ropes
Whose necks were encircled by halters.
He spared the mothers who feared for their sons
The high price of ransom or the division of the captives into shares.

These verses are in one of his odes. 'Adiy b. Jundab was of B. al-'Anbar, Al-'Anbar was of B. 'Amr b. Tamim.

908. According to Abū 'Ubayda the name was al-Ḫuraq.

909. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alla' read this passage with a slight orthographical addition.

910. Mukaytil.

911. Muḥallim in all this story is not on I.I.'s authority. He was Muḥallim b. Jāththāma b. Qays al-Laythī. Mulajām, according to what Ziyād told us from I.I.

912. And he set forth for Dūmatu'l-Jandal.

913. THE SENDING OF 'AMR B. UMAYYĀ AL-ḌĀMRĪ TO KILL ABŪ SUFYĀN B. ḤABB AND WHAT HE DID ON THE WAY

Among the missions and expeditions which the apostle sent out which Ibn Išāq does not record is the mission of 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍāmrī, whom the apostle sent to Mecca—according to what a trustworthy traditionist told me—after the killing of Khubayb b. 'Adiy and his companions, ordering him to kill Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. With him he sent Jabbār b. Ṣākhir al-Ansārī. When they reached Mecca they tied their two camels in one of the narrow passes of Yaṣṣaj and entered the town by night. Jabbār suggested to 'Amr that they should circumambulate the temple and pray two rakās, to which 'Amr replied that at night the inhabitants were wont to sit in their courtyards. 'God willing they won't be,' he replied. 'Amr said: We went round the temple and prayed and then came away making for Abū Sufyān. As we were walking in the town a man looked at me and recognized me and cried, 'It's 'Amr b. Umayya. By God, he has come only for some evil purpose.' I told my companion to run and we went out quickly and got up a mountain, and they came out in pursuit of us and did not desist until we had got to its top. We came back and went into a cave in the mountain and passed the night there, having piled rocks in front of it. In the morning came a man of Quraysh leading a horse, cutting grass for it, drawing near to us as we were in the cave. I said, 'If he sees us he will give the alarm and we shall be taken and killed.' Now I had a dagger with me which I had got ready for Abū Sufyān, and I stabbed him in the chest and he gave a cry which reached the ears of the Meccans, so I went back and entered the cave. The man came running to him as he was at the last gasp and asked him who had stabbed him

1 This statement implies that the MS. which I. H. had contained no account of these happenings, but the extract from Tāb. 1437 f. which I have restored to the text gives a graphic description on the authority of I. I. S. also points out that I. H. is in error in saying that I. I. does not report the story.

and he said 'Amr b. Umayya, and died on the spot without having revealed where we were. They carried him away. When night fell I told my companion that we must get away, so we left Mecca making for Medina. We passed by some guards who were watching the corpse of Khubayb b. 'Adiy when one of them said, 'By God, I have never seen before tonight anything more like the get of 'Amr b. Umayya; were it not that he is in Medina I should have said that it was he.' When he came in face of the gallows he ran to it and took it and carried it away, and the two of them hurried off, while they (the guards) came behind him, until he came to a hollow in the cliff at the ravine of Yaṣṣaj where he threw the gallows into the hollow and God hid him from them while they could do nothing. I said to my companion, 'Escape! Escape! until you get to your camel and mount it while I occupy the men so that they cannot hinder you', for the Ansārī could hardly walk.

I went on until I came out at Dāṣīnā; then I betook myself to a mountain and entered a cave. While I was there suddenly an old man of B. al-Dīl, a one-eyed man, came in with a young sheep and asked who I was. I told him I was of B. Bakr and he said he was too. I said 'Welcome,' and as he stretched himself out he lifted up his voice and said:

I won't be a Muslim as long as I live
Nor heed to their religion give.

I said to myself 'You will soon know!' I gave him time until when he was asleep I took my bow and inserted the end of it in his sound eye and bore down upon it until it reached the bone. Then I hurried off until I came to al-'Arjā, then Rakūba until I dropped down to al-Naqīf4 where there were two polytheists of Quraysh who had been sent as spies to Medina. I called on them to surrender but they refused, so I shot one and killed him and the other surrendered. I bound him tightly and took him to Medina.

914. ZAYD B. ḤĀRĪTHA'S EXPEDITION TO MADYAN

This is recorded by 'Abdullāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan from his mother Fāṭima d. al-Ḫusayn b. 'All. Zayd was accompanied by Ḥumayr, a client of 'Ali's, and a brother of his. They took several captives from the people of Mīnā which is on the shore, a mixed lot among them. They were sold as slaves and families were separated. The apostle arrived as they were weeping and inquired the reason. When he was told he said, 'Sell them only in lots', meaning the mothers with the children.

915. I have heard that when he went on the little pilgrimage he uttered the cry 'Labbaika! in the vale of Mecca. He was the first to enter Mecca with the cry. Quraysh seized him and exclaimed at his audacity. They were about to strike off his head when one of them said, 'Let him alone, for you have need of al-Yamāma for your food' so they let him go his way.
Concerning this al-Jānāfī said:

It was our man who said publicly in Mecca

In the sacred months ‘labayka’ despite Abū Sufyān.

I was told that when he became a Muslim he said to the apostle: ‘Your face used to be the most hateful to me, but now it is the most beloved.’ He spoke similarly about (his) religion and country. Then he went on the little pilgrimage, and when he came to Mecca they said, ‘Have you changed your religion, Thumāma?’ ‘No,’ he said, ‘but I follow the best religion, the religion of Muhammad; and by God not a grain of corn will reach you from al-Yamāma until the apostle gives permission.’ He went back to al-Yamāma and prevented them from sending anything to Mecca. Then the people wrote to the apostle: ‘You order that ties of kinship should be observed, yet you sever those with us; you have killed the fathers with the sword and the children with hunger.’ So the apostle wrote to him to let the carriage of food go on.

916. Abū ‘Amr al-Madānī said: ‘The apostle sent ‘Ali to the Yaman and sent Khalīl b. al-Walī with another force and ordered that when the forces met ‘Ali was to be in supreme command. I.I. mentioned the sending of Khalīl in his account, but he did not reckon it among the missions and expeditions so that the number of them in his account ought to be 39.

917. This is the last mission which the apostle dispatched.

918. THE APOSTLE’S WIVES

They were nine: ‘Ā’isha d. Abū Bakr; Ḥafṣa d. ‘Umar; Umm Ḥabība d. Abū Sufyān; Umm Salama d. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira; Sa‘d d. Zama’ a b. Qays; Zaynab d. Ja‘sh b. Rī‘āb; Maymūna d. al-Ḥārīth b. Ḥazn; Juwārya d. al-Ḥārith b. Abū Dirir; and Ṣafīyya d. ‘Iyāya b. Aḥtab according to what more than one traditionist has told me.

He married thirteen women: Khaḍijā d. Khawwaylid, his first wife whom her father Khuwayyīd b. Asad, or according to others his brother ‘Amr, married to him. The apostle gave her as dowry twenty she-camels. She bare all the apostle’s children except ‘Ībrahīm. She had been previously married to Abū Hāba b. Mālik, one of B. Usayyid b. ‘Amr b. Tamīm, an ally of B. Abūl-Dārī to whom she bore Hind b. Abū Hāba and Zaynab. Before that she had been married to ‘Umayyiq b. ‘Abīd b. ‘Abdullāh b. ‘Umar b. Mughzūm to whom she bore ‘Abdullāh and Jariya.

He married ‘Ā’isha in Mecca when she was a child of seven and lived with her in Medina when she was nine or ten. She was the only virgin that he married. Her father, Abū Bakr, married her to him and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams.


Ibn Isḥāq contradicts this tradition saying that Sa‘īt and Abū Ḥadiq were absent in Abyssinia at this time. Before that she had been married to al-Sakhrān b. ‘Amr b. ‘Abdū Shams.

He married ‘Umm Hābiha whose name was Ramla d. Abū Sufyān. Khalīl b. Sa‘d b. al-‘Ās married her to him when they were both in Abyssinia and the Negus gave her on behalf of the apostle four hundred dinars. It was he who arranged the marriage for the apostle. She had been married to ‘Ubaydullāh b. Ja‘sh al-Asadi.

He married Juwāryya d. al-Ḥārith b. Abū Dirir al-Khuṣayya who was among the captives of B. Muṣṭaliq of Khuzā‘a. She had fallen to the lot of Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammas al-Anṣāri and he wrote a contract of redemption which she brought to the apostle asking his help. He asked her if she would like something better than that, and when she asked what that could be he said, ‘Shall I rid you of the contract and marry you myself?’ She said Yes, and so he married her. This tradition was given us by Ziyād b. ‘Abdullāh al-Bakka‘ī from Muhammad b. Isḥāq from Muhammad b. Ja‘far b. al-Zubayr from ‘Urwā from ‘Ā’isha.1

It is said that when the apostle came back from the raid on B. al-Muṣṭaliq with Juwāryya and was in the midst of the army he gave Juwāryya to one of the Anṣār and ordered him to guard her. When the apostle reached Medina her father al-Ḥārith came to him with his daughter’s ransom. When he was in al-‘Aqiq he had looked at the camels which he had brought for the ransom and admiring two of them greatly, so he hid them in one of the passes of al-‘Aqiq. Then he came to the prophet saying, ‘Here is my daughter’s ransom.’ The apostle said: ‘But where are the two camels which you hid in al-‘Aqiq in such-and-such a pass?’ Al-Ḥārith said, ‘I testify that there is no God but Allah and that you are the apostle of God, for by God none could have known of that but God most High’; so he became a Muslim, as did two of his sons who were with him and some of his people. He sent and fetched the two camels and handed them over to the prophet and his daughter Juwāryya was given back to him. She became an excellent Muslim. The apostle asked her father to let him marry her and he agreed and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams. She had been previously married to a cousin of hers called ‘Abdullāh. It is said that the apostle bought her from Thābit b. Qays, freed her, married her, and gave her four hundred dirhams.

He married Ṣafīyya d. ‘Iyāya b. Aḥtab whom he had captured at Khaybar.

1 Sūrā 33. 37.
2 This comment refers to what I.I. reported on W., p. 729.
The Life of Muhammad

and chosen for himself. The apostle made a feast of gruel and dates: there was no meat or fat. 1 She had been married to Kinānā b. al-Rabīʿ b. 'Abū't-Ḥuqayq.

He married Maymūna d. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazm b. Bahīr b. Huzam b. Ruwayba b. 'Abdullah b. Hilāl b. 'Amīr b. Ṣaʿīda a. Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abdul-l-Muṭṭalib married her to him and gave her on the apostle’s behalf four hundred dirhams. She had been married to Abu Ruhm b. ‘Abdull-‘Uzza b. ‘Abd Qays b. ‘Abdu Wudd b. Nasr b. Mālik b. Ḥisāw b. ‘Amīr b. Lu‘ayy. It is said that she was given herself to the prophet because his offer of marriage came to her when she was on her camel. She said, ‘The camel and what is on it belongs to God and His apostle.’ So God sent down: ‘And a believing woman if she gives herself to the prophet.’ 4

It is said that the one who gave herself to the prophet was 'Aynab d. Jāhsh, or 'Umra Sharik Gha'zāy b. Jabir b. Waḥīb b. 'Abdu Mūqīd b. 'Amīr b. Mātīs b. ‘Amīr b. Lu‘ayy. Others say it was a woman of B. ʾÎmām b. Lu‘ayy and the apostle postponed the matter.

He married 'Aynab d. Khuzayma b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abbās b. 'Amīr b. Abū Manāf b. Hilāl b. ‘Amīr b. Ṣaʿīda a. who was called ‘Mother of the Poor’ because of her kindness to them and her pity for them. Qabīsā b. ‘Amīr al-Ḥilāl married her to him and the apostle gave her four hundred dirhams. She had been married to 'Ubayyā b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdu Manāf; before that to Jahm b. ‘Amīr b. al-Ḥārith who was her cousin. The apostle consummated his marriage with eleven women, two of whom died before him, namely Khadija and 'Aynab. He died leaving the nine we have mentioned. With two he had no marital relations, namely 'Ammā d. al-Ņu‘mān, the Kindite woman, whom he married and found to be suffering from leprosy and so returned to her people with a suitable gift; and ‘Amra d. Yazid the Khälīb woman who was recently an unbeliever. When she came to the apostle she said ‘I seek God’s protection against him,’ and he replied that one who did that was inviolable so he sent her back to her people. Others say that the one who said this was a Kindite woman, a cousin of 'Ammā d. al-Ņu‘mān, and that the apostle summoned her and she said ‘We are a people to whom others come; we come to none!’ so he returned her to her people.

There were six Quraysh women among the prophet’s wives, namely, Khadija, ‘A‘isha, Ḥafṣa, ʿUmra Ḥabība, ʿUmra Salama, and Sauda. 3

The Arab women and others were seven, namely, 'Aynab d. Jāhsh, Maymūna, 'Aynab d. Khuzayma, Juwayriya, Asmā‘, and ‘Amra. The non-Arab woman was Ṣaffa d. ʿUmayy b. ʿAbdāb b. al-ʾAṣir.

919. Another tradition is ‘except Abū Bakr’s door’.

920. Abū ‘Ubayyā and other traditionists told me that when the apostle was dead most of the Meccans meditated withdrawing from Islam and made up their minds to do so. ‘Atīb b. ʾĀsīd’ went in such fear of them that he hid himself. Then 'Ubayyā b. ‘Amīr arose and after giving thanks to God mentioned the death of the apostle and said, ‘That will increase Islam in force. If

---

1 Presumably because she was a Jewess and would eat only kosher meat.
2 ʾSta‘ 34–39.
3 The genealogies which have already been given have been omitted.
4 He was governor of Mecca when the prophet died.

---

Ibn Hisām’s Notes

anyone troubles us we will cut off his head.’ Thereupon the people abandoned their intention and ‘Atīb reappeared once more. This is the stand which the apostle meant when he said to Umar: ‘It may well be that he will take a stand for which you cannot blame him’ [v.s. p. 312].

921. ʿAbd al-Anṣārī said, mourning the apostle, according to what Ibn Hisām told us on the authority of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī: 1

In ‘Ṭayba’ there is still the impress and luminous abode of the apostle, Though elsewhere traces disappear and perish.

The marks of the sacred building that holds The pulpit which the guide used to ascend will never be obliterated.

Plain are the traces and lasting the marks And his house with its mosque and place of prayer.

There are the rooms where God’s light Used to come down brilliant and bright, Memorials for ever indestructible.

If part decay, part is ever renewed.

I know the marks of the apostle and his well-known place And the grave whose digger hid him in the dust.

There I stood weeping the apostle,

My very eyelids ran with tears, 2

Reminding me of his favours. Methinks my soul Cannot recount there and halts bewildered.

Aḥmad’s loss exhausted my soul with pain While it recounted the apostle’s favours.

Yet has it failed to recapture a tithe of what he did But my soul can only report what it feels. Long did I stand crying bitterly Over the mound of the grave where Aḥmad lies. Be blessed, O grave of the apostle, and be blessed The land in which the righteous guided one lived, And blessed the niche that holds the good one Surmounted by a building of broad stones! Hands poured dust upon him, eyes their tears, And the lucky stars set at the sight.

They hid kindness, knowledge, and mercy

The night they laid him unpillowed in the dust And went away in sorrow without their prophet, Their arms and backs devoid of strength.

They mourn him whose day the heavens mourn— The earth too—yet men grieve more.

Can any day the dead is mourned

Equal the mourning of the day Muhammad died?

On which the seat of revelation was taken from them Which had been a source of light everywhere.

---

1 He died in 215.
2 ‘Ṭayba’ is one of the names of Medina. The opening lines are a conscious adaptation of the old Arabian surah.
3 So C, reading jāfn for W’s jinn.
He led to the Compassionate those who imitated him,
Delivering from the terror of shame and guiding aight,
Their inam guiding them to the truth with vigour.
A truthful teacher, to obey him was felicity,
Pardoning their lapses, accepting their excuses.
And if they did well God is most generous in recompense.
If misfortune befell too heavy for them to bear
From him came the easing of their difficulty.
And while they enjoyed God's favour,
Having a guide by which the clear path could be sought,
It pained him that they should go astray from guidance.
He was anxious that they should go on the right path.
He sympathized with them one and all
In his kindness he smoothed their path.
But while they enjoyed that light
Suddenly death's arrow hit its mark
And sent the praised one back to God
While the very angels wept and praised him.²
The holy land became desolate
At the loss of the revelation it once knew:
Deserts uninhabited save the grave in which our lost one descended
Whom Balāṭ and Gharaqḍ² and his mosque mourn.
In those places desolate, now he is gone,
Are places of prayer devoted to him,
And at the great stoning place there dwellings and open spaces,
Encampment, and birthplace are desolate.
O eye, weep the apostle of God copiously,
May I never find you with your tears dried!
Why do you not weep the kindly one
Whose bounteous robe covered all men?
Be generous with your tears and cries
At the loss of him whose equal will ne'er be found.
Those gone by never lost one like Muhammad
And one like him will not be mourned till Resurrection Day
More gentle and faithful to obligation after obligation;
More prone to give without thought of any return;
More lavish with wealth newly gained and inherited
When a generous man would grudge giving what had long been his.
More noble in reputation when claims are examined;
More noble in primely Meccan ancestry;
More inaccessible in height and established in eminence
Founded on enduring supports,
Firmer in root and branch and wood
Which rain nourished making it full of life.

¹ Or 'not preferring one to another'.
² Another reading is 'the unseen angels' (jinn) and yahwhaud. But perhaps jafū should be read here for hqūq. 'The eyes of the angels', &c.
³ Balāṭ lay between the mosque and the market of Medina, while Gharaqḍ was its cemetery. A. Dh. renders 'plane and box-tree'.
⁴ Lit. 'valley ancestry'. The valley-dwellers of Quraysh were regarded as the aristocracy.

A glorious Lord brought him up as a boy
And he became perfect in most virtuous deeds.
To his knowledge the Muslims resorted;
No knowledge was withheld and no opinion was gainsaid.
I say, and none can find fault with me
But one lost to all sense,
I shall never cease to praise him.
It may be for so doing I shall be for ever in Paradise
With the chosen one for whose support in that I hope
And to attain to that day I devote all my efforts.

Ḥassān also said:
What ails thine eye that it cannot sleep
As though its ducts were painted with the koḥl of one suffering from ophthalmia
In grief for the guided one who lies dead?
O best man that ever walked the earth, leave us not!
Alas, would that my face might protect thee from the dust,
That I had been buried before thee in Baṣṭ‘u‘l-Gharaqḍ!²
Dearer than father and mother is he whose death I saw
On that Monday—the truly guided prophet.
When he died I lost my wits distracted,
Would that I had ne'er been born!
Am I to go on living in Medina without you?
Would that I had been given snake poison to drink;
Or that God's decree would reach us soon,
Tonight or at least tomorrow;
That our hour might come and we might meet the good,
The pure in nature, the man of noble descent!
O blessed firstborn of A’mīnà
Whom that chaste one bore on the happiest of days!
He shed a light on all creatures,
He who is guided to the blessed light is rightly guided.
O Lord, unite us with our prophet in a garden
That turns away the eyes of the envious,
In the garden of Paradise. Inscribe it for us,
O Lord of Majesty, Loffiness, and Power.
By God as long as I live I shall not hear of the dead
But I shall weep for the prophet Muhammad.
Alas for the prophet's Helpers and kin
After he has been hidden in the midst of the grave.
The land became too strait for the Ansār,
Their faces were black as antimony.
We gave him his ancestors,¹ his grave is with us,
His overflowing goodness to us is undeniable.
God honoured and guided us his Helpers by him
In every hour that he was present.

¹ By way of the mother of Ḥaḏū‘l-Muṭṭalib, Sa‘mā d. 'Amr b. Ālād b. Ḥālîs of B. Najāţ.
God and those who surround His throne and good men
Bless the blessed Ahmād. ¹

922. The last half of the first verse has not I.I.'s authority.

¹ It is worth noting that the verse
The Christians and Jews of Yathrib rejoiced
when he was laid in his grave
included in H.'s Dīnān (xxxiii) without comment is not to be found in any MS. of I.H.,
nor is it in C. or W. or Shukry's text. It may well be condemned as a later addition. W., (iii, pp. iv–vi) held that I.H.'s text of Ḥassān's poems was superior to the Dīnān which has been published several times since his day but never with the care it deserves. W.'s judgement still stands.

ADDENDA

p. 28, n. 1. I have discussed the significance of this story in the The Islamic Quarterly, 1954, pp. 9 f.

p. 30, l. 13. For the text of Sabean inscriptions recently discovered in Su'ūdī Arabia see G. Ryckmans in Missλon, lvi, 1953, pp. 267–317; and for an historical commentary on the same ib., pp. 319–42. Professor Sidney Smith, 'Events in Arabia in the 6th century A.D.' in B.S.O.A.S., 1954, pp. 455–68, has discussed all that Greek, Syriac, Sabean, and Arabic authorities report. So far as the Arabic writers are concerned, his verdict is that their account 'is not incompatible with the known facts'.

p. 65, n. 3. The Meccan editor of al-Azraqī (ii, 176 and 179) throws no light on the confusion.

p. 88, l. 14. I have adopted the reading of C. against W. in spite of the introduction to the verse.

p. 100, l. 13 from end. The last three verses are reminiscent of the Qurān, as are the lines beginning 'I submit myself' on p. 102, l. 28.

p. 180, pen. Perhaps what 'Umar said was '(The birds) must be ostriches' (niʿ āmu), and the prophet immediately punned on the word by saying anʿ āmu.

p. 181. I have shown in Al-Andalus, xvi, 1953, pp. 323–36, that the Masjid al-Aqṣā was not at Jerusalem but at Al-Jīrān, a place within the sacred area of Mecca.

p. 191, l. 11. For 'protection' read 'neighbourliness'.

p. 236, l. 6 from end. Dhū Kāshr is correct. See Yāqūt, iv, 276 ult. W. has Dhū Kāshd.

p. 233, l. 16 and 18. The host has only a limited control over his ally (halfīf), who is his equal, but the sojourner (fār) is his dependant and he is responsible for his acts because he has authority over him. Cf. p. 723.

p. 238, l. 11. Azraqī, ii, 118, who says that Ibn ʿAbbās was frequently seen to visit ʿIrma as he repeated this poem, apparently knew no more than seven lines corresponding roughly to 1–3 and 6–9 in I.I.'s version and to No. XIX in Hirschfeld's edition of the Dīnān of Hassān b. Thābit. I.H. in his note No. 291 says that lines 12 and 13 were not composed by ʿIrma but by a certain Taghlībī called Ṣuraym b. Maʿṣhar. He accepts lines 4–5 and 10–12 without comment. Azraqī's version is complete in itself. It falls into the pattern of Anṣārī propaganda; it shows how the Medinans welcomed Muhammad when Quraysh (Hirschfeld's 'Mecca' violates the scansion) spurned him, and how they devoted their lives and their wealth to his service. Thus the history of this poem illustrates what has been said on pp. xxvi f. about Anṣārī propaganda and about poems fathered on Ḥassān.

p. 284, l. 7 from end. W. has 'Abdullah b. Ḍayf. Authorities differ.
## INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(L = locality;  F = poet;  T = tribe;  all others = persons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abāb b. Sa'īd, 593, 536.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— b. 'Uthmān, xiv, 215.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abrahā, 20-30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abū al-Lūl, 591.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abū, al (L), 73.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abīyān (L), 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abīrub (L), 657.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abīsa'id, abu (P), 675.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abīwadāt, W., 404.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abūlibb, 171.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abīka' al, b. Malik (P), 639, 784.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abīdār, al (L), 608.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abīnas, al, b. Sharīq, 144, 158, 164, 194, 206, 249, 507, 723.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abītāl, al (P), 735.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abītām b. al-Ja'far al-Khuzai'i', 35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abīn (L), 8, 326, 485, 545.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abīnād, abu, b. Sufyān, 589.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— d. Wahāb, 68-73.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anas b. Abībās al-Sulamī (P), 436.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— b. Rāfī', 197.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— b. Zunaym (P), 559.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arīl, al (L), 188.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arīk (L), 579.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arīrā� d. Abū-Muṭṭalib (P), 76.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arīyāt, 18, 20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asāb, B. (T), 568.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— b. 'Ubayd, 94, 262, 461.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As'ād b. Zūrārā, 199, 200, 205, 346.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asbāb b. Qays b. Tha'laba (P), 39, 44, 693, 701, 719, 720, 724, 733, 734, 737, 752, 760.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asbāb b. Zūrārā, al-Tamīmī (P), 494.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashā'ab b. Abījar, 657.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashā'ath, al, b. Qays, 641, 787.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asād b. Sa'īd, 94.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asām, M., xx.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asmā' d. Marwān (P), 675-6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— — d. 'Umays, 680.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— B. (T), 590.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— b. Ya'fur, 793.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athīr, b. al, xxxiii, 589.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurāf, al (L), 577.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aus, al (T), 58, 20, 197, 230, 262, 343, 345, 402, 461, 481, 483, 489, 568.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Allah (T), 236.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 I am grateful to Dr. J. M. B. Jones and Miss Avril Barnett for help in the compiling of the Indexes.

B. 4000