

Prominent Murder Victims of the Pre- and Early Islamic Periods
Including the Names of Murdered Poets

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Prominent Murder Victims of the Pre- and Early Islamic Periods Including the Names of Murdered Poets

أَسْمَاءُ الْبَغْتَالِيْنَ مِنَ الْأَشْرَافِ
فِي الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ

وَأَسْمَاءُ مَنْ قُتِلَ مِنَ الشُّعْرَاءِ

By

Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb (d. AH 245/AD 860)

تَأَلَّفَ
أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ
الْمَوْفَّقِ سَنَةَ ٢٤٥ هـ / ٨٦٠ م

Introduced, Edited, Translated from the Arabic, and Annotated by

Geert Jan van Gelder



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Preface

Having collaborated happily and fruitfully with others for many years—with Gregor Schoeler and the editors of the Library of Arabic Literature on Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī’s *Risālat al-ghufrān* (*The Epistle of Forgiveness*), with Emily Selove on Abū l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī’s *Ḥikāyat Abī l-Qāsim al-Baghdādī* (*The Portrait of Abū l-Qāsim al-Baghdādī*), with Emilie Savage-Smith and some six others on Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah’s *Uyūn al-anbā’* (*A Literary History of Medicine*)—I deemed the time had come to work on some other text wholly, or almost wholly, by myself. This has obvious advantages and equally obvious disadvantages that need not be spelled out. Where some scholars (notably American ones) profusely thank scores of individuals (including extended family and sometimes pets) by name in their prefaces, forewords, and acknowledgements (once I counted 99 persons), I name only a handful. My wife, Sheila Ottway, read and corrected my English; Anna Livia Beelaert (Leiden), very helpfully tried to make sense of an obscure, garbled verse in some kind of Persian. During a brief visiting professorship at Leiden University I had the privilege and pleasure to contribute to a course for MA students designed and taught by Peter Webb, whose work on brigand poets (*ṣa‘ālik*, *futtāk*) naturally overlapped with mine on murderers and their victims.

It should not be necessary to justify the choice of Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb’s book, written at some time in the middle of the ninth century. Murder is a perpetually fascinating subject. Ibn Ḥabīb’s entertaining book, although occasionally used by historians, is not very well known, even though it is among the earliest Arabic sources, and it has never been translated. It is full of interesting, often lively stories, replete with incident, oddities, pithy sayings, and poetry. Unencumbered by long, scholarly chains of authority, free of over-ornate language or tedious and tendentious moralising, it is a work of literature as well as of history.

I thank Kathy van Vliet-Leigh (Brill) for her encouragement since the moment I told her about my work on the book; Abdurraouf Oueslati (Brill) for pleasant and effective email contact; an anonymous reader for some useful suggestions; and Cas Van den Hof (TAT Zetwerk) for his expert and meticulous typesetting.

Geert Jan van Gelder

Haren, the Netherlands, December 2020

Introduction

1 The Author

Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb was born at an unknown date probably in Baghdad and he died in Samarra (on the Tigris some 125 km north of Baghdad), for a while the residence of the Abbasid caliphs during the third/ninth century, on 23 Dhū l-Ḥijjah of the year 245 of the Hijra, corresponding with 21 March 860.¹ Some sources have a slightly longer lineage for him: Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb ibn Umayyah ibn ‘Umar (or ‘Amr),² but others say that Ḥabīb was not his father but his mother.³ Being called after one’s mother is somewhat unusual, in Arabic or English (there are Johnsons and Harrisons but no Janesons or Harrietsons), but in Arabic, though uncommon, it is not exactly rare.⁴ It could mean that his father was unknown or a nobody. Ibn Ḥabīb was a *mu‘addib* (tutor) and an expert in genealogy (*ansāb*), historical accounts (*akhbār*), lexicography (*luḡah*), poetry, and tribal history. A much earlier Ibn Ḥabīb, a prominent grammarian and philologist from Basra, Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb, who died at an advanced age c. 182/798, is also said to have been called Ibn Ḥabīb after his mother.⁵

Although he obviously knew a lot about Arab tribes, we do not know if he himself belonged to one; he is called a *mawlā*, client or freedman, attached to a branch of the Abbasid dynasty, the family of al-‘Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī,⁶ so it is possible that he was not ethnically an Arab. Ḥabīb (which means “Beloved”, male or female) can be a woman’s name as well as a man’s

1 The year AH245 is given by all sources that give a death date, except Ibn Shākir, *‘Uyūn al-tawārikh*, 405 who gives 250 (AD864–865).

2 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), i, 327–329; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xviii, 113; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyah*, i, 73.

3 Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Luḡawī, *Marātib*, 152; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), i, 328; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xviii, 112 and other sources. Abū l-Ṭayyib adds that Ḥabīb, being a feminine name, is of the so-called diptote declination (*lā yuṣrafu*, implying that the fully inflected form would be *Ibnu Ḥabība* rather than *Ibnu Ḥabībin* if Ḥabīb had been the father).

4 See Levi Della Vida, “Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb’s ‘Matronymics of Poets’”.

5 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vii, 248, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxix, 382. On Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb (a *mawlā*, like Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb) see *EI2*, s.v. (R. Talmon), Sezgin, *Geschichte*, viii, 57–58, ix, 49–51, xvi, 271–272.

6 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), i, 328 mentions the Banū l-‘Abbās ibn Muḥammad (i.e., the sons of al-‘Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-‘Abbās, the last one being the eponymous ancestor of the dynasty); on this al-‘Abbās ibn Muḥammad, who died in 185/801 or 186/802, see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi, 638.

name (as, for instance, in the case of his contemporary, the Andalusian scholar ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb, who died in Cordova in 253/853), but one is tempted to believe the view that Ḥabīb was Muḥammad’s mother and not his father. This would go some way towards explaining his extraordinary interest in mothers. Among his shorter works are *Man nusiba ilā ummihī min al-shu‘arā’* (“Poets Who are Traced to their Mother”); *Alqāb al-shu‘arā’ wa-man yu‘rafu minhum bi-ummih* (“Nicknames of Poets and Those of them who are Known by their Mother’s Name”); *Ummahāt al-Nabī* (“The Prophet’s Female Ancestors”); *Ummahāt a’yān Banī ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib* (“The Female Ancestors of the Leading Members of the Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib”); *Ummahāt al-sab‘ah min Quraysh* (“The Female Ancestors of the Seven of Quraysh”). His book *al-Muḥabbar* also has many sections on women, such as wives, mothers, and female relatives of famous men.⁷

Generally, a *mu‘addib* or tutor had a higher status than a *mu‘allim*, a schoolteacher. In an anecdote about Ibn Ḥabīb, however, it seems that he equates himself, self-deprecatingly, with the despised *mu‘allim*:⁸

Ibn Ḥabīb said, “If you ask a man, ‘What’s your job?’ and he answers, ‘Schoolteacher (*mu‘allim*)’, then box his ears!”, and he quoted:

A schoolteacher always remains a schoolteacher
even if “he taught Adam all the names”.⁹

Whoever teaches infants is made infantile by them,
even sons of caliphs and princes.

In al-Qiftī’s *al-Inbāh* this anecdote is told by a certain Abū Ru‘bah, who says, “I went over to Ibn Ḥabīb in Mecca, while he was teaching the children of al-‘Abbās ibn Muḥammad. He said ‘If you ask a man ...’” There are, however, no indications that Ibn Ḥabīb ever taught in Mecca and it appears that *fī Makkah* is a copyist’s or editor’s error for *fī maktabihī*, “in his school”, or “classroom”, as in the versions of Yāqūt’s *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, Ibn Shākir’s *‘Uyūn al-tawārikh*, and al-Ṣafadī’s *Wāfi*.

7 See Lichtenstädter, “Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb and his Kitāb al-Muḥabbar”, 13–14.

8 Al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas*, 321; the anecdote is also in Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xviii, 112; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Inbāh*, iii, 121; Ibn Shākir, *‘Uyūn al-tawārikh*, 405; al-Ṣafadī *Wāfi*, ii, 326. The verb *anshada* (“he recited” or “he quoted”) leaves it undecided whether he quoted someone else or was himself the poet. The former is perhaps more likely, since no other poetry by Ibn Ḥabīb is known, despite his great knowledge of poetry. A different version of the two lines is quoted, also anonymously, at the court of caliph al-Wāthiq (r. 227–232/842–847), see al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ix, 236, al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas*, 223.

9 cf. Q al-Baqarah 2:31.

Perhaps his works, including his book on murder victims, *Asmā' al-mughtā-līn*, were commissioned by his Abbasid patrons, as education for their sons. The books on horses (*al-Khayl*) and plants (*al-Nabāt*) are lost but it is likely that they were lexicographical, as was his work on obscure words in the Hadith (*Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*), also lost. His short lexicographical monograph *Khalq al-insān* (*Human Anatomy*), however, is extant and has been published; it is a pioneering work in its use, apparently for the first or almost the first time, of an alphabetical arrangement.¹⁰

Apart from being a private tutor, he also taught larger circles. Tha'lab, a famous grammarian who died in 291/904 at the age of almost 90, relates that he attended a session (*majlis*) of Ibn Ḥabīb and was surprised that he did not dictate his material:¹¹

I said, "Come on, dictate! Why don't you?" But he didn't, and in the end I left. By God, he was someone who had memorized a great deal and he was trustworthy. Ya'qūb [Ibn al-Sikkīt] was more knowledgeable than Ibn Ḥabīb, but the latter knew more about genealogy and historical accounts.

A different account of the same is related by Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī (d. 351/962):¹²

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid told us: Tha'lab told us: Once I came past a session of Ibn Ḥabīb in the Friday Mosque. I went to join it and sat down, while he was dictating. But when I was seated he stopped dictating. "Go on," I said, "with what you were doing!" But he replied, "With you present? By God, I shall not!"

A yet fuller version is offered by al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989):¹³

Abū l-Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā [Tha'lab] said, I went to Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, for I had heard that he was dictating the poetry of Ḥassān ibn

10 Baalbaki, *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition*, 151, 155–156, 330–331.

11 Tha'lab, *Majālis*, 131; also quoted in al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, iii, 88–89, Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 120.

12 Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, *Marātib*, 153.

13 Al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 139–140, also in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xviii, 114–115, al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh*, iii, 120. The anecdote continues with Ibn Ḥabīb being asked a question about an expression in a line of poetry, which he was unable to answer properly, unlike Tha'lab who proffered an explanation. After this, Ibn Ḥabīb gave up his sessions.

Thābit.¹⁴ But when he became aware I was present he stopped dictating. I left and then returned; I was friendly to him and he dictated. He used not to sit in the Friday Mosque and I reproached him for that, but he refused. It was only after my persisting that he had sessions in the Friday Mosque, where people gathered.

His reputation is generally high, yet there is at least one report of his unscrupulous attitude as a scholar. Although Muḥammad ibn ‘Imrān al-Marzubānī (d. 394/993), quoted by Yāqūt, calls Ibn Ḥabīb’s books “sound” (*ṣaḥīḥah*),¹⁵ he also relates: “It is said that Ibn Ḥabīb raided other people’s books and claimed them as his, omitting their names”.¹⁶ A gross example of such plagiarism is given, involving the wholesale copying and appropriating of a work by the obscure Ismā‘īl ibn Abī ‘Ubayd Allāh. Al-Marzubānī continues:

I do not know of any scholar who did such a thing, or who would deem it right to lower himself to this ugly level. I think that what brought him to this was the fact that the book by Ismā‘īl was not often transmitted and not widely in the possession of literate people, so that Ibn Ḥabīb guessed that his doing would not be revealed and his plagiarism would obliterate his colleague’s name.¹⁷

Very little about his personal life is known. That he is called Abū Ja‘far shows that he had at least one son.¹⁸

14 Ḥassān ibn Thābit was the first major poet who supported the prophet Muḥammad.

15 Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xviii, 112.

16 Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xviii, 113; Ibn al-Qiftī, *Inbāh*, iii, 121; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, ii, 326; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyah*, i, 73.

17 Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*, xviii, 113.

18 Ḥājji Khalifah, *Kashf al-zunūn*, col. 167–168 mentions “Abū Muḥammad Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī, who died in AH 245” as the author of a work on proverbial sayings on the pattern *af‘al*. But this work is ascribed to Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb in other, older sources such as Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Fihrist* (see below), and this Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb may be spurious.

2 Sources on Ibn Ḥabīb¹⁹

The following is a list, arranged chronologically, of the main sources about Ibn Ḥabīb and his works, indicating whether or not his book on murder victims (here abbreviated as *AM*) is mentioned.

Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā Tha‘lab (d. 291/904), *al-Majālis* [*The Sessions*], 131.

‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Mu‘tazz (d. 296/908), *Ṭabaqāt al-shu‘arā’* [*The Classes of Poets*], mentions him as a source on Abbasid poets, 341, 359, 417.

Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī (d. 351/962), *Marātib al-naḥwīyyīn* [*The Ranks of Grammarians*], 152–153 (no mention of *AM*).

Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. c. 363/972), *al-Aghānī* [(*The Book of*) *Songs*], quotes Ibn Ḥabīb many times as a source.

Abū Bakr al-Zubaydī (d. 379/989), *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwīyyīn* [*The Classes of Grammarians*], 139–140 (no mention of *AM*).

Ibn al-Nadīm (d. c. 380/990), *al-Fihrist* [*The Catalogue*] (ed. Flügel) 106–107, (ed. Sayyid) i, 327–329, in the chapter on historians (*akhbārīyyūn*) and genealogists (*nassābūn*); see below for the book list given for Ibn Ḥabīb. *AM* is listed as *Maqātil al-fursān*.

al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām* [*The History of Baghdad*], iii, 87–88 (no mention of *AM*).

Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), *Mu‘jam al-udabā’* [*Dictionary of Literary Men*], xviii, 112–117, quoting al-Marzubānī,²⁰ al-Zubaydī, and Ibn al-Nadīm (lists *AM* as *Maqātil al-fursān*).

Ibn al-Qiftī (d. 646/1248), *Inbāh al-ruwāh ‘alā anbā’ al-nuḥāh* [*Informing Transmitters about the Accounts of Grammarians*], iii, 119–121 (no mention of *AM*).

Ibn Shākīr al-Kutubī (d. 764/1364), *‘Uyūn al-tawārikh* (*AH* 219–250) [*Highlights of Histories*], 405–406 (lists *AM* as *Maqātil al-fursān*).

19 Modern sources on Ibn Ḥabīb include: *EI2*, vii, 401–402 (Ilse Lichtenstädter); Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, i, 106, Supplement, i, 165–166; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, i (mentioning him as source of *Aghānī*: 80, 250, 179, 180n; 310); idem, *Geschichte*, ii (see index); idem, *Geschichte*, vii, 347; idem, *Geschichte*, viii, 90–92; idem, *Geschichte*, xvi, 154–158 (158 on *AM*), 280–281; Lichtenstädter, “Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb and his Kitāb al-Muḥabbar”; Levi Della Vida, “Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb’s ‘Matronymics of Poets’”; Bray, “Lists and Memory: Ibn Qutayba and Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb” (see pp. 221–226 on Ibn Ḥabīb’s *al-Muḥabbar*; she mentions *AM*, calling it a “booklet”, in a note, 230–231); Tayyara, “Ibn Ḥabīb’s *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar* and its Place in Early Islamic Historical Writing” (it does not mention *AM*).

20 Yāqūt is quoting no doubt from al-Marzubānī’s *al-Muqtabas*, which is preserved only in its abridged form entitled *Nūr al-qabas*, in which Ibn Ḥabīb does not have an entry.

- al-Şafadī (d. 764/1363), *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt* [*The Completion of the Obituaries*], ii, 325–327 (lists *AM* as *Maqātil al-fursān*).
- al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), *Bughyat al-wu‘āh fi ṭabaqāt al-lughawīyyīn wa-l-nuḥāh* [*The Desire of the Attentive: On the Classes of Lexicographers and Grammarians*], i, 73–74 (lists *AM* as *Maqātil al-fursān*).
- Ḥājjī Khalīfah (d. 1068/1657), *Kashf al-ẓunūn ‘an asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn* [*Dispelling Doubts about the Names of Books and Disciplines*], col. 1778–1779 (*Maqātil al-fursān*).
- ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī (d. 1093/1682), *Khizānat al-adab wa-lubb lubāb lisān al-‘Arab* [*The Treasury of Erudition and the Prime of the Pith of the Arabic Language*], mentions and quotes from *K. al-Maqtūlīn ghīlatan* i, 24, 53 (on ‘Amir ibn Juwayn, *AM* § 79), ii, 271–272 (on Ṭasm and Jadīs, *AM* § 3), xi, 270–271 (on ‘Amr ibn Mas‘ūd and Khālid ibn Naḍlah, *AM* § 13), and from *K. Man qutla min al-shu‘arā’* ii, 104 (on Suḥaym ‘Abd Banī l-Ḥashās, *AM* § 118), 217 (on ‘Abīd ibn al-Abraş, *AM* § 81), iv, 441 (on Bishr ibn Abī Khāzim, *AM* § 83).

3 Works

Among Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb’s books are several important historical sources, notably his *al-Muḥabbar* and *al-Munammaq*, both of which have been preserved and have been published. The latter is devoted to the members of Quraysh, the tribe of the Prophet. *Al-Muḥabbar* is essentially a book of lists, of genealogy and categories of people, with sections on the most diverse pre-Islamic and early Islamic topics. Ibn Ḥabīb is not afraid to include lists that contain only one member, as was observed by Albrecht Noth and Julia Bray:²¹ an extreme case that does not apply to the present book about murderers. Ibn al-Nadīm’s *al-Fihrist* (*The Catalogue*) lists the following titles by Ibn Ḥabīb:

al-Amthāl ‘alā af‘al wa-yusammā l-Munammaq [on proverbial expressions of the form “more so-and-so than ...”; obviously not the work published as *al-Munammaq*. Partly published in *Majallat al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī al-‘Irāqī* 4 (1956) by Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh (not seen)]

al-Nasab [on genealogy]

al-Su‘ūd wa-l-‘Umūr [“Sa‘ds and ‘Amrs”. The editions by Flügel and Sayyid have *al-Su‘ūd wa-l-‘umūd*, of uncertain meaning, which is copied by Yāqūt and

21 Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition* (tr. Michael Bonner), 97, mentioned in Bray, “Lists and Memory”, 227 note 4.

- al-Şafadī. I follow Sezgin, *Geschichte*, xvi, 157 in taking it to be about tribal names involving the two very common names Sa'd and 'Amr.²²]
- al-'Amā'ir wa-l-Rabā'i'*²³ [*fī l-nasab*] [on genealogy; it may be a similar work on two common names. The singular of 'Amā'ir could be 'Amīrah or 'Umārah, that of Rabā'i' is Rabī'ah]
- al-Muwashshah* [subject unknown]
- al-Mu'talif wa-l-mukhtalif* [*fī l-nasab*] [On genealogy; probably an excerpt of *K. al-Qabā'il al-kabīr*. Published by F. Wüstenfeld in 1850 and by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī in 1980]
- al-Muḥabbar* [published by Ilse Lichtenstädter]
- al-Muqtanā* [subject unknown]
- Gharīb al-Ḥadīth* [on strange words in the Hadith]
- al-Anwā'* [on the "rain stars" and traditional Arab meteorology]
- al-Mushajjar* [subject unknown]²⁴
- al-Muwashshā* [subject unknown]
- Man ustujibat da'watuh* [on those whose prayers (or summons?) were answered]
- al-Mudhahhab fī akhbār al-shu'arā' wa-ṭabaqātihim* [on the lives of poets]
- Naqā'id Jarīr wa-'Umar ibn Laja'* [the flytings of Jarīr and 'Umar ibn Laja']
- Naqā'id Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq* [the flytings of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, transmitted from Abū 'Ubaydah; published by A.A. Bevan]
- al-Mufawwaf* [subject unknown]
- Tārīkh al-khulafā'* [history of the caliphs]
- Man summīya bi-bayt qālahū* [on those called after a verse they composed]
- Maqātil al-fursān* [on the killings of heroes]. This is clearly the book presented here, which is in fact a combination of two works: *Asmā' al-mughtālīn min al-ashraf fī l-Jāhiliyyah wa-l-Islām* [*The Names of Prominent Murder Victims of the Pre- and (Early) Islamic Periods*] and *Asmā' man qutila min al-shu'arā'* [*The Names of those Poets who were Killed*].
- Alqāb al-shu'arā'* [*wa-man yu'rafu minhū bi-ummih*] [on the nicknames of poets and those called after their mother; published by 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn]

22 On 'Umūr and Su'ūd as possible plurals of 'Amr and Sa'd, both extremely common personal names, see Sibawayh, *Kitāb*, ii, 96–97. Compare e.g. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 148, where someone asks, "Who are the Sa'ds (*al-Su'ūd*)? Sa'd of Tamīm, Sa'd of Hawāzin, Sa'd of Hudhaym, Sa'd of Bakr?"

23 Thus ed. Flügel and Yāqūt; Sayyid's edition of *al-Fihrist* has *al-rawābil*, in al-Şafadī, *Wāfī* it is *al-r.bā'*, and in Ibn Shākir, *Uyūn* it is *al-rīyāh*.

24 The term *mushajjar*, derived from *shajarah*, "tree", is sometimes used for works written in tree format. Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, 97, thinks Ibn Ḥabīb's work could have been an early example of a genealogical book in tree format.

- Kunā l-shu'arā'* [*wa-man ghalabat kunyatuhū 'alā ismih*] [on the paedonymics (names beginning with Abū) of poets and those whose paedonymic prevailed over their given name; published by 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn]
- al-Aql* [The usual sense of *'aql* is "intelligence, reason", but in view of Ibn Ḥabīb's interests a less common meaning, "bloodwit", seems more likely.]
- al-Simāt* [on brand marks²⁵]
- Ummahāt al-Nabī* [on the female ancestors of the Prophet; facsim. of MS published by Ḥasan 'Alī Maḥfūz]
- Ayyām Jarīr allatī dhakarrahā fī shi'rih* [on the tribal "battle days" mentioned by Jarīr in his poetry]
- Ummahāt a'yān Banī 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib* [on the female ancestors of the prominent offspring of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's grandfather]
- al-Muqtabas* [subject unknown]
- Ummahāt al-Sab'ah min Quraysh* [on the female ancestors of the "Seven of Quraysh" (it is not clear who these seven are)]
- al-Khayl* [on horses]
- al-Nabāt* [on plants]
- al-Arḥām allatī bayn Rasūl Allāh wa-bayn aṣḥābihī siwā l-'aṣabah* [on the Prophet's kinship with his Companions, other than those in the male line]
- Alqāb al-Yaman wa-Rabī'ah wa-Muḍar* [on the nicknames among the tribes of al-Yaman (South Arabs) and Rabī'ah and Muḍar (North Arabs)]
- al-Alqāb wa-yashtamilu 'alā alqāb al-qabā'il* [on nicknames, including tribal ones]
- Kitāb al-Qabā'il al-kabīr wa-l-ayyām* [the great book of tribes and battle days]

To these can be added:

- al-Munammaq fī akhbār Quraysh* [on the tribe of Quraysh; published by Khūrshīd Aḥmad Fāriq]
- Man nusiba ilā ummihi min al-shu'arā'* [on poets called after their mother, published by G. Levi Della Vida in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 65 (1942), 156–171, and by 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn]
- Khalq al-insān* [a lexicographical work on human anatomy; published by Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-'Aṭīyah]
- Several redactions of and commentaries on *Dīwāns*, such as those of Jarīr [published by Nu'mān Muḥammad Amīn Ṭāhā]; Ibn al-Dumaynah [published by

25 On the importance of brand marks, *simāt*, of camels and other livestock see e.g. al-Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān*, i, 161.

Aḥmad Rātib al-Naffākh]; and Ru'bah ibn al-'Ajjāj [preserved in MS]. Yāqūt mentions among Ibn Ḥabīb's works *Kitāb dīwān Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith*; *Kitāb shi'r al-Shammākh*; *Kitāb shi'r al-Uqayshir*; *Kitāb shi'r al-Ṣimmah*; and *Kitāb shi'r Labīd al-'Āmirī*.²⁶

4 The Book on Prominent Murder Victims and Poets Who Were Killed

Several of Ibn Ḥabīb's books have florid titles, such as were becoming frequent in his time. They include the two major works that have been published: *al-Munammaq* could be translated as *The Adorned (Book)* and *al-Muḥabbar* as *The Variegated (Book)* or *(The Book) Woven with Stripes*. There are at least five more such titles ascribed to him,²⁷ but one should not conclude that these metaphors reflect the author's style in the works themselves. In none of his extant works does Ibn Ḥabīb use ornate language and he eschews any rhetorical display such as rhymed prose or striking figurative speech. This is also the case in *Asmā' al-mughtālīn*, his book on murder victims together with the second part, on poets who were killed: the style is straightforward and the only "literary" elements in it are the poetry that is quoted and the occasional utterances in rhymed prose (*saj'*). His great interest in poetry is evident from this book and from his many other works on poets and their works; yet he was not a poet himself.

His accounts are also markedly concise and one often finds longer and more detailed versions of the murder stories in other, multi-volume sources, such as al-Balādhurī's *Genealogies of Prominent People*, al-Ṭabarī's *History*, and al-Ṣfahānī's *Book of Songs*. But there are many details in some stories, some gruesome and some even funny, as when a Persian called Fayrūz sneaks into the bedroom of his victim, al-Aswad ibn Ka'b, at night but cannot see him in the dark, and when the victim's colluding wife helpfully points out where her husband is sleeping, the murderer discovers he has left his sword outside (§ 28). Almost grotesque is the highly dramatic story of Hudbah and Ziyādah, which involves no fewer than three noses that are cut off (§ 110).

26 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xviii, 116–117.

27 *Al-Muwashshah*, *al-Muwashshā*, *al-Mushajjar*, *al-Mufawwaf*, *al-Mudhahhab fī akhbār al-shu'arā' wa-ṭabaqātihim*. He seems to have been fond of the passive participle pattern *mufa'al* for he titles of his major books (cf. Tayyara, "Ibn Ḥabīb's *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*", 393 note 10).

As is shown in the list of sources given above, Ibn Ḥabīb's book is sometimes given a different title: *Maqātil al-fursān* ("Killings of Knights, or Heroes"),²⁸ perhaps in order to align it with a quite extensive literature on *maqātil* in Arabic,²⁹ a well-known example being *Maqātil al-Ṭālibīyyīn* by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, on Shi'ite and 'Alid martyrs. Works called *Maqātil al-fursān* (*Killings of Heroes*) are also attributed to Abū 'Ubaydah,³⁰ al-Qālī,³¹ Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr,³² and al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī.³³ Al-Mas'ūdī mentions Abū 'Ubaydah's *Maqātil fursān al-'Arab* (*Killings of Arab Heroes*) and a work by himself called *Maqātil fursān al-'Ajam* (*Killings of Non-Arab Heroes*).³⁴ A work entitled *Maqātil al-ashrāf* (*Killings of Nobles*) is attributed to Abū 'Ubaydah³⁵ and a book called *Maqātil al-shu'arā'* (*Killings of Poets*) is attributed to Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr.³⁶

The author could have called his book simply *Kitāb al-mughtālīn*, "the Book of Murder Victims". Instead, he chose to entitle it *Kitāb asmā' al-mughtālīn*, "the Book of the Names of Murder Victims". But although names, lineages, and tribal affiliations abound and are undoubtedly important to the author, they are not the main concern of the book. The general reader may be put off by the large number of Arabic names, some of which are inordinately long by modern standards, going back many generations (even as many as twelve). *Asmā' al-mughtālīn* is largely unencumbered, however, by *isnāds*, chains of authority at the beginning of each *khbar* or report.³⁷ Unlike many similar texts, including his other books *al-Muḥabbar* and *al-Munammaq*, the author does not mention his sources.³⁸ One can surmise that they were present in the original but were left out by a transmitter or copyist more interested in storytelling than in scholarly accuracy and reliability—not that an *isnād* guarantees historical truth, of

28 See the entries on Ibn Ḥabīb in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Flügel) 106–107, (Sayyid) i, 327–329; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xviii, 112–117; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, ii, 325–327; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āh*, i, 73–74.

29 On the genre see Günther, "Maqātil Literature in Medieval Islam"; it deals mostly with the deaths of members of the Prophet's family and does not mention Ibn Ḥabīb.

30 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xix, 161, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, v, 239.

31 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, vii, 29, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, i, 226.

32 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), i, 452, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, iii, 91.

33 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xx, 28, Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā'*, 271.

34 Al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 102.

35 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xix, 161–162, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, v, 239.

36 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Sayyid), i, 452, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, iii, 91.

37 There are some exceptions: see e.g. §§ 37, 39, 51, 73.

38 In other works, where he does mention sources, he is not always careful (Lichtenstädter, "Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb", 27: "Ibn Ḥabīb's carelessness in quoting his sources is somewhat astonishing at a time when his contemporaries are very careful to quote their authorities in full ...").

course. That such chains of authority were part of the original text at least in some cases can be seen from quotations, as when Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī opens the story of al-Jassās ibn Murrah (*AM* §11) as follows:³⁹

‘Alī ibn Sulaymān al-Akhfash [d. 315/927] informed me: al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sukkarī [d. 275/888 or 290/903] informed us: Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb [d. 245/860] told us, on the authority of Ibn al-A‘rābī [d. 231/846], on the authority of al-Mufaḍḍal [d. after 163/780], on the authority of Abū ‘Ubaydah [d. 209/824–825], that the last person to be killed in the war of Bakr and Taghlib was Jassās ibn Murrah ibn Dhuhl ibn Shaybān. He is the one who killed Kulayb ibn Rabī‘ah ...

The chronology seems odd, in that al-Mufaḍḍal died long before Abū ‘Ubaydah, but the latter is said to have been born in 110/728, so he could easily have been al-Mufaḍḍal’s source.

The entry on ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mūsā al-Hādī (§71) has a parallel in *Aghānī*, x, 197 with the following *isnād*: *akhbaranī ‘Alī ibn Sulaymān al-Akhfash fī kitāb al-mughṭālīn qāla ḥaddathanā Abū Sa‘īd al-Sukkarī ‘an Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb qāla ...*; Sezgin remarks⁴⁰ that Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī used a book entitled *Asmā’ al-mughṭālīn* by ‘Alī ibn Sulaymān al-Akhfash (d. 315/927), which via al-Sukkarī goes back to a book by Ibn Ḥabīb, not identical with the printed text, because the fragments in *Aghānī*, ii, 97–105, 105–126, 133, 140–146 are much longer. A source of Ibn Ḥabīb’s book is a work by Ibn al-A‘rābī.⁴¹ The absence of sources in *Asmā’ al-mughṭālīn* may therefore be attributed to copyists or an unknown redactor. One cannot, however, be wholly certain that this is always the case.

Many of the murders are part of the *ayyām al-‘Arab*, “the Battle Days of the Arabs”, an extensive genre of stories with poetry about the pre-Islamic tribal feuds and wars.⁴² These stories were avidly collected by historians, genealogists, and philologists. Among Ibn Ḥabīb’s many lost works is *Kitāb al-qabā’il al-kabīr wa-l-ayyām* (“The Great Book of Tribes and Battle Days”), apparently his *magnum opus*. Ibn al-Nadīm says that he compiled it for al-Faṭḥ ibn Khāqān, a high

39 Al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, v, 60–61.

40 Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 179, in the entry on ‘Adī ibn Zayd.

41 Al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ii, 97, 133, 140.

42 On the *ayyām al-‘Arab* see e.g. Caskeel, “*Ajām al-‘Arab*: Studien zur altarabischen Epik”; Meyer, *Der historische Gehalt der Ayyām al-‘Arab*; EI2, “Ayyām al-‘Arab” (E. Mittwoch); EI3, “Ayyām al-‘Arab” (Alan Jones); al-Qāḍī, “La composante narrative des «Journées des Arabes» (*Ayyām al-‘Arab*)”.

official and close companion of caliph al-Mutawakkil; both were murdered together in 247/861. Ibn al-Nadīm continues:⁴³

I have seen, in the presence of al-Qāsim ibn Abi l-Khaṭṭāb ibn al-Furāt,⁴⁴ this selfsame copy, written on Ṭalhī paper,⁴⁵ some twenty volumes but incomplete, indicating that it may have comprised some forty volumes, each volume containing two hundred folios or more. This copy had an index of tribes and battle days mentioned in the book in the handwriting of al-Sindi ibn ‘Alī, the bookseller, of some fifteen folios, in an inferior handwriting.

It is possible that the stories in *Asmā’ al-mughtālīn* were taken, perhaps in shortened form, from this much larger work. Sayyid Kasrawī Ḥasan, in the introduction to his edition of the book, thinks that Ibn Ḥabīb may never have finished it and that what we have is a *musawwadah*, a draft.⁴⁶ The time of composition is unknown but it was written after his *al-Munammaq*, because on one occasion (§ 26) he refers to it, as *Akhbār Quraysh*, for more details.

The word *mughtāl* is ambiguous: it can be both an active and a passive participle of the verb *ightāla* (“to murder, assassinate”). One notices, incidentally, that many murderers were themselves murdered. Nevertheless, it is clear that in the title and elsewhere in the book *mughtāl* has a passive sense, “murdered”. The words most often used for “killer” or “murderer” are *qātil* or *fātik*. There is a difference between the verbs *qatala* and *ightāla*, or between books on *maqātil* and on *mughtālūn*: the former is about any kind of killing, any violent death, the latter more precisely is about being murdered or assassinated, excluding being killed in battle or by execution; the victim is usually unaware until the last. *Ightiyāl* (the verbal noun) and its synonym *ghīlah* imply guile and cunning.⁴⁷

43 Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (ed. Sayyid), i, 329, (ed. Flügel), 107, quoted in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xviii, 116.

44 The son of Abū l-Khaṭṭāb al-Faḍl ibn Jaʿfar ibn al-Furāt (d. 327/938), a high official and vizier.

45 Quality paper made of cotton, called after the Ṭāhirid ruler of Khorasan, Ṭalhah ibn Ṭāhir, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, i, 48, *EL2*, “Kāghad” (Cl. Huart & A. Grohmann).

46 SKH, 12–13.

47 Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (*GhWL*): *ightālāhū: ahlakahū wa-akhadhahū min haythu lam yadri; ... qatala fulānun/fulānan ghīlatan ayfī ghtiyāl wa-khufyah wa-qila huwa an yakhdāʾa l-insān hattā yašira ilā makān qad istakhfā lahū fih man yaqtuluhū*. There is some uncertainty about the root of the verb, because there are similar definitions under *GhYL*: *al-ghīlah bi-l-kasr: al-khadīʾah wa-l-ightiyāl, wa-qutila fulān ghīlatan ay khudʾah wa-huwa an yakhdāʾahū fa-yadhhaba bihī ilā mawḍiʿ fa-idhā šāra ilayhi qatalahū ... al-ghīlah fī kalām al-ʿArab iṣāl al-sharr wa-l-qatl ilayhi min haythu lā yaʾlamu wa-lā yashʾuru ... qatalahū ghīlatan*

Nevertheless, some deaths in the book are better described as executions than as murders; the dividing line between the two is often indistinct. Murders and assassinations are committed by proxy, ordered by those in power wishing to conceal their evil intentions. But such murders sometimes come out. The verb *dassa*, “to scheme, plot, to send someone secretly, to administer (a poison) surreptitiously, etc.,” is used in twelve chapters by Ibn Ḥabīb in connection with such murders.⁴⁸ The story of Ṭarafah (§ 82) offers the Arabic equivalent of the motif of the letter that condemns the bearer, known from Hebrew (Uriah), Greek (Bellerophon), and English (Rosencrantz and Guildenstern).

The book is in fact two texts, perhaps originally separate but joined together, one on prominent murder victims (*al-muḡhtālīn min al-ashrāf*) and one on poets who were killed (*man qutila min al-shu‘arā’*). The former title uses the verb *ightāla*, “to murder, assassinate”, the second uses the verb *qatala*, “to kill”, which of course is not the same as “to murder”. This is reflected in the text. As some poets were actually murdered (and poets often are prominent people), a number of them are found in the first part, with a cross-reference in the second: “He has already been mentioned among the murder victims” (§§ 84, 90, 92, 98, 111, 115).

Although the verb *ightāla* has a connotation of stealth, all murderers in the book are known by name and their identity is at most only temporarily hidden. In one case a revelation brought by the angel Gabriel to the Prophet Muḥammad was necessary to identify the killer (§ 27 note 324), but most perpetrators do not take much trouble to remain unknown after the act. The Jewish woman who prepared a shoulder of mutton for the Prophet and a companion even asked beforehand which part of the sheep the Prophet liked best before she put lots of poison in it.

Ibn Ḥabīb’s interest in murder stories is also apparent in his *al-Muḥabbar*, which has sections on *futtāk al-jāhiliyyah* (*The Reckless Men [or Killers] of the Pre-Islamic Period*) (192–216), *futtāk al-Islām* (*The Reckless Men of Islam*) (212–232) and sundry shorter sections: *a‘raq al-‘Arab fī l-qatl* (*Those Arabs Most Rooted in Killing*)⁴⁹ (189); *tasmiyat alladhīna qatalū Ka‘b ibn al-Ashraf* (*Naming Those Who Killed Ka‘b ibn al-Ashraf*) (282); *alladhīna qatalū Ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq* (*Those Who Killed Ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq*) (282–283); *alladī qatala l-‘Aṣmā’ bint Marwān* (*The Man Who Killed al-‘Aṣmā’ bint Marwān*) (283). The word *fātik* (pl.

idhā qatalahū min ḥaythu lā ya‘lamu, wa-fataka bihī idhā qatalahū min ḥaythu yarāhu. The frightening shape-shifting demon called *ghūl* (which is found in English as ghou and in the name of the eclipsing binary star Algol) likewise moves between the same two roots.

48 §§ 36, 42, 48, 51, 52, 54, 56, 67, 68, 69, 71, 74.

49 This is about sequential killings: A kills B, C kills A, D kills C ...

futtāk) is often used for “murderer” but it does not always involve killing: the verb also means “to act boldly or recklessly” and may even have positive connotations: “courageous”.⁵⁰

One notes that “assassination”, common in English and other European languages especially for murders driven by politics or religion, has an Arabic etymology going back to the sect of the “Assassins”, the “Hashish-eaters”, a derogatory name allegedly given to a Shi’ite movement called the Nizārīs. In fact, one does not find the word (al-Ḥashshāshiyah or al-Ḥashshāshiyūn) in classical Arabic texts about the Nizārīs.

A fascination with murder and killing is, one supposes, found in any culture, language, or civilisation, and I do not wish to convey the impression that the Arabs are more prone to writing or reading about murder than others, or indeed more prone to commit murder. In the West we seem not just fascinated but positively obsessed with murder and we watch and read detective stories and thrillers in large quantities. Bookshops will have a usually quite large “crime section” and when zapping on TV one regularly comes across channels that seem to specialise in “real crime”, usually involving murder, preferably of the more spectacular or gruesome kind. Judith Flanders writes on 19th-century fiction in her *The Invention of Murder*,⁵¹ and one thinks of Thomas De Quincey’s satirical essay “On murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts”, of 1827.

But fascination with murder and killing is of course not a 19th-century invention. For centuries readers have relished the accounts of the horrible deaths of Christian martyrs, whether under the Romans, the Catholics, or the Protestants. The classics of western literature abound with killings: the Old Testament, the *Iliad*, Roman history, and dramatic works by Shakespeare and contemporaries spring to mind. The western world has often credited “Oriental” nations—Arabs, Turks, Chinese, Japanese—with more than ordinary cruelty and bloodthirst. A perhaps trivial matter may be remotely related to this attitude. When I studied Semitic Languages in Amsterdam in the 1960s the standard grammar books for Arabic (by Carl Brockelmann in German, William Wright in English) and Hebrew (Lettinga in Dutch, Bauer—Leander in German) all used the verb *qatala* (Arabic) or *qātal* (Hebrew), both meaning “to kill” for paradigms illustrating the standard regular verb. This was not a reflection of Mediaeval Arabic or Hebrew scholarship, because the old grammarians writing in Arabic or Hebrew used the perfectly neutral “dummy” verb “to do”,

50 See e.g. the often-quoted line by Bashshār ibn Burd: *Man rāqaba l-nāsa lam yazfar bi-ḥājatihī | wa-fāza bil-ṭayyibāti l-fātiku l-lahijū* (Bashshār, *Dīwān*, ii, 56). On the word *fātik* see Webb, *Arab Thieves*, 27–29.

51 Flanders, *The Invention of Murder*.

fa'ala/pa'al for their conjugation paradigms. One can understand why this verb, with its laryngeal consonant, was deemed unsuitable for beginning non-Arab learners but I have never understood why *qāṭal/qatala* was chosen by western Hebraists and Arabists in its stead.⁵²

Most works on categories, *ṭabaqāt*, such as works on poets, Companions of the Prophet, jurists, Hadith scholars, grammarians, robbers, Sufis, physicians, etc., are about groups of people who have a characteristic in common. The murder victims in Ibn Ḥabīb's book, however, do not share any specific traits apart from meeting a violent end. Yet one can say that they all were prominent in some way, either as leaders, poets, or both: they count as *ashrāf*, as the title indicates. Some are better known than others, but no one is an obscure nobody. If there is a moral, it is that being prominent goes with risks to one's life. *Ashrāf* is one of the plural forms of *sharīf*, literally "exalted", also "noble, eminent". I have not translated *ashrāf* as "noble men" or "noblemen", for by no means all victims belong to the "nobility" in the sense of people of rank and birth, the aristocracy. It is true that *sharīf* often refers, as a technical term, to descendants of the Prophet, especially those of his daughter Fāṭimah and her husband 'Alī, but it also has a much broader meaning, such as head of a prominent clan or family, a person of importance and distinction. It is this sense that it has in Ibn Ḥabīb's work. I thought about "eminent" instead of "prominent" but chose the latter because "eminent" often implies excellence, distinction, and being outstanding in something, which cannot be said of all our murder victims.

Some prominent murder victims are absent. One may wonder why the third caliph, 'Uthmān, is not given a section. He was killed by rebels in his own house while he was reading the Qur'an and one could easily describe his death as murder. Of the four first, "rightly guided" caliphs only one, Abū Bakr, died a natural death, and even he is said to have been killed by the Jews with a slow poison (*summ sanah*) in some sources;⁵³ but this is not in Ibn Ḥabīb's book. It is likely to be an invention of anti-Jewish sentiments.

Among poets who were killed one misses, for instance, Bashshār ibn Burd, "father of the modern poets", and the first non-Arab who was a major poet. He was beaten to death on the orders of the caliph al-Mahdī in 167/783, allegedly for heresy, as was Šāliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs, executed either by al-Mahdī per-

52 The Latin grammar of Arabic by Thomas van Erpe, or Erpenius, in 1617 used *fa'ala*, not *qatala*, and A.S. Tritton's *Teach Yourself Arabic* (from which I taught myself the basics of Arabic grammar before entering University) uses *kataba*, "to write".

53 e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 2127–2128, tr. *The History*, xi, 129, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, iv, 263, vi, 276.

sonally or somewhat later, under Hārūn al-Rashīd.⁵⁴ A violent death was also the fate of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd ibn Yazīd (r. 125–126/743–744), who was a bad ruler but a talented poet. Among absent minor poets are Zayd ibn ‘Amr ibn Nufayl, murdered some five years before the Prophet began to preach;⁵⁵ Abū Jildah al-Yashkurī, said to have been executed by the governor al-Ḥajjāj;⁵⁶ Ja‘far ibn ‘Ulbah al-Ḥārithī, implicated in a murder case, executed in Mecca by the governor of al-Manṣūr⁵⁷—not mentioning several who fell in battle on various occasions.

Not surprisingly, almost all murderers and murder victims in the book are men. There are nevertheless a few female murderers, or women who incited to murder: al-Zabbā’, the Arabic guise of the 3rd-century Palmyran queen Zenobia (§ 1), who avenged her father’s death; Bilqīs, the Arabic name of the Queen of Sheba (§ 7), who had her tyrant predecessor killed; and Zaynab bint al-Ḥārith, the Jewish woman who poisoned the prophet Muḥammad if the story in § 23 is to be believed. An unnamed wife of al-Aswad “the Liar” al-‘Ansī is an accomplice to his murder (§ 28). Ḥabbah, the wife of the caliph Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, smothered her husband with a pillow after he had insulted her son and herself (§ 45). Women, by their behaviour (‘Ufayrah, § 3, the sister of Mālik ibn al-‘Ajlān, § 15) or with their poems calling for revenge (the daughter of Tamīm ibn al-Aktham, § 112, the mother of Muzāḥim al-Salūlī, § 116), can effectively make sure a perpetrator is killed or executed. Female relatives lament their killed fathers or brothers in elegies (§§ 38, 85, 102) but elegies are by no means an exclusively female genre. Among the murder victims there is one woman, the poet Ghaḍūb (§ 121).

The sequence of stories is basically chronological, with some discrepancies. Ḥassān ibn Tubba’s killing (§ 2) precedes the section in which he is alive to massacre Jadīs (§ 4). The section on poets (§§ 78–120) starts again with pre-Islamic period, but the chronology is somewhat haphazard: the penultimate section (§ 120) is about Qays ibn al-Khaṭīm, who died shortly before the Hijra, while Sudayf ibn Maymūn (§ 117) died in early Abbasid times in 147/764. The most recent event described, in the section (§ 76) on those who killed their kinsfolk, between the two main parts, is the death in 223/838 of al-‘Abbās, a son of caliph al-Ma’mūn, during the reign of al-Mu‘taṣim. This was in Ibn Ḥabīb’s lifetime.

54 Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 461.

55 Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 271.

56 Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 375: “soll von al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ hingerichtet worden sein”.

57 Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 451.

It is impossible to determine the extent to which the stories are fact or fiction. There are many studies on historicity and fictionality in Arabic literature⁵⁸ and I shall not contribute to the subject here. It is obvious that many of the murders and killings reported by Ibn Ḥabīb took place in reality, especially those in Islamic times, even though the details and the dialogues, given in direct speech, are clearly invented by the transmitters as plausible and necessary elements. It is equally obvious that stories from a nebulous past are mostly or wholly fictional, such as the stories about Jadhīmah and al-Zabbā' (§1) and Bilqīs (§7). Ibn Ḥabīb does not comment on the matter of fact vs. fiction, a dichotomy that he would not have acknowledged.

A book with stories about violence, bloodshed, cruelty, revenge, passion, betrayal: one would expect a Muslim author or compiler to use them to drum in a moral. The Qur'an is full of stories, mostly short, that have a clear and usually explicit point. Al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994) wrote his entertaining book *al-Faraj ba'd al-shiddah* (*Relief after Distress*) to demonstrate God's providence, even though he often seems to let the entertainment factor prevail over the ethical. The prolific historian, theologian, and preacher Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201) wrote three slim volumes with tales about clever, stupid, and witty people. He never fails to point a moral. Ibn Ḥabīb's book could not be more different, for he refrains from explicit moral commentary. Lessons may be drawn but they are not drummed in. The book does not contain a study of murder, its forensic, technical or psychological aspects, a science one might jestingly call "phonology" (with short first o, from Greek *phōnos*, "murder"). There is no introduction justifying the compilation, for instance by saying that he was asked to do so, or an exposition explaining the topic; the text begins starkly and drily with *Min al-mughtālīn Jadhīmah al-Abrash* ("One of those who were murdered is Jadhīmah al-Abrash"). He never condemns a murderer explicitly. And this while by any standards many of these murderers, from ordinary people to caliphs, could be called villains. He does not even curse Ibn Mu'jam, the murderer of the universally beloved caliph 'Alī (§34), or Abū Lu'lu'ah, the assassin of the great caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (§30). In fact, the only person he wishes a descent into Hell is a victim, not a murderer: Abū Muslim, the great architect of the Abbasid revolt, who was killed by the caliph al-Manṣūr as soon as the dynasty's power

58 See, for instance, Bonebakker, "Nihil obstat"; Drory, "Three Attempts"; Vogt, *Figures de califes entre histoire et fiction*; Egbert Meyer, *Der historische Gehalt der Aiyām al-'Arab*; several studies in Leder (ed.), *Story-telling in the Framework of Non-fictional Arabic Literature*, among them Leder, "Conventions of Fictional Narration" and Kilpatrick, "The Genuine Ash'ab"; and several studies in Kennedy (ed.), *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature*, including Leder, "The Use of Composite Form".

was secured (§ 63). There are a few instances of very noble victims who, dying, say that their assassin should not be killed. The Prophet Muḥammad, said to have been poisoned, forgives the woman poisoner who did it, in one version (§ 24). ‘Alī’s son al-Ḥasan refuses to divulge the name of the person who may or may not have poisoned him, because he does not want to be responsible for the death of an innocent man (§ 37). ‘Umar ibn al-‘Azīz, the “good” Umayyad caliph, finds out that a slave has been given one thousand dinars, a very tempting sum, to poison him, but on his death-bed he lets the man escape after demanding back the dinars, which he puts into the treasury (§ 51). Again, although such noble behaviour is mentioned, Ibn Ḥabīb refrains from praising it explicitly. He is generally neutral, which no doubt is an admirable attitude for a historian.

It is sometimes said that Arab Muslim historiography is generally about salvation, imbued with religion, showing God’s will and His favour to the community of Islam, and so on.⁵⁹ That is not my impression, certainly not in the case of Ibn Ḥabīb, who does not discuss religious ideas at all. If God is mentioned it is almost always in formulas, such as the opening *basmalah* formula (“In the name of God ...”), pious expressions such as *raḥimahu llāh*, “God have mercy on him”, for a deceased person, “God bless and preserve him” for the Prophet, or exclamations such as *wa-llāhi*, “By God!” On some two occasions, in accounts of the battles of the early Muslims, God is said to have routed the unbelievers. There are very few quotations from the Qur’an or pious quotations of Hadith. Quite often a short poem or a few lines from a poem commenting on the events is quoted. All in all, Ibn Ḥabīb does not seem to have had an obvious agenda. His book is refreshingly free from it. He differs in this from, for example, his great contemporary al-Jāhiz, whose works almost invariably have an agenda or several agendas. His entertaining book on misers, *al-Bukhalā’*, condemns misers and miserliness and it also seems to condemn non-Arabs, especially Persians. In addition it has been argued there is an underlying theological debate, as there is in his great work on animals and living beings, *al-Ḥayawān*, and even his book on eloquence, or “Clarity and Clarification” (*al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*) is ultimately about religion and theology according to James Montgomery.

So why did Ibn Ḥabīb compose his book? Perhaps, being a tutor of his patrons’ children, he was commissioned to do so, or he thought it would be a useful educational tool, combining information and entertainment. Or he just liked listing things. It is possible that his work began as merely a list of names, hence the title, that begins with *Asmā’*, “Names of”. There is at least one

59 See e.g. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, Ch. 7 “God and models of history”, 124–142.

such work that consists of names only: al-Haytham ibn ‘Adī (d. c. 821) made a list of people with physical defects (blind, one-eyed, squint-eyed, blue-eyed, and *afqam*, “having an underbite”).⁶⁰ Ibn Ḥabīb’s book *al-Muḥabbar* has many chapters that are merely lists of names, such as “Prominent Lepers” (*al-Burṣ al-ashrāf*) and “Prominent One-Eyed people” (*al-‘Ūrān al-ashrāf*) and many such chapters begin with *Asmā’*, “the names of” or *Tasmīyat*, “Giving the names of”. But listing only the names of murder victims is unsatisfactory because they cry for the stories. His readers would no doubt have known many of these stories already, but there would be no harm in repeating them, even in shortened form, to remind the reader. As a proper historical source his book is not very useful; there is a striking absence of dates, for there is only one instance that mentions a year, in the section on Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī who is said to have died in AH220 (§70).⁶¹ Striking, too, is the almost complete absence of that ubiquitous element of Arabic historical discourse, the *isnād*: as said before, *Asmā’ al-mughhtālīn* is not encumbered with those long chains of authorities that intend to authenticate a report.

All stories end in death, an unhappy ending, at least for the victim. The theme of the book contrasts with a genre on happy endings called in Arabic *al-faraj ba’d al-shiddah*, “Relief after Distress”, or “All’s Well that Ends Well”, the most famous and most readable book in this category being *al-Faraj ba’d al-shiddah* by al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī, mentioned above. In modern crime fiction and detective stories the murder is often the beginning of the story, followed by detection and identification of the perpetrator, the chase to find him or her, and retribution. This provides a certain suspense followed by a sense of a happy ending or at least a feeling of justice having been done. All or most of this is lacking in Ibn Ḥabīb’s stories, where the murder comes at the end (sometimes quite abruptly) and that is that. Retribution occasionally follows but it is not a fixed element. Detective stories are rare in Arabic (for a case of detection see the note at §23).⁶² There are, at least, many cases—too many to enumerate here—that offer a sense of justice being done, when murderers are themselves murdered or executed, even though their deaths may not be directly linked to the murder they committed.

Among the common motives for murder and killing in the book are vengeance or retaliation, for instance in a blood feud, or defending one’s honour after an insult (§110 Ziyādah ibn Zayd, §118 ‘Abd Banī l-Ḥaṣḥās, §121 Ghaḍūb).

60 See the appendix to al-Jāhīz, *Burṣān*, 564–570.

61 In §76 he refers to “the year Amorium was captured” but he does not give the year.

62 See also Malti-Douglas, “The Classical Arabic Detective”.

Political intrigue, eliminating potential rivals, often involving betrayal, is another motive. Passion and sexual jealousy are rare. A caliph kills his wife's lover (§119), but the motif is the noble avoidance of scandal rather than the revenge of an enraged cuckolded husband. Innocent people get killed in cold blood by raiding robbers such as the famous pre-Islamic brigand poet Ta'abbata Sharrā, who is himself killed afterwards (§85). There are no random murders, by madmen or psychotics, no sexual murders. Some victims clearly deserve a sticky end, at least by the standards of popular and literary, even poetic, justice. Many others may not deserve being murdered perhaps, but at least provoked it by their too powerful and overbearing behaviour. Decidedly harsh and unjust, according to our modern views, is the murder of the only female, the poet Ghadūb, merely because of some invective verses she composed (§121), but the power of poetry in Arab culture and history is well known and a lampoon could destroy someone's honour, with dire consequences. A poet may be executed by a ruler for his invective, for instance A'shā Hamdān, executed by the Umayyad governor al-Ḥajjāj (§113). Rulers who execute opponents or have them murdered ("Will no one rid me of this turbulent ...") are of all times. Readers may be reminded of a notorious case of a gruesome murder of an Arab journalist in 2018; to a large extent, modern journalists have taken over the role of poets in premodern times. It has already been mentioned that poems can kill, as when relatives of murder victims, often women, incite to vengeance (§§112, 116). The first Abbasid caliph, al-Saffāh, killed some members of the defeated Umayyad Dynasty after hearing incendiary poems by Sudayf ibn Maymūn (§117, the poems are not quoted by Ibn Ḥabīb). The book also mentions a bungled murder, when the wrong man was killed (§35).

The murder victims are said to be prominent, *min al-ashraf*. In many cases they are certainly more prominent than their murderers. The caliphs 'Umar and 'Alī are more prominent, of course, than Abū Lu'lu'ah and Ibn Mu'jam. The tyrant 'Imlīq, in legendary pre-Islamic times, is killed by a subject, as is the ruler of the South-Arabian Sabeans, Zuhayr ibn 'Abd Shams, another legendary tyrant. He is killed by a woman called Bilqīs, who becomes queen after him and who is better known to us as the Queen of Sheba. However, there are very many murder cases in which the murderer, or at least the one ultimately responsible for it, is more prominent than the victim. Mu'āwiyah, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, a strong ruler known for his cunning but also for his *ḥilm* ("forbearance, self-control, wisdom"), has several rivals or opponents killed (§§33, 36, 38, 39). Another caliph, the Abbasid al-Ma'mūn, whom we know as being interested in Aristotle, philosophy, and theology, is said to have instigated several murders, too, those of two sons of the caliph al-Hādī (§§69, 71)

and of his trusted general Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī (§ 70). Possibly he was also responsible for the murder of his able vizier al-Faḍl ibn Sahl (§ 68), although, as is told in other sources, he displayed grief at al-Faḍl's death, had the four actual murderers executed, and their heads sent to al-al-Faḍl's brother al-Ḥasan, who succeeded him as vizier. Al-Ma'mūn's father, Hārūn al-Rashīd, is said to have been behind the death of an uncle of his (§ 74). No motive is given, and no other source seems to mention it. One wonders if Ibn Ḥabīb, who was a *mawlā* of the victim's sons, had picked up a family rumour.

The means of killing are many. Most often the deed is done with a sword or a knife, sometimes a lance or spear is used (§§ 35, 109). Several times the victim is shot with one or more arrows (§§ 4, 25, 70, 83, 87, 96, 97, 102, 109, 114). Bloodless killings come in many forms. Poison is often used: §§ 13, 24, 31, 33, 34 (a poisoned sword), 36, 37, 39, 51, 52, 65 (a poisoned dagger), 66, 67, 70, 71, 74. Other methods are smothering with a pillow or cloth (§§ 45, 56, 57, 116, and see § 19 note); twisting and breaking the neck (§ 52); putting into quicklime (§ 57); flogging or beating to death (§§ 69, 76c); pummelling with a sandbag (§ 116); deprivation of water (§ 78); choking to death in a hammam (§ 108); and burying alive (§ 119, and see § 117 note). In a few cases someone is killed because a building collapses, which does not sound like murder unless the collapse was intended, as is clearly implied (§§ 62, 110). Two deaths were possibly suicide (§§ 53, 54), but these may have been falsely reported by the real killers.

Parallel texts are numerous especially for the most famous victims; they are given in notes at the beginning of each section but not exhaustively, nor will there be a systematic discussion of the relationship and interdependency of these parallels. Major sources of such parallels are Ibn Hishām's *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyyah*; his *al-Tījān*; al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashraf*; al-Wāqidi's *al-Maghāzī*; al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh*; Ibn Sa'd's *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*; Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Aghānī*; and Ibn Ḥabīb's own works, *al-Muḥabbar* and *al-Munammaq*. It is tempting to give translations of the fuller stories in notes or appendices, but it would swell the present volume inordinately. Only occasionally is an interesting detail or variant mentioned in the annotation. There are, however, several stories that are only found in the present book and for which no parallels have been found (see §§ 6, 17, 48, 54, 55, 70, 72, 96, 99, 103).

5 Editions

Ibn Ḥabīb's *Asmā' al-muḡhtālīn* has been edited twice. The text was first edited by the renowned scholar and editor of numerous classical Arabic texts, 'Abd al-

Salām Hārūn (1909–1988) in his collection *Nawādir al-makḥṭūṭāt* (*Rare Manuscripts*), 2 vols. Cairo: Maktabat Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1972–1973, ii, 105–278 (text: 111–275). It was first published in 1954–1955.⁶³

The editor explains in his introduction (pp. 110–111) that his edition is based on a unique manuscript of 140 folios preserved in Maktabat ‘Āshir in Istanbul, no. 873,⁶⁴ a photocopy of which is in Dār al-Kutub in Cairo (no. 2606 *tārīkh*). The copyist, Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad known as Ibn al-Wakīl al-Mallawī,⁶⁵ finished his copy on 18 Jumādā I 1114 (10 October 1702), adding that he copied from a manuscript written *bi-l-Kūfī bi-khaṭṭ muḥarraf*, i.e., in Kufic script, which suggests an old manuscript. I suspect *muḥarraf* means “slanting” here, which often applies to Kufic. Hārūn, however, seems to take it to mean “corrupt”, since he speaks of the “bad corruption (*tahrīf shadīd*) which the copyist attempted to correct” and it is indeed obvious that the original manuscript used by Ibn al-Wakīl contained many errors. In 1296/1879 the well-known scholar Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Shinqīṭī (or al-Shanqīṭī, 1816–1904) made a copy of this manuscript, correcting some of its mistakes. The copy is preserved in Dār al-Kutub (57 *adab*). Hārūn used this copy and refers to its emendations in his critical apparatus.

The text as edited by ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn in 1972–1973 has been used as basis (its pagination is added in the margins). It contains a few errors, which have been corrected with appropriate notes. On many occasions Hārūn emends an obviously faulty or incomprehensible reading by adopting a reading from a parallel text such as al-Iṣfahānī’s *Aghānī*, explaining this in a note. In the present edition such notes have not been copied in every case. A curious feature of Hārūn’s text is the occasional use of *anna* or *annahū*, “that (he)” without a preceding “*qilā*” (“it is said”), *ḥaddathanī* (“I was told”), or *kāna sabab qatliḥī*

63 See *Mélanges, Institut dominicain d’études orientales du Caire*, 2 (1955) 296–297 (G. Anawati).

64 Hārūn has “872”; it is in fact no. 873 in the catalogue of Maktabat ‘Āshir Afandi, p. 55 (Istanbul, n.d., accessible at <https://ia800205.us.archive.org/35/items/defterikto0oista/defterikto0oista.pdf>).

65 He is the Egyptian *adīb* Ibn al-Wakīl al-Mallawī (the *nisbah* is spelled variously), author of *Bughyat al-musāmīr wa-ghīnyat al-musāfir*, a collection of stories. He is also the copyist of al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb* (see the colophon, 259). Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, II, Suppl., 414 calls him Yūsuf ibn al-Wakīl al-Milawī; in al-Ziriklī, *A’lām*, viii, 252 he is called Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Milawī (al-Mawlawī) Abū l-Ḥajjāj Ibn al-Wakīl, and in Winter, “Historiography in Arabic during the Ottoman Period”, 175 he is called “Yūsuf al-Mallawānī, also called Ibn al-Wakīl”, author of a chronicle, *Tuḥfat al-nuwwāb bi-man malaka Miṣr min al-mulūk wa-l-nuwwāb*. He died after 1114/1702 according to al-Ziriklī; c. 1719 according to El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality*, 28, and in 1131/1719 according to Winter.

(“the cause of his being murdered was”). In such cases I have changed *anna* to *inna*.⁶⁶ I have also replaced the “Egyptian” undotted final *yā*’ with dotted *yā*’ when standing for *-ī*.

A second edition by Sayyid Kasrawī (or Kisrawī)⁶⁷ Ḥasan was published in Beirut (Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 2001, 293 pp.). This edition is obviously based on the earlier one by Hārūn. Rather than correcting its errors it adds very many new errors (all recorded in notes to the Arabic text, below). Apparently in the belief that explicit sexual references are much worse than reporting murder most foul, he also bowdlerises some passages, for instance when he distorts a verse in the story of al-Sulayk (p. 227, § 93), by replacing *nīkat* with the unmetrical *nukīḥat*, adding in a patronising note that he thought it fit to change the word but has left the more obscure words that the common people would not understand. He omits a line by Muzāḥim al-Salūlī (p. 273, § 116) because, as he explains, “my pen was too chaste to quote it”, and five obscene *rajaz* lines by Ziy-ādah ibn Mālik (p. 263, § 110) are expurgated without even an acknowledgment, making the text incoherent. The edition contains some useful notes, including many very lengthy quotations of parallel sources, often in footnotes of more than one page. It has an appropriately lurid cover with dripping blood and a brandished sword.

The Arabic text offered in the present volume may be considered a somewhat improved version of ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn’s edition. I did not make an effort to find the original manuscript and al-Shinqīṭī’s copy, partly to save me trouble but also because al-Shinqīṭī and Hārūn, both excellent Arabists and the latter an experienced and very prolific editor, can be trusted to have done a good job with the text generally. They made many obviously correct emendations, carefully recorded in Hārūn’s critical apparatus. Therefore I took Hārūn’s edition as a good substitute for the manuscript. That I was able, nevertheless, to correct a good many errors is because I clearly had more time to spend on the text and I was greatly helped by modern search engines, enabling me to compare Ibn Ḥabīb’s text with many parallel texts. The notes to the Arabic text mostly concern textual matters, including some emendations and discrepan-

66 §5: *wa-annahū shariba ...*; §28 *wa-anna l-Aswad ...*; §50 *wa-annahū wafada ...*; §60 *wa-anna Dāwūd ...*; §72 *wa-anna Nafīs ...*, *wa-anna Aḥmad amara ...*, *wa-anna Aḥmad tanāwala ...*; §73 *wa-annahū saqaṭa ...*; §74 *wa-anna l-‘Abbās ...*; §86 *wa-anna Abā Thawr ...*; §97 *wa-annahū qatala ...*, *wa-anna Banī Salāmān ...*, *wa-annahū marra ...*, *wa-anna rajulan ...*; §99 *wa-anna l-Ḥārith ...*; §103 *wa-anna Ḥumrān ...*

67 The former seems to be more common, even though Kisrawī is the standard “classical” form. At the end of his introduction (СКҢ, 25) he signs his name in classical style as Abū Islām Sayyid ibn Kasrawī ibn Ḥasan.

أَسْمَاءُ الْمُغْتَالِينِ مِنْ لِأَشْرَافِ فِي الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ

وَعَلَيْهِ

كُنَى الشُّعْرَاءِ

وَمَنْ غَلَبَتْ كُنْيَتُهُ عَلَى اسْمِهِ

كَلَامُهُمْ تَأْلِيفُ

الْإِمَامِ الْعَلَامَةِ أَبِي جَعْفَرٍ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ حَبِيبِ الْبَغْدَادِيِّ

الْتَوَفَى سَنَةَ ٢٤٥ هـ

تَسْتَفِيقُ

سَيِّدِ كَسْرَوِيِّ حَمْدَانَ

مَسْتَوْرَاتُ

مَجْرَسَةُ أَبِي بَرْهَانَ

لِشْرِكَةِ الْمَشْرِقِ وَالْمَغْرِبِ

دَارُ الْكُتُبِ الْعِلْمِيَّةِ

بِسْر وَبَسْت - قَزوين

cies between the two earlier editions; for matters of interpretation and background information the reader is referred to the English translation. For the division into paragraphs, see below, on the English translation. I have followed ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn and Sayyid Kasrawī Ḥasan in not cluttering the Arabic text with editorial insertions indicating the metres of verse, as is done in many modern editions. For the metres the interested reader is referred to the Arabic rhyme index, *fihrisṭ al-qawāfi*.

6 The Translation

The translation must be read in tandem with the annotation. The notes are indispensable to a non-specialist reader, who will not know many facts, persons, and backgrounds that were familiar to Ibn Ḥabīb and his mediaeval readers. Ibn Ḥabīb’s stories are very concise compared with the often longer and more detailed parallels found in other sources written in his time or in the following centuries, such as al-Ṭabarī’s *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* (*History of Prophets and Kings*) or Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī’s *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (*The Book of Songs*). Even specialists will not have all the necessary facts at their fingertips and may benefit from the notes, which provide explanations of what may not be readily known and give references to parallels in primary sources and to some modern secondary literature. Entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, both the second (E12) and the still incomplete third edition (E13), are often mentioned. Since tribal affiliations are so important in pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arab history, there are many references to Werner Caskel’s arrangement, in tree format and in transliteration, of Ibn al-Kalbī’s genealogical work, with an index volume (ĠN, for *Ġamharat an-nasab*).

Readers not used to classical Arabic works may be put off by the bewildering abundance of names, often long ones, many of which are easily confused, especially because there are so many ‘Abd Allāhs, ‘Alis, ‘Amrs, and Muḥammads. There is the additional difficulty in that a person could be mentioned by several different names. The second Abbasid caliph, who founded Baghdad, is usually called al-Manṣūr, which is his regnal name, but his given name was ‘Abd Allāh and in our text he is often called by his paedonymic (a name referring to one’s child), Abū Ja’far. To mitigate possible confusion I could have decided to stick to one name, al-Manṣūr, but I have stayed true to the original Arabic and have occasionally added a clarifying note.

Conversely, premodern Arabic narrative texts often omit names where we would expect them. There is a profusion of “he”, “him”, and “his” and it is not always immediately clear who is who or whom is whom. In my translation I

have made pronouns explicit where it seemed helpful, which unfortunately has added to the number of names but at least helps the understanding, one hopes.

Pious formulas are regularly found in the Arabic after the names of the Prophet and his family or other early Muslims. They are a hindrance to the non-Muslim reader of a translation because they interrupt the flow, but omitting them altogether seems wrong. In the translation they have been abbreviated as “(s)”, for *ṣallā llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam* (“God bless and preserve him”, the standard formula referring to the Prophet Muḥammad) or “(r)”, for *radīya llāhu ‘anhu/‘anhā* (“God be pleased with him/her”, etc., used for members of the Prophet’s family or prominent early Muslims); they are often abbreviated in Arabic too, though they are written out in full in the present text.

Very often the Arabs in our text emphasise their words by using the expression *wa-llāhi* (just as they do today). One could argue that in ordinary English it is the equivalent of “really” or a similar emphatic term, but I decided to use the more literal “By God” or “I swear by God”. I have not, however, rendered the common expressions *wayḥak* and *waylaka* with the customary but too archaic “Woe unto you!”, but I have attempted to find utterances that suited the context. Arabists often seem to think that every word present in Arabic must be rendered with an English word, translating *Yā Aḥmad* as “O Aḥmad!” and *inna* (a fronting particle) as “Indeed” or “Verily”. But in normal English, unlike modern or Classical Arabic, people are not addressed with “O”, and *inna* does not normally have the force of “indeed”, let alone “verily”.

The division of the Arabic text and the English translation into numbered paragraphs is mine. It is not identical with the numbering used in the edition by Sayyid Kasrawī Ḥasan (hereafter SKḤ), who allots two numbers to a section involving two victims (e.g. §13 below, on ‘Amr ibn Mas‘ūd and Khālīd ibn Naḍlah, numbered 13 and 14 respectively in SKḤ’s edition, or §110 on Ziyādah and Hudbah, numbered 117 and 118 by SKḤ), whereas I have merely used a number whenever the text begins with *wa-minhum* (“and among them is/are ...” or “and another is ...”). As in the Arabic text, the pagination of Hārūn’s edition is supplied in the margin in the translation.

7 Transliteration

For the transliteration of Arabic words and names the system of the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* is used, with a few minor differences: the Arabic pausal feminine ending is *-ah* instead of *-a*; compound personal names with Allāh are not written as one word (‘Abdallāh, ‘Ubaydallāh) but as two (‘Abd Allāh, ‘Ubayd Allāh), as in Arabic orthography, just as all other compound

names beginning with ‘Abd. An apostrophe is used to distinguish a combination of two consonants (e.g. *d’h* as in *ad’hān*, “oils”) from a digraph (e.g. *dh* as in *adhān* “call to prayer”). In many standard works, including the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, “ibn”, “son (of)”, especially when occurring between names, is often abbreviated to “b.”. This is not done in the present translation, for it may encourage the common (and spreading) solecism of using “bin”, which is found in modern names such as Bin Laden but must never be used for classical Arabic names. It is only in the index, to save space, that I have used “b.” (and “bt” for *bint*, “daughter of”) when occurring between two names.

8 Abbreviations in the English

- AM* *Asmā’ al-mughtālīn al-ashrāf*
 ‘ASH ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn’s text of *AM* in *Nawādir al-makḥṭūṭāt*
EAL Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (eds), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*
E12 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New [= Second] Edition
E13 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Third Edition
 ĞN Ibn al-Kalbī / Wernel Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab* (vol. i containing genealogical trees and vol. ii the index of tribal and personal names)
 Q Qur’an (Qur’anic quotations are given between guillemets). Qur’anic translations are by me unless indicated otherwise.
 (r) *radīya llāhu ‘anhu/’anhā/’anhum* (“God be pleased with him/her/them”), pious formula on mentioning members of the Prophet’s family or his Companions
 (š) *šallā llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam* (“God bless and preserve him”), pious formula on mentioning the Prophet Muḥammad
 SKḤ edition of *AM* by Sayyid Kasrawī (or Kisrawī) Ḥasan
 WKAS *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*

9 Abbreviations in the Notes to the Arabic Text

- ⸗ edition of *AM* by Sayyid Kasrawī (Kisrawī) Ḥasan
 ھ ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn’s text of *AM* in *Nawādir al-makḥṭūṭāt*

Text and Translation



كتاب أسماء المغتالين من الأشراف في الجاهليّة والإسلام

وأسماء من قُتل من الشعراء

لأبي جعفر محمّد بن حبيب

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

- ١١٢ [§ ١] من المغتالين جَذيمة الأبرش بن مالك بن فَهْم بن غَنَم بن دَوْس بن عُذْثان الأزديّ. وكان أفضلَ ملوك العرب رأياً، وأبعدهم مُغاراً، وأشدّهم نكايَةً وهو أوّل من استجمع له المُلك بأرض العراق. وكانت منازلُه ما بين الأنبار وَبَقَّة وَهَيْت وعين التمر وأطراف البرِّ والقُطُطْطانة وَخَفِيَّة والحِيرة. وكان يُغيّر على الأمم الخالية من العرب العاربة الأوّل. وكان مَلِكُ العرب بأرض الجزيرة ومَشارف الشام عمرو بن الظَّرِب بن حَسّان بن أُذَيْنَة بن السَّمَيْدَع بن هَوَيْرِ العامليّ، من عاملة العماليق. فجمع جَذيمةُ جموعَه من العرب وسار إليه، فالتقى هو وعمرو بن الظرب فقتل | ١١٣ جَذيمةُ عَمراً وَفَضَّ جموعَه.

1 The story of Jadhīmah, al-Zabbā, ‘Amr ibn ‘Adī, and the faithful counsellor Qaṣīr is found in many Arabic sources, Ibn Ḥabīb’s version being among the oldest. Much older yet, if authentic, is the poem attributed to ‘Adī ibn Zayd (d. c. 600) (see Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi’r*, 227–228, ‘Adī ibn Zayd, *Dīwān*, 180–184), whose own death is told below (§ 19). A prominent motif of the story is also found in Herodotus. See Muth, “Zopyros bei den Arabern”, where many Arabic versions are given (but not *Kitāb al-Muḡhtālīn*). For Arabic parallels see, among many others, Abū ‘Ubaydah, *Dībāj*, 109–112; al-Mufaḍḍal, *Amthāl*, 64–68; al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar, *al-Ikhtiyārayn*, 717–729; ps.-al-Jāhīz, *Maḥāsīn*, 257–262; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 750–769, tr. *The History*, iv, 129–149; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 213–223; al-Maḡdīsī, *al-Bad’ wa-l-tārīkh*, iii, 195–199; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xv, 315–320; Ibn Sa‘īd, *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, 59–66; Ibn Nubātah, *Sarḥ al-‘uyūn*, 77–81, 84–85. Jadhīmah, a legendary pre-Islamic king of the third century AD, was a leper, hence his nickname al-Abrash. He is mentioned in a 3rd-century inscription. A murder victim in the present story, he himself was suspected of having murdered his page ‘Adī ibn Naṣr when he found out that, when drunk, he had rashly allowed him to marry his sister (al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 214–215, al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xv, 312–313).

2 On the tribe of Azd, see *E12*, “Azd” (G. Streniok). The genealogy of Jadhīmah may be seen in *ĠN*, i, 211 and (going up the tree) 210.

3 i.e., the southern half of present-day Iraq.

4 An ancient town on the Euphrates, some 60 km east of where Baghdad was founded on the Tigris much later.

5 Yāqūt, *Muḡjam al-buldān*: “a place near al-Ḥīrah; it is also said: a fortified place two parasangs (c. 12 km) from Hīt.”

6 An ancient town on the Euphrates, some 100 km upstream from al-Anbār.

PROMINENT MURDER VICTIMS
of the Pre- and Early Islamic Periods,
Including the Names of Murdered Poets

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

[§ 1 Jadhīmah al-Abrash¹]

Among the murder victims was Jadhīmah al-Abrash (“the Speckled”) ibn Mālik 112
ibn Fahm ibn Ghanm ibn Daws ibn ‘Udthān of the tribe of Azd.² He was the
most astute of the kings of the Arabs, the one whose raids reached farthest
and whose power was most fearsome. He was the first to rule over the whole
of Iraq.³ His home territories were between al-Anbār,⁴ Baqqah,⁵ Hit,⁶ ‘Ayn al-
Tamr,⁷ the extremities of the land,⁸ Quṭquṭānah,⁹ Khafīyyah,¹⁰ and al-Ḥīrah.¹¹
He carried out campaigns against the ancient Arab nations and the early pure
Arabs.¹² The king of the Arabs in al-Jazīrah¹³ and the Syrian heights was ‘Amr
ibn al-Ẓarīb ibn Ḥassān ibn Udhaynah ibn al-Samayda‘ ibn Hawbar al-‘Āmilī,
i.e., from the ‘Āmilat al-‘Amāliq.¹⁴ Jadhīmah gathered his troops of Arabs and
marched to him. He and ‘Amr met in battle, in which Jadhīmah | killed ‘Amr 113
and routed his troops.

7 A town in a fertile depression (the name means “Source of Dates”) west of the Euphrates, between al-Anbār and Kufa (not far from present-day Najaf, south of present-day Baghdad).

8 Southern Iraq bordering on to the Gulf.

9 Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*: “a place near Kufa, towards the desert”.

10 Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*: “a wooded place (*ajamah*) in the agricultural land (*sawād*) of Kufa”.

11 The main town of the Lakhmid dynasty, not far from present-day Najaf.

12 *Al-‘Arab al-‘āribah al-uwal*, according to traditional Arab genealogy the Arabs descended from Qaḥṭān, also called the “South Arabs”, to be distinguished from *al-‘Arab al-musta‘ribah*, “the Arabicised Arabs”, who are the descendants of ‘Adnān (“North Arabs”).

13 Upper Mesopotamia, the regions between the Euphrates and the Tigris north of Hit.

14 The ‘Amāliq or ‘Amāliqah (the Amalekites of the Old Testament), according to Arab genealogists, were an ancient Arabian people descended from ‘Imliq or ‘Imlāq and among the earliest speakers of Arabic; see also the story of ‘Imliq, below (§ 30). They are usually described as oppressors (see e.g. Roberto Tottoli, “Amāliq”, in *ET3*). The ancient tribe of ‘Āmilah was apparently thought to incorporate the remnants of the ‘Amāliq. The name Udhaynah is found in Roman sources as Odenathus, the founder of the Palmyrene kingdom who reigned AD 263–267 and who was succeeded by his widow, the famous Zenobia (d. c. 273). A legendary version of her appears in the present story as al-Zabbā’. Zenobia’s name also appears frequently in Arabic as Zaynab, still a popular name.

فملك من بعد عمرو ابنته الزَّباء، وكانت تخاف أن يغزوها ملوك العرب، فَبَتَتْ لنفسها حصناً على شاطئ الفُرات، وسكرتِ الفرات على قِلة الماء، وبنَت في بطنه أَرْجاً من الأجر، وأَجْرَتْ عليه الماء، فكانت إذا خافت عدوًّا دخلت النَّفق، فخرجت إلى مدينة أختها الزُّبيبة. فلَمَّا اجتمع لها أمرها واستحكم مُلكها جمعت لتغزو جذيمةً ثائرةً بأبيها. فقالت لها أختها زُبيبة، وكانت ذات رأيٍ وحزم: إنَّك إذا غزوتِ جذيمةً فإنَّما هو يومٌ له ما بعده، وإن ظفرتِ أصبَتِ ثأرك، وإن قُلتِ هلك مُلكك، والحرب سِجال، وعشراتها لا تُستقال، ولم يزل كعبك سامياً على من ناواك، ولا تدرين لمن تكون العاقبة، وعلى من تكون الدائرة. والرأي أن تحتالي له وتخدعيه وتمكري به.

فكتبت الزَّباء إلى جذيمة تدعوه إلى نفسها ومُلكها، وأن تصل بلاده ببلادها، وأنَّها لم تجد ملك النساء إلا إلى قُبْح في السماع، وضَعْف في السلطان، وقِلة في بسط المملكة، وأنَّها لم تجد لها كُفؤاً غيرك، فأقبل إليَّ واجمع مُلكي بملكك، وصل بلادي ببلادك، وتقلد أمري مع أمرك.

فلَمَّا قدم عليه رُسلها وكتابها استخفَّه ذلك ورغب فيما أطعمته فيه، فجمع أهل الحِجَا من ثقات أصحابه وهو بالبقعة فاستشارهم، فأجمعوا على أن يسيرَ إليها ويستوليَ على مُلكها. ١١٤ وخالفهم قصير بن سعد بن عمرو بن جذيمة بن قيس بن هُليل بن ربيِّ بن نمارة بن لَحْم، فقال: هذا رأي فاتر وغدر حاضر. فإن كانت صادقةً فلتُقبِل إليك، وإلا فلا تمكَّنْها من نفسك فتقع في حبالها، وقد ترزتها وقتلت أباها.

١ هـ، ك: (دمي)، والتصحيح من جمهرة النسب لابن الكلبي وتاريخ الطبري.

- 15 The name al-Zabbā' could be translated as "the hairy woman". Hair plays a role later in the story (see below, note 25); but in fact the name goes back to Aramaic Bath-Zabbay, "daughter of Zabbay or Zabday (Zebediah)".
- 16 The account in *al-Aghānī* (xv, 316) mentions two tunnels, one from the river to the fortress and another from the fortress towards the desert and her sister's town. Instead of al-Zubaybah (as vowelled in 'ASH and SKH) the name could also be read as al-Zabibah (like the mother of the poet al-Shanfarā, see *Aghānī*, viii, 237). In either case the name is inspired by al-Zabbā'.

After ‘Amr’s death his daughter al-Zabbā’ succeeded him.¹⁵ She was afraid that the kings of the Arabs would raid her land, so she built a fortress on the bank of the Euphrates. She dammed the river when the water was scarce. Inside the fortress she built a vault made of brick and let the water flow in it. Whenever she feared an enemy she would enter the tunnel, and she would come out reaching the city of her sister al-Zubaybah.¹⁶ Once she was in command and her rule was established she mustered troops to attack Jadhīmah and avenge her father. Her sister Zubaybah, who was astute and prudent, said to her, “If you attack Jadhīmah it will be a battle with consequences. If you win you will have your revenge but if you are killed your kingdom will be lost. War, like buckets, has ups and downs, and missteps in it cannot be undone.¹⁷ Your glory is still rising over your adversaries, but you don’t know how things will end and who shall be brought low by fortune’s wheel. The right thing to do is to scheme, to deceive him and cheat him.”

Al-Zabbā’ wrote to Jadhīmah, inviting him to visit her and her realm, and to join his lands to hers. She wrote that she had found that the reigns of women always have a bad reputation, what with the weakness of their authority and the little extent of their rule. She had not found anyone worthy of her “except you,¹⁸ so come to me, unite my kingdom with yours, join my lands to yours, and take over my command with yours!”

When her messengers arrived with her letter he was overjoyed and longed to have what she had enticed him with. He gathered his wise counsellors and trusted courtiers in al-Baqqah and asked their advice. They all agreed that he should travel | to her and take possession of her kingdom. They were opposed, however, by Qaṣīr ibn Sa’d ibn Jadhīmah ibn Qays ibn Hulayl ibn Rabī¹⁹ ibn Numārah ibn Lakhm. “This is the wrong thing to do,” he said, “and treachery will result. If she is sincere, let her come to you. In any case do not put yourself into her power or you will be caught in her snare. You have, after all, wronged her, killing her father.”

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17 This sentence uses rhymed prose (*saq’*) and especially the first part (*al-ḥarb sijāl*) is often found as a proverb. This is the first of many proverbs in the story, one of many stories that serve as aetiology giving the supposed origin of proverbs. The sayings may be found in many ancient collections of proverbial expressions.

18 Here the reported (written) speech shifts to direct speech.

19 Thus, following *ĠN*, i, 246 and al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 619, instead of *D.m.y.* as in ‘ASH and SKḤ.

فلم يوافق جذيمةَ ما أشار به قصير وقال: أنت امرؤ رأيتك في الكين لا في الضح. ومضى
جذيمة في وجوه أصحابه فأخذ على شاطئ الفرات الغربي، فلما نزل الفُرصة دعا قصيراً فقال:
ما الرأي؟ فقال: ببقّة تركت الرأي. قال: فما ظنّك بالزبّاء؟ قال: القول رِداً، والحزم عَيْرَانة^١
لا تخاف. واستقبله رُسلها بالهدايا والألطف فقال: يا قصير، كيف ترى؟ قال: خَطَر يسير
في خَطْب كبير، وستلقاك الخيول، فإن سارت أمامك فالمرأة صادقة، وإن أخذت [جَنِينك
وأحاطت بك]^٢ فالقوم غادرون بك.

فلقِيته الخيول فأحاطت به حتّى دخل على الزبّاء، فلما رآته كشفت عن فَرْجها فإذا هي
مضفورة الإشب، فقالت: يا جذيمة، أدأب^٣ عروس ترى؟ قال: بلغ المدى، وجفت الثرى، وأمر
عَدْرٍ أرى! فقالت: والله ما بنا من عَدَم مَواس، ولا قلة أُواس، ولكنّها شِيمَةٌ ما أناس. ثمّ أجلسته
على نِطع، | وسقته الخمر، ثمّ أمرت بقطع رواهش، فجعل دمه يسيل في طست من ذهب،
فلما رأى دمه قال: لا يحزنك دم أهرقه أهله.

١ هـ، ك: (عثراته)؛ والتصحيح من الأغاني.

٢ هامش: التكملة من الأغاني وابن الأثير والطبري ومجمع الأمثال. وموضعها بياض في النسختين.

٣ هـ، ك: (أذات)؛ وما أثبت هو من تاريخ يعقوبي وتاريخ الطبري وغيرهما.

20 Another saying that became a proverb. According to al-Zamakhsharī (*Mustaqṣā*, ii, 380–381) it is said about someone who is pampered and weak.

21 Hārūn's edition offers two readings of the verb, *taraktu/tarakta*, "I/you have abandoned"; The more usual version, one found in the proverb collections, is "In Baqqah the affair was decided (*quḍiya*, or *ubrīma*, *l-amr*)".

22 He uses rhymed prose.

23 Emending *'atharatuḥū* ('ASH, SKḤ) to *'ayrānah*.

24 As is told in longer versions, Qaṣīr escapes at this stage, later becoming al-Zabbā's nemesis as the hero of an extraordinary story of loyalty and revenge that is reminiscent of, and possibly related to, the story of the Persian called Zopyrus told in Herodotus' *Histories*, Bk III, 153–160; see Muth, "Zopyros bei den Arabern".

But Jadhīmah did not agree with Qaṣīr's advice. "You are a man who thinks of what is hidden out of sight, not what is broad daylight!"²⁰ Jadhīmah went out with his principal courtiers, travelling along the western bank of the river Euphrates. When he stopped at the ford he summoned Qaṣīr and asked, "What do you think?" He replied, "In Baqqah I have abandoned thought!"²¹ Jadhīmah asked, "What do you think of al-Zabbā?" Qaṣīr answered,²² "Words are camels riding at the rear, prudence is a swift and hardy camel²³ that does not fear." Al-Zabbā's messengers came to meet them, bringing presents and precious objects. "What do you think, Qaṣīr?" he asked. "A thing of trifling import, with a great danger. The cavalry will come to meet you; now if they ride in front of you the woman is sincere. But if they cover your flanks, surrounding you, then they mean treachery."²⁴

The cavalry arrived and surrounded him all the way into al-Zabbā's presence. When she saw him she bared her genitals; her pubic hair was plaited. "Do I look like a bride to you?" she asked.²⁵ He replied, "The end has been reached; the ground is parched. It is treachery I see!" She said, "It is not because we lack razors, or have few maids to shave us! It is a habit some people gave us."²⁶ She sat him on a leather mat | and gave him wine to drink. Then she gave orders for the arteries in his arms to be cut, letting the blood flow in a golden basin. When he saw his blood flow he said, "Do not grieve for blood that is shed by those entitled to it."²⁷

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25 Emending the reading *a-dhāt 'arūs tarā*, found in several sources but syntactically strange, to *a-da'b 'arūs tarā* (al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, i, 237; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 621), The question (literally, "Do you see the custom of a bride?") is ironical. The sources do not explain the significance of the hair, but it may be assumed that a woman ready for marriage would have had her pubic hair shaved. The same words were said by the faithful wife of the murdered caliph 'Uthmān, who pulled out her two front teeth, addressing the future Umayyad caliph Mu'āwiyah who wanted to marry her (al-Washshā', *Muwashshā*, 84, where the woman is called Ḥubayshah; in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *Akhbār al-nisā'*, 128 it is the more famous Nā'ilah). That the word *zabbā* may refer to pubic hair is clear from a bawdy joke quoted in al-Tawhīdī, *Baṣā'ir*, ii, 84: "A hairy woman (*imra'ah zabbā'*) married a bald man. He saw her look at him and think. 'What is the matter?' he asked. 'I wish', she replied, 'that your baldness was on my cunt and the hair on my cunt on your bald pate, so that I would not have to pluck my hair and you would have a proper appearance.'"

26 She uses *saj'*, rhymed prose.

27 This, too, is found in books on proverbs such as al-Maydānī, *Majma'*, ii, 273, al-Zamakhsharī, *Mustaqṣā*, ii, 268.

[٢ §] **ومنهم حسان بن تُبَّع**، وكان أعسرَ أُحُول. وإِنَّه خرج من اليمن سائراً حتى وطئ أرض العجم، وقال: لأبُلُغَنَّ من البلاد ما لم يبلغه أحد من التبابعة! فأوغل بهم في أرض خُرَاسان، ثم مضى إلى المغرب فبلغ رُومة وخَلَّف عليها ابن عمِّ له، وأقبل إلى العراق حتى إذا صار إلى فُرْضة نُعم بشاطئ الفرات قالت وجوه جُمَيْر: ما نُفني أعمارنا إلا مع هذا، يطوف في الأرض كلَّها، نَغيب عن أولادنا وعيالنا وبلادنا وأموالنا؛ وما ندرى ما يخلف عليهم بعدنا. فكلَّموا أخاه عَمراً وقالوا: كلِّم أخاك في الرجوع إلى بلده ومُلكه. فقال: هو أعسر من ذاك وأنكد. فقالوا: فاقْتلْه وتملِّك علينا فأنت أحقُّ بالملك من أخيك، وأنت أعقل وأحسن نظراً لقومك. فقال: أخاف ألا تفعلوا، وأكون قد قتلتُ أخي وخرج المُلك عن يدي. فوآثقوه حتى نلجَّ إلى قولهم، واجتمع الرؤساء كلَّهم معه على قتل أخيه إلا ذي رُعين. فإنَّه خالفهم وقال: ليس هذا برأي، يذهب المُلك من جَمير! فشجَّعه الباقون على قتل أخيه، فقال ذو رُعين: إن قتلتَه بادَ مُلكك. فلمَّا رأى | ذو رُعين ما اجتمع عليه القوم أتاَه بصحيفة مختومة فقال: يا عمرو، إنِّي مستودعك هذا الكتاب، فضَّعه عندك في مكان حرير. وكتب فيه:

١ هـ: (أعماؤنا)

٢ هـ: (فقالوا) والسياق يقتضي (فقال) كما في ك

28 Longer or shorter versions of the story (which may be assigned to the fifth century AD) are also found in Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, i, 28–29 (tr. Guillaume, 12–13); Ibn Hishām, *Tijān*, 308–310; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 633–634; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, i, 222–223, tr. *The Works*, 501; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxi, 315–319; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 914–917, tr. *The History*, v, 183–188; Ibn Saʿīd, *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, 15–51; and several later sources.

29 The word that introduces this and all subsequent entries, *wa-minhum*, literally “and among them (is)” (in one case, *wa-minhum aydan*, “and also among them”, § 4), is consistently printed in a smaller font in ‘ASH, but I have assumed it to be part of Ibn Ḥabīb’s text, since normally any editorial additions are given within square brackets.

30 Tubba’ is a title, rather than a name, of the pre-Islamic rulers of Ḥimyar in Yemen. Ḥasān’s name is given in other sources as Ḥassān ibn Tubān (or Tubbān, or Tibān) Asʿad Abū Karīb.

[§ 2 Ḥassān ibn Tubba²⁸]

Another is²⁹ Ḥassān ibn Tubba³⁰. He was lefthanded and had a squint. He set out from Yemen, invading as far as the lands of the Persians.³¹ “I shall reach lands”, he said, “such as no one of the Tubba’s has ever reached!” He penetrated deeply with his men, reaching Khorasan.³² Then he went west and reached Rūmah,³³ where he left a nephew of his as his deputy. He turned towards Iraq and when he arrived at Nu‘m’s Ford,³⁴ on the bank of the Euphrates, the leading men of Ḥimyar said, “This man will be our death! He roams the whole earth while we are away from our children, our families, our lands, and our belongings. We don’t know what he will compensate them with after our death.” They spoke to his brother ‘Amr, saying, “You must speak to your brother about returning to his country and his kingdom.” He replied,³⁵ “He is too difficult³⁶ and bad-tempered!” “Then kill him,” they said, “and be our king, for you are more entitled to it than your brother. You are more intelligent and look after your people better.” He answered, “I am afraid that you may not do as you say, and that I will have killed my brother with the kingship slipping from my hand.” They assured him of their loyalty and in the end he trusted them. All the leading men agreed with him on killing his brother, except Dhū Ru‘ayn,³⁷ who opposed them. “This is wrong!”, he said, “It will be the end of the kingdom of Ḥimyar.” But the others strongly encouraged him to support the killing of Ḥassān. Dhū Ru‘ayn said, “If you kill him your rule will perish!” But when he saw | that they were all agreed he gave ‘Amr a sealed document and said, “I am entrusting this writing to you, ‘Amr, so put it in a safe place.” He had written in it:

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- 31 Other versions say explicitly that he first invaded the lands of the Arabs. Needless to say, the grand conquests mentioned here are a complete fiction. Ḥassān’s father, Abū Karib As‘ad, however, did invade Arabia towards the end of the fourth century.
- 32 Khorasan (Khurāsān) was a large region in parts of what are now Iran, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.
- 33 Either Rome (more usually Rūmiyah) or, more plausibly but still a fiction, the lands of the Byzantines (al-Rūm).
- 34 Furḍat Nu‘m, mentioned in Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, said to be named after a wife of Ḥassān ibn Tubba³⁰, who built a palace for her there.
- 35 ‘ASH has “they said”, which is probably an error.
- 36 The word *a’sar*, translated above as “lefthanded”, also means “more difficult”.
- 37 Several persons from Ḥimyar called Dhū Ru‘ayn are mentioned, see e.g. ĞN, i, 274, 276, ii, 237 (there were two, the older called Yarīm ibn Zayd and the younger ‘Abd Kulāl ibn Muthawwib, see al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 290). But the person in the present story is said to be from the branch Dhū l-Kalā’ in Ibn Sa‘id, *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, 150.

ألا من يشتري سَهراً بنومٍ سعيدٌ من يبيت قريرَ عينٍ
فإن تكُ حَمِيرٌ غدرتُ وخانتُ فمَعذرةُ الإلهِ لذي رُعينٍ

وإنَّ عَمراً أتى حَسَّانَ أخاه وهو نائم على فراشه، فقتله واستولى على ملكه فلم يبارك له فيه، وسَلَّطَ عليه السهر، وامتنع منه النوم، فسأل الكُفَّانَ والعُيَّافَ، فقال له كاهن منهم: إنَّه ما قتل رجل أخاه قطُّ بُغياناً عليه إلا امتنع نومه. فقال: هذا عمل رؤساء حمير، هم حملوني على قتله ليرجعوا إلى بلادهم. لم ينظروا لي ولا لأخي.

فجعل يقتل من أشار بقتله رجلاً رجلاً، حتَّى خَلَصَ الأمرُ إلى ذي رُعين، وأيقن بالشرِّ، فقال له ذو رعين: أما تعلم أنِّي أعلمتُك ما في قتله ونهيتُك؟ قال: ما أذكرُ هذا، ولئن كان ليس عندك إلا ما تدَّعي لقد طُلِّ دمك! قال: إنَّ عندك لي براءةً وشاهداً. قال: وما هو؟ قال: الكتاب الذي استودعتُك. فدعا بالكتاب فلم يجده، فقال ذو رعين: ذهب دمي على أخذي بالحزم فصرتُ كمن أشار بالخطأ! فقال الملك أن ينعم طلبه، فأتي به فقراه، فإذا فيه البيتان اللذان كتبتهما، فلمَّا قرأهما قال: لقد أخذت بالحزم. قال: إنِّي حسبتُ ما رأيتك صنعت بأصحابي. وتشعَّت أمر حَمِيرٍ حين قُتلَ أشرفها، واختلفوا عليه، حتى وثب على عمرو لُخنيعةَ يَنوف، ولم يكن من أهل المملكة، فقتله.

Ah, who would buy sleeplessness for sleep!³⁸
 Fortunate is he who spends the night happily.
 Though Ḥimyar be treacherous and disloyal,
 God will absolve Dhū Ruʿayn from guilt.³⁹

ʿAmr went to his brother Ḥassān while he was asleep in bed and killed him. He took over the kingship from him, but he was not blessed in his undertaking. He fell victim to insomnia, unable to sleep. He consulted soothsayers and augurs. One soothsayer said to him, “No man has ever unjustly killed his brother but sleep was denied to him.” He replied, “It is the work of the leaders of Ḥimyar: they have incited me to kill him, so that they could return home. They had no concern for either me or my brother.”

He set out to kill all those who had counselled him to murder him, man for man. Finally he came to Dhū Ruʿayn, who feared the worst. He said, “Don’t you remember what I told you would happen if you killed him, and that I spoke out against it?” “I do not remember that,” replied ʿAmr, “but if what you claim is the only thing you can offer, your blood may be shed with impunity!” Dhū Ruʿayn said, “But I am innocent and you have proof!” “What is it?” “The document that I gave you for safekeeping.” ʿAmr called for the document but it could not be found. Then Dhū Ruʿayn said, “My blood will be shed though I took a prudent course and now I have become like those who gave faulty counsel!” Thereupon the king said that a thorough search must be made, and it was brought to him. He read it and there were the two verses we have quoted above. When the king saw them he said, “You have indeed taken a prudent course.” Dhū Ruʿayn said, “I took into account⁴⁰ what I saw you did to the others.”

When its noblemen were killed the Ḥimyarite rule disintegrated, with different claimants to it. Finally, Lakhnīʿah Yanūf, who did not belong to the dynasty, attacked ʿAmr and killed him.⁴¹

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38 This hemistich made it into the collections of proverbs (e.g. al-Maydānī, *Majmaʿ al-anthāl*, i, 110–111).

39 For different English translations of these lines, see Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, 12 and, rhymed, in Nicholson, *Literary History*, 26. Although the verses and all dialogue are in Arabic, it must be remembered that the language of the Ḥimyarites was a form of South Arabian, belonging to a different branch of the Semitic language family.

40 Instead of *ḥasabtu*, *Aghānī* has *khashītu*, “I feared”.

41 He, too, was a murder victim, as related below, §16.

[٣٥] ومنهم عمليق ملك طسّم بن لاؤذ بن إرم بن سام بن نوح. وكان منازلهم عُذرة في موضع اليمامة. وكان سبب قتله أنه تمادى في الظلم والغشم والسيّرة بغير الحقّ، وأنّ امرأة من جدّيس كان يقال لها هُزيلة ولها زوج يقال له قديس، فطلقها وأراد أخذ ولدها منها، فخاصمته إلى عمليق، فقالت: أيّها الملك، إنّي حملته تسعاً، ووضعتهُ دُفْعاً، وأرضعته شَفْعاً، حتّى إذا تمّت أوصاله أراد أن يأخذه كَرْهاً، وأن يتركني بعده وَرّها. فقال لزوجها: ما حُجّبتك؟ قال: حُجّبتني أيّها الملك أنّها قد أُعْطِيت المَهْرَ كاملاً، ولم أُصِبْ منها طائلاً، إلّا وليداً خاملاً، فافعل | ما ١١٨ كنت فاعلاً. فأمر بالغلام أن يُنزع منهما جميعاً ويُجعل في غلمانه، وقال لهزيلة: أبغيه ولداً، ولا تنكحي أحداً، وأجزيه صَفْداً. فقالت هزيلة: أمّا النكاح فإنّما يكون بمهر، وأمّا السّفاح فإنّما يكون بلا مهر، ومالي فيهما من أمر! فلمّا سمع عمليق ذلك منهما أمر أن تُباع وزوجها، فيُعطى زوجها حُمْسها، وتُعطى هُزيلة عُشْرَ ثمن زوجها، ويُسترقا. فأنشأت تقول:

١ كـ: (بعد ع درها).

٢ هـ: (واجزّيه).

- 42 He is the ancestor of the 'Amāliq or 'Amāliqah (the Amalekites), on whom see above, note 14. Among the numerous parallel texts are al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 771–772, tr. *The History*, iv, 151–152; Ibn Hishām, *Tijān*, 495–499; ps.-al-Jāhiz, *Maḥāsīn*, 280–282; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl*, 17–18; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xi, 164–167; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ii, 264–269; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirah*, vii, 362–364; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i, 271–272; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Ibn Zaydūn*, 52–56; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xv, 339–340; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ii, 271–274; Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, i, 100–102; idem, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 116; Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, v, 442–444 (entry on al-Yamāmah). In some versions the king is called 'Umlūq, to be distinguished from his ancestor 'Imlāq.
- 43 Ṭasm is a legendary Arabian tribe; see *EL2*, “Ṭasm” (W.P. Heinrichs). In traditional Arab genealogy they are traced back to the earliest times: 'Imliq is the grandson of Sām (Shem) and great-grandson of Nūḥ (Noah). Instead of Lāwudh (or Lāwadh) one finds Lūdh (Lud in Genesis 10), Iram matches Aram (Genesis 10).
- 44 The word 'Udhrah is not found in parallel versions; it is not known as a place name. The territory of the famous tribe of 'Udhrah was the Hijaz in western Arabia, whereas al-Yamāmah is in central and eastern Arabia.

[§ 3 ‘Imlīq⁴²]

Another is ‘Imlīq, King of Ṭasm, ibn Lāwudh ibn Iram ibn Sām ibn Nūh.⁴³ Their territories were ‘Udhrah, in al-Yamāmah.⁴⁴ The cause of his murder were his extreme injustice, tyranny, and bad conduct. There was a woman of Jadīs⁴⁵ called Huzaylah, who was married to a man called Qadis.⁴⁶ He divorced her and wanted to take her son away from her. She litigated with him appealing to ‘Imlīq.⁴⁷ “Sire,” she said, “I have carried him for nine months; I delivered him, pushing; I suckled him for a couple of years. And now, when his limbs are full-grown, he wants to take him away forcibly, leaving me without him, distraught!”⁴⁸ The king asked her husband, “What is your argument?” He replied, “My argument, Sire, is that she has been given the bridal gift in full but I have had nothing in return, except a weak young child. Do | what you must do.” The king then gave orders for the young boy to be taken from both of them and to be made one of his pages. He said to Huzaylah, “I desire him as a son. Do not get married to anyone. I shall bestow a gift upon him.”⁴⁹ Huzaylah answered, “As for marriage, that should be with a bridal gift; cohabitation goes without a bridal gift.⁵⁰ I will not have to do with either.”⁵¹ When ‘Imlīq heard what she said he gave orders for her and her husband to be sold, with her husband to be given one fifth of her price, and Huzaylah to be given one tenth of the husband’s price, and both of them to be made slaves. Then Huzaylah said,

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45 A tribe associated with Ṭasm.

46 The name could also be read as Qiddīs. Other sources have Q.r.q.s (*Aghānī*, reading uncertain), Māsh (*Murūj al-dhahab*, *Nihāyat al-arab*), or Qāshir (*Tījān*).

47 The motif of the battle over the custody of a child is also found in other stories; see al-Jāhīz, *Bayān*, i, 408 (on an unnamed Bedouin woman); Ibn Abī Ṭayfūr, *Balāghāt al-nisā’*, 70–72 (on Abū l-Aswad al-Du‘alī and his wife), also in Ibn Qutaybah, *‘Uyūn*, iv, 122; al-Qālī, *Amālī*, ii, 12; al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-qabas*, 14–17; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirah*, vii, 222–223; al-Batlūnī, *Tasliyat al-khawāṭir*, 64–65, also quoted in Brünnow & Fischer, *Arabische Chrestomathie aus Prosaschriftstellern*, 6–7. The speeches of the wife and the husband are in rhymed prose in all versions.

48 Translation uncertain; *warhā* (for *warhā’*) normally means “clumsy, dumb”. Other versions have “empty-handed (*ṣifrā*)” or “distraught (*walhā*)”.

49 His words rhyme nicely but their sense is not clear if the verbs are read as imperatives, as in editions of parallels. Instead of *abghīhi* (“I want him”), *Murūj* and *Aghānī* have (*i*)*bgghīhi* (“you must desire him”). Instead of *wa-jzīhi* as in ‘ASH I have adopted the reading *wa-ajzīhi* (as e.g. in Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, v, 443).

50 Instead of the repetitive *bi-l-mahr*, *Murūj*, *Aghānī* and *Khizānah* have *bi-l-qahr*, “by force”.

51 The two terms are *nikāḥ* and *sifāḥ*, the former regular “marriage” and the latter “cohabitation”, to be distinguished from the more casual *zinā*, “fornication”.

أَتَيْنَا أَخَا طَسَمٍ لِيَحْكُمَ بَيْنَنَا فَأَنْفَذَ حُكْمًا فِي هُزَيْلَةَ ظَالِمًا
لَعَمْرِي لَقَدْ حَكَّمْتَ لَا مَتَوَرِّعًا وَلَا كُنْتَ فِيمَا تُبْرِمُ الْحُكْمَ عَالِمًا
نَدِمْتُ وَلَمْ أَنْدَمْ وَأُبْتُ بِعَبْرَتِي وَأَصْبَحَ بَعْلِي فِي الْحُكُومَةِ نَادِمًا

فلما سمع عمليق قولها أمر ألا تزوج بكر من جديس فتهدى إلى زوجها إلا يؤتى بها عمليق فيفترعها هو قبل زوجها. فلحقوا من ذلك جهداً ودلاً ولم يزل يفعل ذلك أربعين سنة فيهم، حتى زوجت الشمس عفيرة بنت عفار الجديسية، أخت الأسود الذي وقع إلى جبلي طيء وسكنوا الجبلين بعده، فلما أرادوا أن يهدوها إلى زوجها وانطلقوا بها إلى عمليق لينالها قبله، ومعها الوليدات يتغنين ويقلن:

أَبْدَيْ بِعَمَلِيقٍ وَقَوْمِي فَارَكَبِي وَبَادِرِي الصُّبْحِ بِأَمْرٍ مُعْجَبٍ
فَسَوْفَ تَلْقَيْنِ الَّذِي لَمْ تَطْلُبِي وَمَا لِبِكْرِ عِنْدَهُ مِنْ مَهْرَبٍ

فلما دخلت عليه افترعها، وخلي سبيلها، فخرجت إلى قومها في دمائها، شاقّة درعها عن قبلها ودبرها، وهي تقول:

١ كذا في هـ ولعل الصواب (انطلقوا) بدون واو العطف.

52 'ASH and the editors of *Aghānī*, *Murūj*, *Masālik*, *Khizānah*, and *Nihāyah* read *ḥukkīmta*, "you were made arbiter"; but the reading *ḥakamta* is metrically possible in older poetry and makes better sense.

53 This hemistich is obviously problematic. Instead of *ubtu bi-'abratī*, *Aghānī* and *Nihāyah* have *wa-annā bi-'athratī* (perhaps "how could I have stumbled?"); *Mu'jam al-buldān* has *wa-annā bi-'itratī* ("where can I get my family?"); *Tijān* reads *innī la-ghirratun* ("I am really naïve"); *Murūj* and *Masālik* have *nadimtu fa-lam aqdir 'alā mutazahzahīn* ("I regretted but I could not withstand ..."—meaning of *mutazahziḥ* unclear; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ* has *qadimtu fa-lam aqdir 'alā mutarahrahīn*).

We came to our brother of Ṭasm to let him be judge between us,
 but he passed a judgement wrongful to Huzaylah.
 Upon my life, you passed judgement⁵² irresponsibly,
 you were ignorant about deciding the verdict.
 I regret and I did not regret and I returned in tears,⁵³
 and my spouse now regrets the arbitration.

When ‘Imliq heard these words he decreed that no virgin of Jadis would marry and be given to her husband before she would be taken to him, ‘Imliq, who would deflower her before her husband did.⁵⁴ This caused them distress and humiliation. He kept this practice for forty years, until the marriage of al-Shamūs ‘Ufayrah,⁵⁵ daughter of ‘Afār⁵⁶ of Jadis, sister of al-Aswad, who had arrived at the two mountains of the tribe of Ṭayyi’, where they dwelled after his death.⁵⁷ When they wanted to give her to her husband they took her to ‘Imliq, so that he could have her before her husband. With them were young girls, who sang:⁵⁸

Begin with ‘Imliq! Then get up and ride
 And in the morning do something amazing!
 You will find something you did not seek
 And no virgin that is with him will escape.

When she went in to him he deflowered her and let her go. She left and went to her people, bleeding, having torn her shift, front and behind, saying,⁵⁹

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- 54 For another instance of the motif of *ius primae noctis*, see below, §15.
 55 Vowelled ‘Afirah in *Aghānī. Masālik*: Ghufayrah; *Khizānah*: ‘Umayrah. *Murūj* offers both ‘Ufayrah and Ghufayrah.
 56 *Maḥāsin, Murūj, Masālik, Khizānah*: Ghafār; *al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*: Ghifār; *Aghānī*: ‘Abbād.
 57 Aja’ and Salmā are the two mountains often associated with the large tribe of Ṭayyi’; see the long entry on Aja’ in Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, where it is said that al-Aswad ibn Ghifār (or Ghafār) al-Jadīsī fled to the region, having escaped from Ḥassān Tubba’; see the following section on how he was murdered.
 58 The metre is *rajaz*, the oldest and simplest metre, often used in extemporised verse.
 59 In *rajaz muzdawij* (i.e., with paired rhyme, *aabbcc*).

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لا أحدٌ أدلُّ من جديسٍ أهكذا يُفعل بالعروسِ
يرضى بهذا يا لَقومِ حُرُّ أهدى وقد أعطى وسيقَ المهرُ
لأخذة الموتِ كذا من نفسه خَيْرٌ مِن أنْ يَفعلَ ذا بعْرِيسِهِ

ثمَّ قالت تحرّض قومها فيما أتى عليها:

أبصُح ما يؤتى إلى فتياتكم وأنتم رجالٌ فيكم عددُ النملِ
وتُصبح تمشى في الدماءِ صبيحةً عشيةً زُفّت في النساءِ إلى بعلِ
فإن أنتم لم تغضبوا بعد هذه فكونوا نساءً لا تغبّ من الكحلِ
ودونكم طيبَ العروسِ فإنما خلقتُم لأثوابِ العروسِ وللغسلِ
فلو أننا كنا رجالاً وأنتم نساءً لكننا لا نُقيم على الدلِّ
فبعداً وشحاً للذي ليس دافعاً ويختال يمشي بيننا مشيةَ الفحلِ
فموتوا كراماً أو أميتوا عدوكم ودبوا النارَ الحربِ بالحطبِ الجزلِ

فلما سمع ذلك أخوها الأسود، وكان سيّداً مُطاعاً، قال لقومه: يا معشرَ جديس، إن هؤلاء القوم ليسوا بأعزّ منكم في داركم، إلا بما كان من مُلك صاحبهم علينا وعليهم وأنتم أدلُّ من النّيب، ولولا عجزنا لما كان له فضل علينا، ولو امتنعنا كان له منه النّصف، فأطيعوني فيما أمركم به؛ فإنّه عزّ الدهر وذهاب ذلّ العمر، واقبلوا رأيي.

١٢٠ وقد أحس جديساً قولها، قالوا: نُطيعك، ولكنّ القوم أكثر ممّا عدداً وأقوى. قال: فإنّي أصنع للملك طعاماً، ثمّ أدعوهم إليه، فإذا جاءوا يرفلون في حُلّهم متفضّلين مشيناً إليهم بالسيوف فقتلناهم، فإنفرد أنا بالعمليق، وينفرد كلُّ واحد بجليسه. فاجتمع رأيهم على ذلك.

60 The editions of several versions, including 'ASH and SKH, read the verb as a passive (*yaf'ala*), "better than what is done to his bride", but the active *yaf'ala* fits the context better, in laying the guilt of inaction on the cowardly husband.

No one is more despicable than Jadīs!
 Is this what is done to a bride?
 Would a noble man condone this, O men?
 I am given as a bride, the bridal gift was given.
 Truly, to kill himself
 Were better than doing⁶⁰ thus to his bride.

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Then she said, spurring on her menfolk because of what had happened to her:

Is it right what happens to your maidens,
 while you are men numerous like ants?
 A young woman⁶¹ walks in her blood in the morning,
 who the evening before was led to a master.
 If after this you are not angry,
 then be women and don't skip one day putting kohl on your eyes!
 Put on perfume like a bride, for you are
 created only for bride's clothes and lotion!
 Now if we were men and you were women
 we would not suffer this humiliation.
 Down and away with him who does not defend us,
 walking proudly in our midst like a stallion!
 Die as noble men or kill your foe,
 bring ample firewood to the fire of war!

When her brother al-Aswad heard his—he was a leader with authority—he said to his men, “Men of Jadīs! These people are not mightier than you where you live, except that this man of theirs rules over us and them. You are lowlier than old she-camels! If we were not so weak he would not prevail over us. But if we resist we would have justice from him! So obey me in what I tell you to do, for it will lead to lasting glory and the end of a lifelong humiliation. Accept my plan!”

Jadīs had been stirred by the woman's words. “We will obey you!”, they said, |
 “But those men are more numerous and stronger than we!” Al-Aswad replied, “I shall prepare a meal for the king and invite them to it. When they come, trailing their robes and having tied the ends of their garments around their necks, we shall come upon them with our swords and kill them. I myself will take care of ‘Imlīq and each one of you will take care of the one sitting next to him.” They all agreed to act accordingly.

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61 *Aghānī*: ‘Afirah (or ‘Ufayrah).

وإنَّ الأسود اتَّخذ طعاماً كثيراً، وأمر القوم فاختلطوا سيوفهم، ودفنوها في الرمل تحتهم، ودعا القوم فجاءوا يرفلون في الحُلل، حتَّى إذا أخذوا مَجالسهم ومدّوا أيديهم إلى الطعام أخذوا سيوفهم من تحت أقدامهم، فشدَّ الأسود على عمليق وكلُّ رجل على جليسه حتَّى أناموهم، فلمَّا فرغوا من الأشراف شدوا على السِّنْفلة فأفتوهم، فلم يدعوا منهم شطراً، فقال الأسود:

ذوقني ببغيك يا طَسْمٌ مجلَّةٌ فقد أتيت لعمري أعجب العجبِ
 إنَّا أتينا فلم ننفك نقتلهم والبغي هيَّج منا سورة الغضبِ
 فلن يعود علينا بغيهم أبداً ولن يكونوا لدى أنفٍ ولا ذنبِ
 ولو رعيتم لنا قُربى مؤكِّدةً كُنَّا الأقراب في الأرحام والنَّسبِ

[٤٤] ومنهم أيضاً الأسود بن عفار هذا، وكان هرب من حسان بن تُبَّع، حين استغاثه الطَّسْمي، فغزا جديساً فقتلها، وأخرب جوًّا، فمضى الأسود فأقام بجبَلِي طَيِّبٍ قبل نزول طَيِّبٍ إِيَّاهما. | وكان سبب قتله أن طَيِّباً كانوا يسكنون الجوف من أرض اليمن، وهو اليوم ١٢١ مَحَلَّة مُراد وهمدان، وكان مسكنهم وادياً يُدعى ظريباً، وكان سيدهم يومئذ أسامة بن لُؤيِّ بن العوث بن طَيِّب. وكان الوادي مَسْبَعَةً وهم قليل عديدهم، وقد كان يَنتابهم بعير في أزمان الخريف، فيضرب في إبلهم، فإذا انقطع الخريف لم يُدر أين يذهب، ولم يروه إلى قابل. وكانت الأزد قد خرجت من اليمن أيام العرم فتفرقت، فاستوحشوا لذلك، وقالوا: قد ظعن إخوتنا ١ ك: (إياها).

62 Perhaps meaning they will never have high or even low positions. *Aghānī*: “they will not be like having nose or tail” (where *anf*, “nose”, could also mean “pride”).

63 His story is of course closely connected with those of Ḥassān ibn Tubbaʿ and ʿImliq. See the sources mentioned above, the closest being al-Ṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xi, 167–169; see also e.g. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, entries “Aja” and “al-Yamāmah”.

64 It is unclear who is meant.

65 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* mentions al-Jaww as a region in al-Yamāmah; Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, i, 40, 294) says that Jaww was the name of al-Yamāmah itself at the time. Al-Yamāmah (which means “dove”), it is said (e.g. al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 275), is named after the remarkable woman of Ṭasm called Zarqāʿ (“the blue-eyed woman”) al-Yamāmah, who had married a man of Jadis and with her miraculous eyesight was able to see the advancing army of Ḥassān Tubbaʿ, camouflaged with branches, Birnam-Wood-style. Like Cassandra she was not believed. Ḥassān massacred Jadis, gouged out Zarqāʿ’s eyes and crucified her on the gates of Jaww; see e.g. *E12*, “Zarqāʿ al-Yamāma” (Irfan Shahīd).

Al-Aswad had a copious meal prepared. He told his men to unsheathe their swords and bury them in the sand below their feet. He invited the men and they arrived, trailing their robes. When they were all seated and stretched their hands towards the food, they took the swords from beneath their feet. Al-Aswad attacked 'Imliq and every man attacked the one sitting next to him, until they had felled them all. When they had finished off the nobles they attacked their minions and annihilated them, not leaving a single one. Then al-Aswad said,

Have a taste of your own tyranny, Ṭasm, coming to all of you!
 You committed, upon my life, a truly strange thing.
 We came to you and did not stop killing:
 tyranny stirred in us the force of anger.
 Their tyranny shall never return to us
 and they shall no longer be with nose or tail.⁶²
 But if you observe the assured closeness between us
 we shall be relatives with bonds of kinship and lineage.

[§ 4 al-Aswad ibn 'Afār⁶³]

Also among them is this al-Aswad ibn 'Afār. He had fled from Ḥassān Tubba' when the man from Ṭasm⁶⁴ asked the latter for help. Ḥassān attacked Jadīs and killed them, destroying Jaww.⁶⁵ Al-Aswad left and dwelled at the two mountains of Ṭayyi'⁶⁶ before the tribe of Ṭayyi' themselves settled there. | The cause of his being murdered was as follows. The tribe of Ṭayyi' used to dwell in al-Jawf in Yemen,⁶⁷ which today is the area of the tribes of Murād and Hamdān. They used to live in a wadi called Zārīb⁶⁸ and their leader at the time was Usāmah ibn Lu'ayy ibn al-Ghawth ibn Ṭayyi'. The wadi was abounding in predators;⁶⁹ they themselves were few in number. Every year in the autumn a camel stallion would come and mount their camels; at the end of autumn it went nobody knew where and they would not see it again until the following year. The tribe

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66 See above, note 57. The importance of Ṭayyi' or Ṭayy (on whom see e.g. *E12*, "Ṭayyi'" [Irfan Shahīd]) is illustrated in the Syriac word for Arabs in general, *Ṭayyāyē*.

67 Al-Jawf (which like al-Jaww means "hollow, depression") is the name of several places, see e.g. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, *E12*, "Djawf" (M. Quint). Instead of al-Jawf, *Aghānī* has al-Jurf.

68 In al-Sijistānī, *Mu'ammārūn*, 80, Zārīb is called a *jabal* ("mountain" or "mountainous area").

69 *Masba'ah*, derived from *sab'* which often means "lion" but can also refer to other animals of prey.

فصاروا إلى الأرياف. فلَمَّا هَمُّوا بِالظُّعْنِ قالوا: يا قوم، إِنَّ هَذَا البعير الذي يأتينا من بلدٍ ريفٍ وخصب، وإِنَّا لَنُصِيبُ فِي بَعْرِهِ النَّوَى، ولو أَنَا تَعَهَّدْنَاهُ عِنْدَ انصِرَافِهِ فَشَخَّصْنَا مَعَهُ لَعَلَّنَا نَصِيبُ مَكَانًا خَيْرًا مِنْ مَكَانِنَا هَذَا. فَأَجْمَعُوا أَمْرَهُمْ عَلَى ذَلِكَ. فَلَمَّا كَانَ الخريفُ جَاءَ الجملُ فَضْرِبُ فِي إِبْلِهِمْ، فَلَمَّا انصَرَفَ احْتَمَلُوا فَتَبِعُوهُ، فَجَعَلُوا يَسِيرُونَ بِسَبْرِهِ، وَيَبْتَئُونَ حَيْثُ يَبِيتُ، حَتَّى هَبَطَ بِهِمْ عَلَى الجبلين، فَقَالَ أُسَامَةُ بْنُ لُؤَيٍّ:

اجْعَلْ ظَرِيبًا كَحَيِّبٍ يُنْسَى
لِكُلِّ قَوْمٍ مُصْبِحٍ وَمُمْسَى

فَهَجَمَتْ طَيْئٌ عَلَى النخْلِ فِي الشُّعَابِ، وَمَوَاشٍ كَثِيرَةٍ وَحَشِيَّةٍ كَانَتْ لِقَوْمٍ مِنْ جَدِيسٍ، وَإِذَا هُمُ بِرَجْلِ فِي شَعْبٍ مِنْ تِلْكَ الشُّعَابِ، وَهُوَ الأَسْوَدُ بْنُ عَفَّارٍ، | فَهَالَهُمْ مَا رَأَوْهُ مِنْ عِظَمِ خَلْقَتِهِ وَتَخَوُّفِهِ، فَنَزَلُوا نَاحِيَةَ مِنَ الأَرْضِ، [وَسَبَرُوهَا هَلْ يَرُونَ بِهَا أَحَدًا غَيْرَهُ فَلَمْ يَرُوا، فَقَالَ] أُسَامَةُ بْنُ لُؤَيٍّ لَابْنٍ لَهُ يُقَالُ لَهُ الغَوْثُ: أَيُّ بُنَيٍّ، إِنَّ قَوْمَكَ قَدْ عَرَفُوا فَضْلَكَ عَلَيْهِمْ فِي الجَلَدِ والبَاسِ والرَّمْيِ، فَإِنْ كَفَيْتَنَا هَذَا الرَّجُلَ سُدَّتْ قَوْمَكَ آخِرَ الدَّهْرِ، وَكُنْتَ أَنْتَ الَّذِي أَنْزَلْتَنَا هَذَا البَلَدَ.

فَانطَلَقَ الغَوْثُ حَتَّى أَتَى الرَّجُلَ فَكَلَّمَهُ وَسَاءَ لَهُ، فَعَجِبَ الأَسْوَدُ مِنْ صِغَرِ خَلْقِ الغَوْثِ، فَقَالَ لَهُ: مِنْ أَيْنَ أَقْبَلْتُمْ؟ قَالَ: مِنَ اليَمَنِ. وَأَخْبَرَهُ خَيْرَ البَعِيرِ، وَأَنَا رَهْبِنَا مَا رَأَيْنَا مِنْ عِظَمِ خَلْقِكَ. فَشَغَلُوهُ بِالكَلَامِ، وَخَتَلَهُ الغَوْثُ فَرَمَاهُ بِسَهْمٍ فَقَتَلَهُ، فَأَقَامَتْ طَيْئٌ بِالجبلين.^٢

١ كما في هامش هـ، في النسختين بياض والتكملة من الأعاني.

٢ بعده في ك: (فأقامت طئى بالجبلين).

of Azd had left Yemen in the days of the flood of ‘Arim⁷⁰ and had dispersed. The Ṭayyi’ites felt abandoned as a result. “Our brothers have departed,” they said, “and have moved to fertile lands”. They made preparations to depart too and said, “Men, this camel stallion that visits us must come from a cultivated and fertile land, for one finds date stones in its dung. If we stay with it when it moves off and depart with it, it may take us to a better place than this!” They all agreed to do so. When autumn came, the camel returned, mating with their camels. At its leaving they loaded their belongings on their camels and followed it, travelling wherever it went and spending the night wherever it did. Finally it led them to the two mountains. Then Usāmah ibn Lu’ayy said,⁷¹

Make Zarīb like a loved one who is forgotten;
Every people has a place in the morning and another in the evening.

Then Ṭayyi’ took possession of the date palms in the valleys between the mountains, and of a lot of livestock roaming in the wild but belonging to Jadīs. In one of these valleys they came upon a man; this was al-Aswad ibn ‘Afār. | They were in awe of his large body and were filled with fear. They settled some distance away, exploring the land to see if there was anyone else, but they saw nobody but him.⁷² Usāmah ibn Lu’ayy said to one of his sons, al-Ghawth, “Your people, my boy, know that you excel them in toughness, strength and shooting. If you protect us against this man you will be the leader of your tribe forever and you will be the one to make us settle in this land.”

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Al-Ghawth went up to the man and addressed him, asking him a question. Al-Aswad was struck by his small size. He asked him, “Where have you come from?” Al-Ghawth replied, “From Yemen”, and he told him the story of the camel, adding, “We were scared when we saw how big you are!” They kept him engaged in conversation and then al-Ghawth shot him, unawares, with an arrow, killing him. Then Ṭayyi’ remained at the Two Mountains.

70 A reference to the bursting of the dam in Ma’rib, an event mentioned briefly in the Qur’an (Q Saba’ 34:15–16): «There was a sign for Saba’ (i.e., Sheba) in their dwelling-place (...) but they turned away, so We let loose on them the flood of ‘Arim». The meaning of the word *‘arim* is unclear and much disputed. The remnants of irrigation works at Ma’rib can still be seen. This event, which may not have been as cataclysmic as described in legend but may have been more gradual, was followed by widespread migrations of tribes.

71 In al-Sijistānī, *Mu’ammārūn*, 80 these *rajaz* verses are said by the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, Ṭayyi’ ibn Udad (who is said to have lived for five hundred years).

72 This sentence with the following “(he) said” is supplied by ‘ASH from *Aghānī*, to replace a lacuna in the MSS.

[٥٥] ومنهم عامر الضحيان بن سعد بن الخَزْرَج بن تَيْم الله بن التَّمْر بن قاسط، وكان صاحبَ مِرْبَاعِ ربيعةَ بن نزار ومُنزِلَها في نُجْعِها وحَكَمَها في خصوماتها،^١ وكانت ربيعة تغزو المَغَازِي وهو في منزله، فتبعث له نصيبه^٢ ولنسائه حصّة إعظاماً له، فمكث بذلك حيناً. وفي ذلك قول بعضهم:

تُعْجِبُنِي أُسْدُ ضَارِيَاتٍ وَيَأْكُلُ مِرْبَاعَهُنَّ الصَّبِغُ
تَمَارِسُ عَنَّا بَصْمَ الْقَنَا لَشَيْخِ أَمَامَةٍ^٣ أَنْ يَضْطَجِعَ

وكان أعرج. وإنه شرب الخمر فاشتتهى لحماً، فذكرت له نَعْجَة غريبة | لكعب بن الحارث بن ١٢٣ عامر بن عبد القيس، كانت امرأته مَرِضَتْ فخلّفها ظنّاً لابنه، فبعث إليها الضحيان فذبحها وكعبٌ غائب، فرجع كعب فرأى ابنه يَضَعُو جُوعاً، فسأل عن النعجة فأخبروه أنّ الضحيان أكلها، فخرج بحرْبته حتّى انتهى إلى منزله ليلاً فصرخ به فقالت له امرأته: الذي يدعوك يريد قتلك، فلا تخرج إليه! فقال: لو دُعي عامر لَطَعَنَة أجاب! وخرج فبدره كعب فأوجره الحرْبَة فقتله.

١ ك: (خصومتها).

٢ ك: (نصيبه مما تصيبه).

٣ ك: (أمامه).

٤ ك: (لأجاب).

[§ 5 ‘Āmir al-Ḍaḥyān⁷³]

Another is ‘Āmir al-Ḍaḥyān ibn Sa’d ibn al-Khazraj ibn Taym Allāh ibn al-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ.⁷⁴ He was the owner of the pasture grounds of Rabī’ah ibn Nizār⁷⁵ and the one who made them live on their foraging lands. He was the arbiter in their disputes.⁷⁶ He would stay at home while Rabī’ah carried out raids; they would send him his share of the spoils, and a portion to his wives, out of respect for him. This went on for some time. One of them said about this:

I am amazed at those predatory lions,
 seeing that a hyena eats from their pasture grounds.
 They exert themselves with solid spears
 that Umāmah’s old man may sleep.⁷⁷

He was lame. Once he was drinking wine and craved for some meat. He was told about a wonderful ewe | belonging to Ka’b ibn al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Āmir ibn ‘Abd al-Qays.⁷⁸ Ka’b’s wife was ill; he had left her behind to nurse his son. Al-Ḍaḥyān sent for the ewe and slaughtered it, while Ka’b was away. When Ka’b returned he saw his son howling from hunger. He asked about the ewe and they told him that al-Ḍaḥyān had eaten it. He went out with his short spear and arrived at al-Ḍaḥyān’s place in the evening. He called out to him. ‘Āmir’s wife said, “That man who is calling you wants to kill you; don’t go outside!” But ‘Āmir said, “If ‘Āmir is called for a stabbing he will respond!”⁷⁹ When he went outside Ka’b sprang upon him, piercing him with his spear and killing him.

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73 For a very short parallel of this murder story see Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, 80.

74 He was called al-Ḍaḥyān because he used to sit with his people in the forenoon (*ḍuḥā*), when making decisions, see Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 135; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 95; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxi (ed. Brünnow), 186. For his lineage see *ĠN*, i, 167.

75 Rabī’ah ibn Nizār ibn Maʿadd ibn ‘Adnān and its brother group Muḍar together are the two main branches of the so-called “North Arabs”. ‘Āmir al-Ḍaḥyān belonged to the tribe of al-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ, which is part of Rabī’ah.

76 He is listed by al-Yaʿqūbī (*Tārīkh*, i, 299, tr. *The Works*, 582) among “the arbiters (*ḥukkām*) of the Arabs”.

77 Umāmah is presumably ‘Āmir’s wife or daughter. The poem has not been found elsewhere.

78 Not found elsewhere.

79 For a similar response, see below, § 22.

[٦٤] **ومَنهم عَبدَة بن مُرارة بن سَوار بن الحارث بن سعد بن مالك بن ثعلبة بن [...] وهلال بن أمية الخزاعي، فحبا الأسدِي حِباءَ كثيراً، ولم يَحِبُّ هِلالاً شيئاً. فأقفلّا حتّى إذا كانا بوادٍ يقال له وادي طفيل مالا إليه، فنزلا فغدا الخزاعي على عبدة بن مرارة وهو راقد فقتله، وأخذ ما حُبي به. فلَمّا قَدِم سئل عنه فقال: مات! فصدّقوه، واشترى بما أخذ منه إبلاً وخيلاً. فتغنّى يوماً الخزاعي وقد أخذ فيه الشراب:**

أبْلِغْ بني أسدٍ بأنَّ أخواهُم بِلَوِي طفيلٍ عَبدَة بن مُرارة
يُؤْتِي فقيرَهُمُ ويمنَعُ ضيمَهُم ويُريحُ بعدُ المُعتَمينَ عِشارَة

١٢٤

فلَمّا سمعت بذلك بنو أسد نهضوا إلى بني كنانة فقالوا: حليفكم هذا قتل أخانا، فإن تَدُوهُ دِيَةَ الملوك نَقَبَلْ، وإن تَأَبَوْا نَقْتُلْ! فَوَدَّوهُ دِيَةَ الملوك أَلْفَ بَعير.

١ بياض في الأصل.

٢ ك: (كان).

٣ ك: (فنزل).

٤ لعلّ الصواب (قبل) كما في معجم البلدان.

80 No parallels of this story have been found except a brief mention in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, s.v. "Liwā Ṭufayl".

81 ḡN, i, 55 mentions one 'Abd [thus] ibn Murārah ibn Suwā'ah ibn Sa'd ibn Mālik ibn Tha'labah (ibn Dūdān ibn Asad). There is a lacuna in the mss of approximately six words.

82 Unidentified. He is not the Hilāl ibn Umayyah who was one of the Medinan Anṣār ("Supporters") of the prophet Muḥammad. On the tribe Khuza'ah see *EI2*, s.v. (M.J. Kister), on Asad see *EI2*, s.v. (H. Kindermann).

83 Partly because of the lacuna it is not wholly clear what has happened. From the poem below it would appear that 'Abdah is the giver, and the man from Asad (also 'Abdah's tribe) the one who received. However, the murdered 'Abdah is said to be robbed "of what he has been given".

[§ 6 ‘Abdah ibn Murārah⁸⁰]

Another is ‘Abdah ibn Murārah ibn Sawwār ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Sa’d ibn Tha‘labah ibn [...] ⁸¹ and Hilāl ibn Umayyah al-Khuzā‘ī. ⁸² He gave the man from Asad ⁸³ a lot but he gave Hilāl nothing. Both men ⁸⁴ went back. When they came near a place called Wādī Ṭufayl ⁸⁵ they went to it and made their camp. In the morning the man from Khuzā‘ah attacked ‘Abdah ibn Murārah while he was asleep, killed him, and took what he had been given. When he arrived home they asked him about ‘Abdah. “He died”, he replied, and they believed him. He bought camels and horses with what he had taken.

One day the Khuzā‘ī, under the influence of wine, was singing:

Tell the tribe of Asad that their brother
 lies in the twisting valley of Ṭufayl: ‘Abdah ibn Murārah!
 He gives to the poor and protects them from being wronged
 and makes his pregnant camels rest before those that travel at
 night. ⁸⁶

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When the men of Asad heard this they went to the tribe of Kinānah ⁸⁷ and said, “This man, who is allied with you, has killed our brother! If you pay the blood money ⁸⁸ given for kings we will accept it, if you refuse we shall kill you.” They paid the blood money for kings, one thousand camels. ⁸⁹

84 From the following it appears that ‘Abdah and Hilāl are meant.

85 Between Yemen and Mecca according to Yāqūt (entry “Liwā Ṭufayl”).

86 ‘ASH explains in a note: “The Bedouins rest their camels shortly after sunset, making them kneel for a while to let them recuperate (...); therefore the version in Yāqūt, *qabla* (“before”) [instead of *ba’d* (“after”), as in AM] is to be preferred.” I take *‘ishār* to be a plural of *‘usharā’* (“a she-camel that has been ten months pregnant”); “it is said that camels are most precious to their owners when they are *‘ishār*” (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

87 On Kinānah see *E12*, s.v. (W.M. Watt).

88 The pre-Islamic system of compensation for homicide and injuries, *diyah*, was adopted in Islamic law; see *E12*, “*diya*” (E. Tyan). The normal tariff for homicide was one hundred camels of various categories; for deliberate homicide the camels would be of more valuable kinds. The *diyāt al-mulūk* (“blood money for kings”) was said in ancient times to be three hundred camels (al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, vii, 370–371, quoting a line by al-Farazdaq) or one thousand camels (ibid. 374 and Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *‘Iqd*, v, 148–149).

89 For the motif of the killer who betrays himself, see also below, the story of al-Ḥārith ibn Ka‘b (§ 8) and the story of Kuntus in al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtā’*, ii, 153–155, which goes back to the Greek story of Ibycus; see Van Gelder, “On Coincidence”.

[٧٥] ومنهم زهير بن عبد شمس من بني صَيْفِي بن سَبَأ الأصغر، وقتلته بلقيس بنت [اليشرح بن ذي جَدَن بن يَشْرَح بن الحارث بن قيس بن] صَيْفِي.^١ وكان سبب ذلك أنه كان ملكاً، فعلاً في مملكته وتكبر، وجعل يعتذر النساء قبل أزواجهن، كما كان يفعل عمليق، حتى أدركت بلقيس فقالت لأبيها: إن هذا الرجل قد فضح نساءكم فائتته فقل له: إن لي بنتاً قد أعصرت، وليس في قومها شبيهة لها حسناً وجمالاً. فإن قال لك: فابعث بها إليّ، فقل: إن مثلي في شرفي ونسبي لا تعتذر ابنته إلا في بيته! فأتاه فذكر ذلك له، فلمّا قال له: ابعث بها^٢ قال له ما علمته ابنته، فقال له: كيف بُنّلي | ونزل من معي من أصحابي؟ فقال: ما أحملني لنزل الملك، وأشدّ سروري به، لا [نّها] مكرّمة لي، ويَدّ وضعها الملك عندي.

فأجابته إلى إثباته، ولم يُجب إلى ذلك غيره. فأتي داره فزخرفها وزخرف أبيتاً ثلاثة بأحسن ما يكون من زينة ذلك الزمان، وحشد لئزله، ثم أتاه فأعلمه بالفراغ، فركب فأتاه وقد أدخلت بلقيس نفراً من أقاربها بأسلحتهم. ولمّا دخل البيت الأول أعجبه ما رأى من هيئته، ثم دخل البيت الثاني فكان أحسن، ثم دخل الثالث وفيه بلقيس في حليها وحلها مع جمالها، فلمّا استلقى على الفراش، وأخرج حرّسه وأجناده، وأمر بالباب فأغلق دونه وكان معه المَقاول قالت للنفر: اخرجوا. فخرجوا فقتلوه. ثم أرسلت إلى رجل آخر من مقاولته وخواصّه تدعوهم فيقتلونهم؛ ولا يظنّ من يُرسل إليه إلا أنّ الملك يدعوه، حتى أتت على آخرهم. ثم أرسلت إلى أبيها وقومها فخرجت إليهم وقالت: هذا الخبيث قد فضح نساءكم وجعلكم شهرة في الناس قد أراحكم

١ ك: (قتلته).

٢ هـ: (بلقيس بنت [اليشرح بن ذي جدن بن يشرح بن الحارث بن قيس بن] صيفي)، والتكملة من المحرّب لابن حبيب.

٣ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

٤ ك: (فيقتلوهم).

90 See also Van Gelder, *Classical Arabic Literature*, 117–118. Bilqīs, the name of the Queen of Sheba in Arabic, is very famous but the story of her murderous ascension to the throne is less often found. For a somewhat different version, see Ibn Hishām, *Tijān*, 157–169, where the murdered king is called ‘Amr Dhū l-Adh’ār.

91 A fuller genealogy is given e.g. in *ĠN*, i, 275, 274, 176: Yalammaqah (Bilqīs) bint Ilīsharah ibn Dhī Jadan ibn Ilīsharah ibn al-Hārith ibn Qays ibn Ṣayfi ibn Saba’ (al-Aṣghar, “the younger”) ibn Ka’b ibn Zayd ibn Sahl, ultimately going back to Ḥimyar ibn Saba’ (the Biblical Sheba)

[§ 7 Zuhayr ibn ‘Abd Shams⁹⁰]

Another is Zuhayr ibn ‘Abd Shams, of the Banū Ṣayfi ibn Saba’ al-Aṣghar. He was killed by Bilqīs, daughter of Ṣayfi.⁹¹ The cause of this was that he was a king who ruled despotically and overbearingly; he used to deflower women before their husbands, just as ‘Imliq had done.⁹² But when Bilqīs reached adulthood, she said to her father, “This man has dishonoured your women! Go to him and say: ‘I’ve got a daughter who has become nubile. There is nobody as beautiful and attractive as she!’ Then, if he says to you, ‘Send her to me!’ you must say: ‘The virginity of the daughter of a nobleman like myself is not taken except in his own house!’” The father went to him and said all this to him. When Zuhayr said, “Send her to me!” he said what his daughter had told him. Zuhayr replied, “What about entertainment for me | and the followers I am bringing along?” He replied, “I am very capable of entertaining the king and very pleased to do so; it will be an honour for me and a favour from the king towards me!”

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Zuhayr agreed to come to him, something he had done for nobody else. The father went home and decorated his house; he decorated three rooms in the most ornate fashion of his day, and he made everything ready for the king’s entertainment. Then he went to Zuhayr and told him that everything was ready. Zuhayr mounted and rode to him. Bilqīs had hidden a number of her kinsmen, with their weapons. When Zuhayr entered the first room he was amazed by what he saw. Then he entered the second room, which was even more beautiful. Then he entered the third room, where Bilqīs was, all decked out in her jewels and robes, in all her beauty. When he lay down on the bed, having sent his guard and his soldiers outside, and having ordered the door to be locked (he had some vassal princes with him), she said to her own men, “Come out!” They came out and killed him. Then she sent for one of his vassals and courtiers, calling all of them one after the other, upon which they killed them; whoever was summoned thought that it was the king who called him. This went on until she had them all killed. Then she called for her father and his people. She left the room and came to them, saying, “This evil man had dishonoured your women and made you infamous among the people: God has relieved you of him! Now

ibn Qaḥṭān (ancestor of the “South Arabs”). For a different genealogy, see e.g. Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Ma‘ārif*, 628. The name Bilqīs, by which the Queen of Sheba is known in Arabic lore, has been connected with the Greek *pallakis* (παλλακίς), “concubine”. Her mother is said to have been a demon (*jinnīyyah*, e.g. Ibn Hishām, *Tijān*, 171, al-Jāhiz, *Bighāl*, 371).

92 See above, § 3.

اللَّهِ مِنْهُ، فَدُونَكُمْ مَلَكُوا مَنْ شِئْتُمْ. فَقَالُوا بِأَجْمَعِهِمْ: مَا أَحَدٌ أَوْلَىٰ بِهَذَا مِنْكَ! فَمَلَكُوها عَلَيْهِمْ فَمَلَكْتَهُمْ، حَتَّىٰ كَانَ مِنْ أَمْرِ الْهُدُودِ وَشَلِيمَانَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَا كَانَ.

[٨٤] ومنهم الحارث بن كعب وقتله ضَبَّةٌ بن أَدَّ. وسبب ذلك أَنَّ ضَبَّةً تفرقت إبله تحت الليل، وكان له ابنان: سَعْدٌ وسُعَيْدٌ، فخرجوا يطلبانها، فتفرقا في طلبها، فجاء بها سعد ولم يرجع سُعيد، فأتى على ذلك ما شاء الله تعالى أن يأتي، لا يرى سُعيداً ولا يعلم له خبراً. ثم إنَّ ضَبَّةً بعد ذلك بيّنا هو يسيرٌ والحارث بن كعب في الأشهر الحرم وهما يتحدّثان، إذ مرّاً على سرحة بمكان، فقال له الحارث: أترى هذا المكان؟ فإنّي لقيت به شاباً من هيئته كذا وكذا—فوصف له صفة سُعيد—فقتلته وأخذت بُرداً كان عليه، من صفة البرد كذا وكذا! فوصف له صفة البرد وسيفاً كان عليه. فقال ضَبَّة: فما صفة السيف؟ قال: ها هو ذا عليّ. قال ضبة: فأرني السيف. فأراه إياه، فعرفه فضربه حتى قتله. ولام الناس ضَبَّةً فقالوا: قتل رجلاً في الأشهر الحرم! فقال ضَبَّة: سبق السيف العذل! فصارت مثلاً.

١ ك: (ابنا:).

٢ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

٣ ك: (فيه).

93 The story of the hoopoe, the Queen of Sheba, and Sulaymān/Solomon is briefly told in the Qur'an (Q Saba' 27:15–44). For an elaborated account see the annotated English translation from the encyclopaedia of animals by al-Damīri (d. 808/1405), *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā* (one of many versions) in Van Gelder, *Classical Arabic Literature*, 298–304.

94 For parallel versions see al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, xi, 316–362 and the proverb collections on the saying *al-ḥadīth shujūn* (al-Mufaḍḍal, *Amthāl*, 4–5; al-Maydāni, *Majma' al-amthāl*, i, 258–259; al-'Askari, *Jamharat al-amthāl*, i, 303–304; Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 67–68) or the saying *a-Sa'd am Su'ayd* (al-Zamakhshari, *Mustaqṣā*, i, 168–169). Neither saying occurs in the present version.

choose yourself a king, anyone you wish.” They all said, “No one is worthier of this than you!” So they made her their queen and she ruled over them, until the matter of the hoopoe and Solomon (peace be upon him).⁹³

[§ 8 al-Ḥārith ibn Kaʿb⁹⁴]

Another is al-Ḥārith ibn Kaʿb, who was killed by Ḍabbah ibn Udd.⁹⁵ The cause of this was that Ḍabbah’s camels dispersed in the night. He had two sons, Saʿd and Suʿayd, who went out in different directions in search of them. Saʿd brought them back but Suʿayd did not return. Only God knows what happened to him, for Ḍabbah never saw Suʿayd again nor did he hear anything about him.

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One day, when Ḍabbah was walking along with al-Ḥārith ibn Kaʿb—it was during the Sacred Months⁹⁶—they came past a large tree⁹⁷ at some place. Al-Ḥārith remarked to Ḍabbah, “You see that tree? Once I met a young man there ...” He went on to describe his appearance, which turned out to be that of Suʿayd. “... And I killed him and took a robe he was wearing ...” He described the robe. “... and a sword he was carrying.” Ḍabbah asked him, “What did the sword look like?” Al-Ḥārith replied, “I am carrying it, here it is!” “Show me the sword”, said Ḍabbah. He showed it to him. Ḍabbah took it and recognised it. Then he struck al-Ḥārith with it and killed him.⁹⁸ People blamed him, saying that he had killed a man during the Sacred Months. But Ḍabbah said, “The sword was quicker than the blame”, which became a proverb.⁹⁹

95 Ḍabbah ibn Udd is the eponymous ancestor of a tribe. He is only seven generations after ʿAdnān, ancestor of the “North Arabs”; see *ĠN*, i, 59, 89. There are many persons called al-Ḥārith ibn Kaʿb (*ĠN*, ii, 308 lists twenty of that name). He is probably to be identified as al-Ḥārith ibn Kaʿb ibn ʿAmr, ancestor of the tribe of Balḥārith ibn Kaʿb, which is part of the larger tribe of Madhḥij (*ĠN*, i, 258 and ii, 308).

96 During the sacred months markets were held and pilgrimages were performed; fighting and shedding blood were taboo.

97 It is a *sarḥah*; described as a tree of great size, without thorns, with a yellow fruit resembling the olive (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.).

98 For another instance of a murderer using his victim’s sword, see below, § 17.

99 This saying, too, is found in the usual proverb collections. It is also found in al-Qālī, *Amālī*, i, 106, where the killer and coiner of the saying is wrongly said to have been al-Ḥārith ibn Ḍālim; he is corrected in Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʿālī*, i, 324.

[٩ §] **ومنهم** داود بن هُبالة بن عمرو بن [عَوْف بن ضَجْعَم بن] ^١ سعد بن سَلِيح^٢ بن حُلوان^٣ بن عَمْران بن الحاف بن قُضاعة. وكان أولُ مُلكِ الروم بالشام على عهده. وذلك أنه كان ملكاً فغلبه ملك الروم على مُلكه، فصالحه داودُ على أن يُقرّه في منزله ويدعّه فيكونَ تحت يده، ففعل فكان يُغير بمن معه، ثمّ تنصّر وكره الدماء وبنى ديراً، فكان ينقل الطين على ظهره والماء، فسُمِّي اللثيق، فنُسب^٤ الدير إليه، وأنزله الرُهبان. فلما تعبد اجترئ عليه فقال له ملك الروم: اغزُ بمن معك من العرب. فلم يجد بُدّاً من أن يفعل، فغزا فكان على حَيْله جعفر بن صُبح التَّنُوخيّ، وكان معه في جيشه زُهَيْر بن جَناب بن هُبَل الكَلبيّ، فغزا عبد القيس، فقتل زُهَيْر بن جناب هَدَاجَ بن مالك بن عامر بن الحارث بن أنمار بن عمرو بن وديعة بن لُكَيْز بن أَفْصَى بن عبد القيس، وأغار في وجهه على [بَكْرًا]؛ بن وائل فقتل زُهَيْرَ أيضاً هَدَاجَ بن مالك بن تَيْمِ الله بن ثَعْلَبَةَ بن عَكابة، فقال حُدادة بن ظالم بن ذُهَل بن عَجَل العَبديّ:

١ ه: التكملة من حواشي الاشتقاق.

٢ ك: (سليم) كما في النسختين، والتصحيح في هـ من المحبّر لابن حبيب والاشتقاق لابن دريد.

٣ ك: (فسب).

٤ ه: موضعها بياض في النسختين، والتكملة بقلم الشنقيطيّ.

٥ هـ، ك: (حُذار) والتصحيح من جمهرة النسب لابن الكلبيّ وغيرها من المراجع.

100 A brief parallel in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Ma'add wa-l-Yaman*, 691–692. Dāwūd ibn Hubālah (or Habālah, or Habūlah as in *Nasab Ma'add wa-l-Yaman*) is mentioned in Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 250 as one of the *jarrārūn* (“leaders of a thousand men”) of the tribe of Quḍā'ah.

101 The name can also be read as Ḍuj'um; it means “strong, sturdy”. “The Ḍaj'ams (*al-Ḍajā'im*)”, descendants of Dāwūd's ancestor, were kings of Syria before the Ghassānids (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 370, Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 319). The Ghassānids, also called Jafnids after their leading clan Jafnah, were Byzantine vassals from the beginning of the sixth century. The bracketed words are added by Hārūn.

102 ḒN, i, 326 and 279: Dāwūd (al-Lathiḡ) ibn Habālah ibn 'Amr ibn 'Awf ibn Ḥamāṭah (Ḍuj'um) ibn Sa'd ibn 'Amr (Salīḡ) ibn Ḥulwān ibn 'Imrān ibn al-Ḥāfi ibn Quḍā'ah. See also ii, 232. On the tribe (or rather group of tribes) Quḍā'ah, see *EL2*, “Quḍā'a” (M.J. Kister).

103 Al-Rūm, referring to Romans or Byzantines.

104 It was called Dayr Dāwūd (Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 319). It is not mentioned in al-Shābushtī's book on monasteries, *al-Diyārāt*, or in Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*.

[§ 9 Dāwūd ibn Hubālah¹⁰⁰]

Another is Dāwūd ibn Hubālah ibn ‘Amr ibn [‘Awf ibn Ḍaj‘am¹⁰¹ ibn] Sa’d ibn Salīḥ ibn Ḥulwān ibn ‘Imrān ibn al-Ḥāf ibn Quḍā‘ah.¹⁰² The beginning of the rule of the Romans¹⁰³ in Syria was in his time. He was king but the emperor of the Romans conquered his kingdom. Dāwūd made peace with him on condition that he would be left to rule his lands as the Roman emperor’s vassal. This was done and he went on to carry out raids with his men. Subsequently, he converted to Christianity. He became averse to shedding blood and built a monastery, carrying earth and water himself on his back. On account of this he was nicknamed al-Lathiḳ, “Muddy”. The monastery was called after him¹⁰⁴ and he peopled it with monks. After he had become pious, however, others boldly took advantage of this. The Roman emperor told him, “Carry out raids with your Arabs!” He found himself compelled to comply and he went on campaign, with Ja‘far ibn Ṣubḥ al-Tanūkhī¹⁰⁵ in charge of the cavalry. With him in his army was also Zuhayr ibn Janāb ibn Hubal al-Kalbī.¹⁰⁶ He attacked the tribe of ‘Abd al-Qays¹⁰⁷ and Zuhayr ibn Janāb killed Haddāj ibn Mālik ibn ‘Āmir ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Anmār ibn ‘Amr ibn Wadī‘ah ibn Lukayz ibn Afṣā ibn ‘Abd al-Qays.¹⁰⁸ Likewise, he attacked Bakr ibn Wā’il,¹⁰⁹ and Zuhayr ibn Janāb also killed Haddāj ibn Mālik ibn Taym Allāh ibn Tha‘labah ibn ‘Ukābah.¹¹⁰ Then Ḥudād ibn Zālim in Dhuhl ibn ‘Ijl, of ‘Abd al-Qays,¹¹¹ said:

127

105 Not found elsewhere, but his father is probably Ṣubḥ ibn al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Amr ibn Fahm (Tanūkh), see *ĠN*, i, 297.

106 Besides being a tribal leader and a famous warrior, he was also a poet; see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 146; *EI2*, “Zuhayr b. Ḍjanāb” (M. Lecker); al-Sijistānī, *Mu‘ammarūn*, 24–29; Ibn Sallām al-Jumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu‘arā’*, 30–32; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xix, 14–29. He is said to have lived for 450 years (*Aghānī*, xix, 21), or 420 (*Mu‘ammarūn*, 25), or 400 (*Aghānī*, xix, 22), or a mere 250 years (*Aghānī*, xix, 21). He was a seer (*kāhīn*), but in his dotage he would go out without knowing where to go (*Aghānī*, xix, 20–21). Tired of life, he drank unmixed wine and died (*Aghānī*, xix, 15, 24).

107 *EI2*, “Abd al-Qays” (W. Caskel).

108 *ĠN*, i, 169, 168, ii, 276.

109 *EI2*, “Bakr b. Wā’il”; (W. Caskel); “The Bakr belonged to the same people—later known as Rabī‘a—as the ‘abd al-Qays”.

110 There is some confusion here. For Mālik ibn Taym Allāh ibn Tha‘labah, of Bakr, see *ĠN*, i, 151, 150, 141, but no Haddāj with this lineage is found. Ibn Mālik in the following poem, by a poet of ‘Abd al-Qays, is obviously from the same tribe, hence he must be the first-mentioned Haddāj.

111 *ĠN*, i, 169; ‘ASH and SKḤ have Ḥudhār instead of Ḥudād.

١٢٨

لَعَمْرِي لَقَدْ أَرَدْتُ سَيْوْفُ ابْنِ ضَجْعَمٍ غَدَاةَ التَّقْوَا مِنَّا خَطِيْبًا وَيَاسِرَا
أَهَانَ الرِّجَالَ بَعْدَهُ فَكَأَنَّمَا يَرَى بِالرِّجَالِ الصَّالِحِينَ الْأَبَاعِرَا
فَلَا تَبْعَدُنْ إِمَّا لَقِيَتْ ابْنَ مَالِكٍ سَبِيلَ الَّتِي فِيهَا لَقِيَتْ الْمَعَاذِرَا

وقال زهير بن جناب:

فَجَعْتُ عَبْدَ الْقَيْسِ أَمْسٍ بِجَدِّهَا وَسَقَيْتُ هَدَاجًا بِكَأْسِ الْأَوَّلِ^١

ثم أقبل داود حتى إذا كان بناحية الرِّقْمِ تذاكر رجالاً من قُضَاعَةَ ما دخلهم من الدُّلِّ لُصْنَعُهُ الَّذِي صَنَعَهُ بِنَفْسِهِ، فتواعد رجالان من قُضَاعَةَ على قتل داود، أحدهما ثعلبة الفاتك^٢ بن [عامر الأكبر بن عَوْفِ بن بكر بن عَوْفِ بن عُذْرَةَ]^٣ زيد اللات بن زُفَيْدَةَ بن ثور بن كلب، والآخَرُ معاوية بن حُجَيْرِ بن حُيَيْبِ بن وائل بن أُمِّرِ مَنَاةَ بن مَشْجَعَةَ بن التَّيْمِ بن النَّوْمِ بن وَبَرَةَ، أخو كلب بن وَبَرَةَ. فأقبل داود يسير ليلاً وأمامه شَمْعَةٌ وهو منصرف إلى الشام، حتى انتهى إلى موضع يقال له بَرْقَةٌ حارِبِ، فتقدّما إلى الشمعة فأطفأها وشدّا عليه فقتلاه.

١ هـ، كـ (الأفرل) كما في النسختين؛ ويظهر أن الصواب ما اقترحه هـ في الهامش: لعها (الأول)، أي التي شربها الأولون.

٢ هـ، كـ (القايل).

٣ هـ: بعدها بياض لكلمتين؛ والتكملة من جمهرة النسب لابن الكلبي.

٤ هـ، كـ (حجيو).

٥ هـ: (حي)، كـ (حي).

112 Maysir was a gambling game, involved with dividing the portions of a slaughtered camel and associated with generosity, of great importance in pre-Islamic society but forbidden in Islam. See *EI2*, "Maysir" (T. Fahd); Jamil, "Playing for Time"; eadem, *Ethics and Poetry*, 266–276.

113 The sense is not wholly clear; perhaps he says that after Haddāj's death the relative lowliness of those who survived him became apparent. The meaning of the following (*fa-kanannamā | yarā bi-l-rijālī l-ṣālīhina l-abā'irā*) also eludes me.

114 An ancient formula common in elegies.

115 Again, I do not understand *sabīla llatī fiha laqīta l-ma'ādhirā*.

116 *Jadd* could also mean "ancestor" and "good fortune".

117 The text has *al-afra*, which has no meaning. 'ASH plausibly suggests reading *al-awwal*,

Upon my life, the swords of Ibn ʿAjām have killed,
 the morning they met in battle, an orator of ours and a *maysir*
 player.¹¹²
 He humbled the men after he had gone.¹¹³ It was as if
 he saw ... [?]
 Do not go far!¹¹⁴ If you were to meet Ibn Mālik
 ... [?]¹¹⁵

128

Zuhayr ibn Janāb said:

Yesterday I harrowed ʿAbd al-Qays, killing their grandfather¹¹⁶
 and I gave Haddāj the cup of his ancestors¹¹⁷ to drink.

Then Dāwūd went on with his raid. When he was near al-Raqam¹¹⁸ some men of Quḍāʿah talked to one another about the humiliation they had had to suffer for what Dāwūd had done with himself. Two men of Quḍāʿah pledged to kill him. One of them was Thaʿlabah al-Fātik (“the killer”) [ʿĀmir al-Akbar ibn ʿAwf ibn Bakr ibn ʿAwf ibn ʿUdhrah ibn]¹¹⁹ Zayd al-Lāt ibn Rufaydah ibn Thawr ibn Kalb and the other was Muʿāwiyah ibn Ḥujayr¹²⁰ ibn Ḥuyayy¹²¹ ibn Wāʿil ibn Amr Manāh ibn Mashjaʿah ibn al-Taym ibn al-Namir ibn Wabarah, al-Namir being the brother of Kalb ibn Wabarah.¹²² Dāwūd advanced at night, with a candle in front him, in the direction of Syria.¹²³ When he reached a place called Burqat Ḥārib¹²⁴ the two men went for the candle and extinguished it. They took hold of Dāwūd and killed him.

(coll.) “the ancestors”. This is supported by a line by Jarīr: *aʿdattu li-l-shuʿarāʾi summan nāqīʿān | fa-saqaytu ākhirahum bi-kaʿsi l-awwalī* (Abū ʿUbaydah, *Naqāʿid Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, 213, Jarīr, *Dīwān*, 940). The version in Zuhayr’s *Dīwān*, 92: *al-aqzal*, looks implausible *pace* the editor’s explanations.

118 Al-Raqam is a place in the Hijaz according to Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam mā staʿjam*, 666.

119 There is a lacuna of some two words in the MSS. Al-Qāyil, as in ʿASH and SKḤ, should be emended to al-Fātik. For the full name see *ĠN*, i, 288, 280. On the word *fātik*, see above, pp. 13–14.

120 Thus instead of *H.j.y.w.* as in ʿASH and SKḤ.

121 Thus instead of *Ḥayy* as in ʿASH and SKḤ.

122 For Muʿāwiyah’s lineage see *ĠN*, i, 279.

123 Al-Shām could also refer to Damascus.

124 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* lists it, quoting the opening line of the following poem but without locating it; the same in al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs* (BRQ). The poem by Thaʿlabah, below, has “between al-Burqatān (‘the two Burqahs’) and Ḥārib”. Burqah is a very common topographical term (it means “rugged ground with sand and stones”). Ḥārib is said to be “in Ḥawrān near Marj al-Ṣuffar, in the lands of Quḍāʿah” (Yāqūt).

فقال عبد العاص بن ثعلبة التَّنُوخِيّ يرثيه:

لَعَمْرِي لِنِعْمِ الْمَرْءِ مِنْ آلِ ضَجْعِمِ تَوَى بَيْنَ أَحْجَارِ بُبْرُقَةِ حَارِبِ
أَصَابَتُكَ ذُوْبَانُ الْحَلِيفَيْنِ عَامِرٍ وَمَشْجَعَةُ الْأَوْبَاشِ رَهْطِ ابْنِ قَارِبِ
فَتَى لَمْ تَلِدْهُ بِنْتُ عَمِّ قَرِيْبَةٍ فَيَضُوْى وَقَدْ يَضُوْى وَلِيْدُ الْقَرَائِبِ^٢
فَتَى لَيْسَ بِالرَّاضِي بِأَدْنَى مَعِيْشَةٍ وَلَيْسَ لَهُ ذُو الْعَجْزِ يَوْمًا بِصَاحِبِ

وقال ثعلبة الفاتك،؛ قاتله:

نَحْنُ الْأَوْلَى أُرْدَتْ ظُهْبَاتُ سِيوفِنَا دَاوَدَ بَيْنَ الْبُرْقَتَيْنِ فَحَارِبِ
خَطَرْتُ عَلَيْهِ رِمَاحُنَا فَتَرَكْنَهُ^٥ لَمَّا شُرِعْنَ لَهُ كَأَمْسِ الذَّاهِبِ
وَكَذَاكَ إِنَّا لَا تَزَالُ رِمَاحُنَا تَنْفِي الْعِدَى وَتَفِيدُ رُغْبَ الرَّاعِبِ^٦

كانت لداود ابنتان يقال لهما امرعة وأشعرة، وكان خلفهما بالشام، فقدم عبد العاص التَّنُوخِيّ الشام، فبعثت إليه امرعة تسأله عن أبيها، فعرض لها فلم تفهم، فقال:

١ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

٢ ك: (ابن).

٣ ك: (الغرائب).

٤ هـ، ك: (القاتل).

٥ ك: (فتركنه).

٦ لعل الصواب (رعب الراعب) كما في معجم البلدان لياقوت.

125 Not identified. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Ma'add wa-l-Yaman al-kabīr*, 692 it was Dāwūd's unnamed sister who made the lament; the second line is quoted.

126 This Ibn Qārib has not been identified.

127 On this line, often quoted and attributed to various poets including al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī (*Dīwān* ed. Ahlwardt, 164), see also e.g. al-Jāhīz, *Burṣān*, 24; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 503; al-Khālidīyān, *Ashbāh*, i, 229; al-Tawhīdī, *Imtā'*, i, 94; al-Maydānī, *Majma'*, ii, 404; Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Tanbīh*, 124; idem, *Simṭ al-la'ālī*, 871; al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī,

‘Abd al-‘Āṣ ibn Tha‘labah, of Tanūkh,¹²⁵ said elegising him:

Upon my life, truly excellent was the man of the clan of Ḍaj‘am
 whose resting place is between the stones of Burqat Ḥārib!
 He was struck down by the wolves of the two allied clans, ‘Āmir
 and Mashja‘ah, that rabble, the men of Ibn Qārib.¹²⁶
 He was a man not born from a close paternal cousin
 and thus not stunted—for those born of close relatives are often
 stunted.¹²⁷
 A man not content with the lowest way of life,
 never associated with weaklings.

And Tha‘labah al-Fātik, who killed him, said:¹²⁸

129

We are those whose sword edges destroyed
 Dāwūd between al-Burqatayn and Ḥārib.¹²⁹
 Our quivering spears got him and left him,
 when they were pointed at him, like the day of yesterday, gone!
 Likewise, our spears never fail
 to eliminate foes and to fulfil the wish of a wisher.¹³⁰

Dāwūd had two daughters, called Imra‘ah and Ish‘arah.¹³¹ He had left them behind in Syria. When ‘Abd al-‘Āṣ al-Tanūkhī came to Syria Imra‘ah sent for him and asked about her father. He merely hinted at what had happened but she did not understand him. He said,

Muḥāḍarāt, i, 207; al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās* (ḍwḡ); Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab* (ḍwḡ). On the motif, see Van Gelder, *Close Relationships*, 11–35.

128 The lines are quoted anonymously in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Ma‘add wa-l-Yaman*, 604 and Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, s.v. al-Qurnatān.

129 See above, note 124; in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Ma‘add wa-l-Yaman* it is *bayna l-qaryatayni muḥāribī*, which appears to be a corruption. In Yāqūt it is *bayna l-Qurnatayni bi-Ḥāribī*.

130 The reading and translation of *tufidu rughba l-rāghibī* is uncertain. Yāqūt has *wa-tufidu ru‘ba l-rā‘ibī*, “to bring about the fright of the frightened”, which may be better.

131 Both names, not found elsewhere, are given proper *hamzahs* in ‘ASH and SKḤ, as if read Amra‘ah and Ash‘arah. Since this pattern (*af‘alah*) is not a normal one as recognised in Arabic morphology, I prefer to read them with the pattern of (*i*)*mra‘ah*, “woman”. In the following poems the metre requires the absence of the *hamzahs*. Al-Zajjājī, *Ibdāl*, 32, quoting the first two lines of the following poem, actually thinks that *imra‘ah* may be a phonetic variant of *imra‘ah*.

حَدَّثَ حَدِيثَيْنِ أَمْرَعَهُ فَإِنْ أَبَتْ فَأَرْبَعَهُ
 ثُمَّ أَدْعُهَا يَا فَوْزَعَهُ إِلَى الْحَدِيثِ وَالِدَّعَهُ
 أَلَا تَرَاهَا مُقْنَعَهُ وَخَيْلَهَا^١ مَسْلَعَهُ
 فِي كُلِّ عَامٍ شَعْشَعَهُ مِنْ عَامِرٍ وَمَشْجَعَهُ

ثم أرسلت إليه اشعرة فحكى لها فلم تفهم، فقال:

حَدَّثَ حَدِيثَيْنِ أَشْعَرَهُ فَإِنْ أَبَتْ فَعَشْرَهُ
 يَا رَبِّ خَيْلٍ مُضْمَرَهُ وَغَارَةَ مُحَدَّفَرَهُ
 وَحُلَّةٍ مَحْبَرَهُ بَيْنَ لَوَى ...^٢

فَفَهَمَتَا قَوْلَهُ فَشَقَّتَا جَيْبَيْهِمَا وَحَلَقْتَا رُؤُوسَهُمَا، فَهُمَا أَوَّلُ مَنْ فَعَلَ ذَلِكَ مِنَ الْعَرَبِ. فَوْزَعَةُ الَّذِي ذَكَرَ فَوْزَعَةُ^٣ بِنِ سَلْمَةَ بِنِ وَّثَاقِ بِنِ عَمْرٍو بِنِ عَوْفِ | بِنِ ذُهَلِ بِنِ جُدَيْيٍّ؛ بِنِ الدُّهَا بِنِ عِشْمِ^٤ بِنِ حُلُوانِ بِنِ عِمْرَانَ بِنِ الْحَافِ بِنِ قِضَاعَةَ، وَكَانَ رَسُولًا لَهُمَا.^٥

١ ك: (وحيلها).

٢ بياض في النسختين.

٣ ك: (وزعة).

٤ ه، ك: (جذي).

٥ ه، ك: (غشم).

٦ ك: (لها).

Tell two stories to Imra‘ah
 Or if she rejects them, four!¹³²
 Then call upon her, Fawza‘ah,
 To talk and be calm.
 Don't you see she will be convinced
 When their horses are ... (?)¹³³
 Every year ... (?)
 Of ‘Āmir and Mashja‘ah.

Then Ish‘arah sent for him. He told her but she did not understand either. He said,

Tell two stories to Ish‘arah
 Or if she rejects them, ten!
 Many a lean horse
 And many a raid with a multitude
 And a striped robe
 Lies between the twisted sand dune of ...¹³⁴

Then the two women understood what he meant. They tore the collars of their dresses and shaved their heads. They were the first Arabs to do this. Fawza‘ah, mentioned in the poem, is Fawza‘ah ibn Salamah ibn Wathāq ibn ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf | ibn Dhuhl ibn Judayy¹³⁵ ibn al-Duhā ibn ‘Ishm ibn Ḥulwān ibn ‘Imrān ibn al-Ḥāf ibn Quḍā‘ah; he was the messenger of the two women.

130

132 A prose version of this is found in proverb collections as “Tell two stories to a woman (*imra‘ah*), and if she does not understand then, four!” See Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 50–51; al-‘Askarī, *Jamharah*, i, 305; al-Maydānī, *Majma‘*, i, 252.

133 *Musalla‘ah* could mean “having bundles of *sala‘* firewood attached to them”, referring to a pre-Islamic custom of sacrificing animals to obtain rain. But this was done with bulls, not with horses (Lane, *Lexicon*, *sl‘*). The words *‘ām sha‘sha‘ah* in the following line are also obscure.

134 There is a lacuna in the MSS.

135 From here, see *ĠN*, i, 279. For al-Judayy, ‘ASH and SKḤ have *Ḥ.dh.y*; for ‘Ishm they have *Gh.sh.m*.

[١٠ §] **ومنهم همّام بن مُرّة بن دُهل بن شَيّبان**، قتله ناشرة بن أغواث. وكانت أمّ ناشرة هذا هند بنت معاوية بن الحارث بن بكر بن حُبَيْب، وكانت جارةً لهمّام، فأرادت أن تلد، فاجتمع إليها النساء، فسمعهنّ همّام يقبلنّها يقُلن: قد جاء، قد جاء! يعنين الولد. فقالت أمّه: اذُقّصن عنقه! فقال لها همّام: **ويحك لا تفعلي**. قالت: وما يُعيشه؟ قال همّام: أمة تُعيشه، ولقحة، وجمل ذلول. قالت: بلى. فأعطاها إياها.

فلَمّا كان يومُ وِرادات وهو من أيّام حرب البسوس خرج همّام يسقي النساء الماء واللبن، فأبصره ناشرة فختله فطعنه فقتله، وهرب فلحق بقومه، فقالت أمّ ناشرة:

لقد عيّل الأيتام طعنة ناشرة أناشرُ لا زالت يمينك آشره

١ ك: (جارية).

- 136 His story and that of his brother Jassās ibn Murrah (told hereafter) are part of the famous “War of Basūs” between the tribes of Bakr and Taghlib that is told in many sources and allegedly lasted forty years. See e.g. Abū ‘Ubaydah, *Naqā'id Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, 905–907; al-Mufaḍḍal, *Amthāl*, 55–56; idem, *Fākhīr*, 124–127; al-İṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, v, 34–64; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, v, 213–223. For a short account in English, see Nicholson, *Literary History*, 55–61. On the genre of *Ayyām al-‘Arab* (“the battle days of the Arabs”), see *E12*, “Ayyām al-‘Arab” (E. Mittwoch); *E13*, “Ayyām al-‘Arab” (Alan Jones); Caskel, “*Ajām al-‘Arab*: Studien zur altarabischen Epik”. Jones is rightly more sceptical than Mittwoch and many Arabs about their historical value. The war, especially the story of Kullayb, Jassās, and al-Hijris also became the subject of the even less historical popular epic *Qīṣṣat al-Zīr Salīm*, on which see Lyons, *The Arabian Epic*, ii, 651–660, iii, 272–276; idem, *The Man of Wiles*, 28–34; *EAL*, “Zīr Sālīm, romance of” (G. Canova). On Hammām and his murderer, see al-İṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, v, 45, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i, 418.
- 137 For the lineage of Hammām and Jassās ibn Murrah ibn Dhuhl ibn Shaybān, of the tribal group Bakr ibn Wā'il, itself part of the larger group called Rabī'ah, see *ĠN*, i, 142. For Nashīrah ibn Aghwāth, of Taghlib ibn Wā'il, see *ibid.*, i, 165.
- 138 *ĠN*, i, 163.
- 139 *jāratan*; see *E12*, “Idjāra” (W. Montgomery Watt). A single mother would be in need of protection. We are not told why she had left her son's father, Aghwāth, or he her.

[§ 10 Hammām ibn Murrāh¹³⁶]

Another is Hammām ibn Murrāh ibn Dhuhl ibn Shaybān, who was killed by Nāshirah ibn Aghwāth.¹³⁷ Nāshirah's mother was Hind, daughter of Mu'āwiyah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Bakr in Ḥubayb.¹³⁸ She lived in the protection¹³⁹ of Hammām. She was about¹⁴⁰ to give birth and the women came to her. Hammām heard them say, while they were assisting with the birth, "It has come! It has come!", meaning the child. Then the mother said, "Break its neck!" Hammām exclaimed, "O no! Don't!" "But how will it be able to live?" asked the woman. Hammām replied, "A slave-girl can take care of him, and a milch-camel and a meek stallion camel". "All right", she said, and he gave all this to her.

At the battle day of Wāridāt,¹⁴¹ one of the battle days of the war of al-Basūs, Hammām went out doling out water and milk. Nāshirah saw him, crept up to him, stabbed him, and killed him. Then he fled and joined his own tribe. Nāshirah's mother said,

Nāshirah's stab has left the orphans destitute:
O Nāshirah, may your right hand be sawn off!

140 For this sense of *arāda*, normally "to wish, want", cf. Q al-Kahf 18:77.

141 See e.g. al-İṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, v, 41–42, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, v, 218. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, Wāridāt is "on the left of the road to Mecca if you go in that direction". See also Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, 1362–1363. According to Muqātil (al-Aḥwal ibn Sinān ibn Marthad), an informant of Abū 'Ubaydah quoted in *Aghānī*, v, 45, Hammām was killed at the battle of al-Quṣaybāt. Muqātil's version differs from that of *AM*: "Hammām had found a young boy who had been abandoned. He took him up and brought him up as a foundling, calling him Nāshirah. When the boy grew up he became aware that he was of the Banū Taghlib. When the two tribes met in battle at al-Quṣaybāt, Hammām engaged in the fighting. When he got thirsty he went to his water-skin and drank from it, laying down his weapons. Nāshirah, finding that Hammām was not alert, attacked him with an iron-pointed stick and killed him. Then he joined his tribe, Taghlib." The lines quoted above follow anonymously and it is added that Nāshirah was subsequently killed by a man of the tribe of Yashkur; see also *Aghānī*, v, 55.

[١١ §] **ومنهم جَسَّاس بن مُرَّة بن ذُهَل بن شَيْبان**، وهو قاتلُ كُليب بن ربيعة. وكانت أخته ١٣١ تحت كليب، فقُتِل عنها وهي حامل، فرجعتُ إلى أهلها، ووقعت الحرب، حرب البسوس، فكان منها ما كان من القتل. ثم صاروا إلى المُوادعة، بعدما كادت تتفانى القبيلتان، فولدت أخت جَسَّاس غلاماً فسمَّته الهَجْرَس، فرَبَّاه جَسَّاس فلم يعرف أباً غيره، وزوجه ابنته.

فوقع بين الهَجْرَس وبين رجل من بكر بن وائل كلام، فقال له البكري: ما أنت بمُنْتَه حتى نُلْحِقْكَ بأبيك. فانصرف الهَجْرَس حتى دخل على امرأته بنت جَسَّاس مهموماً، فسألته عما به، فخبَّرها الخبر. فلما أوى إلى فراشه ووضع أنفه بين ثدييها وتنفس الصَّعداء تنفُّساً تنفط منها ما بين ثدييها، فقامت الجارية فرعةً قد أفلتت رعدة حتى دخلت على أبيها فحدثته الحديث وقصت عليه قصة الهَجْرَس. فقال جَسَّاس: ثائرٌ وربَّ الكعبة! وبات على مثل الرِّضف حتى أصبح. فأرسل إلى الهَجْرَس، فاتاه، فقال له: إنَّما أنت ولدي وختني، وبالمكان الذي قد عَلِمْتَ، وقد زوجتُك ابنتي وأنت معي، وقد كانت الحرب في أبيك زمناً طويلاً حتى كِدنا نتفانى، وقد اصطلحنا وتحاجزنا، وقد رأيتُ أن تدخل فيما دخل فيه الناس من الصُّلح، وأن تنطلق معي حتى أخد عليك مثل ما [أخذ]؟ علينا وعلى قومك. فقال الهَجْرَس: أنا فاعل، ولكن مثلي لا يأتي قومه إلا بلائمه وفرسه.

١٣٢ فحمله جَسَّاس على فرس، وأعطاه لأمة ومُحاً، فخرجنا حتى أتينا جماعةً من قومهما، | فقصَّ عليهم جَسَّاس ما كانوا فيه من البلاء وما صاروا إليه من العافية، ثم قال: وهذا ابن

١ ك: (وزوجته).

٢ هـ التكملة من ابن الأثير والأغانى حيث نقل الخبر عن ابن حبيب.

142 Jassās is associated with the very beginning and also, as told here, the end of the War of al-Basūs. Ibn Ḥabīb's version is quoted, with *isnād*, in al-İṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, v, 60–62 (“‘Alī ibn Sulaymān al-Akhfash informed me: al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sukkarī informed us: Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb told us, on the authority of Ibn al-A‘rābī, on the authority of al-Mufaḍḍal, on the authority of Abū ‘Ubaydah, that the last person to be killed in the war of Bakr and Taghlib was Jassās ibn Murrah ibn Dhuhl ibn Shaybān. He is the one who killed Kulayb ibn Rabī‘ah ...”). Elsewhere in *Aghānī* (v, 52) one finds a surprising statement, attributed to “all transmitters” (*qālū jamī‘an*), that contradicts this version: “Jassās died a natural death (*ḥatf anfiḥ*); he was not killed”. On his death see also Ibn Nubātah, *Sarḥ al-‘uyūn*, 95.

143 For his lineage, see that of his brother Hammām, above.

144 For his lineage, see *ĠN*, i, 164. Jassās killed Kulayb after the latter had killed a stray she-

[§ 11 Jassās ibn Murrah¹⁴²]

Another is Jassās ibn Murrah ibn Dhuhl ibn Shaybān.¹⁴³ He is the one who killed Kulayb ibn Rabī'ah.¹⁴⁴ His sister was married to Kulayb and when he was killed she was pregnant. She returned to her own people. Then the war, the War of al-Basūs, broke out, with all the ensuing bloodshed. After the two tribes had mutually almost annihilated each other they made peace. Kulayb's sister gave birth to a son and called him al-Hijris. Jassās brought him up and the boy knew no father other than him. Jassās made him marry his daughter.¹⁴⁵

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One day al-Hijris had words with a man of Bakr ibn Wā'il, who said to him, "Before you have done, we shall link you to your father!" Al-Hijris left and went to his wife, Jassās's daughter, troubled in mind. She asked him what the matter was and he told her what had happened. When he lay down on his bed he buried his face between her breasts, sighing so deeply that he almost blistered the skin between her breasts. The young woman got up, frightened; she shivered and went to her father, telling him the story and relating what al-Hijris had said. Jassās exclaimed, "By the Lord of the Kaaba, he will have his revenge!" He spent the night as if on red-hot stones until the morning. He sent for al-Hijris, who came. "You are my son and my son-in-law,"¹⁴⁶ said Jassās, "and you mean much to me as you know. I have married you to my daughter and you are living with me. The war about your father¹⁴⁷ lasted a long time, so that in the end we nearly annihilated one another. We have concluded a truce and abstained from fighting. I think you ought to be part of the truce people have made. You must come with me so that I can let you make the same pledge we and your people have made." Al-Hijris said, "I will, but someone like me cannot meet his people except with his armour¹⁴⁸ and horse."

Jassās gave him a horse to ride, armour, and a spear. They went on their way together. When they met some people belonging to both their tribes, | Jassās told them about the plight they had been in and the bliss they had now achieved. "This man", he said, "is the son of my sister. He has come to make the

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camel belonging to an aunt of Jassās called al-Basūs. This caused the outbreak of the protracted war called after her.

145 It is odd that Jassās should have found this a normal thing to do and that al-Hijris should have consented, in the belief that he was marrying his sister or half-sister, but no one seems to have commented on this.

146 Instead of *waladī wa-khatanī* ("my son and my son-in-law") *Aghānī* has *waladī wa-minnī* ("my son and from me").

147 Speaking about "your father" he contradicts his preceding sentence and casually reveals the true state of affairs.

148 *La'mah*, referring to chain mail.

أختي قد جاء ليدخل فيما دخلتم فيه، ويَعْقِد ما عقدتم. فلَمَّا قَرَّبُوا الدم وقاموا إلى العقد أخذ الهجرس بوسط رمحه ثم قال: وفرسي وأُذُنِيهِ، ورُمحِي ونَصْلِيهِ، وسَيْقِي وعَرَبِيهِ، لا يترك الرجل قاتل أبيه وهو ينظر إليه! ثم طعن جَسَاساً فقتله ولَحِقَ بقومه. فكان آخرَ قَتِيلٍ في بكر بن وائل.

[١٢٤] ومنهم عمرو وإخوته، بنو الزَّبَّانِ الذُّهَلِيِّ. وكان سبب ذلك أن كثيف بن التَّغَلْبِيِّ انهزم في بعض أيام بكر وتغلب، فألظَّ به مالك بن كومة الشَّيبَانِيِّ، وكان مالك رجلاً نحيفاً، وكان كثيف رجلاً أيّداً، فلَمَّا لحقه ابن كومة اقتحم عن فرسه لينزل إليه مالكٌ فيقهره بفضل قُوَّتِهِ وبَدَنِهِ، فأوجره مالك الرمح وقال: واللَّهِ لَتَسْتَأْسِرَنَّ أو لَأُنْفِذَنَّكَ به! فاستأسر، ولحقه عمرو بن الزَّبَّانِ فقال: أسيري! وقال مالك: أسيري! فقالا لكثيف: لقد حكمتناك في نفسك. فقال كثيف: لولا مالك لألْفَيْتُ في أهلي! فغَضِبَ عمرو بن الزَّبَّانِ، فلطم خدَّ كثيف، فقال مالك: تلطمُ خدَّ أسيري؟ يا كثيف فإني قد جعلت فِدَاءَكَ لك بلَطْمَةِ عمرو خدِّك. وأطلقه.

فحرم كثيف النساء والخمر حتى يثأر من عمرو لطمته، فوضع عليه العيون، فأتاه رجل من عُقَيْلَةَ بن قاسط، فقال: ألا أدلك على بني الزَّبَّانِ، فقد نتجوا ناقةً حُوراً واشتَوَّوه وهم يأكلون، وكانت نددت لهم إبلٌ فخرجوا في طلبها فردَّوها.^٢ فقام كثيف | بضِعْفِ عِدَّتِهِمْ، وقال: ١٣٣
مُرُّوا بجانبهم فإذا دُعِيتم إلى الطعام فليكتنف كلَّ رجلٍ منهم رجلاً منّا. فمروا بالقوم وهم

١ كذا في هـ، ك، والسياق يقتضي (إني).

٢ ك: (أنتجوا).

٣ ك: (فردَّها).

149 It is not clear if it is human or (presumably) animal blood that is used for the ceremony. Compare the *La'aqat al-dam* ("The Blood-lickers"), a federation of clans of Quraysh, who dipped their hands in camel blood to seal their covenant (E12, "La'aqat al-dam" [Ch. Pel-lat]).

150 He uses rhymed prose.

151 The main characters of this story cannot be found in ĞN. The story is found in al-Shimshāṭī, *Anwār*, i, 246–254, al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs* (*KhT*), and in proverb collections: al-Mufaḍḍal, *Amthāl*, 58; al-Maydānī, *Majma'*, i, 476–477 (under *ash'ammin Khawta'ah*); al-'Askarī, *Jamharah*, i, 111 (under *ākhir al-bazz 'alā l-qalūs*); al-Zamakhsharī, *Mustaqṣā*, i, 2–3; briefly also Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 501 and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 237.

152 In *Faṣl al-maqāl* it is al-Zabbān ibn Mujālid al-Dhuhli.

153 In al-Mufaḍḍal, *Amthāl*, and al-'Askarī, *Jamharah*, he is called Kathif (vowelled Kuthayf)

same pledge as you made, to fasten the knot as you did.” When they brought the blood in order to make the covenant¹⁴⁹ and stood up to seal the covenant, al-Hijis grasped the middle of his spear and said, “By my horse and its ears, by my spear and its tip, by my sword and its edges: a man shall not leave the killer of his father when he sees him!”¹⁵⁰ Then he stabbed Jassās, killing him, and joined his own people. Jassās was the last man to be killed of Bakr ibn Wā’il.

[§ 12 ‘Amr and his brothers, sons of al-Zabbān al-Dhuhlī¹⁵¹]

Among them are also ‘Amr and his brothers, sons of al-Zabbān al-Dhuhlī.¹⁵² The cause was as follows. Kathīf ibn al-Taghlibī¹⁵³ had fled at one of the battles between Bakr and Taghlib. Mālik ibn Kūmah al-Shaybānī¹⁵⁴ kept pursuing him. Mālik was a thin man, Kathīf was strong. When Ibn Kūmah overtook him, Kathīf jumped off his horse, expecting that Mālik would also dismount, so that he would be able to overcome Mālik with his strength and bulk. Mālik, however, stabbed him with his spear and said, “By God, you must ask to be my prisoner, or else I’ll transfix you with it!” Then ‘Amr ibn al-Zabbān joined them and said, “My prisoner!” Mālik replied, “My prisoner!” Then they said to Kathīf, “We let you decide between us!” Kathīf said, “But for Mālik I would find myself to be with my people”. ‘Amr ibn al-Zabbān became angry and slapped Kathīf’s cheek. Mālik said, “You slap the cheek of my prisoner? Kathīf, I have hereby ransomed you with ‘Amr’s slap and your cheek!” And he let him go.

Then Kathīf vowed he would not drink wine or have sex with women until he had his revenge from ‘Amr and his slap. He had people spying on him. A man of Ghufaylah ibn Qāsiṭ¹⁵⁵ came to him and said, “I can show you where the sons of al-Zabbān are. They have roasted a young she-camel and are eating it. Some camels of theirs have strayed, they went in pursuit of them and brought them back.” Kathīf got up | with double their number and told his men, “Go past them, and when they invite you to have some food, let each man of theirs be enclosed by two of ours.” They passed along the men while they were

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ibn Zuhayr al-Taghlibī; in al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, it is Kathīf (vowelled Kuthayf and Kuthayyif) ibn ‘Amr al-Taghlibī.

154 Mālik ibn Kūmah has not been found except in versions of the present story. His full name is given in al-Shimshāṭī, *Arwār*, i, 246 as Mālik ibn al-Šāmit (or Zayd) ibn ‘Awf ibn ‘Āmir ibn Dhuhl ibn Tha’labah (see *ĠN*, i, 154): Kūmah is his mother’s name.

155 See *ĠN*, i, 141 and ii, 275 (they were allied with Taghlib). The man is named as Khawta’ah in other sources and in *Faṣl al-maqāl* it is said that Khawta’ah’s true name is ‘Abd Allāh ibn Šabirah, on whom see *ĠN*, i, 170, where Khawta’ah is ‘Abd Allāh ibn Šabirah’s son. But he is not of Ghufaylah ibn Qāsiṭ, so there must be some confusion.

على طعامهم فدعوهم إلى الطعام فأقبلوا، ففعلوا ما أمروا به، فلمّا حسر كثيف العِمامة عن وجهه قال له عمرو: يا كثيف، هذا خدّي فأطِمْه فففيه وفاءً من خدّك، وما في بكر بن وائل أكرم منه. قال: لا، حتّى أقتلك. قال: فدع هؤلاء الفتيّة الذين لم يتلبّسوا من الحروب بشيء. قال: فأبى، فقتلهم أجمعين، وبعث رءوسهم في غرارة، وعلّقها في عنق الدّهيم ناقة عمرو بن الزبّان.

[§ 13] ومنهم عمرو بن مسعود، وخالد بن نضلة الأَسديّان. وكانا يَفدان على المُنذِر الأكبر اللّخميّ في كلّ سنة، فيقيمَان عنده وينادمانه. وكانت أسد وعظفان حُلفاء لا يدينون للملوك، ويُغيرون عليهم، فوفدا سنة من السنين ومعهما سبرة بن عمير الشاعِر الفُقّسيّ، وحبیب بن خالد.

فنادم المنذر عمرو وخالد بن نضلة، فقال المنذر يوماً لخالد، وهم على الشراب: يا خالد، من ربك؟ فقال خالد: عمرو بن مسعود ربّي وربك. فأمسك عليهما،^١ ثمّ قال لهما بعد: ما يمنعكما من الدخول في طاعتي، وأن تذبّوا عنّي كما ذبّت تميم وربيعة؟ فقالا: أبيت اللّعن،

١ كذا في هـ، ك، ويظهر أنّ الصواب (عمرو).

٢ كذا في هـ، ك، وكما هي في خزنة الأدب؛ وفي الأصل (عليها). وجعلها الشنقيطيّ (عنهما).

156 In other sources they are said to be seven, all sons of al-Zabbān.

157 A rather gruesome sequel is given in al-Askarī, *Jamharah*, al-Maydānī, *Majmaʿ*, and al-Zamakhsharī, *Mustaqṣā*. Al-Maydānī: "The camel returned while al-Zabbān was sitting in front of his tent. The camel kneeled down. 'That is 'Amr's camel, girl,' he said, 'He and his brothers are late.' The girl got up and felt the sack. 'Your sons have found some ostrich eggs!', she said, bringing the sack. She put her hand into the sack and pulled out 'Amr's head first and then the heads of his brothers. She washed them and placed them on a shield ..." More bloodshed ensues.

158 Among the many parallels of this famous story see Ibn Qutaybah, *Shiʿr*, 268; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, iv, 178; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxii, 86–87; 'Abid ibn al-Abras, *Dīwān*, 2–4 (and Lyall's Introduction, 8); al-Qālī, *Amālī*, iii, 195–196; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*, 179–180; al-Jarīrī, *Jalīs*, iv, 146–148; Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Ibn 'Abdūn*, 132–133; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, iv, 197–199 (s.v. al-Ghariyyān); al-Baghādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, xi, 270–273. The dual noun al-Ghariyyān refers to two posts or tower-like structures (standing for the two killed companions); *ghariyy* means "sticky", apparently with the blood of the victims.

159 'Amr ibn Masʿūd ibn Kaladah (*ĠN*, i, 55).

eating and they were invited to partake of the food. They came and did what they had been told to do. Then Kathif took his turban off his face. ‘Amr said, “Kathif! Here is my cheek, slap it! That will make up for your cheek!” There was no more generous man in Bakr ibn Wā’il than he. But Kathif said, “No, I’ll kill you”. “But spare these young men,” said ‘Amr. “They have not been involved in these wars at all” But Kathif refused and had them all killed.¹⁵⁶ He put their heads in a sack and hung it on the neck of Duhaym, the she-camel of ‘Amr ibn al-Zabbān.¹⁵⁷

[§ 13 ‘Amr ibn Mas‘ūd and Khālid ibn Naḍlah¹⁵⁸]

Among them are ‘Amr ibn Mas‘ūd¹⁵⁹ and Khālid ibn Naḍlah,¹⁶⁰ of the tribe of Asad. They used to pay a visit to al-Mundhir the Great,¹⁶¹ of Lakhm, every year. They would stay and be his drinking companions. Asad and Ghaṭafān¹⁶² were allied tribes who did not submit to kings; they even carried out raids against them. One year, ‘Amr and Khālid visited the king in the company of Sabrah ibn ‘Umayr, the poet of the tribe of Faq‘as,¹⁶³ and Ḥabīb ibn Khālid.¹⁶⁴

One day, al-Mundhir, having taken ‘Amr and Khālid ibn Naḍlah as drinking companions, asked Khālid while they were drinking, “Khālid, who is your lord?” Khālid replied, “‘Amr ibn Mas‘ūd is my lord and yours!” The king held this against them.¹⁶⁵ Later, he asked them, “What stops you from being my vassals and from defending me,¹⁶⁶ as do the tribes of Tamīm and Rabī‘ah?” “Sire,”¹⁶⁷

160 He is called Khālid ibn Mālik al-Muḍallal ibn Munqidh in *Aghānī* and elsewhere (*ĠN*, i, 50 and ii, 342). There is one Khālid ibn Naḍlah, of Faq‘as (part of Asad), see *ĠN*, i, 50, but it seems that he is not the one meant here.

161 Al-Mundhir ibn al-Nu‘mān Mā’ al-Samā’, of the Lakhmid dynasty whose capital was al-Ḥīrah. He was killed in battle with his rival, al-Ḥārith of Ghassān, in AD 554. On the Lakhmids see *EI2*, “Lakhmids” (Irfan Shahīd) and *ĠN*, i, 246.

162 On this tribe, see *EI2*, “Ghaṭafān” (J.W. Fück).

163 Faq‘as is a branch of Asad. Sabrah ibn ‘Umayr is likely to be an error for Sabrah ibn ‘Amr al-Faq‘asī, a poet of Abū Tammām’s *Ḥamāsah* (al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ*, 237–239, al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ix, 503–511).

164 The name can also be read as Ḥubayb. He is probably the son of Khālid ibn Naḍlah al-Faq‘asī (see e.g. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xvii, 247), but in the present story his rather unconcerned behaviour makes it unlikely that he is the son of the poisoned Khālid.

165 For the sense of *fa-amsaka ‘alayhimā* see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, *Glossarium*, cdlxxxv.

166 Instead of *tadhubbū ‘ammī*, *Khizānah* has *tadnuwā minnī*, “coming (to settle) near me”.

167 They use a formula for addressing kings in pre-Islamic times: *abayta l-la‘nah*, “May you refuse being cursed!” (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, ’BY), or “Mayst thou avoid malediction!” (Nicholson, *Literary History*, 14), or “May you disdain to utter curses” (Stetkevych, *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy*, 333).

هذه البلاد لا تلائم مواشيتنا، ونحن مع هذا قريب منك، نحن بهذا الرمل، فإذا شئت أجبتك. فعلم أنهم لا يدينون له، وقد سمع من خالد الكلمة الأولى. فأومأ إلى الساقى فسقاها سماً، فانصرفا من عنده من الشكر على خلاف ما كنا ينصرفان، فلما كانا في بعض الليل أحسن ١٣٤ حبيب بن خالد بالأمر لما رأى من شدة سكرهما، فنادى خالداً فلم يُجِبْهُ، فقام إليه فحرَّكهُ فسقط بعضُ جسده، وفعل بعمره مثل ذلك، وكان حاله كحال خالد.

فأصبح المنذر نادماً على قتلتهما، فغدا عليه حبيب بن خالد فقال: أبيت اللعن، أسعدك الأهل، نديمك وخليلك تتايعا في ساعة واحدة. فقال له: يا حبيب أعلى الموت تستعديني، وهل ترى إلا أنني ميت وأخا ميت وأبا ميت؟ ثم أمر فحُفِرَ لهما قبران ودُفِنَا فِيهِمَا، وبنى عليهما منارتين، وهما العريان، وعقر على كل قبر خمسين فرساً وخمسين بعيراً، وغرَّاهما بدمائهما، وجعل يومَ نادمهما يومَ نعيم، ويومَ دفنهما يومَ بؤس. وقال الشاعر فيهما:

الأبكر النَّاعي بَخَيْرِي بني أسدٍ بعمره بن مسعودٍ وبالسيّد الصّمَدِ
يُشَقُّ بصحراء الحبيل له الثرى وما كنت أخشى أن يُزار به بلدٌ

١ ك: (بهذه الرسل).

٢ هذا ما رجّحه هـ، وفي الأصل وفي ك: (تتابعا).

٣ كذا في النسختين، وفي هـ: (وهل تراني إلا ميتاً وأخا ميت وأبا ميت؟)؛ وفي خزانة الأدب نقلاً عن أسماء المغتالين: (وهل ترى إلا ابن ميت وأخا ميت؟).

168 Perhaps *saqata ba'd jasadih* means "a part of his body fell off", but even a potent poison is unlikely to have such effect.

169 Following the suggestion of 'ASH, reading *tatāya'a* instead of *tatāba'ā* ("have followed each other").

170 The Arabic word here rendered as "two columns" is *manāratayn*, which could be "light-towers" (in Islamic times acquiring the sense of "minarets").

171 Ibn Ḥabīb omits the sequel, which is told in many other sources. The king would bestow, on the first person he met on a Day of Bliss, one hundred black camels, and on the first person he met on a Day of Woe the head of a black polecat, after which he would be slaughtered, and the pillars daubed with his blood (e.g. al-Isfahānī, *Aghānī*, xi, 86–87). The most prominent victim of this custom is the important early poet 'Abid ibn al-Abraṣ, whose story is told in §81. The polecat (*zaribān*) is not mentioned in most sources; perhaps its presence is due to a confusion with *tīrbālān* (possibly meaning "two prominent

they replied, “These lands do not agree with our cattle. Nevertheless, we are close to you, where we live in the sands. But if you wish, we will comply.” But the king was aware that they did not want to submit to him, having heard what Khālid had said before. He signalled to the wine-pourer to poison their wine. When they left the presence of the king | they felt drunk as they had never felt before. At some time during the night Ḥabīb ibn Khālid noticed that something was wrong when he saw how inebriated they were. He cried out to Khālid but he did not respond. He got up and shook him, but part of his body slumped down.¹⁶⁸ He did the same with ‘Amr but he was in a similar state as Khālid.

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The following morning al-Mundhir regretted that he had killed them. Ḥabīb ibn Khālid came to him and said, “Sire! May your people make you happy! Your two drinking companions, your bosom friends, have collapsed¹⁶⁹ both in one hour!” The king replied, “Are you asking me protection against death? Don’t you see that I too am mortal, or any brother, or any father?” Then he gave orders for two graves to be dug and to bury them in them. He built over them two columns: these are “the Two Daubed Pillars”.¹⁷⁰ He slaughtered fifty horses and fifty camels on each grave and daubed them with their blood. He made the date on which he drank wine with them a Day of Bliss and the date he buried them a Day of Woe.¹⁷¹ A poet said about the two:¹⁷²

O! In the morning they announced the death of Asad’s two best men:
 ‘Amr ibn Mas’ūd and the strong chief.
 They dug the earth for him in the desert of al-Ḥabīl (?),¹⁷³
 though I did not know that a place would be visited with him.¹⁷⁴

rocks”), another name of the two pillars (Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma’ārif*, 649; idem, *Shi’r*, 268; Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, iv, 196).

172 Anonymously in al-Qālī *Amālī*, iii, 195 (1st line) and Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab* (šMD); attributed to “a woman of Asad” in al-Jāhīz, *Bayān*, i, 180 (3 lines); attributed to the daughter of Ma’bad ibn Naḍlah in al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, xi, 269 (1st line); called Hind bint Ma’bad ibn Naḍlah in Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu’jam*, 996. No one knows the precise meaning of *šamad* (here rendered as “strong”), a word also applied to God in the Qur’an (Q al-Ikhlās 112:2), where it is usually translated as “eternal” or “everlasting”.

173 Al-Ḥabīl, or al-Ḥubayl, has not been identified. Perhaps one ought to read it as al-Jubayl (“little mountain”), the name of several places mentioned in Yāqūt’s geographical dictionary.

174 A difficult line. I follow ‘ASH in interpreting *akhshā* (literally, “I fear”) as “I know”; the “place” (*balad*) is the grave. In al-Jāhīz, *Bayān*, i, 180 this line is “They threw up (the earth) of his grave in al-Thuwayyah; I did not fear (or know) that his place would be distant”. Al-Jāhīz adds that al-Thuwayyah is a location near Kufa (the Islamic city built not far from al-Ḥīrah).

[§ 14] **ومنهم** خالد بن جعفر بن كلاب. وكان وفد على الأسود بن المُنذر الأكبر، ووفد الحارث بن ظالم المُرِّي. وقد كان خالد قتل زهير بن جذيمة بن رَواحة العَبَسِيّ، وكان سيّد عَطَفَان، | ففُتدِم إليهما تمرّ على نِطْع، فجعللا يَأْكُلان، فقال خالد للملك: أبيت اللعن، مَنْ ١٣٥ هذا؟ قال له: هذا الحارث بن ظالم. فقال خالد للحارث: يا حارث، ما أحسبني إلاّ حَسَنَ البلاء عندك فكيف تُشكر لي؟ فقال الحارث: وما بلاؤك عندي؟ قال: قتلتُ عمّك فشُدتْ قومك. قال: سأجزيك به.

وجعل الحارث يبيث التمر بيده ولا يُبصر غَضَباً. فقال خالد: ما لك تنبث التمر، أيتهنّ تُربغ؟ فقال الحارث: على أيتهنّ تخافني؟ فأمر الملك برُفْع التمر، وقام الحارث فانصرف إلى رَحْله، فقال الأسود: لم تعرّضت لهذا الكلب وأنت جاري؟ فقال خالد: أبيت اللعن، هذا أحدُ عبيدي.

فلما كان الليل بعث الأسود بجارية له، معها عُسٌّ صَنَّم مملوءاً خمراً إلى الحارث وقال له: يقول لك الملك: عزمتُ عليك لَمّا شربت هذا، يريد أن يُسكّره فينام. فأخذه الحارث كأنّه

١ ك: (ينبث).

- 175 Among the parallels of this story (again merely an incident in a much longer chain of events), see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 192–193; Abū ‘Ubaydah, *Ayyām*, ii, 122–127; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *‘Iqd*, v, 137–138; al-Isfahānī, *Aghānī*, xi, 96–98.
- 176 Khālid ibn Ja‘far al-Aṣḥab ibn al-Aḍḥaḍ ibn Kilāb ibn Rabī‘ah, see ČN, i, 93 and ii, 341; a chief of Kilāb.
- 177 Al-Mundhir al-Akbar is the Lakhmid king mentioned before (§ 13), i.e., al-Mundhir ibn al-Nu‘mān Mā’ al-Samā; but elsewhere al-Aswad is said to have been his brother (e.g. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *‘Iqd*, v, 137; al-‘Askarī, *Jamharah*, ii, 287; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, vii, 82, ix, 511).
- 178 Al-Ḥārith ibn Zālim ibn Jadhīmah ibn Yarbū’ ibn Ghayz ibn Murrah, of Ghaṭafān, has his own entry in the present book, see below § 94. On his genealogy, see ČN, i, 127 and ii, 315. Books on proverbs often include the saying “more murderous (*aftak*) than al-Ḥārith ibn Zālim” (al-‘Askarī, *Jamharah*, ii, 95; al-Maydānī, *Majma‘*, ii, 107; al-Zamakhsharī, *Mustaqṣā*, ii, 266); Ibn Ḥabīb lists him among the “killers” of the pre-Islamic period (*futūk al-Jāhiliyyah*, *Muḥabbar*, 192). He also killed the young son of al-Samaw’al when the latter did not surrender the armour entrusted to him by the famous poet Imru’ al-Qays (see e.g. Nicholson, *Literary History*, 84–85). He is, however, also proverbial for his loyalty (*Muḥabbar*, 192, 194, al-‘Askarī, *Jamharah*, ii, 272, etc.). For two poems by him, see *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 311–316, tr. Lyall, 250–256; see also Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 139 and Oller, “Al-Ḥārith ibn Zālim”.

[§ 14 Khālid ibn Ja‘far ibn Kilāb¹⁷⁵]

Another is Khālid ibn Ja‘far ibn Kilāb.¹⁷⁶ He paid a visit to al-Aswad, son of al-Mundhir the Great.¹⁷⁷ Al-Ḥārith ibn Zālim also visited the king.¹⁷⁸ Khālid had killed Zuhayr ibn Jadhīmah ibn Rawāḥah al-‘Absī, who was the chief of Ghaṭafān.¹⁷⁹ | The two men were offered some dates on a leather mat and they started to eat. Khālid said to the king, “Sire, who is he?” “Al-Ḥārith ibn Zālim”, replied the king. Khālid said to al-Ḥārith, “Ḥārith, I should think I did well to you. Aren’t you thankful?” “How do you mean, did well to me?” asked al-Ḥārith. Khālid explained, “I killed your kinsman¹⁸⁰ so you became the chief of your tribe.” “I’ll repay you for that!”, replied al-Ḥārith.

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Al-Ḥārith was so angry that he began to grab dates without looking. Khālid asked him, “Why are you grabbing the dates? Which ones do you want?” Al-Ḥārith replied, “Which ones are you afraid I’ll take?”¹⁸¹ Then the king gave orders for the dates to be taken away. Al-Ḥārith stood up and left for his luggage. Al-Aswad asked Khālid, “Why did you provoke that dog? You are my guest.” “Sire,” answered Khālid, “He is one of my slaves!”

In the night al-Aswad sent a servant girl with a large bowl filled with wine to al-Ḥārith. She said, “The king says to you, ‘I urge you to drink this!’” He intended to make him drunk and fall fast asleep. Al-Ḥārith took it as if he were going to

179 ḂN, i, 132, ii, 610.

180 The word ‘*amm*’ (“paternal uncle”) is often used for more remote relatives; nevertheless, the lineages of the two men are so distant that the word is odd. Instead of ‘*ammaka*, ‘*Iqd*, v, 138 has ‘*anka*, approximately meaning “(I have killed) for you”.

181 The passage is not wholly clear to me. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 193: “Al-Ḥārith repeatedly stretched out his hand to the dates without thinking. Then Khālid asked him, ‘Why do you grab dates (from the whole bowl)?’” A longer and different version is offered in al-Ḥārith, *Aghānī*, xi, 96: “Khālid ibn Ja‘far began to eat and threw the stones of the dates he had eaten in front of al-Ḥārith. When the people had finished eating, Khālid ibn Ja‘far said, ‘Sire, look at all those stones in front of al-Ḥārith ibn Zālim! He has left nothing for me to eat!’ Then al-Ḥārith said, ‘I have eaten the dates and thrown the stones down, but you have eaten them with stones and all!’ Khālid got angry; he was not one to pick a fight with. ‘Do you want to pick a fight with me, Ḥārith?’, he said. ‘I have killed your kinsman and left you an orphan reared by women!’ Al-Ḥārith replied, ‘That was a battle where I was not present, but today I can defend my place.’ ‘Won’t you be grateful to me’, said Khālid, ‘for I killed Zuhayr ibn Jadhīmah and made you chief of Ghaṭafān!’ ‘O yes, I’ll thank you for that!’ said al-Ḥārith.” For another story with a close variant of the date-eating incident as given in *Aghānī*, see below, § 18.

بشره، فسَفَحَه بين تَوْبِيه وجَسَدِه. فلَمَّا مضى هُنَّي من الليل قام إلى قُبَّة خالد وقد أُشْرَجَتْ عليه، فهتكَ شَرَجها ودخل عليه فقتله واغترز في رَحله ومضى.

١٣٦ [١٥ §] **ومنهم الفِطْيُون** وهو عامر بن عامر بن ثعلبة بن حارثة، وكان يهودياً، وكان عزيزاً بيشرب ممتنعاً، وكان يعتذر النساء قبل أزواجهنّ، وكانت يثرب قد دانت له؛ فلم تزل تلك حاله حتّى زوّجت أخت مالك بن العَجَلان بن زيد الخَزْرَجِيّ ثمّ القَوَقَلِيّ، وهو يومئذٍ شابّ، فلَمَّا كان يوم جلائها وأجلست على منصّتها قامت على المنصّة، فخرجت على نادي قومها كاشفةً عن ساقها. فلَمَّا رآها مالك وثب فقال: أيّ عدوّة الله، تخرّجين على قومك كاشفةً عن ساقيك، سوءةً لك! فقالت: سوءةً لك! فالذي يُراد بي أقبح ممّا صنعت. إنّه يذهب بي إلى غير زوجي فيصيبني! فارتاع مالك وقال: صدقت والله فهل فيك خير؟ قالت: ينبغي أن يكون الخير عندك. فلَمَّا ذهب بها لبس مالك لِبْسَةَ النساء واشتمل على سيف صارم، ودخل مع النساء فانكسرى في داخل البيت، فلَمَّا خرج النساء وخلا الفِطْيُون مع المرأة خرج عليه مالك فضربه بالسيف حتّى برّد، وأخذ بيد أخته فخرج بها مع نسائها، وتصايحت يهود، وطلبوا مالكا، فامتنع بقومه، ثمّ خرج هارباً ومعه عدّة من الأوس والخزرج حتّى قدّموا على أبي جُبَيْلَةَ ملك عَسَّان، فأعلموه

١ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

٢ ك: (به).

182 Parallels in ps.-al-Jāhiz, *Maḥāsīn*, 282–283; al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 43 (where al-Fityawn appears as al-Qaytūn); Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, v, 85 (entry “Madinat Yathrib”), quoting Ibn al-Kalbī, with al-Fayṭuwān as alternative to al-Fityawn; Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 360; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ii, 111–112 (in a longer section on the Jewish tribes in Yathrib, but not mentioning al-Fityawn). The truth of the story is denied in the text that is attributed (spuriously) to ‘Abīd ibn Sharyah (quoted in Ibn Hishām, *Tijān*, 464): “Mu‘āwiyah [the Umayyad caliph] said: ‘I have heard, ‘Abīd, that the Jews were in it [viz., Yathrib/Medina] and al-Khazraj did not have any power, to the extent that a man who married a wife could not have her before a Jew had her first; they dominated them.’ ‘Abīd replied, ‘God forbid, O Commander of the Believers! What you have heard has never happened. The Jews there were submissive; al-Aws and al-Khazraj were too powerful and too strong to allow that ...’” For invective lines mentioning al-Fityawn and his *jus primae noctis*, see also al-Jāhiz, *Bighāl*, in his *Rasā’il*, ii, 359, also in al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ix, 230–231. On the much-debated Jewish presence in pre-Islamic Medina, see e.g. EI2, “al-Madīna” (W.M. Watt, see 994–995); Lecker, “Were the Jewish Tribes in Arabia Clients of Arab Tribes?”, 52–54, 57; Munt, “The Prophet’s City before the Prophet” (who gives the story in the version of Ibn Zabālah, who died after 199/814, see pp. 113–116).

drink it; but he poured it between his clothes and his skin. After a short time he got up and went to the pavilion of Khālid, which had been closed with a tie. Al-Ḥārith ripped open the tie, went in, and killed him. Then he mounted into the saddle and left.

[§ 15 al-Fityawn¹⁸²]

Another was al-Fityawn, i.e., ‘Āmir ibn ‘Āmir ibn Tha‘labah ibn Ḥārithah.¹⁸³ He was a Jew who was mighty and powerful in Yathrib,¹⁸⁴ and who used to deflower women before their husbands. Yathrib submitted to him. This went on until the marriage of the sister of Mālik ibn al-‘Ajlān ibn Zayd, of the tribe of al-Khazraj and the clan of Banū Qawqal.¹⁸⁵ He was a young man at the time. On the day of her wedding when she was sat on her bridal throne, she stood up from the throne and went to the congregated men of her tribe, baring her legs.¹⁸⁶ When Mālik saw this he jumped up and said, “Wicked woman!¹⁸⁷ You come to your menfolk showing your legs! Shame on you!” “Shame on *you*!” she replied, “What is intended for me is worse than what I have done. They will take me to someone who is not my husband, and he will have me.” Mālik was shocked and said, “You are right, by God! Have you any good idea?” “It is you who ought to have a good idea”, she said.

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When she was taken away Mālik dressed up as a woman, hiding a sharp sword under his clothes. He went in with the women and hid inside the house. When the women left and al-Fityawn was alone with the woman, Mālik sprang upon him and struck him with the sword until he was stone dead.¹⁸⁸ He took his sister by the hand and went outside with her women. The Jews called out to one another and pursued Mālik, but he resisted with his kinsmen. Then he left, fleeing with a number of men from al-Aws and al-Khazraj. They went to Abū

183 One of the Jafnids of Ghassān; see *ĠN*, i, 195, ii, 157. Fityawn, apparently a nickname, is said to be Hebrew (Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 259), but its meaning is unclear.

184 Yathrib is the name of Medina in pre-Islamic times.

185 See *ĠN*, i, 189 and ii, 385, where he is Mālik ibn al-‘Ajlān ibn Zayd ibn Ghanm ibn Sālim, but not a descendant of Qawqal, brother of Sālim. Al-Khazraj was one of the two main Arab tribes in Yathrib, the other being al-Aws; both were to play a very important role in the life of the prophet Muḥammad and in early Islam, see *E12*, “al-Aws” and “al-Khazraj” (both by W. Montgomery Watt), *E13*, “al-Aws” (Yaara Perlman).

186 Ps.-al-Jāhiz, *Maḥāsīn*, 283: “lifting her robe to her navel”.

187 Literally, “Enemy of God!” (*‘aduwwat Allāh*).

188 Literally, “struck him until he was cold”.

١٣٧ غَلَبَةَ يَهُودَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَفَعَلَهُمْ، فَقَدِمَ أَبُو جُبَيْلَةَ بِيْثْرَبَ وَاتَّخَذَ | طَعَاماً وَدَعَا إِلَيْهِ أَشْرَافَ يَهُودَ وَالْأَوْسِ وَالخَزْرَجِ، فَلَمَّا طَعَمُوا جَعَلَ يَدْفَعُ إِلَى الرَّجُلِ سَيْفًا فَيَضْرِبَانِ بِهِ، حَتَّى قَتَلَ بِهَذَا الْفِعْلِ مِائَةَ مِنْ أَشْرَافِ الْيَهُودِ، فَكَانَ الرَّجُلُ يَقْتُلُ أَخَاهُ وَابْنَ عَمِّهِ، ثُمَّ انْصَرَفَ رَاجِعًا إِلَى الشَّامِ، فَقَوَّيْتَ الْأَوْسِ وَالخَزْرَجِ عَلَيْهِمْ.

[١٦§] وَمِنْهُمْ لَخَنْبِيعَةُ يُنُوفُ ذُو شَنَاثَرِ الْحِمَيْرِيِّ، وَكَانَ مَلِكُ الْيَمَنِ، وَلَمْ يَكُنْ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْمَمْلَكَةِ، وَإِنَّمَا كَانَ مَلِكُهُمْ حِينَ قَتَلَ مَوْثِبَانُ أَخَاهُ، فَاضْطَرَبَ أَمْرُهُمْ حَتَّى مَلَكَهُمْ لَخَنْبِيعَةُ، وَكَانَ فَاسِقًا يَعْمَلُ قَوْمَ لُوطٍ، وَكَانَ يَبْعَثُ إِلَى أَبْنَاءِ الْمُلُوكِ فَيَلُوطُ بِهِمْ، وَكَانَتْ حِمَيْرٌ إِذَا لَبِطَ بِالْغُلَامِ لَمْ تَمْلِكْهُ وَلَا تَرْفَعْ بِهِ. وَكَانَتْ لَهُ مَشْرَبَةٌ فِيهَا كُوَّةٌ تُشْرِفُ عَلَى حَرَسِهِ، فَإِذَا أَتَاهُ الْغُلَامُ يَنْكَحُهُ قَطَعَتْ مَشَافِرَ نَاقَتِهِ وَذَنبَهَا، ثُمَّ يَطَّلِعُ لَخَنْبِيعَةَ مِنَ الْكُوَّةِ وَفِي فِيهِ مَسْوَاكُهُ فَهِيَ عَلَامَةٌ نِكَاحِهِ إِيَّاهُ، فَإِذَا نَزَلَ الْغُلَامُ صَاحُوا بِهِ: أَرَطَبٌ أَمْ يُيَاسُ؟

فَمَكَثَ كَذَلِكَ زَمَانًا حَتَّى نَشَأَ زُرْعَةُ وَهُوَ ذُو نُوَاسٍ، وَكَانَتْ لَهُ ذَوَابَّةٌ فَبَهَا سُمِّيَ ذُو نُوَاسٍ، وَهُوَ الَّذِي تَهَوَّدَ وَتَسَمَّى يُوسُفَ، وَهُوَ صَاحِبُ الْأَخْدُودِ بَنَجْرَانَ، وَكَانُوا نَصَارَى فَحَرَقَهُمْ

١ كذا في هـ، ك، كما في الأغاني، وفي الأصل (تنتفع).

٢ كـ: (فيها).

189 Abū Jubaylah ibn ‘Abd Allāh (of al-Khazraj; see *ĠN*, i, 192) is oddly identified as the Ghas-sānid king in the story of al-Fiṭyawn (ibid., ii, 263). Several rulers of the Jafnids are called Jabalah; there is obviously some confusion with Jubaylah. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam al-buldān*, v, 85) adds: “In another version it is said that he (viz., Mālik ibn al-‘Ajlān) went to Yemen and complained to Tubba’ al-Aṣghar, son of Ḥassān, of al-Fiṭyawn and what he did to their women”.

190 The passage is elliptical and cryptic, and the translation somewhat uncertain. I have taken the dual of the verb (*yaḍṭaribān*) to refer to the two tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj. It is not clear why brothers and cousins are killed. In other versions (*Aghānī*, *Muʿjam al-buldān*) the Jewish leaders are killed one by one as they arrive.

191 Parallels in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, i, 29–31 (tr. Guillaume, 13–14, somewhat bowdlerised); Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 368; Ibn Hishām, *Tijān*, 311–312; Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 636; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, i, 225 (tr. *The Works*, 504); al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 917–919 (tr. *The History*, 189–190); al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxii, 318–319; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 199; al-Maqdisī, *Badʿ*, iii, 181–182; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xv, 303–304.

192 Instead of Lakhnīʿah some sources have Lakhṭīʿah; both are oddly formed by Classical Arabic standards and yet other sources have Lakhīʿah or Lukhayʿah. The name *Lḥyʿt* and its shorter form *Lḥyʿt* (Lahīʿat) is attested in South Arabian inscriptions (see the note by Bosworth in his translation of al-Ṭabarī’s version). Dhū Shanātir is said to mean “the one

Jubaylah, the king of Ghassān,¹⁸⁹ and told him how the Jews had subdued them and what they did. Then Abū Jubaylah went to Yathrib. He prepared | a meal and invited the leaders of the Jews, of al-Aws, and al-Khazraj. When they were eating he gave each man a sword and the two tribes would strike with it,¹⁹⁰ until one hundred leaders of the Jews were killed; a man would kill his brother and his cousin. Then Abū Jubaylah returned to Syria; al-Aws and al-Khazraj then had the upper hand over the Jews.

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[§ 16 Lakhnī'ah Yanūf Dhū l-Shanātir al-Ḥimyarī¹⁹¹]

Another was Lakhnī'ah Yanūf Dhū l-Shanātir al-Ḥimyarī, who was the king of Yemen,¹⁹² though he did not belong to a royal dynasty. He only became their king when Mawthabān killed his brother.¹⁹³ Matters were in disarray until Lakhnī'ah took power. He was an evil man and a pederast. He used to send for young men of royal blood and sodomise them. The Ḥimyarites would not make a young man king if he had been sodomised and he would not be given a high status. He had an upper chamber¹⁹⁴ with a small window overlooking his guardsmen. Whenever a young man would come to him to be bugged, the lips and tail of his she-camel would be cut off. Then Lakhnī'ah would appear from the window with a toothpick in his mouth, as a sign that he had had sex with the lad. When the boy came down they would call at him, "Wet or dry?"

This went on for some time, until Zur'ah had grown up, also known as Dhū Nuwās ("He with the dangling lock"),¹⁹⁵ for he had a lock of hair and was therefore called Dhū Nuwās. He is the one who converted to Judaism, calling himself Yūsuf. He is also "the man of the Trench" in Najrān.¹⁹⁶ Its people were Christians; he burned them, he burned the Gospel, he destroyed the churches,

with fingers"; *shunturah* is said by the Arabic lexicographers to be a Ḥimyarite word for "finger".

193 'Amr ibn Tubba', called Mawthabān because he "sprang" (*wathaba*) upon his brother Ḥassān (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 917) or because he abstained from raiding, *withāb* meaning "bed" (Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārīf*, 634). Ḥimyarite *WThB*, like Hebrew *YShB*, means "to sit" (Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic, Sabaean Dialect*, 153).

194 *Mashrabah*, literally "place for drinking".

195 On him see *E12*, "Dhū Nuwās" (M.R. Al-Assouad); *ĠN*, i, 275 and ii, 612.

196 Najrān is a town in northern Yemen. It was captured around AD 520 by Dhū Nuwās and the story of the martyrs who refused to convert and were burned in a trench (*ukhdūd*) is told in many sources, with its sequel of the invasion by the Christian Abyssinians (Ḥabash, Ethiopians) a few years later. See *E12*, "Nadjrān" (Irfan Shahīd); Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, i, 31–37 (tr. Guillaume, 14–18), etc. The events are briefly alluded to in the Qur'an (Q al-Burūj 85:4–8: «The people of the trench were killed; the fire with fuel, while they [the perpetrators] were seated at it, as witnesses of what they were doing to the believers»).

وحرّق الإنجيل، وهدم الكنائس على أن يهودوا، فبسببه غرّت الحبشة اليمن، وذلك لأنّ الحبشة نصارى، فلما علّت الحبشة على اليمن اعترض البحر فأقحمه فرسه فغرق. فلما نشأ زُرعة هذا | قيل له: كأنك بالملك قد دعاك فيلعب بك كما لعب بغيرك! فاتخذ سكيناً رقيقاً ١٣٨ فلما بعث إليه لخنيعه يدعوه عرف ما يريد، فجعل السكين بين أخمصه ونعله، وأتاه على ناقة له يقال لها سراب، فأناخها ثم صعد إليه، فلما صعد زرعة قام إليه كما كان يقوم لغيره، وذهب يعالجه، فانحنى زرعة وأخذ السكين فوجأ به بطنه^١

[١٧٤] [ومنهم علقمة بن ذي قينان]^٢ بجرأتهم عليه، فأقبل الحَيانِ شاكراً ونهّم إلى زيد بن مَرَبٍ فقالوا: أنت سيدنا وأنت نديم الملك وجليسه، وقد آلى بما تعلم، ووالله لا يصل إلى إخواننا ومنا رجلٌ حيّ، فسله فليصفح. فقال: إنّه قد آلى، ولا يرجع عن أليته. قالوا: فإنّ أبا فافتله ونحن نملكك علينا. قال: لا تعجلوا وأمهّلوا حتّى أرى لذلك موضعاً. فأمسكوا.

١ بقية القصة ناقصة في الأصل، وتامها كما في الأغاني:

... فقتله واحتز رأسه فجعل السّواك في فيه وأطلعه من الكوة فرفع الحرس رؤوسهم فأرؤه ونزل زرعة فصاحوا: زرعة يا ذا نواس! أرطب أم يباس؟ وجاء إلى ناقته فركبها، فلما رأى الحرس اطلاق الرأس صعدوا إليه فإذا هو قد قُتل. فأتوا زرعة فقالوا: ما ينبغي أن يملكنا غيرك بعد أن أرحتنا من هذا الفاسق. واجتمعت جُمير إليه.

٢ ما بين القوسين ناقص في الأصل وفي هـ، كـ

٣ هـ، كـ (مرت)، والتصحيح من الإكليل للهمدانيّ.

٤ كـ: (أتى).

197 Sarāb means "mirage, fata morgana".

198 The story breaks off in the MS at the end of a folio. 'ASH and SKH supply the completion of the story as offered in *Aghānī* (with a chain of authorities including Ibn Ḥabīb): ... killing him. He cut off his head and stuck the toothpick in his mouth. He put it in the window. The guards raised their heads and saw it. Zur'ah went down and they called out to him, "Hey Zur'ah Dangling Lock! Is it wet or dry?" He answered, "The guards will know whether the arse of Dhū Nuwās is wet of dry!" [This exchange is in rhymed prose.] He walked to his camel and mounted it. When the guards saw the head looking out of the

unless they would convert to Judaism. This was why the Abyssinians invaded Yemen, because the Abyssinians are Christians. When the Abyssinians overran Yemen, Dhū Nuwās went as far as the sea; he made his horse plunge into it and drowned.

Now when he, this Zur‘ah, had grown up, | people said to him, “It looks as if the king will call for you; he’ll have his sport with you like he sported with the others!” He took a thin knife and when Lakhnī‘ah sent for him and summoned him, he was well aware of the king’s intention. He hid the knife between his foot-sole and his sandal and arrived on a she-camel called Sarāb.¹⁹⁷ He made her kneel and went up. When Zur‘ah was up the king turned to him as he used to do with the others and began to touch him. Zur‘ah bent over, took the knife, and stabbed his in the belly, ...¹⁹⁸

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[§ 17 ‘Alqamah ibn Dhī Qayfān¹⁹⁹]

... with their recklessness. The two tribes, Shākir and Nihm,²⁰⁰ turned to Zayd ibn Marib²⁰¹ and said, “You are our chief and you are a drinking companion of the king²⁰² and his friend. He has sworn an oath, as you know. I swear by God, it shall not happen to our brothers while there is any man of us alive. Ask him and let him forgive!” Zayd answered, “He has sworn an oath and he will not go back on his oath.” They said, “If he refuses, kill him! We’ll make you our king!” Zayd replied, “Don’t be hasty! Give me some time to think of an occasion”. The others stopped insisting.

window they went up and found the king dead. They went to Zur‘ah and said, “No one but you ought to be king over us, for you have delivered us from that evil man.” The Ḥimyarites all agreed.

199 For this incomplete tale, the beginning of which is missing, no parallels have been found except a few brief passages. See al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, x, 41 (“... Ma‘dī Karib had a son, Marib; Marib had a son, Zayd, the king. He is the one who killed ‘Alqamah ibn Dhī Qayfān and who wrested his kingdom from him”) and Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Ma‘add wa-l-Yaman*, 545–546 (“‘Alqamah ibn Sharāḥīl, who is Qayfān ibn ‘Alas Dhī Jadān, king of al-Bawn, the town of Hamdān in Yemen; he was killed by Zayd ibn Marib [thus instead of Murabb] ibn Ma‘dī Karib al-Hamdānī ... who became king after him”).

200 Shākir and Nihm are brother tribes belonging to Bakīl, a subdivision of the South Arab tribe of Hamdān, see *ĠN*, i, 230, 227. On Hamdān, see *E12*, “Hamdān” (J. Schleifer—W. Montgomery Watt).

201 ‘ASH and SKḤ, incorrectly, *M.r.t.* For Zayd ibn Marib ibn Ma‘dī Karib, of al-Sabī‘, a subdivision of Hamdān, see *ĠN*, i, 228.

202 The Ḥimyarite king is ‘Alqamah ibn Sharāḥīl (or Mālik) Dhū Qayfān, see *ĠN*, i, 278, ii, 155.

قال: 'فبينما زيدٌ جالسٌ مع علقمة إذ جرى ذكر السيوف، فقال علقمة: عندي سيف كان لأجدادي إليه الميّل. فقال له زيد: أبيت اللعن، ادعُ به لأنظرُ إليه. فدعا له، فنظر إليه علقمة ساعةً ثم ناوله زيداً، فنظر إليه وإذا فيه مكتوب: ضرس العير، سيف الجبر، بانست امرئ وقع في يده لم يغضب لقومه. فهزه زيد ساعةً ثم ضربه به فقتله، ووثبت همدان فألبسوه التاج وملكوه عليهم. وفي ذلك يقول شاعرهم:

فيممّ^٢ ضرسَ العيرِ مفرقَ رأسه فخرّ ولم يثبّت لحقك باطله
فلم أر يوماً كان أكثرَ باكياً غداةً غداً ملّ بون تُحدى رواجه
وغادره يكبو لحرّ جبينه وورث زيداً تاجه وحلائله

[١٨٥] ومنهم الصّمة الأكبر وهو مالك بن بكر بن علقمة^٣ بن جداعة، أخو بني جشم بن معاوية بن بكر ابن هوازن، وكان غزا بني قيس بن حنظلة، من البراجم، فأسره الجعد بن الشماخ

١ كذا في هـ؛ وفي كـ: (فقال) كما في النسختين.

٢ كـ: (فيمم).

٣ هـ، كـ: (علقمة)، والتصحيح من الأغاني وغيره.

203 *Ḍirs al-ʿayr*, mentioned as the name of the sword of 'Alqamah ibn Dhī Qayfān in the lexicons (al-Firūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. *ḍrs*). Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (*Iqd*, iii, 370, cf. also Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 311) says that 'Alqamah ibn Sharāḥīl Dhū Qayfān possessed the famous sword known as al-Ṣamṣamah of the well-known warrior and poet 'Amr ibn Ma'dī Karib (d. 9/631), quoting a line that shows, rather, that 'Amr possessed 'Alqamah's sword: "A sword of Ibn Dhī Qayfān I have, | its blade selected in the time of 'Ād".

204 For this sense of *jabr*, see e.g. Lane, *Lexicon*.

205 The poet is unknown and the lines have not been found elsewhere except the first, which is quoted in al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs* (*ḍrs*), beginning with "I struck (*darabtu*) with the Onager Tooth ..." and attributing it to Zayd himself.

206 The Arabic has *mil Bawn* (licence for *min al-Bawn*); Bawn (without article) is a town in Yemen according to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*; but he mentions a report that there are two places called al-Bawn (with article). Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, 285 mentions al-Bawn, in Yemen.

One day, when Zayd was sitting together with ‘Alqamah, they happened to talk about swords. ‘Alqamah said, “I have a sword that my ancestors were fond of.” “Sire,” said Zaid, “Have it brought here so that I can look at it!” ‘Alqamah asked for it to be brought and looked at it for a while; then he handed it to Zayd, who looked at it too. He found an inscription written on it: “Onager Tooth,²⁰³ the King’s²⁰⁴ Sword in the arse of any man in whose hand it comes who does not | defend his people!” Thereupon Zaid brandished the sword, struck the king with it and killed him. All Hamdān rose up, crowned Zayd and made him their king. Their poet said on this:²⁰⁵

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He aimed the Onager Tooth at the parting on his head
 and he fell down. His falsehood did not stand firm against your truth.
 I have never seen a day on which more people wept,
 the morning he left al-Bawn²⁰⁶ and his camels were led away.
 He left it with his forehead on the earth,
 while Zayd was made to inherit his crown and his wives.

[§ 18 al-Šimmaḥ al-Akbar²⁰⁷]

Another is al-Šimmaḥ al-Akbar, who is Mālik ibn Bakr ibn ‘Alaqaḥ²⁰⁸ ibn Judā‘ah, of the Banū Jusham ibn Mu‘āwiyah ibn Bakr ibn Hawāzin.²⁰⁹ He had raided the Banū Qays ibn Ḥanzalah, one of al-Barājjim,²¹⁰ and was taken pris-

207 For parallels see Abū ‘Ubaydah, *Naqā’id*, 119–120; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xii, 113–114; Ibn Rashīq, *Umdah*, ii, 207, in a section on the “battle-day (*yawm*) of ‘Āqil”; but *Yawm ‘Āqil* as described in al-Shimshāṭī, *Anwār*, i, 239–242 is another event not involving al-Šimmaḥ or his tribe.

208 ‘ASH and SKḤ have ‘Ullafah.

209 There is some confusion about his lineage; see al-Āmidī, *Mu’talif*, 144; al-Marzubānī, *Mu’jam al-shu‘arā’*, 257, 312–313; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, x, 3. ĞN, i, 116 has Mu‘āwiyah (al-Šimmaḥ) ibn Bakrī ibn ‘Alaqaḥ ibn Judā‘ah ibn Ghaziyyah ibn Jusham; Abū ‘Ubaydah, *Naqā’id*, 119 has Mu‘āwiyah ibn Mālik ibn ‘Alaqaḥ ibn Ghaziyyah. Al-Šimmaḥ is apparently a nickname; *šimmaḥ* may mean “stopper; male serpent; female hedgehog; courageous” according to the lexicographers. It is not known which sense is meant here. He is called al-Akbar (the Older) to distinguish him from his son Durayd ibn al-Šimmaḥ, famous poet and tribal leader, who died 8/629 at the battle of Ḥunayn, fighting against the prophet Muḥammad and the Muslims; on him see below, § 91. Durayd is said to have had a brother called Mālik (*Aghānī*, x, 28), to be distinguished from his father, also a poet (*Aghānī*, x, 27); both were poets, too. On the large tribe of Hawāzin, see *EL2*, “Hawāzin” (W. Montgomery Watt).

210 On Qays ibn Ḥanzalah, part of Tamīm, see ĞN, i, 59 and 73; al-Barājjim (plural of al-Burjumī) refers to five branches of Ḥanzalah (i, 59 and ii, 224).

الْبُرْجُمِيِّ وَفَضَّ أَصْحَابَهُ، فَمَكَثَ عِنْدَهُ عَاماً لَا يُفْدَى. فَلَمَّا طَالَ ذَلِكَ عَلَيْهِ جَعَلَ يَأْتِيهِ فِي كُلِّ رَأْسِ شَهْرٍ بِأَفْعَى يَقُولُ: وَاللَّهِ لَتُقْدَيْنَ أَوْ لَأُعْضَنَّهُ بِكَ! فَلَمَّا طَالَ ذَلِكَ عَلَيْهِ قَالَ: يَا هَذَا إِنْ قَوْمِي لَا أَرَاهُمْ يَفْدُونِي، فَجَزَّ نَاصِيَتِي عَلَى النَّوَابِ. فَفَعَلَ وَأَطْلَقَهُ.

ثُمَّ إِنَّ الْجَعْدَ أَتَاهُ يَسْتَشِيهِ، [فَقَالَ لَهُ الصَّمَّةُ مَا لَكَ عِنْدِي ثَوَابٌ] ١ فَقَدَّمَهُ فَضْرَبَ عُنُقَهُ، فَآتَى عَلَى ذَلِكَ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ. ثُمَّ إِنَّ الصَّمَّةَ حَضَرَ الْمَوْسِمَ، فَاتَّفَقَ الصَّمَّةُ وَأَبُو مَرْحَبٍ ثَعْلَبَةَ بْنِ حَصْبَةَ بْنِ أَرْزَمِ بْنِ ثَعْلَبَةَ بْنِ يَرْبُوعَ، عِنْدَ حَرْبِ بْنِ أُمَيَّةَ، فَقَدَّمَ إِلَيْهِمَا سَوِيْقاً وَتَمْرًا، فَجَعَلَ الصَّمَّةُ يَأْكُلُ وَيُلْقِي النَّوَى بَيْنَ يَدَيْ ثَعْلَبَةَ، فَقَالَ: وَيْحَكَ يَا ثَعْلَبَةَ، أَكَلْتَ التَّمْرَ كُلَّهُ؟ أَمَا تَرَى النَّوَى بَيْنَ يَدَيْكَ؟ فَقَالَ لَهُ ثَعْلَبَةَ: إِنِّي كُنْتُ أَلْقِي النَّوَى، وَأَنْتَ تَأْكُلُ التَّمْرَ بَنَوَاهُ، فَلذَلِكَ عَظَّمُ بَطْنُكَ. فَقَالَ الصَّمَّةُ: إِنَّمَا عَظَّمُ بَطْنِي | دِمَاءُ قَوْمِكَ، أَيْنَ الْجَعْدُ بْنُ الشَّمَاخِ؟ فَقَالَ أَبُو مَرْحَبٍ: مَا فَخْرُكَ بِرَجُلٍ أَسْرَكَ وَمَنْ عَلَيْكَ ثُمَّ أَتَاكَ مُسْتَشِيْبًا فَقَتَلْتَهُ؟ إِنَّ لِلَّهِ عَلَيَّ أَنْ لَا أَرَاكَ فِي غَيْرِ هَذَا الْمَوْضِعِ إِلَّا قَتَلْتُكَ أَوْ مَتَّ دُونَكَ! فَافْتَرَقَا.

ثُمَّ إِنَّ الصَّمَّةَ غَزَا بَنِي تَمِيمٍ فَهَزَمَ أَصْحَابَهُ، وَأَسْرَهُ هُوَ وَابْنُهُ مَعَهُ وَبَعْضُ أَصْحَابِهِ، أَسْرَهُ الْحَارِثُ بْنُ بَيْبَةَ الْمُجَاشِعِيِّ جَدُّ الْبَعِيثِ الشَّاعِرِ. فَقَالَ الصَّمَّةُ لِلْحَارِثِ بْنِ بَيْبَةَ: سِرَّ بِي فِي

١ الزيادة من النقائض وليست في هـ، كـ

٢ كـ: (إن).

٣ هـ، كـ: (ابن)، والتصحيح من النقائض.

211 Abū 'Ubaydah, *Naqā'id*, 119; al-Ja'd ibn al-Shammākh, one of the Banū Ṣudayy ibn Mālik ibn Ḥanzalah; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xii, 113, quoting Ibn al-Kalbī: al-Ja'd ibn 'Amir ibn Mālik ibn Tha'labah ibn al-Ṣudayy.

212 Al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 162: "The Arabs would cut off the forelock of captive knights, if they wanted to let them go and bestow a favour upon them." Al-Jāhīz explains that this humiliation would prevent them from making scathing poetry on their captors. Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ānī*, 1021: "In pre-Islamic times a man would cut off the forelock of a prisoner and let him go, putting the forelock in his quiver. At a boasting contest he would produce it and say, 'This is So-and-so's forelock!'. See also Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, v, 197–198.

213 The parenthesis, from *Naqā'id*, has been added to make the sudden turn of events slightly less abrupt.

214 *Mawsim*, a festival, often connected with market days. Abū 'Ubaydah and al-Balādhurī specifically mention 'Ukāz, the most famous pre-Islamic annual fair, not far from Mecca; see E12, "Ukāz" (Irfan Shahīd).

oner by al-Ja'd ibn al-Shammākh al-Burjumī,²¹¹ who routed his men. Al-Šimmah spent a year with him without being ransomed. When al-Ja'd thought it was taking too long, he began to show a viper to him at the beginning of every month, saying, "I swear by God, you shall be ransomed or else I'll let it bite you!" When this went on for a long time, however, al-Šimmah said, "I don't think my people will ransom me! Now cut off my forelock, as a token of your recompense in due course!"²¹² Al-Ja'd did so and he let him go.

Later, al-Ja'd came to him asking for recompense, [but al-Šimmah said, "I don't think I owe you any recompense!"]²¹³ and he sat al-Ja'd down before him and struck off his head.

Some time went by. One day al-Šimmah attended a feast day.²¹⁴ He met with Abū Marḥab Tha'labah ibn Ḥaṣabah ibn Aznam ibn Tha'labah ibn Yarbū',²¹⁵ and they visited Ḥarb ibn Umayyah,²¹⁶ who offered them *sawīq*²¹⁷ and dates. Al-Šimmah began to eat and threw the date stones in front of Tha'labah.²¹⁸ "I say, Tha'labah," he said, "You have eaten all the dates!" "I have thrown the stones down," replied Tha'labah, "but you have eaten the dates, stones and all. That's why you've got a fat belly!" Al-Šimmah said, "My belly is fat, rather, | from the blood of your kinsmen! Tell me, where is²¹⁹ al-Ja'd ibn al-Shammākh?" Then Abū Marḥab said, "Why are you boasting about killing a man who took you prisoner but granted you your freedom, who then came to you asking for recompense, and whom you killed? I swear to God, if I see you in some other place²²⁰ I'll kill you, or die attempting!" They parted.

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Subsequently al-Šimmah raided the Banū Tamīm but his men were routed and he and his son were taken prisoner, together with some of his men, by al-Ḥārith ibn Baybah al-Mujāshī', the grandfather of al-Ba'īth, the poet.²²¹ Al-Šimmah said to al-Ḥārith ibn Baybah, "Take me to your lands until I get ransom

215 ḠN, i, 69 (without mentioning Abū Marḥab Tha'labah). Abū 'Ubaydah calls him Tha'labah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥaṣabah ibn Aznam.

216 The son of the eponymous ancestor of the Umayyad caliphs (and before them 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, the third caliph). He was "one of the leading figures of Mecca in his day" (E12, "Ḥarb b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams").

217 A broth of wheat or barley; for recipes (from a tenth-century cookbook and probably more luxurious than the pre-Islamic variety) see Ibn Sayyār, *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh*, 37–38 (tr. *Annals of the Caliphs' Kitchens*, 126–127).

218 For this motif see also above, § 14 note 181.

219 Reading, with *Naqā'id*, *ayna* instead of *ibn* (ʿASH, SKH); *Ansāb al-ashraf* has "Do you know anything of (*hal laka 'ilm bi-*) al-Ja'd ibn al-Shammākh?"

220 Shedding blood during a *mawsim* was taboo.

221 ḠN, i, 61 (where al-Ba'īth is the grandson of Baybah's brother Abū Khālid). On al-Ba'īth (Khidāsh ibn Bishr), who died probably in the first quarter of the 2nd/8th century, see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 363–364, E12, "al-Ba'īth" (Ch. Pellat).

بلادك حتى أفتدي أصحابي. وكانت الحجرّة لبني رياح بن يربوع، إليها تجتمع بنو حنظلة في أمورها، فجاء الحارث مُردفاً الصمّة حتى إذا نزل رآه أبو مرحب، فدخل بيته واشتمل على السيف، ثم خرج والناس غافلون، فضرب به بطن الصمّة فقتله، وصاح الحارث: يال دارم! قُتل أسيري في يدي! ففارت يربوع ودارم، فكاد يقع القتال بينهم، فسفرت السفراء بينهم، وأرضي الحارث بن بيبة من الصمّة فسكنوا.

[١٩٩] ومنهم عدي بن زيد بن أيوب بن حمار العبادي الشاعر، أحد بني امرئ القيس بن زيد مناة بن تميم، وكان كاتباً لكسرى على ما يُجْتَبَى من العور، وكان هو سبب مُلك النعمان بن المُنذِر اللّحمي. وكان لعدي بن زيد عدوٌّ من أهل الحيرة يقال له عدي بن مرينا. فلم يزل يلاطف النعمان حتى غلب على سمره ونزل منه^٢ أحسن منزلة، فجعل يبغى عدي بن زيد الغوائل، ويحمل النعمان عليه حتى وغر صدره، فكتب إلى كسرى يستزيه متشوقاً؛ إليه، ١٤١

١ ك: (الهجرة).

٢ (أسيري في يدي): ناقصة في ك

٣ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

٤ ه: (متشوقاً).

222 *Ḥajrah* or *ḥujrah*; see Lane, *Lexicon*.

223 Riyāḥ ibn Yarbū' ibn Ḥanzalah, of Tamīm, see *ĠN*, i, 68. Instead, *Naqā'id* has Banū 'Aṣim ibn 'Ubayd ibn Tha'labah ibn Yarbū'.

224 Dārim is the branch of Tamīm to which Mujāshī' and therefore al-Ḥārith ibn Baybah belong. Instead, *Naqā'id* has "Men of Mālik!", probably referring to the father of Dārim, Mālik ibn Ḥanzalah (*ĠN*, i, 59).

225 'Adī ibn Zayd (d. c. 600) is an important poet with an interesting career, whose poetry is deemed to be somewhat tainted by his close contact with urban and courtly culture (he could read and write and knew Persian!). On him see *EL2*, "Adī b. Zayd" (Ch. Pellat); *EL3*, "Adī b. Zayd" (Tilman Seidensticker); *EAL*, "Adī ibn Zayd al-'Ibādī" (P.F. Kennedy); Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 178–179. A long entry on him in al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* (ii, 95–154) also provides versions of his murder in much greater detail than in the present book; see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 179. On 'Adī's death, see also Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 228–229; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, i, 243–244, tr. *The Works*, 523–525; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1016–1024, tr. *The History*, v, 339–351.

226 For his lineage see *ĠN*, i, 80 and ii, 141. Instead of Ḥimār one also finds Ḥammād (Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 225, al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ii, 97) and Ḥimāz (Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 229). Al-'Ibādī,

for my men!" The adjacent country²²² belonged to the Banū Riyāḥ ibn Yarbū',²²³ where the Banū Tha'labah assembled for their affairs. Al-Ḥārith went there, seating al-Ṣimmah behind him on his camel. When he dismounted Abū Marḥab saw him. He entered his tent, hid a sword under his robe, came out again and before anyone noticed what was happening he struck al-Ṣimmah in the belly, killing him. Al-Ḥārith called out, "Men of Dārim!²²⁴ My prisoner has been killed!" All Yarbū' and Dārim were roused and they almost came to blows. Mediators went to and fro between the two sides; al-Ḥārith ibn Baybah was given satisfaction for the killing of al-Ṣimmah and peace was restored.

[§ 19 'Adī ibn Zayd²²⁵]

Another was 'Adī ibn Zayd ibn Ayyūb ibn Ḥimār al-'Ibādī, the poet, one of the Banū Imri' al-Qays ibn Zayd Manāh ibn Tamīm.²²⁶ He served as secretary to Kistrā,²²⁷ charged with the revenue of al-Ghawr.²²⁸ He was instrumental in bringing al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir al-Lakhmī to power as king.²²⁹ 'Adī ibn Zayd had an enemy from among the people of al-Ḥīrah, called 'Adī ibn Marīnā,²³⁰ who fawned upon al-Nu'mān until he became the king's main company in his conversations during evenings and he gained a high position with the king. He harboured evil intentions²³¹ towards 'Adī ibn Zayd and he incited al-Nu'mān against him, to the extent that he made the king's breast boil with rage. 'Adī ibn Zayd wrote to | Kistrā, asking to be allowed to visit al-Nu'mān²³² and

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unlike most other adjectives ending in *-ī* in the book, does not indicate a tribal affiliation, for once: it refers to the 'Ibād ("slaves, or servants [of God]"), the sedentary Christians of al-Ḥīrah.

- 227 The Arabic form of Khusraw (Greek Chosroes), the name of the Persian Sassanid emperor; he was Khusraw Parwīz (or Khusrō Aparvēz), who reigned 590–628.
- 228 'ASH reads al-Ghūr, as if referring to the region of that name in present-day Afghanistan. Rather, it is al-Ghawr ("the lowland"), which according to Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī (*Muḥjam*, 1008) is a place in Syria but which could also refer to the broad region of Tihāmah (the western coastal region of the Arabian Peninsula) and the lands adjacent to Yemen (Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, iv, 217). 'Adī was "secretary for Arab affairs" (Seidensticker, in *EI3*).
- 229 He was the last king of the Lakhmids (r. 580–602), executed by his Sassanid overlord.
- 230 He is called 'Adī ibn Aws ibn Marīnā in al-Yā'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, i, 242; the "sons of Marīnā" are described as a noble family (*ashraf*) in al-Ḥīrah, but no tribal affiliation is known.
- 231 The word *ghawā'il* is cognate with *mughtāl* ("murder victim"), the word used in the title of the book.
- 232 The Arabic has "to visit him", but the context and other sources prove that the pronoun refers to al-Nu'mān, not to Kistrā.

فَأَذِنَ كِسْرَى لِعَدِيِّ فِي زيارته، فَلَمَّا بَلَغَ النِّعْمَانَ خَرُوجَ عَدِيِّ إِلَيْهِ أَجْلَسَ لَهُ قَوْمًا فَأَخَذُوهُ قَبْلَ أَنْ يَصِلَ إِلَيْهِ، فَمَضَوْا بِهِ إِلَى الصَّنِينِ فَحَبَسَهُ هُنَاكَ، فَقَالَ عَدِيُّ بْنُ زَيْدٍ شِعْرَهُ كُلَّهُ أَوْ أَكْثَرَهُ فِي الْحَبْسِ.

ثُمَّ إِنَّ أَخَاهُ كَلَّمَ كِسْرَى، فَوَجَّهَ رَجُلًا يُخْرِجُهُ مِنَ السِّجْنِ. فَلَمَّا أَتَاهُ الرَّجُلُ بَدَأَ بِالسِّجْنِ فَدَخَلَهُ، ثُمَّ رَجَعَ إِلَى النِّعْمَانَ بِكِتَابِ كِسْرَى فِي أَمْرِهِ، فَوَثَبَ أَعْدَاؤُهُ عَلَيْهِ فَغَمُّوهُ حَتَّى مَاتَ، وَكَتَبَ إِلَى كِسْرَى إِنَّهُ مَاتَ قَبْلَ وَصُولِ كِتَابِ الْمَلِكِ، وَأَوْصَى الرَّسُولَ فَسْتَرَا أَمْرَ عَدِيِّ، وَوَأَفَّقَ كِتَابَ النِّعْمَانَ.

[§ ٢٠] وَمِنْهُمْ عُرْوَةُ الرَّحَالِ بْنِ عُتْبَةَ بْنِ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ كِلَابٍ. وَسَبَبَ قَتْلَهُ أَنَّ النِّعْمَانَ بْنَ الْمُنْذِرِ كَانَ يُوَجِّهُ فِي كُلِّ مَوْسِمٍ بَعْضَ تَحْمِلِ التَّجَارَاتِ تُبَاعُ لَهُ فِي الْمَوْسِمِ، فَكَانَ بُلْعَاءُ بْنُ قَيْسٍ يَعْزِضُ لَهَا، فَكَانَ يُجِيرُهَا لَهُ بَعْضُ أَشْرَافِ الْعَرَبِ الْأَعْرَاءِ، فَحَضَرَ عُرْوَةُ الرَّحَالِ النِّعْمَانَ وَقَدْ جَهَّزَ عَيْرَهُ وَجَلَسَ فِي فَيْئَاتِهِ وَعِنْدَهُ وَفُودُ الْعَرَبِ، وَحَضَرَ الْبِرَاضُ الْكِنَانِيُّ^١ وَكَانَ خَلِيعًا فَاتِكًا، فَقَالَ النِّعْمَانُ: مَنْ يُجِيرُ هَذِهِ الْعَيْرِ؟ فَقَالَ الْبِرَاضُ: أَنَا أُجِيرُهَا. فَقَالَ لَهُ عُرْوَةُ: أَنْتَ تَجِيرُهَا عَلَى أَهْلِ الشَّيْحِ^٢

١ ك: (الكتاني).

٢ ك: (الشيخ).

233 See also *Aghānī*, ii, 116; it is a place near Kufa (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*). It is a dual (meaning “Two Baskets”) but Yāqūt specifies the oblique form rather than the expected nominative (al-Šinnān).

234 Several poems addressed to al-Nuʿmān are preserved in *al-Aghānī* and other sources. His poetry has been collected by Muḥammad Jabbār al-Muʿaybid (ʿAdī ibn Zayd, *Dīwān*).

235 He was called Ubayy according to al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, i, 243–244, *Aghānī*, ii, 105, 118–121.

236 Al-Yaʿqūbī specifies he was smothered with a pillow or cushion (*wisādah*).

237 Among the numerous parallels see Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 195–196; idem, *Munammaq*, 164–168; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, i, 184–186 (tr. Guillaume, 710); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 111–112; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIqd*, v, 253–255; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxii, 56–58; al-Maqdisī, *Badʿ*, iv, 134–136; al-ʿAskarī, *Jamharah*, ii, 94; al-Maydānī, *Majmaʿ*, ii, 105–106; Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, ii, 312–313 (in the commentary by Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī), al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār*, 128–130; Ibn Nubātah, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, 90–91; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, xv, 425–427. The incident is part of what is known as “the second battle day (*yawm*) of al-Fijār”, the “sacrilegious war”—because waged during holy months, see *E12*, “Fidjār” (J.W. Fück). The prophet Muḥammad is said to have been present at some of the ensuing encounters as a boy of fourteen or fifteen years old.

saying that he was longing to see him. Kisrā sent his permission. But when al-Nu‘mān heard that ‘Adī was coming to visit him, he instructed some men who apprehended him before he arrived. They took him to al-Ṣinnayn,²³³ where he was imprisoned. ‘Adī composed all or most of his poem while in prison.²³⁴

His brother²³⁵ spoke to Kisrā and the latter sent a man to get ‘Adī out of prison. The man went to the prison first and entered it, then he turned to al-Nu‘mān with a letter from Kisrā about ‘Adī. But his enemies sprang upon him and smothered him until he died.²³⁶ Al-Nu‘mān wrote to Kisrā informing him that ‘Adī had died before the arrival of the emperor’s letter. He instructed the messenger to cover up the matter of ‘Adī and to make his story conform with al-Nu‘mān’s letter.

[§ 20 ‘Urwah al-Raḥḥāl ibn ‘Utbah²³⁷]

Another is ‘Urwah al-Raḥḥāl ibn ‘Utbah ibn Ja‘far ibn Kilāb.²³⁸ The cause of his being killed was as follows. On every market festival²³⁹ al-Nu‘mān ibn al-Mundhir used to send a caravan carrying goods to be sold at the market. The tribe of Bal‘ā’ ibn Qays²⁴⁰ stood in its way, so some powerful leaders of the Arabs provided protection.²⁴¹ Once ‘Urwah al-Raḥḥāl was in the presence of al-Nu‘mān, who had equipped his caravan and sat in his forecourt, together with Arab visitors. Al-Barrād al-Kinānī also appeared; he was a dissolute and murderous character.²⁴² Al-Nu‘mān asked, “Who will protect this caravan?” Al-Barrād answered, “I will!” Then ‘Urwah said, “You will protect it against ‘the people of

238 ḠN, i, 93 and ii, 575; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 217–218 (on the confusion of ‘Urwah al-Raḥḥāl with al-Raḥḥāl ibn ‘Azrah ibn al-Mukhtār or al-Raḥḥāl ibn Majdūh al-Numayrī).

239 *Mawsim*, see above, note 214. Other sources (among them Ibn Ḥabīb in his *Muḥabbar*, 195) specify the market as ‘Ukāz. Al-Raḥḥāl means “he who travels much”; “he was called al-Raḥḥāl because he often visited kings” (al-Maydānī, *Majma’*, ii, 106).

240 ḠN, i, 36; they belong to Kinānah.

241 Instead of *yujūru* (from *ajāra*, “to provide protection, give safe conduct”), also found in many other parallels, it is *yujūzu* (from *ajāza*, “to let pass”) in Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*; Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*; al-Maydānī, *Majma’*. Although both readings seem possible, the former is probably to be preferred.

242 He is al-Barrād ibn Qays ibn Rāfi‘ ibn Qays, of Kinānah (ḠN, i, 42 and ii, 225); in Ibn Ḥabīb’s *Munammaq* (164) and *Muḥabbar* (195) he is said to be al-Barrād Rāfi‘ ibn Qays. He became proverbial: *aftak min al-Barrād*, “more murderous than al-Barrād”, is found in several books on proverbs and Ibn Ḥabīb lists him among the *futtāk al-Jāhiliyyah* “the pre-Islamic killers” (*Muḥabbar*, 195). Abū Tammām (d. 232/845) mentions in a poem “a murder like that of al-Barrād” (*Dīwān*, ii, 312); also al-Tha‘ālibī, *Thimār*, 129, s.v. “*fatkat al-Barrād*”.

١٤٢ وَالْقَيْصُومُ؟ إِنَّمَا أَنْتَ كَالْكَلْبِ | الْخَلِيعِ—وكان البرّاضُ رَثَّ الهيئةِ ومعه سيفٌ قد أُكِلَ غِمْدُهُ—
 أَنْتَ أَضْيَقُ اسْتِئْثَانًا مِنْ ذَلِكَ، وَلَكِنِّي أَيُّهَا الْمَلِكُ أُجِيرُهَا مِنَ الْحَيِّينَ، يَرِيدُ قَيْسًا وَخِنْدِفًا.١ فقال
 البرّاضُ: أَنْتَ تُجْبِرُ عَلَيَّ أَهْلَ تِهَامَةَ؟ فَلَمْ يَلْتَفِتِ النِّعْمَانُ إِلَى قَوْلِهِ وَازْدَرَاهُ وَدَفَعَهَا إِلَى عُرْوَةَ. فَخَرَجَ
 بِالْعَبِيرِ وَخَرَجَ الْبِرَّاضُ فِي أَثَرِهِ حَتَّى إِذَا كَانَ بِيَعْضِ الطَّرِيقِ أَدْرَكَهُ الْبِرَّاضُ، فَقَدَّمَ أَمَامَ عَيْرِهِ وَأَخْرَجَ
 الْأَزْلَامَ يَسْتَقْسِمُ بِهَا، فَمَرَّ بِهِ عُرْوَةَ فَقَالَ: مَا تَصْنَعُ؟ فَقَالَ: أَسْتَخِيرُ فِي قَتْلِكَ. فَضَحِكَ وَلَمْ يَرَهُ
 شَيْئًا. ثُمَّ سَارَ عُرْوَةَ حَتَّى انْتَهَى إِلَى أَهْلِهِ دُوَيْنَ الْجَرِيبِ عَلَى مَاءٍ يُقَالُ لَهُ أَوَارَةٌ، فَأَنْزَلَ اللَّطِيمَةَ
 وَسَرَّحُوا الظَّهْرَ. وَقَدْ كَانَ الْبِرَّاضُ يَبْتَغِي مِنْهُ غِرَّةً فَلَمْ يَقْدِرْ عَلَيْهَا حَتَّى صَادَفَهُ نِصْفَ النَّهَارِ فِي
 ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمِ وَهُوَ نَائِمٌ وَحَدَهُ فِي قُبَّةٍ مِنْ أَدَمٍ، فَدَخَلَ عَلَيْهِ فَقَتَلَهُ وَمَضَى.٢

[§ ٢١] وَمِنْهُمْ كَعْبُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ التَّمْرِيِّ. وَكَانَ الْمُنْذَرُ ذُو الْقَرْنَيْنِ بْنِ مَاءِ السَّمَاءِ دَعَا ذَاتَ
 يَوْمٍ النَّاسَ فَقَالَ: مَنْ يَهْجُو الْحَارِثَ بْنَ جَبَلَةَ الْعَسَّانِيَّ؟ فَدَعَا حَرْمَلَةَ بْنَ عَسَلَةَ الشَّيْبَانِيَّ فِيمَنْ
 دَعَا، | وَأُمُّ حَرْمَلَةَ مِنْ غَسَّانٍ؛ فَقَالَ: أَهْجُهُ. فَقَالَ: لَا يَنْطَلِقُ لِسَانِي بِشَتْمِهِ. وَأَنْشَأَ يَقُولُ:
 ١٤٣

١ ك: (وخذق).

٢ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

243 "Someone who chews wormwood and southernwood (*al-shīh wa-l-qaysūm*): said about someone of pure Bedouin stock" (al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās, QSM*).

244 Qays probably refers to the large group Qays ibn 'Aylān (*ĠN*, i, 92, ii, 462). Khindif is a large tribal confederation including Tamīm as well as Kinānah (*ĠN*, i, 1, ii, 347).

245 Such arrow-shafts were used in the game called *maysir* (on which see *ET2*, "Maysir" [T. Fahd], Jamil, *Ethics and Poetry*, 239–276), which is usually connected with dividing a slaughtered camel. Here, they are used to seek an oracle.

246 Al-Jarīb is a large wadi in Nejd (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*; cf. Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, 378–380); on Uwārah, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* and Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, 207.

247 The word used here, *laṭīmah*, also used in many parallel versions, refers to a caravan trading in perfumes and spices (*WKAS*, *Lām*, 755–757).

248 Incomplete in *AM*; parallels in Ibn Ḥabīb, *Man nusiba ilā ummih*, 94–95; al-Mufaḍḍal, *Amthāl*, 50–52; al-Āmidī, *Mu'talif*, 157–158; al-'Askarī, *Jamharah*, i, 100–101; Ibn al-'Adīm,

wormwood and southernwood’?²⁴³ But you’re just like an impudent | dog! ...”— 142
 al-Barrāḍ looked scruffy and he was carrying a sword in a shabby sheath—“...
 You are too tight-arsed for that! But, Sire, I will protect it against the two tribes!”
 He meant Qays and Khindif.²⁴⁴ Al-Barrāḍ said, “You’ll give protection against
 all the people of Tihāmah?!” But al-Nu‘mān did not pay attention to him and
 slighted him. He gave the job to ‘Urwah, who left with the caravan. Al-Barrāḍ
 followed him in his tracks and somewhere on the way overtook him. He stood
 in front of the caravan and got out his divining arrow-shafts in order to cast
 them.²⁴⁵ ‘Urwah came past him and asked, “What are you doing?” “I am cast-
 ing lots to find out how to kill you”, replied al-Barrāḍ. ‘Urwah laughed, thinking
 nothing of it. He went on until he arrived at his people, a short distance before
 al-Jarīb, at a waterhole called Uwārah.²⁴⁶ He unloaded the goods²⁴⁷ and they
 sent the camels to pasture. Al-Barrāḍ attempted to get at ‘Urwah unawares but
 was unable to do so, until noon of that day. ‘Urwah was sleeping alone in a
 leather tent. Al-Barrāḍ went in, killed him, and left.

[§ 21 Ka‘b ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Namarī²⁴⁸]

Another is Ka‘b ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Namarī.²⁴⁹ One day al-Mundhir Dhū l-Qar-
 nayn ibn Mā’ al-Samā’²⁵⁰ summoned the people and said, “Who will lam-
 poon al-Ḥārith ibn Jabalah of Ghassān?”²⁵¹ Among those he had called for was
 Ḥarmalah ibn ‘Asalah al-Shaybānī, | whose mother was of Ghassān.²⁵² “Lam- 143
 poon him!”, ordered the king; but Ḥarmalah said, “I can’t bring my tongue to
 revile him.” Then he recited,

Bughyah, 2186–2188; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, x, 91–92 (quoting from Abū Muḥammad al-
 A‘rābī, *Ḍallat al-adīb* and Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-maqtūlīn ghīlatan*).

249 He belongs to Namir (for this tribe, see *ĠN*, i, 167) but his lineage has not been found.

250 As Ibn Ḥabīb writes in his *Muḥabbar* (359), he is the Lakhmid king al-Mundhir ibn Imrī’
 al-Qays (d. c. 554), Mā’ al-Samā’ (“Heaven’s Water”) being his mother, whose real name was
 Māwiyyah bint ‘Awf. Dhū l-Qarnayn (“He with the two horns”) is an epithet also given to
 Alexander the Great.

251 Ghassānid (Jafnid) king (d. 569 or 570), ruling in Syria at the eastern frontier of the
 Roman/Byzantine Empire; see *ĠN*, Tab 193 and ii, 305–306, *E12*, “al-Ḥārith b. Ḍjabala” (Irfan
 Shahīd). He was a vassal of the Romans and rival of the Lakhmids in Iraq, who were vassals
 of Persia.

252 He is Ḥarmalah ibn al-Ḥukaym ibn ‘Ufayr, of Murrah—Dhuhl—Shaybān, see *ĠN*, i, 146
 and ii, 318; ‘Asalah was his mother, which is why a parallel of the story is found in Ibn
 Ḥabīb’s *Kitāb Man nusiba ilā ummih* (“The Book on Those Traced to their Mother”), 94.

ألم ترأني بلغت المشيبا وفي دار قومي عفا كسوبا
 وإن الإله تنصفتُهُ بأن لا أعق وأن لا أحوبا
 وأن لا أكافر ذا نعمة وأن لا أخيبه مستشيبا

[وعسان قوم هم والدي فهل ينسينهم أن أغيبا
 فأوزع بها بعض من يعتربك فإن لها من معد كليبيا
 وإن لخالبي مندوحة وإن علي بغيب رقبيا

فانبرى شهاب بن العيف أخو بني سلمية من عبد القيس، فقال:

لاهم إن الحارث بن جبلة زنا على أبيه ثم قتله
 وركب الشادخة المحجلة وكان في جاراته لا عهد له
 فأبي أمر سيء لا فعله

١ ك: (كوبا).

٢ بقية القصة ناقصة في الأصل، وتمامها كما في كتاب من نسب إلى أمه لابن حبيب وخرانة الأدب لعبد القادر البغدادي.

Don't you see I've reached the age of grey hair
and that in the home of my people I'm chaste and a good breadwin-
ner?

I have served God fairly
by being neither disobedient nor sinning,
By not being ungrateful to a Benefactor,
nor disappointing Him, asking for a reward.

[Ghassān²⁵³ are people who are my ancestors:
should they be forgotten by my slandering them?
Charge someone else with it, of those who came to you;
some dogs of Ma'add may do it!²⁵⁴
My mother's brother is free to do as he likes²⁵⁵
and he keeps an eye on me though he is absent.

Then Shihāb ibn al-'Ayyif, of the Banū Sulaymah of 'Abd al-Qays,²⁵⁶ cried out:

By God! Al-Ḥārith ibn Jabalah²⁵⁷
Oppressed²⁵⁸ his father, then killed him.
He mounted a "horse with blaze and white fetlocks"²⁵⁹
And he did not keep his covenant with the women in his protec-
tion.
Is there any wicked thing he did not do?

253 Here, at the end of a folio, the story breaks off. Following 'ASH and SKH, the remainder is taken from al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ix, 92–93.

254 Ma'add ibn 'Adnān is the ancestor of the "North Arabs" (ĠN, i, 1 and ii, 379). Ma'add is often used in pre-Islamic poetry as "a salient label of collective identity" (Webb, *Imagining the Arabs*, 70). Ma'add included the Lakhmids and Jafnids but not the Christian 'Ibād of al-Ḥīrah (ĠN, ii, 379).

255 The sense of *wa-inna li-khālīya mandūḥatan* is not wholly clear to me.

256 For Sulaymah ibn Malik, of 'Abd al-Qays, see ĠN, i, 169; Shihāb ibn al-'Ayyif has not been found except in parallels to the present story. The following lines in *rajaz* metre are attributed to al-'Afif al-'Abdī in Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (ZN'), and to Shihāb ibn al-'Ayyif in al-Zabidī, *Tāj al-'arūs* (ZN').

257 The following four lines are taken from *Khizānah*, x, 89–90.

258 *Zannā*, poetic licence for *zanna'a*.

259 This is explained as "he committed a blatantly ugly deed" (al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, x, 90–91, Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* [*ShDKh*], etc.).

فأسرهما الحارث بن جبلة في هزيمة المنذر، فقال: يا حرملة، اختَر ما شئت في مُلكي. فسأله جاريتين ضرابتين، فأعطاهما إياه، فنزل في النمر، فقعد يشرب هو ورجل من النمر يقال له: كعب، فلما أخذ الشراب في التمرّي، قال: يا حرملة، من هذه المرأة الحمراء؟ مرّها فلتسقيني. فغضب حرملة، ثم أعادها، فضربه حرملة بالسيف فقتله، وقال في ذلك:

يا كعبُ إنَّك لو قصرت على	حُسنِ الندامِ وأنت ذو جلمٍ
وسماعِ مُسمِعةٍ تُعلِّلنا	حتى نؤوبَ تناوُمِ العُجمِ
لو جدتَ فينا ما تُحاول من	صافيِ الشرابِ ولذَّةِ الطَّعمِ

مع أبيات خمسة أخرى، وقال لابن العيِّف: اختَر منِّي ثلاثَ خلال: إمّا أن أطرّحك على أسدين ضاربتين في بئر، وإمّا أن ألقيك من سور دمشق، وإمّا أن يقوم الدّلامص—سياف كان له—فيضربك بعصاه هذه ضربةً. فاختار ضربة الدّلامص. فضربه زعموا على رأسه، فانكسرت فخذه، فاحتمله راهب وداواه حتى برأ، وهو يَنخَمع منها، فكان هذا والحارث يومئذ بقنّسرين.]

Subsequently al-Ḥārith ibn Jabalah took both of them prisoner when he defeated al-Mundhir.²⁶⁰ He said to Ḥarmalah, “You may choose anything you wish in my kingdom.” He asked for two slave girls who could play music and was given them. He settled among the tribe of al-Namir. One day he was sitting and drinking together with a man from al-Namir called Ka‘b. When the latter was under the influence of the wine, he said, “Ḥarmalah, who is that pretty²⁶¹ woman? Tell her to pour me some more.” This angered Ḥarmalah. Ka‘b repeated his words, Ḥarmalah struck him with his sword and killed him. On this he composed the following lines:²⁶²

Ka‘b! If only you had restricted yourself
 to good wine-companionship and self-control,
 And to listening to a singing-girl pouring us wine
 so that we could go home to sleep like Persians!²⁶³
 Then you would have found with us whatever you wished
 of pure wine and tasty food!

There are five more lines. Al-Ḥārith said to Ibn al-‘Ayyif, “You may choose one of three things.²⁶⁴ I’ll throw you in front of two ravenous lions in their den; or I’ll throw you down from the city wall of Damascus; or al-Dulāmiš ...”—an executioner of his—“... will come and hit you once with his cudgel.” Ibn al-‘Ayyif chose the blow by al-Dulāmiš, who struck him, it is said, on the head so hard that his thigh-bone broke.²⁶⁵ A monk carried him away and treated him until

260 Al-Ḥārith defeated his Lakhmid rival decisively in 554 at the battle of Ḥalimah, see e.g. *EL*, “Ḥalīma” (Irfan Shahīd).

261 Literally, “red”, which here probably refers to the skin and can be the equivalent of “white”, sometimes used for non-Arabs such as Greeks and Persians; see Lane, *Lexicon* (HMR).

262 Lines 1–2 are the opening lines of a poem of eight lines attributed to Ḥarmalah’s brother ‘Abd al-Masiḥ ibn ‘Asalah (a Christian, his name meaning “Servant of Christ”) in the famous early anthology *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 556; cf. Lyall’s translation, 220.

263 Al-Aṣma‘ī (d. c. 213/828), quoted in the commentary on *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, comments: “When Persians sleep nobody would dare to wake them”. See also Lyall’s commentary on his translation, 221.

264 On the motif of offering a choice of three, see Caskel, “*Āṭiyām al-‘Arab*”, 49–52.

265 This seems improbable, especially seeing that the sufferer survived. ‘ASH suggests that *fakhidhuh* (“his thigh”) could be a corruption of *qamahduwatuh* (“the back of his skull”). Al-‘Askarī, *Jamharah*, i, 101 has *fa-daqqā minkabahū*, “crushing his shoulder”; al-Mufaḍḍal, *Amthāl*, 52 has *fa-daqqā minkabahū wa-warikahū*, “crushing his shoulder and his hip”.

[§ ٢٢] [ومنهم كعب بن الأشرف]

١٤٤ الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بقرئش يوم بدر خرج إلى مكة، فجعل يرثي أهل القليب ويحرض قريشاً على الطلب بثأرهم من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ويشبب بنساء المسلمين حتى آذاهم ذلك، فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: من لي بابن الأشرف؟ فقال محمد بن مسلمة، أخو بني عبد الأشهل: أنا لك به يا رسول الله، أنا أقتله إن شاء الله تعالى. فقال له رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: فافعل إن قدرت على ذلك. فمكث أياماً لا يأكل من الطعام إلا ما يُعلق به نفسه. فذكروا ذلك لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، فدعاه فقال: لِمَ تركت الطعام والشراب؟ فقال: يا رسول الله، قلت لك قولاً لا أدري أفي به أم لا. فقال صلى الله عليه وسلم: إنما عليك الجهد. قال: فإنه لا بد لنا أن نقول. فقال صلى الله عليه وسلم: قولوا ما بدا

١ هـ: (يرى).

٢ ك: (قاتله).

٣ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

- 266 Al-Mufaḍḍal, *Amthāl* adds that he remained *mukhabbal*, “mentally impaired”.
- 267 An ancient town in Syria south of Aleppo; see *E12*, “Ḳinnasrīn” (N. Elisséeff). It was near this town that al-Ḥārith defeated al-Mundhir.
- 268 The beginning of the story is missing from the manuscript. With it, one moves to the biography of the prophet Muḥammad, who himself, if not actually the murderer, gave orders for it, as he did for the assassination of Abū Rāfi‘ ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq (see the following section, § 23). Naturally, parallels of the story are innumerable; among them are Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ii, 51–58 (tr. Guillaume, 364–369); Ibn Sallām al-Jumāḥī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 238–239; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī* (Calcutta), 184–189, (ed. Marsden Jones), 184–192; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 28–31; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (*K. al-Maghāzī*), 990; ‘Umar ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah*, 454–462; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1368–1372, tr. *The History*, vii, 94–97; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxii, 132–133. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 282 gives the names and lineages of the five murderers. See also Rubin, “The Assassination of Ka‘b. al-Ashraf”; *E12*, “Ka‘b b. al-Ashraf” (W. Montgomery Watt). Ka‘b ibn al-Ashraf had an Arab father of uncertain lineage, possibly from Ṭayyi‘, and a Jewish mother of the tribe of Naḍir, one of the two main Jewish tribes of Medina (see *E12*, “Naḍir” [V. Vacca]), and he was considered to be part of his mother’s tribe. This controversial episode in the Prophet’s biography is still being hotly discussed, as a search on the Internet will show. As the present text shows, part of Ka‘b’s offence leading to his murder were his inciting people against Muḥammad and the amatory and mildly erotic poems he composed on his opponents’ wives, a common way of

he was cured, but he kept a limp from it.²⁶⁶ This happened while al-Ḥārith was in Qinnasrīn.²⁶⁷]

[§ 22 Kaʿb ibn al-Ashraf²⁶⁸]

..... of God, God bless and preserve him,²⁶⁹ with Quraysh²⁷⁰ on the day of the battle of Badr,²⁷¹ Kaʿb ibn al-Ashraf went out to Mecca. He began to lament²⁷² the men who had been thrown into the pit²⁷³ and incited Quraysh to seek vengeance for them on the Messenger of God (ṣ). He composed amatory verses on the women of the Muslims, hurting them with this. Then the Messenger of God (ṣ) said, “Who will rid me of Ibn al-Ashraf?” Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal,²⁷⁴ said, “I’ll do it, Messenger of God! I shall kill him if God wills!” “Do so, if you can!”, said the Messenger of God (ṣ). For some days Muḥammad ibn Maslamah refrained from eating²⁷⁵ anything except the barest food to sustain himself. They told this to the Messenger of God (ṣ), who called for him. “Why have you given up eating and drinking?”, he asked him. “Messenger of God,” he answered, “I told you I would do something but I don’t know if I can fulfil it!” “You only have to do your best!”, said Muḥammad (ṣ). “Then I must confer with others”,²⁷⁶ said Ibn Maslamah. “Consult as you think fit, you are free to do so”, replied the Prophet (ṣ).

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insult besides direct lampooning; some of these verses are preserved (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1369). “He lampooned the Prophet (ṣ) and his men” (*Aghānī*, xxii, 132).

269 *Ṣallā llāhu ʿalayhi wa-sallam*, the standard formula used after mentioning the prophet Muḥammad, often translated less accurately as “peace be upon him” and abbreviated “p.b.u.h.”. Hereafter it will be abbreviated as “(ṣ)”.

270 The tribe of the prophet Muḥammad.

271 Badr is a location south of Medina where a small-scale but momentous battle took place in 2/624, in which the Muslims led by the Prophet defeated a Meccan force of much larger numbers.

272 For once, the reading of SKḤ (*yarthī*) is clearly better than that of ʿASH (*yarā*, “... to see”); cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1369: “he began to incite against the Messenger of God (ṣ), reciting poems and weeping over the men thrown into the pit ...”

273 The bodies of Meccans fallen at Badr had been thrown into a pit or well at the Prophet’s order.

274 ʿAbd al-Ashhal ibn Jusham is a branch of al-Aws (ĠN, i, 179). Muḥammad ibn Maslamah, being one of the “companions” of the Prophet, is found in countless sources, among them Ibn Qutaybah, *Maʿārif*, 269, where he is said to have been of al-Khazraj but allied to ʿAbd al-Ashhal.

275 Other sources (Ibn Hishām, al-Ṭabarī) add “and drinking”.

276 Taking *naqūla* (or *nuqawwila*) to be the equivalent (or a corruption) of *nuqāwila*, as the context requires. Guillaume’s translation (“We shall have to tell lies”) does not make sense. Similarly with the following *qūlū* (or *qawwilū*, or *qāwīlū*).

لكم فأنتم في جِلِّ. فاجتمع على قتله محمد بن مسلمة، وسيلكان بن سلامة بن وقش، وهو أبو نائلة، أحد بني عبد الأشهل، وكان أخاه من الرضاعة، وعباد بن بشر بن [وقش، والحارث بن أوس بن مُعاذ، وعبد الرحمن بن] جَبْرِ أخو بني حارثة، فاستأذنا رسول الله صَلَّى اللهُ | ١٤٥ عليه وسلّم فأذن لهم، فمضوا حتّى انتهوا إلى أُطْمِهٖ^١ فتقدّمهم أبو نائلة فهتف بكعب، وكان حديث عهد بعُرس، فوثب في ملحفته، فأخذت امرأته بناحيته وقالت: مُحارب، وإن صاحب الحرب لا ينزل في مثل هذه الساعة! فقال: إنّه أبو نائلة، لو وجدني نائماً ما أيقظني. فقالت: واللّه إنني لأعْرِف في صوتهِ الشّرّ! فقال كعب: لو يُدعى الفتى لطفنة أجب! فنزل فتحدّث معه ساعة وقال له: هل لك يا ابن الأشرف في أن نتماشى إلى شِعب العجوز فتحدّث به بقيّة ليلتنا؟ فمشى وهو يُنشد كلمته:

رُبَّ خالٍ لِي لو أبصرته سَبِطَ المِشْيَةِ أباءٍ أنف

وقد استخفى أصحابه بظلل النخل، ثمّ قال له أبو نائلة: ويحك يا ابن الأشرف، إنني جئتُك لحاجة أذكرها لك، فاكثم عليّ. قال: أفعل. فقال: كان قدومُ هذا الرجل علينا بلاءٌ من البلاء، عادتنا العربُ ورمونا عن قوسٍ واحدة، وقُطعت عنّا السُّبُل، حتى ذهب العيال، وجُهدت الأنفُس! فقال كعب: أما واللّه لقد كنتُ أخبرك يا ابن سلامة أنّ الأمر سيصير إلى ما كنتُ

١ الزيادة من المحرّر لابن حبيب والسيرة النبوية لابن هشام وغيرهما.

٢ ه، ك: (أطمّة).

277 ḠN, i, 179.

278 An obvious lacuna in the text has been supplied from Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 282; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ii, 55; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1370; and similar sources. For the lineages of ‘Abbād and al-Ḥārith, see ḠN, i, 179; on Abū ‘Abs ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Jabr, of al-Khazraj, see ḠN, i, 180 and Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma‘ārif*, 326.

279 Reading *uṭumihī* (literally, “his fortified place”) instead of *aṭamatin* [*sic*, for *uṭumatin*], “a fortified place” as in ʿASH, followed by SKH. Other sources (Ibn Hishām, al-Wāqidi, al-Ṭabarī) have *hiṣnihi*, “his fortress”. Remnants of what is alleged to be Ka’b’s fortress can still be seen (pictures may be found on the Internet).

280 For a similar response, see above, § 5.

As a result the following men agreed to carry out the killing, apart from Muḥammad ibn Maslamah: Silkān ibn Salāmah ibn Waqsh Abū Nāʾilah, one of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal,²⁷⁷ who was his foster-brother; ʿAbbād ibn Bishr [ibn Waqsh; al-Ḥārith ibn Aws ibn Muʿadh; and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] ibn Jabr,²⁷⁸ of the Banū Ḥārithah. They asked permission from the Messenger of God (ṣ), | which he granted. They went off and reached Kaʿb’s fortified place.²⁷⁹ Abū Nāʾilah approached first and called out to Kaʿb, who had recently married. He jumped up in his bedcover, while his wife grabbed the end of it. “You are a warrior,” she said, “and someone at war does not go out at this hour!” “It is Abū Nāʾilah,” he replied, “Had he found me asleep he would not have woken me up.” His wife said, “By God, I hear evil in his voice!”. But Kaʿb said, “If a man is called for a stabbing he responds.”²⁸⁰ He went down and talked with Abū Nāʾilah for a while. “Ibn al-Ashraf,” said Abū Nāʾilah, “would you like to walk with me to the Old Woman’s Gorge?²⁸¹ Then we can talk the rest of the evening.” Kaʿb went along with this, reciting his poem that opens with:²⁸²

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Many a maternal uncle of mine—would that you saw him,
walking straight of posture, proudly, with disdain ...

Abū Nāʾilah’s companions had hidden themselves in the shade of some palm trees. He said to Kaʿb, “I say, Ibn al-Ashraf, I have come to you to discuss something, but please keep it confidential!” “I will”, said Kaʿb. “This man’s arrival”,²⁸³ continued Abū Nāʾilah, “has caused us much trouble. The Arabs are hostile to us, they are united against us, all roads are blocked to us, and our families are deprived of sustenance. We are all distressed.” Kaʿb said, “But, by God, didn’t I tell you, Ibn Salāmah, that this would happen! I always said it would!”

281 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* only mentions what is obvious from this story: “A place outside Medina, where Kaʿb ibn al-Ashraf the Jew was killed at the order of the Messenger of God (ṣ).”

282 The following line, with four more lines, is in Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaqāt*, 238–239 and Qudāmah ibn Jaʿfar, *Naqd al-shiʿr*, 13; with three lines in al-Marzubānī, *Muʿjam*, 231. Three lines, but not the opening one, in al-ʿIṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxii, 131. Qudāmah praises the lines for their fine prosody; they were set to music by several famous singers of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries. A poem by Ḥassān ibn Thābit, a Muslim and the most prominent among the poets supporting the Prophet, contains a very similar line also in praise of his maternal relations (*Dīwān*, 192: “Many a maternal uncle of mine—would that you saw him, | walking straight of posture, proudly, on a cold day”); since this poem deals with Ḥassān’s private affairs and does not allude to Kaʿb ibn al-Ashraf it is possible that the latter stole the line, in order to annoy his rival.

283 He alludes to the Prophet’s arrival in Medina in the year of the Hijra (AD 622).

أقول لك! فقال سلّكان: إنّي أردتُ أن تبيّعنا طعاماً ونُرهِتَكَ ونوثقَ لك ونُحسِنَ في ذلك. فقال: تُرهِتوني أبناءكم؟ فقال له سلّكان: لقد أردتُ أن تفضحننا، إنّ معي أصحاباً لي على مثل رأيي، وقد أردتُ أن آتيك بهم فتبيّعهم وتُحسِنَ إليهم | في ذلك، ونُرهِتَكَ من الحلقة ما لك فيه وفاء. ١٤٦
فقال كعب: إنّ في الحلقة لوفاءً. ثمّ إنّ سلّكان شامَ يده في فؤد رأسه ثمّ شمَّ يده وقال: ما رأيتُ كالليلة طيبَ عطرٍ قطُّ! ثمّ مشى ساعةً ثمّ عاد لمثلها حتّى إذا اطّمانَ عاد لمثلها، فأخذ بفؤدي رأسه ثمّ قال: اضربوا عدوّ الله! فاختلقتُ عليه أسيافهم فلم تُغنِ شيئاً. فأخذ محمد بن مسلمة مغولاً كان معه فوضعه في ثنّته وتحامل عليه حتّى بلغ عانتته.

[§ ٢٣] ومنهم أبو رافع سلّام بن أبي الحَقِيق، وهو ممّن حزّب الأحزاب على رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم. فلما قتلت الأوس كعباً أرادت الخزرج أن تفعل مثل فعل الأوس، لأنّهم كانوا يتبارون بأفعالهم في الجاهليّة والإسلام. فاستأذن رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم منهم خمسة نفر لقتل أبي رافع، فخرج عبد الله بن عتيك، ومسعود بن سنان، وعبد الله بن أنيس، وأبو قتادة الحارث بن ربِيعي، وخزاعي بن أسود حليف لهم من أسلم. فخرجوا وأمر النبيّ صلّى الله عليه وسلّم عبد الله بن عتيك عليهم، ونهاهم أن يقتلوا وليداً أو امرأة.

١ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

٢ ك: (رسول الله).

284 Other sources say that Ka'b perfumed his hair with musk and ambergris.

285 *Mighwal*, of the same root (*GhWL*) as *mughtāl*, "murdered".

286 More details may be found in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*. Al-Ḥārith had been wounded in the struggle, by one of their own swords; but the Prophet spat on the wound and cured him.

287 Among the numerous parallels, some of them with many more details, are Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ii, 273–275 (tr. Guillaume, 482–483); Ma'mar ibn Rāshid, *Maghāzī / The Expeditions*, 144–147 (with English translation); Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ii, 87–88; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (*K. al-Maghāzī*), 991–992; 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah*, 462–467; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1375–1380, tr. *The History*, viii, 482–483. For modern studies, see Mattock, "History and Fiction" (with translations of versions from al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*; and al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*) and, very thoroughly, Motzki, "The Murder of Ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq", with translations of several major versions of the story (pp. 182–183, from *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Bukhārī; 191–192, from *al-Muṣannaf* by 'Abd al-Razzāq; 207–211, from

Silkān replied, "I should like you to sell us some food. We'll give you a pledge as security and you will be good to us!" "Will you give your sons as security?" asked Ka'b. Silkān replied, "Do you want to make a mockery of us? I've got some friends with me who think as I do. I wanted to take them with me to you so that you could sell something to them, dealing favourably with them. | We'll give you some armour, to the full value of the goods!" "Armour, that is good value", said Ka'b. Then Silkān ran his hand through the hair on Ka'b's temple; he smelt his hand and said, "I have never smelt anything as fragrant before tonight!"²⁸⁴ They walked on a bit and he repeated the same, until Ka'b felt wholly at ease. Then he grabbed Ka'b by the hair on his temples and said, "Strike the enemy of God!" The swords came down together on him, but with little effect. Then Muḥammad ibn Maslamah took a dagger²⁸⁵ he had on him and thrust it into the lower part of his belly, bearing it down to his pubes.²⁸⁶

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[§ 23 Abū Rāfi' Sallām ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq²⁸⁷]

Another is Abū Rāfi' Sallām ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq,²⁸⁸ who is one of those who had rallied the confederated tribes against the Messenger of God (ṣ).²⁸⁹ When al-Aws had killed Ka'b,²⁹⁰ al-Khazraj wanted to do something similar, for the two tribes were always competing, both in pre-Islamic and Islamic times. Five men of al-Khazraj asked the permission of the Messenger of God (ṣ) to kill Abū Rāfi': 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Atīk, Mas'ūd ibn Sinān, 'Abd Allāh ibn Unays, Abū Qatādah al-Ḥārith ibn Rib'ī, and Khuzā'ī ibn Aswad, who was their ally from Aslam.²⁹¹ They left, after the Prophet (ṣ) had appointed 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Atīk as their commander. He forbade them to kill any young children or women. They left and

al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*). Ibn Ḥabīb's *Asmā' al-mughhtālīn* is not mentioned by either Mattock or Motzki.

288 He was a Jewish merchant and leader of the tribe of Naḍir, one of the two main Jewish tribes of Medina; he lived at Khaybar, a Jewish settlement some 150 km from Medina.

289 This refers to the "fight at the trench" (*khandaq*) in the year 5/627, when the Muslims thwarted an attack on Medina by the Meccans aided by various tribes, by the simple expedient of digging a trench at a vulnerable spot.

290 Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf, see the preceding section (§ 22).

291 In other versions the first four are said to be from Salimah, a branch of al-Khazraj (*ĠN*, i, 190), but 'Abd Allāh ibn Unays is mostly said to belong to Juhaynah (not part of al-Khazraj) but allied with Salimah (*ĠN*, i, 279 and ii, 120). On their lineages, see also Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 282–283. The other versions also mention explicitly that the Prophet gave permission for the killing, which is omitted here.

١٤٧ فخرجوا حتى أتوا دار أبي رافع ليلاً، فلم يدعوا فيها | بيتاً إلا أغلقوه على أهله، وكان في عليّة فضعدوا إليه حتى قاموا على بابه فاستأذنوا، فخرجت إليهم امرأته فقالت: من أنتم؟ قالوا: نفر من العرب نلتمس الميرة. قالت: ذاك صاحبكم فادخلوا عليه. فلما دخلوا أغلقوا الباب عليها وعليهم، تخوفاً من أن يكون دونه محاولة^١ تحول بينهم وبينه، فصاحت امرأته فنوّهت بهم، وابتدروه وهو على فراشه بأسيافهم، فما دلّهم عليه في سواد البيت إلا بياضه، كأنه قبطيّة ملقاة، فضربوه بأسيافهم، وتحامل عليه^٢ عبد الله بن أنيس في بطنه بسيفه حتى أنفذه وهو يقول قطني قطني! ثم رجعوا أدرآجهم وقد قتلوه.

[§ ٢٤] ومنهم سيّد ولد آدم صلى الله عليه وسلّم، وبشّر بن البراء ابن معرور الأنصاريّ. وكانت زَيْنَب بنت الحارث اليهوديّة، امرأة سلام بن مشكم، أهدت لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلّم يوم خيبر شاة مصلية، وقد سألت قبل ذلك: أيّ عضو في الشاة أحبّ إلى محمّد؟ فقيل لها: الذراع. فأكثرت فيه من السمّ، ثم سمّت سائر الشاة، ثم جاءت بها حتى وضعتها بين يدي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلّم. فتناول عليه الصلاة والسلام الذراع فلاك منها مضغّة فلم يسغها، ومعه بشّر بن البراء، وقد أخذ منها كما أخذ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلّم، [فأما

١ كذا في النسختين؛ وفيه: (مجاولة) أتباعاً لما في السيرة والطبريّ.

٢ هـ: (على).

292 'ASH reads *mujāwalah*, following the texts of Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī; I prefer to keep the text of the manuscripts (*muḥāwalah*), like the following verb (*taḥūlu*) derived from the root ḤWL with a basic sense of "coming between".

293 Thus all sources (*qaṭnī, qaṭnī!*), except Ma'mar, *Maghāzī*, which has "My belly! My belly" (*baṭnū baṭnū!*), which, even though appropriate, looks as if a copyist was ignorant of the idiom *qaṭnī*.

294 Afterwards, when each proudly claimed to have done the deed, the prophet identified 'Abd Allāh ibn Unays as the killer, because he could see traces of food on his sword (Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ii, 275, tr. Guillaume, 483; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1375–1380, tr. *The History*, vii, 99–103).

295 The main parallels are Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ii, 337–338 (tr. Guillaume, 516); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (*K. al-Maghāzī*), 782–783, 1041; Ibn Sa'ūd, *Ṭabaqāt*, i, 145, iii, 528; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī* (ed. Kremer), 394; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1583–1584, tr. *The History*, viii, 123–124; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 257. On the siege of Khaybar in the year 7/628, see *E12*, "Khaybar" (L. Vecca

reached the settlement of Abū Rāfi‘ in the evening. They locked every | room from the outside with its people inside. Abū Rāfi‘ was in an upper chamber; they went up to him; standing at the door they asked permission to enter. His wife came out and asked, “Who are you?” “We are Arab men,” they answered, “and we are seeking provisions.” She said, “There’s the man you want, come inside!” When they were inside they locked the door on him and themselves, fearing that others might intervene²⁹² between him and them. His wife cried out and alerted the others, but they rushed at him with their swords while he was lying on his bed. The room was dark and it was only his white body, like Egyptian linen cloth, that pointed them to him. They struck him with their swords, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Unays bore down on him plunging his sword into his belly until he pierced him right through, while Abū Rāfi‘ was saying, “Enough! Enough!”²⁹³ Then they returned, having killed him.²⁹⁴

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[§ 24 The Prophet Muḥammad and Bishr ibn al-Barā’ ibn Ma’rūr al-Anṣārī²⁹⁵]

Among them are also the Lord of all Adam’s children (ṣ) and Bishr ibn al-Barā’ ibn Ma’rūr al-Anṣārī.²⁹⁶ Zaynab bint al-Ḥārith, a Jewish woman, the wife of Salām ibn Mishkam,²⁹⁷ presented the Messenger of God (ṣ) with a roast sheep. She had asked, before that, which part of a sheep Muḥammad would like best and she had been told it was the shoulder. She put a lot of poison in it and also poisoned the rest of the sheep. Then she brought it and put it down in front of the Messenger of God (ṣ). He (ṣ) took the shoulder and chewed a mouthful but he did not swallow it. Bishr ibn al-Barā’ was with him and he too had taken some of it, just as the Messenger of God (ṣ) had done. [But Bishr swallowed

Vaglieri). Although it is by no means unanimously agreed that the Prophet’s death was caused by poisoning, the fact that his name appears in the heading of this section, together with the quotation of the Prophet’s words on his death-bed, implies that Ibn Ḥabīb includes him among the murder victims.

296 For his lineage see *ĀN*, i, 191; he belonged to Ghanm ibn Ka’b ibn Salimah, of al-Khazraj. See also *EI2*, “Bishr b. al-Barā’” (W. ‘Arafat), *EI3*, “Bishr b. al-Barā’” (Isaac Hasson). The *Anṣār* (“Supporters” or “Helpers”) are those members of al-Aws and al-Khazraj in Medina who supported the Prophet and his Meccan followers, the “Emigrants” (*muhājirūn*).

297 In Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, i, 145, iii, 528 and al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 394 she is merely called “a Jewish woman”. Sallām ibn Mishkam was a leader of the Jewish tribe of Naḍir (he appears as Salām in the *EI3* entry “Bishr b. al-Barā’”, but see the editorial note in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ii, 46, where Abū Dharr is quoted to the effect that Sallām is correct, and that the form Salām found in a poem is a poetic licence required by the metre). He and Zaynab’s father were killed by the Muslims at the siege of Khaybar.

١٤٨ بشر فأساغها وأما رسول الله صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ [فَلَفَظَهَا]، ثُمَّ قَالَ: إِنَّ هَذَا الْعَظَمَ يُخْبِرُنِي أَنَّهُ مَسْمُومٌ. ثُمَّ دَعَا بِهَا فَاعْتَرَفْتُ، فَقَالَ: مَا حَمَلَكِ عَلَى ذَلِكَ؟ فَقَالَتْ: بَلَغَتْ مِنْ قَوْمِي مَا لَمْ يَخْفَ عَلَيْكَ فَقُلْتُ: إِنْ كَانَ مَلِكًا اسْتَرَحْتُ مِنْهُ، وَإِنْ كَانَ نَبِيًّا فَسَيُخْبِرُ. فَتَجَاوَزَ عَنْهَا صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، وَمَاتَ بِشَرٍّ مِنْ أَكْلَتِهِ الَّتِي أَكَلَ.

وقد كان رسول الله صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قال في مَرَضِهِ الَّذِي تُؤَفِّي فِيهِ: هَذَا أَوَانٌ وَجَدْتُ انْقِطَاعَ أَبْهَرِي مِنَ الْأَكْلَةِ الَّتِي أَكَلْتُهَا مَعَ أَخِيكَ. يَقُولُ ذَلِكَ لِأُمِّ بَشْرَةَ أختِ بَشْرِ بْنِ الْبِرَاءِ، وَدَخَلَتْ عَلَيْهِ تَعُودُهُ. فَإِنْ كَانَ الْمُسْلِمُونَ لَيَرَوْنَ أَنَّ اللَّهَ جَمَعَ لِنَبِيِّهِ الشَّهَادَةَ، مَعَ مَا أَكْرَمَهُ بِهِ مِنَ النَّبُوَّةِ، صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

[٢٥§] وَمِنْهُمْ رِفَاعَةُ بْنُ قَيْسِ الْجُشَمِيِّ، وَكَانَ يَجْمَعُ قَيْسًا لِحَرْبِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فَوَجَّهَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ^٢ إِلَيْهِ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ أَبِي حَدْرَدٍ، وَرَجُلَيْنِ مَعَهُ، فَكَمَنُوا لَهُ، وَرَمَاهُ ابْنُ أَبِي حَدْرَدٍ فَقَتَلَهُ وَجَاءَ بِرَأْسِهِ إِلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

١٤٩ [٢٦§] وَمِنْهُمْ أَبُو أَرْيَهْرَ بْنَ أَنْيْسِ بْنِ الْخَيْسَقِ بْنِ مَالِكِ بْنِ سَعْدِ بْنِ كَعْبِ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ الْأَزْدِيِّ، وَكَانَ أَخُوهُ مِنْ دَوْسٍ فَنُسِبَ إِلَيْهِمْ، وَكَانَ حَلِيفًا لِأَبِي سُفْيَانَ بْنِ حَرْبٍ. وَكَانَ يَقْعُدُ

١ ما بين القوسين ناقص في هـ، ك؛ والتكملة من السيرة لابن هشام، والسياق يقتضيهما.

٢ ك: (مبشر).

٣ الكلمتان ناقصتان في ك

٤ هـ، ك: (الحبسي) والتصحيح من المنمق لابن حبيب وغيره من المراجع.

298 The added words, not in 'ASH or SKH, are taken from Ibn Hishām *Sīrah*, ii, 338, as the context requires.

299 In other versions (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*) she is killed.

300 This was in 11/632, several years after the siege of Khaybar.

301 The syntax looks incomplete and perhaps the implied apodosis is e.g. "they would do well". The same is found in Ibn Hishām; Guillaume does not translate it as a conditional clause ("The Muslims considered that the apostle died as a martyr in addition to the prophetic office with which God had honoured him").

302 For parallels with considerably more detail, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ii, 629–631 (tr. Guillaume, 671–672) and al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1607–1608, tr. *The History*, viii, 149–150; briefly also Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbat*, 123.

it, whereas the Messenger of God (ﷺ)]²⁹⁸ spat it out. | He said, “This bone tells me it is poisoned.” He called for the woman and she confessed. “What brought you to do this?” he asked her. She replied, “You have done all these things to my people, as you know very well. So I thought, if he is merely a king I’ll get rid of him, but if he is a prophet he will be told.” He (ﷺ) let her go,²⁹⁹ but Bishr died of what he had eaten. 148

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said during the illness of which he died,³⁰⁰ “This is the time I find that my aorta is being cut off, from that mouthful I had with your brother!”; he was speaking to Umm Bishr, the sister of Bishr ibn al-Barāʾ. She had come to visit him. If the Muslims would consider that God has given to His prophet martyrdom, in addition to all the other things with which He has honoured him, including prophethood—God bless and preserve him!³⁰¹

[§ 25 Rifāʿah ibn Qays al-Jushamī³⁰²]

Another was Rifāʿah ibn Qays al-Jushamī.³⁰³ He had rallied Qays to fight the Messenger of God (ﷺ), who sent ʿAbd Allāh ibn Abī Ḥadrad³⁰⁴ with two other men to him. They lay in ambush and Ibn Abī Ḥadrad shot him, killing him. They took his head to the Prophet (ﷺ).

[§ 26 Abū Uzayhir³⁰⁵]

Another is Abū Uzayhir ibn Unays ibn al-Khaysaq³⁰⁶ ibn Mālik ibn Saʿd ibn Kaʿb ibn al-Ḥārith al-Azdī.³⁰⁷ His maternal family were of the tribe of Daws, which is why he was called al-Dawsī.³⁰⁸ He was an ally of Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb³⁰⁹ 149

303 He is sometimes called Qays ibn Rifāʿah. His lineage is not known; Jusham ibn Muʿāwiyah is a branch of Hawāzin, part of the large group of North Arabs called Qays (ĠN, i, 92, 116).

304 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Salāmah Abī Ḥadrad, of Aslam—Khuzāʿah (ĠN, i, 210).

305 For parallels, see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, i, 410–415 (tr. Guillaume, 187–190); Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 199–204; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 152–153; Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Dīwān*, 353–359.

306 Wrongly *al-Ḥ.b.sī* in ʿASH and SKḤ.

307 For his lineage see ĠN, i, 217 and ii, 580–581.

308 Thus in Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, and Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*. For Daws ibn ʿUdhthān, of al-Azd, see ĠN, i, 210. Caskel (ĠN, ii, 580–581) does not believe Abū Uzayhir belonged to al-Azd; rather, he was of Daws.

309 Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr ibn Ḥarb ibn Umayyah (d. c. 32/653), of Quraysh, leader of the Meccan opposition against the prophet Muḥammad; submitted to Islam shortly before the conquest of Mecca in 8/630; father of Muʿāwiyah who later became the first caliph of the Umayyad Dynasty.

هو وأبو سفيان في أيامهما فيُصَلِّحان بين من حضر ذلك المكان الذي هُما به، وكانت ابنته تحت أبي سفيان. ثم تزوّج ابنة له أخرى الوليد بن المغيرة بن عبد الله بن عمر بن مخزوم، وأخذ أبو أزيهر من الوليد المهر، فبلغه بعد أنه غليظ على النساء، فأمسكها ولم يرده المهر. وقال بعض: إنها أُهديت إليه فقال الوليد لها ليلة أن دخل عليها: أنا أشرف أو أبوك؟ فقالت له: إن أبي سيد قوم، وفي قومك من يساويك ويفوقك. فعضب ولطمها على خدّها فهربت ورجعت إلى أبيها، فأمسكها ولم يردها عليه.

فلما حضرت الوليد الوفاة أوصى بنيه بأشياء قد كتبناه في أخبار قريش، منها دمه في خراعة، وعقره عند أبي أزيهر. فلما مات الوليد وحضر الناس سوق ذي المجاز تغفل هشام بن الوليد أبا أزيهر فقتله. وبلغ ذلك أهل مكة فهاج المطيبون والأحلاف^١ من قريش وكادوا يقتتلون. وبلغ ذلك أبا سفيان، وهو | بذي المجاز، وكان داهياً يحبّ قومه، فقعده على فرسه حتى أتى مكة ١٥٠ والناس متواقفون للحرب، ولواء المطيبين بيد يزيد بن أبي سفيان، فأخذ اللواء من يزيد فضرب به البيضة ضربته هده منها، وفرق الناس، وقال: إذا فرغنا من عدونا، يعني رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، نظرنا في أمر أبي أزيهر ووديناها. فودوه مائتي ناقة.

١ ك: (والأحلاف).

310 They held sessions in a pavilion (*qubba*), according to Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*.

311 Al-Walid ibn al-Mughīrah (d. 1/622), a prominent member of Makhzūm, a powerful branch of Quraysh (see E12, "Makhzūm" [M. Hinds]), and an opponent of the Prophet. See E12, "al-Walid b. Mughīrah" (K.V. Zetterstéén).

and they used to sit together in their days, making peace between those who came to attend there.³¹⁰ His daughter was married to Abū Sufyān; later another daughter of his was married to al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar ibn Makhzūm.³¹¹ Abū Uzayhir took the bride price from al-Walīd, but some time afterwards he heard that al-Walīd was rough to women, so he took his daughter back but did not return the bride price.³¹² Some say that she was handed over to al-Walīd, who said to her on the wedding night, “Who is nobler, I or your father?” “My father is the chief of his clan,” she answered, “whereas in your clan some are equal to you and some are superior to you.” Angered, he slapped her cheek. She fled and went back to her father, who took her back without returning the bride price.

On his deathbed, al-Walīd instructed his sons with various things, which we have written in *The Reports on Quraysh*,³¹³ among them his blood feud with Khuzā‘ah and the matter of the bride-price with Abū Uzayhir. After al-Walīd had died and people attended the market of Dhū l-Majāz,³¹⁴ al-Walīd’s son Hishām caught Abū Uzayhir unawares and killed him. When the Mecsans heard about this, the Scented Ones³¹⁵ and the Confederates³¹⁶ of Quraysh became agitated and almost came to blows. Abū Sufyān heard about this while | at Dhū l-Majāz. He was a shrewd man who loved his clan. He mounted his horse and rode to Mecca, where the people were already about to give battle, the standard of the Scented Ones being held by Abū Sufyān’s son Yazīd.³¹⁷ He took the standard away from Yazīd, struck his helmet with it so forcefully that Yazīd was all but crushed by it, and made the people disperse. “When we finished with our enemy”, he said, meaning the Messenger of God (ﷺ), “we shall look into the matter of Abū Uzayhir and pay blood money for his death.” They paid two hundred she-camels in compensation.

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312 The *mahr*, in Islamic times becoming the property of the bride, was handed to her father or guardian in pre-Islamic times. See *E12*, “mahr” (O. Spies); in the next paragraph the word *‘uqr* is used.

313 *Akhbār Quraysh*, also known as *al-Munammaq*; see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 191–192.

314 Like ‘Ukāz (see above, § 20 note 239), a location near Mecca where a market was held during the sacred months.

315 *Al-Muṭayyabūn*, who dipped their hands in perfume (*ṭib*) to seal their covenant in Mecca in pre-Islamic times (Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, i, 131–132, tr. Guillaume, 56–57).

316 *Al-Aḥlāf*; also called “the Blood-lickers”, see above, § 11 note 149 and Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 166–167; *E12*, “La‘akat al-dam” (Ch. Pellat) and “ḥilf” (E. Tyan).

317 He became governor of Syria during the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar; he died in 18/639.

§ ٢٧] ومنهم المجذّر بن زياد البلويّ حليف بني عوف بن الخزرج وقيس بن زيد أخو بني ضبيعة بن زيد، اغتالهما الحارث بن [سويد، أخو] الجلاس | الأنصاريّ، وكان منافقاً، وكان يوم أخذ مع رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم، فرأى منهما في الحرب غرّة فقتلتهما، ولحق بمكة كافراً.

§ ٢٨] ومنهم الأسود الكذاب بن كعب العنسيّ، وهو ذو الحمار، وكان استنكح بصنعاء امرأة من الأبناء، وهم أبناء الفرس الذين قدموا اليمن مع وهز فقتلوا الحبشة. وإن الأسود توعّد الأبناء بأن يُجلبهم من اليمن أو يترّكهم له بها حولاً. فتحرّز له فيروز بن الديلميّ، وقيس بن هبيرة

١ ك: (ذيار).

٢ كما في هـ، النكلمة من المحبّر.

- 318 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, i, 288, 520, ii, 89 (tr. Guillaume, 242, 384, 755–756); al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī* (ed. Kremer), 295–297; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, iii, 512; Ḥassān ibn Thābit, *Dīwān*, 301–302.
- 319 See *ĠN*, i, 329 and ii, 418; of the tribe of Balī. He had killed Suwayd ibn al-Šāmit, of al-Aws, and was killed by the latter's son al-Ḥārith.
- 320 See *ĠN*, i, 178 and ii, 464 (of 'Awf, a branch of al-Aws). It is not clear why al-Ḥārith murdered him. Ibn Hishām records the view that Qays was not murdered by al-Ḥārith (*Sīrah*, ii, 89, tr. Guillaume, 755–756).
- 321 The addition is from other sources including Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 467 and Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ii, 89; see also *ĠN*, i, 177 and ii, 312. He belonged to al-Aws and is therefore one of the *Anṣār*, “Helpers” or “Supporters”, even though he is called a “hypocrite”.
- 322 The “hypocrites” (*munāfiqūn*) are often mentioned in the Qurʾān in general terms, referring to those who are either apostates, dissenters, obstructors, etc. within the *ummah*, the community of believers. In subsequent sources many individuals are mentioned as being *munāfiq*; see *EI2*, “Munāfiḳūn” (A. Brockett). Ibn Ḥabīb lists some of them in his *Muḥabbar* (467–470), including al-Ḥārith ibn Suwayd and his brother al-Julās. In exegetical literature al-Ḥārith ibn Suwayd is mentioned in connection with Q ʿĀl Imrān 3:86: «How can God guide people who became unbelievers after having believed and having witnessed that the messenger is true and after clear signs had come to them? God does not guide people who do wrong.»
- 323 At Uḥud, a mountain near Medina, the Muslims suffered a setback in 3/625 when they were defeated by the Meccans led by Abū Sufyān. See *EI2*, “Uḥud” (C.F. Robinson).
- 324 Other sources (see e.g. al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 295–297, Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, 301, on a poem alluding to the event), mention that al-Mujadhdhar's body was found on the battlefield at a place where the Meccans could not have been. The Muslims were at a loss until the Prophet was told who was responsible by no less an authority than the angel Gabriel. In this version al-Ḥārith returns to Medina, where the Prophet asks him, “Have you killed al-Mujadhdhar?” Al-Ḥārith confesses but adds that he was overcome by feelings of revenge

[§ 27 al-Mujadhdhar ibn Dhiyād al-Balawī and Qays ibn Zayd³¹⁸]

Among them are also al-Mujadhdhar ibn Dhiyād al-Balawī,³¹⁹ the ally of the Banū ‘Awf ibn al-Khazraj, and Qays ibn Zayd,³²⁰ of the Banū Ḍubay‘ah ibn Zayd. Both were murdered by al-Ḥārith ibn [Suwayd, the brother of] al-Julās | al-Anṣārī.³²¹ He was a “hypocrite”.³²² He was at the battle of Uḥud³²³ with the Messenger of God (ṣ). In the course of the battle he caught them unawares and killed them. He joined the Meccans as an unbeliever.³²⁴

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[§ 28 al-Aswad the Liar ibn Ka‘b al-‘Anṣī³²⁵]

Another is al-Aswad al-Kadhdhāb (the liar) ibn Ka‘b al-‘Anṣī, Dhū l-Ḥimār (the man with the donkey).³²⁶ He had married, in Sanaa, a woman of the Descendants (al-Abnā’), i.e., the descendants of the Persians who had arrived in Yemen with Wahriz and who had killed the Abyssinians.³²⁷ Al-Aswad had threatened to expel the Descendants from Yemen unless they consented to be left as his ser-

for his father’s death and that he is still a good Muslim and will fast for four months, perform other pious acts, and pay blood money. The Prophet says nothing but orders someone to cut off his head, which is done.

325 For parallel versions see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1795–1798, 1855–1868, tr. *The History*, ix, 164–167, x, 24–38; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, vi, 264, viii, 94; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 146–148; Ibn Ḥubaysh, *Ghazawāt*, 196–200; al-Ya‘qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 145–146 (tr. *The Works*, 752); al-Mas‘ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 276–277. See also *EI2*, “al-Aswad b. Ka‘b al-‘Anṣī” (Ch. Pellat). His movement against the Muslims is considered to be the beginning of the period of the *Riddah* (11–13/632–634) immediately after the death of the Prophet, the “Secession” or “Defection”, traditionally taken as “Apostasy from Islam”, even though such secession often had little to do with religion; see *EI2*, *Suppl.*, “Ridda” (M. Lecker). Apart from calling him al-Kadhdhāb (“the Liar”), Ibn Ḥabīb does not mention explicitly, as do other sources, that al-Aswad was a soothsayer and would-be prophet (*takahhana wa-dda‘ā l-nubuwwah*), who called himself Raḥmān al-Yaman (“the Merciful [= God?] of Yemen”)—thus al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 146—and performed tricks (*kāna kāhīnan sha‘bādhan wa-kāna yurīhim al-a‘jīb*), al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1796.

326 See *ĠN*, i, 272 and ii, 199. Al-Aswad (the Black One) is a nickname, his proper name is said to be ‘Abhalah or ‘Ayalah. The tribe of ‘Ans is a branch of the Yemeni tribe of Madhḥij, on which see *EI2*, “Madhḥidj” (G.R. Smith—C.E. Bosworth). He got his nickname Dhū l-Ḥimār (“the man with the donkey”) because he is said to have trained his donkey to kneel on command. It is said (*EI2*, “al-Aswad” and *Suppl.*, “Ridda”) that he was also known as Dhū l-Khimār (“the man with the veil”, with a difference of only one dot in Arabic); thus in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, gives both versions.

327 On the invasion of Yemen by the Abyssinians (al-Ḥabashah) see above, § 17; their power had been broken by a Persian invasion, c. AD 575, led by Wahriz (or Vahrez), on whom see *EI2*, “Wahriz” (C.E. Bosworth).

المكشوح المُرادي، ودادوويه رجل من الأبناء، وكان فيروز يخبر أنه أتاهم رسولٌ من رسول الله صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وسلَّم يُقال له يُحَنَس بن وَبَرَة الأَزْدِيّ، فأسلموا معه. وكانت المرأة التي استنكح العنسيُّ قد أسلمت. قال فيروز: فجئتُها فكلَّمْتُها في أمر الأسود وقلتُ لها: إنَّه قد أراد بقومك من الشرِّ ما تَرَيْنَ؟^١ إِمَّا إجلاءهم عن بلادهم، وإِمَّا استعبادهم، فهل عندك إلى قتله حيلة أو سبيل؟ قالت: سأحتال له.

فجاء الأسود، وفيروز عندها، فضربه ووجأ في عنقه وأخرجه. فبكت المرأة وقالت: أنتم يا معشر العرب تزعمون أنكم تحسنون إلى أصهاركم، وأنتم تضرب أخي وتخرجه من بيتي. قال: وإنَّه لأخوك؟ قالت: نعم. قال: ما دريتُ، فأبعثني له فليأتنا. فبعثت إليه: إنَّه قد رضي، وإني سأحضر لكم في البستان سرِّباً إلى البيت الذي يكون فيه. فحفرت سرِّباً وجاء فيروز ودادوويه وقيس بن المكشوح، فلمَّا قاموا إلى السرب قال بعضهم: أيُّكم يدخل عليه؟ فقال دادويه: أنا شيخ كبير وأخاف أن أضربه فلا أغني فيه شيئاً، ولكن يا قيس ادخل أنت! فقال قيس: إنِّي رجل تأخذني رعدة عند الحرب، وأخاف إن ضربته أن لا تُعني ضربتي شيئاً. فدخل فيروز، وكان أشبَّ القوم، فإذا هو نائم على حشايا من ريش، والمرأة عند رأسه. فأشار إليها: أين رأسه؟ فأشارت إليه. ولم يكن مع فيروز سيف فأراد الرجوع إلى أصحابه ليأخذ سيفاً، فكأثما أتاه شيطانٌ فأيقظه وإنَّ عيناه تَبصَّان. فعالجه فيروز فأخذ برأسه وليحيته فدقَّ عنقه وخرج. واتبعته المرأة فقالت: أنشدكم بالله كلِّكم وعزَّتكم! فقال لها: لا بأس قد فتلتُه. وخرج فأخبر أصحابه. فدخل قيس فاحترَّ رأسه وألقاه إلى الناس، وخرج فأذن بالصلاة.

١ هو ك: (هُبيرة بن المكشوح)، والتصحيح من طبقات ابن سعد ومراجع كثيرة غيرها.

٢ ك: (تريد).

٣ ك: (سرِّباً).

٤ (فأشار ... رأسه؟): ناقصة في ك.

٥ كذا في النسختين.

328 As his name Fayrüz/Pēröz indicates, he is a Persian, son of someone born or originating from Daylam, a region south of the Caspian Sea; he had converted to Islam and is said to have died during the caliphate of 'Uthmān (23–35/644–656). See e.g. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, viii, 93; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 335; al-Ṣafadi, *Wāfi*, xxiv, 98.

329 See *ĠN*, i, 271 and ii, 459. He was a chief of Murād, like 'Ans a branch of Madhḥij; see *E12*, "Murād" (G. Levi Della Vida). On Qays, see also e.g. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, viii, 263–264.

vants. Fayrūz ibn al-Daylamī,³²⁸ Qays ibn Hubayrah al-Makshūḥ al-Murādī,³²⁹ and Dādawayh, a man of the Descendants,³³⁰ sought to protect themselves against al-Aswad. Fayrūz had been informed that a messenger of the Messenger of God (ṣ) called Yuḥannis ibn Wabarah³³¹ had arrived and that the people had converted to Islam. The woman whom al-ʿAnsī had married had also converted. “I went to her,” said Fayrūz, “and I talked to her about the matter of al-Aswad. I said to her, ‘He has evil plans with your people, as you can see. He intends either to expel them from their lands or to enslave them. Have you any means or way to kill him?’ She replied, ‘I’ll find a way.’”

Al-Aswad came when Fayrūz was with her. He struck Fayrūz, stabbing him in the neck, and threw him out. The woman cried and said, “You Arabs! You claim that you are good to your in-laws; but you strike my brother and throw him out of my house!” Al-Aswad asked, “Is he your brother then?” “Yes”, she said.³³² “I didn’t know,” said al-Aswad, “Send for him, let him come to us!” She sent a message to Fayrūz, saying, “He is | appeased now. I shall dig a tunnel for you from the garden to the room that he will be in.” She dug a tunnel. Fayrūz, Dādawayh, and Qays ibn al-Makshūḥ came, and while they were standing by the tunnel, one of them said, “Which of us will go in to him?” Dādawayh said, “I am an old man and I am afraid that if I strike him I would not do him in properly. But you, Qays, why don’t you go in!” Qays replied, “I am a man who gets shaky when fighting. I am afraid that if I strike him it would have little effect on him.” So Fayrūz went in; he was the youngest. He found al-Aswad sleeping on cushions filled with down, with the woman at his head. He gestured to her, “Where is his head?” She indicated the place. But Fayrūz did not have his sword with him, so he wanted to go back to his friends and get a sword. But it was as if a devil had come to al-Aswad and woke him up. His eyes were gleaming in the dark. Then Fayrūz fought him, grabbing his head and his beard and breaking his neck. He went outside and the woman followed him, saying, “I beg you all, by God and what is dear to you!”³³³ But he said to her, “Don’t worry, I have killed him”. He went outside and told his friends. Qays went in, cut off al-Aswad’s head, and threw it down for the people to see. Then he went out and called people to prayer.

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al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxiv, 289–290. Al-Makshūḥ (“branded on his flank”, see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Alqāb al-shuʿarāʾ*, 325) was the nickname of Hubayrah, not his son as wrongly in ʿASH and SKH.

330 His name is more often spelled Dādawayh. On him see e.g. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, viii, 94.

331 Wrongly Wabrah in ʿASH. He is sometimes called Wabarah ibn Yuḥannis (e.g., al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii, 430) or Wabar ibn Yuḥannis (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, viii, 92, al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*).

332 In al-Ṭabarī (*Tārīkh*, i, 1855) she is said to be a paternal niece of Fayrūz.

333 The precise sense of *wa-ʿawratikum* is not clear.

ثمَّ إِنَّ قَيْسًا خَافَ عَلَى نَفْسِهِ عَنَسًا فَأَرَادَ أَنْ يُرْضِيَهُمْ بِقَتْلِ فَيْرُوزٍ وَدَاوِيَةَ، فَصَنَعَ لِهَمَا طَعَامًا
 ثُمَّ أَرْسَلَ إِلَيْهِمَا فَأَتِيَاهُ، فَخَرَجَ فَيْرُوزٌ يَسْقِي فَرْسَهُ وَتَقَدَّمَ دَاوِيَةَ إِلَى مَنْزِلِ قَيْسٍ فَاغْتَالَهُ عَلَى الطَّعَامِ
 وَقَتَلَهُ. وَخَرَجَتْ امْرَأَةٌ فَلَقِيَتْ فَيْرُوزًا وَهُوَ مُقْبِلٌ إِلَى مَنْزِلِ قَيْسٍ وَقَدْ رَأَتْ قَتْلَ دَاوِيَةَ، فَقَالَتْ: وَيْحَكَ
 قَدْ وَاللَّهِ قُتِلَ صَاحِبُكَ! فَرَكِبَ فَرْسَهُ وَانْطَلَقَ. فَقَالَ عَمْرُو بْنُ مَعْدِيكَرِبٍ يَعْتَفُّ قَيْسًا بِقَتْلِهِ دَاوِيَةَ
 غَدْرًا:

١٥٣

مَا إِنَّ دَاوِيَّ لَكُمْ بِفَخْرٍ وَلَكِنْ دَاوِيٌّ فَضَحَ الدَّمَارَا

[٢٩٩] وَمِنْهُمْ الْحُطَمُ وَهُوَ شُرَيْحٌ بِنُ ضُبَيْعَةَ [بِنُ شُرْحَبِيلٍ] أَخُو بَنِي قَيْسٍ بِنُ تَعْلَبَةَ. وَكَانَتْ بَنُو
 رِبِيعَةَ بِنُ نِزَارٍ اجْتَمَعَتْ بِالْبَحْرَيْنِ فِي الرَّدَّةِ فَأَرْتَدُّوا وَمَلَكَوا عَلَيْهِمُ الْعَرُورُ وَهُوَ الْمُئَذِّنُ بِنُ التُّعْمَانِ،
 فَسَارَ إِلَيْهِمُ الْعَلَاءُ بِنُ الْحَضْرَمِيِّ، وَكَانَ عَامِلَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلَى عُمان.
 فَخَاضَ الْعَلَاءُ إِلَيْهِمْ خَلِيجًا مِنَ الْبَحْرِ، وَسَارَتْ رِبِيعَةُ إِلَيْهِمْ بِجُؤَاثَا حَتَّى كَادَ يَهْلِكُ الْمُسْلِمُونَ

١ كذا في النسختين، وهو خطأ كما قال هـ في تعليقه والتصحيح (فيروز) كما في هـ، ك

٢ في هـ، ك: [شُرَيْحٌ] بِنُ شُرْحَبِيلٍ [بِنُ ضُبَيْعَةَ]، نقلًا عمَّا في المحرَّب لابن حبيب، وهو خطأ.

334 'Amr ibn Ma'dikarib, famous warrior and tribal leader of Zubayd, a branch of Madhḥij, and a poet, see *ĠN*, i, 270 and ii, 178; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 306–307; *EI3*, “Amr b. Ma'dikarib” (Thomas Bauer). He converted to Islam c. 9/630, was part of the Riddah but later fought as a Muslim again during the conquests and died at an advanced age, perhaps in 21/642. He is said to be the maternal uncle of Qays ibn al-Makshūh (al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xv, 209). The verse is found in a piece of four lines in his *Dīwān*, 115–116; also, with one other line, al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1996, tr. *The History*, x, 172.

335 The name is spelled twice without the final *h*, apparently for the sake of the metre.

336 See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1961–1962, 1968–1970, 1973, tr. *The History*, x, 138, 143–145, 149–150; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xv, 257–260; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 114–116; Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, i, 44; Ibn Ḥubaysh, *Ghazawāt*, 182–184.

337 See *ĠN*, i, 155 and ii, 533. The words “ibn Shuraḥbil” are missing in the manuscripts; 'ASH and SKḤ supply them, but in the wrong place, before “ibn Ḍubay'ah”, following ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 463. On al-Ḥuṭam, see also al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xvi, 143–144. His nickname, al-Ḥuṭam (“Breakbones” or “pitiless camel driver”, see Lane, *Lexicon*, ḤṬM), he got from a

Subsequently Qays feared for his life, afraid of the tribe of ‘Ans, and he wanted to appease them by killing Fayrūz and Dādawayh. He prepared a meal for them and invited them. They came. Fayrūz went outside to give water to his horse, and when Dādawayh went inside, Qays murdered him while he was having his meal. A woman went outside and met Fayrūz who was just coming back to Qays’s house; she had seen that Dādawayh had been killed. She said, “O dear! Your friend has been killed, by God!” Fayrūz mounted his horse and ran off. ‘Amr ibn Ma’dikarib³³⁴ said, scolding Qays for treacherously killing Dādawayh:

Dādawayh³³⁵ is no reason for you to boast;
but Dādawayh dishonoured his kin.

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[§ 29 al-Ḥuṭam³³⁶]

Another is al-Ḥuṭam, who is Shurayḥ ibn Ḍubay‘ah [ibn Shuraḥbīl] ibn ‘Amr ibn Marthad, of the Banū Qays ibn Tha‘labah.³³⁷ Rabī‘ah ibn Nizār assembled in al-Baḥrayn during the Secession;³³⁸ they seceded and made al-Gharūr (the Deluded One) their king; he is al-Mundhir ibn al-Nu‘mān.³³⁹ Al-‘Alā’ ibn al-Ḥaḍramī³⁴⁰ moved towards them; he was the Messenger of God’s (ṣ) governor of Oman. To get to them he crossed a bay of the sea. Rabī‘ah moved towards him and his men in Juwāthā.³⁴¹ In the end the Muslims were almost dying,

poem by Rushayd ibn Rumayḍ al-‘Anazī made about him after a punishing campaign (al-Jāhīz, *Burṣān*, 275–276; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xv, 254–255; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 114).

338 Rabī‘ah ibn Nizār (see above, § 5) can refer to a large group of North Arab tribes, but in practice often has a narrower sense. “When in the same year [11/633] the ‘Rabī‘ah’ in Baḥrayn proclaimed a king of their own, this can only refer to the tribes of Qays b. Tha‘laba and ‘Abd al-Qays” (*EI2*, “Rabī‘a and Muḍar” [H. Kindermann], see p. 353b). Al-Baḥrayn here does not mean the small present-day island state of that name but a much larger coastal area of eastern Arabia. On the Riddah, see above, § 23.

339 Not to be confused with al-Mundhir ibn al-Nu‘mān of Lakhm mentioned above. Elsewhere (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1961, al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xv, 256–257) he is called “al-Gharūr ibn Suwayd, the brother of al-Nu‘man ibn al-Mundhir”.

340 Al-‘Alā’ ibn al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 14/635 or 21/642), commander of an army sent to restore Muslim rule in eastern Arabia and subsequently made governor of al-Baḥrayn; his proper name is said to be ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Ammār, or ibn Ḍammār. See al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xx, 262–264 (with many other references).

341 Juwāthā is a fortified place belonging to the tribe of ‘Abd al-Qays (Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, 401–402).

جهداً. فلَمَّا اشتدَّ ذلك عليهم قال عبد الله بن حَذَفِ العامريّ، حليف بني عامر بن لُؤَيّ،
وكانت أمّه من بني عَجَل:¹

[ألا أُبلِّغُ أبا بَكْرٍ رَسولاً
فهل لَكُمُ إلى قومِ كِرامٍ
كأنَّ دِمَاءَهُمْ في كلِّ فَجٍّ
توكَّلنا على الرحمنِ إننا
وفتَيانَ المدينةِ أجمعينا
فُعودٍ في جِواثنا مُحصَرينا
شُعاغُ الشمسِ يُعْشي² الناظرينا
وجدنا النَّصْرَ للمتوكِّلينا]

وسمع المسلمون أصواتاً³ بالليل فهالتهم، فقال [العلاء: من يأتينا بخير القوم؟ فقال عبد الله
بن حَذَفِ]: أنا أتاكم بالخير. ونزل من الحصن فأخذه فسأله، فانتسب لهم وجعل ينادي:
يا أَبَجْرَاه! وكان في القوم، فجاء أَبَجْرَه فعرفه فقال: ويملك، ما شأنك؟ أظنك بئس ابنُ أختِ
القوم الليلة لأخوالك! قال: فقد هلكتُ من الجُوع. فأطعمه وسقاه وحمله على بَعيرٍ وخلّى
سبيله. فرجع ابن حذف إلى أصحابه فأخبرهم أن القوم سُكاري. فبيّتهم العلاء فيمن معه من
المسلمين من العرب والعجم، فقتلوهم قتلاً ذريعاً وانهمزوا، وقام الحُطَمُ إلى فرسه ليركبه فلَمَّا
وضع رجله في الرُّكاب انقطع سَيْرُ رُكابه فقال: ألا أحد من قيس يعقلني؟ فمرّ به رجل من

- ١ الأبيات ساقطة من النسختين والتكملة من تاريخ الطبريّ والأغاني للإصفهانيّ، كما في هـ، ك
- ٢ ك: (تعشى).
- ٣ ك: (وسمع المسلمين - في عسكر المشركين - أصواتاً).
- ٤ كذا في هـ، ك؛ والتكملة من تاريخ الطبريّ والأغاني للإصفهانيّ.
- ٥ ك: (وكان في القوم أبجر فعرفه).

342 On him see *ĠN*, i, 70 and ii, 111. He belonged to the tribe of 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah, not to be confused with 'Āmir ibn Lu'ayy, which is a branch of Quraysh (*ĠN*, i, 4 and 27).

343 Either Rome (more usually Rūmīyah) or, more plausibly but still a fiction, the lands of the Byzantines (al-Rūm).

exhausted. In their distress ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥadhaf al-‘Āmirī,³⁴² the ally of the Banū ‘Āmir ibn Lu‘ayy—his mother being of the Banū ‘Ijl—said:³⁴³

[Tell Abū Bakr,³⁴⁴ being a messenger,
and the men of Medina, all of them:
Will you not come to assist noble men
sitting in Juwāthā, besieged?
Their blood in every mountain road
is like the rays of the sun, blinding the onlookers.
We trust in the Merciful: we
have found that victory comes to those who trust.]

During the night the Muslims heard sounds that frightened them. [Al-‘Alā’] 154
said: [“Who will bring me intelligence about those people?” ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥadhaf answered,]³⁴⁵ “I’ll bring it.” He left the fortress; he was taken prisoner and questioned. He made himself known and began to shout, “Hey, Abjar!”³⁴⁶ Abjar, who was among them, came and recognised him. “I say, what do you want?”, he said, “It seems to me that you are a bad cousin to your mother’s family tonight!” ‘Abd Allāh replied, “I am dying of hunger!” Abjar gave him food and drink, mounted him on a camel, and let him go. Ibn Ḥadhaf returned to his own side and told them that the men were all drunk. Then al-‘Alā’ and his fellow Muslims, both Arabs and non-Arabs, attacked the enemy by night and killed them with great slaughter; they were routed. Al-Ḥuṭam stood by his horse, wanting to mount it, but when he put his foot into the stirrup its leather strap broke. “Is there anyone of Qays to help me into the saddle?” he shouted. While he was crying for help a man³⁴⁷ of the Muslims came past and asked,

344 The first caliph (r. 11–13/632–634), in charge of dealing with the Riddah; see on him below, § 30.

345 Following ‘ASH and SKḤ the words between brackets have been supplied from al-Ṭabarī and al-Iṣfahānī.

346 He is Abjar ibn Bujayr according to al-Ṭabarī and al-Iṣfahānī. He is probably identical with Abjar ibn Jābir ibn Bujayr (*ĠN*, i, 159, ii, 134), who was a chief of ‘Ijl, the tribe of ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥadhaf’s mother and therefore known to him.

347 He is identified in *al-Aghānī* (xv, 259–260) and al-Ṭabarī’s *Tārīkh* (i, 1969) as ‘Afif ibn al-Mundhir, of the Banū ‘Amr ibn Tamīm. In another account the famous warrior and tribal leader Qays ibn ‘Āṣim is said to have killed al-Ḥuṭam (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1970, al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xv, 260). On Qays ibn ‘Āṣim, see at the end of this section.

المسلمين وهو يستغيث فقال: أبو ضبيعة؟ قال: نعم. قال: أعطني رجلك^١ أعقلك. فلما أعطاه
رجله أخذها، ثم ضربه بالسيف حتى قتله.
وقال قيس بن عاصم السعدي: [...] ^٢

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لا تُوعِدْنَا بمفروقٍ وأسرته إن^٣ تأتينا؛ تلقَ منا سنة الحطم

[§ ٣٠] ومنهم عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه. كان عمر رأى كأنّ ديكاً نقره أسفل من سرته
نقرتين، فسأل عن رؤياه أسماء بنت عميس، فقالت: هذا رجل أعجمي يُصيبك. فمضت أيام
لذلك. ثم إن أبا لؤلؤة، وهو فيروز عبد المغيرة بن شعبة، لقيه وهو يمشي فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين،
إن المغيرة قد جعل عليّ خراجاً كثيراً. قال عمر: وكم هو؟ قال: درهمين في اليوم. قال: وما تعمل؟
قال: أجوف الأرحاء. قال: ما ذاك بكثير، ما في بلادنا أحد يعملها غيرك. فقال: المستعان لله! ثم

١ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

٢ قال هـ في الهامش: (كذا، وفي الكلام تحريف ونقص) وزاد تكملة نقلاً عن الطبري وفيها البيت
التالي منسوب إلى عبد الله بن حذف.

٣ هـ (وإن) وهو مختل الوزن.

٤ ك: تأتينا).

348 Apparently al-Ḥuṭam had a son called Ḍubay‘ah, like his father (unless “Abū Ḍubay‘ah”, also found in the other sources, is an error for “Ibn Ḍubay‘ah”).

349 As ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn says, the text is corrupt at this point and something is missing, for the following line of verse is not by Qays ibn ‘Āṣim. He supplies the text of al-Ṭabarī (*Tārīkh*, i, 1973), where the line is attributed to ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥadhaf. He utters it after al-‘Alā has re-established Muslim domination, but rumours are spreading about Mafrūq (see the next note), who is said to have rallied the tribes of Shaybān, Taghlib, and al-Namir. On Qays ibn ‘Āṣim see *ĠN*, i, 76 and ii, 457–458, *EI2*, “Qays b. ‘Āṣim” (M.J. Kister).

350 Mafrūq (al-Nu‘mān) ibn ‘Amr al-Aṣamm, of Dhuhl—Shaybān—Bakr ibn Wā’il, see *ĠN*, Tab 149 and ii, 451.

351 Al-Ṭabarī: “If he comes to us he ...”

352 Of the four “rightly guided” caliphs reigning after Muḥammad’s death, only the first, Abū Bakr, was not murdered. The reign of his successor, ‘Umar (13–23/634–644) was an extraordinarily important one because it was during his time and under his firm rule from Medina that the first and greatest wave of conquests took place. Accounts of his life and death are naturally numerous; on his murder see, among many other sources, Ma‘mar ibn Rashīd, *Maghāzī*, 252–261; Ibn Qutaybah, *Imāmah*, i, 39–44; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 2722–2725,

“Is it Abū Ḍubay‘ah?”³⁴⁸ “Yes!” “Give me your foot and I’ll help you up!” When al-Ḥuṭam gave his foot, the man held on to it, struck him with his sword and killed him.

Qays ibn ‘Aṣim al-Sa‘dī said: [...]³⁴⁹

Do not threaten us with Mafrūq and his kin!³⁵⁰

If you come to us you³⁵¹ will find from us the custom of al-Ḥuṭam.

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[§ 30 ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb³⁵²]

Another is ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (may God the Exalted be pleased with him).³⁵³ Once ‘Umar had a dream in which a cock pecked him twice below the navel. He asked Asmā’ bint ‘Umays³⁵⁴ what this dream could signify. She said, “A non-Arab³⁵⁵ man will attack you.” A few days went by. Then Abū Lu’lu‘ah, whose proper name was Fayrūz, a slave of al-Mughīrah ibn Shu‘bah,³⁵⁶ met ‘Umar when he was walking. “Commander of the believers!”³⁵⁷ Abū Lu’lu‘ah said, “Al-Mughīrah has imposed a heavy tax³⁵⁸ on me!” ‘Umar asked, “How much is it?” “Two dirhams³⁵⁹ per day,” said Abū Lu’lu‘ah. “What do you do?” asked ‘Umar. “I make holes in millstones.” ‘Umar said, “It is not too much. There is no one in our lands who makes them except you.” Abū Lu’lu‘ah said, “God is the one to

tr. *The History*, xiv, 89–93; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, iii, 310–325; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iii, 249–266; ‘Umar ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh al-Madīnah*, 868–945; al-Ya‘qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 183, tr. *The Works*, 793; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, iv, 272–273; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 64–65, 125.

353 For his lineage, from a minor branch of Quraysh, see *ĀN*, i, 26 and ii, 571. The pious formula after his name is customary for the early caliphs and prominent early Muslims. On subsequent occurrences the formula (*radīya llāhu ‘an + pronoun*) has been replaced by “(r)”.

354 See *EI2*, *Suppl.*, “Asmā’ bint ‘Umays” (Ch. Pellat). For her lineage, from the tribe of Khat-h‘am, see *ĀN*, i, 226 and ii, 198. She was one of the wives of ‘Umar’s predecessor, Abū Bakr; before that, she had been married to Ja‘far ibn Abī Ṭālib, the brother of the caliph ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. After Abū Bakr’s death she married ‘Alī; she had sons from all these marriages. She died in 39/659–660.

355 The word *‘ajamī* often refers to Persians; Abū Lu’lu‘ah’s proper name, Fayrūz, is Persian. He was a Christian (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 2722) or, according to some, a Zoroastrian (*majūsī*, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 64).

356 A prominent Companion of the Prophet, of the tribe of Thaḳīf. He died between 48/668 and 51/671. See *EI2*, “al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba” (H. Lammens), *ĀN*, i, 118 and ii, 419–420.

357 *Amīr al-mu‘minīn*, the customary address of caliphs.

358 *Kharāj* became the technical term for land tax but was originally a more general term for taxation. See *EI2*, “Kharāj. i. In the central and western Islamic lands” (Cl. Cahen).

359 A dirham (a word ultimately derived from the Greek *drachmē*) was a silver coin.

وَلِيَّ وَهُوَ يَهْمُهُمْ. فقال عمر: ما يقول؟ قال: يزعم أنه يعمل لك رَحَى يتحدث بها العرب والعجم.
قال عمر: ما يقول العبد، أتهدد، أم وعد، أم خوف؟ ثم مضى.

فلم يلبث بعد ذلك إلا أياماً حتى وثب على عمر وهو يُسوي الصفوف لصلاة الفجر، وكان يتلفت يميناً وشمالاً فإذا استوى الصفُّ كبر، فطعنه بسكين له طرفان نصابه في وسطه، فوق العانة ودون الشرة، طعنتين أو ثلاثاً. وكان على عمر مائة صفراء، فجمعها على بطنه وقال: حَسَّ! وَكَانَ أَمْرُ اللَّهِ قَدْرًا مَقْدُورًا. وقدم عبد الرحمن بن عوف فصلّى بالناس الفجر.

وَحُكِيَ عن عائشة رضي الله عنها، أنها قالت: إني لأسير بين مكة والمدينة في سحر ليلة ١٥٦
مُقمرة، إذ سمعتُ قائلاً يقول:

لِيَبِّكَ عَلَى الْإِسْلَامِ مَنْ كَانَ بَاكِيًا فَقَدْ أَوْشَكُوا هُلُكًا وَمَا قَدَّمَ الْعَهْدُ
وَقَدْ وَلَّتِ الدُّنْيَا وَأَدْبَرَ خَيْرُهَا وَقَدْ مَلَّهَا مَنْ كَانَ يُؤْمِنُ بِالْوَعْدِ

وطلب الرجل فلم يوجد. فقلت: إني لخائفة أن يكون هذا لحدث! فلم يكن إلا أياماً حتى قُتل عمر رضي الله عنه.

١ في البيتين إقواء.

360 In the version in al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh* Abū Lu'lu'ah says he is a carpenter, a stone mason, and a blacksmith and that he is able to make a windmill ("a millstone that grinds by means of the wind"). Evidence of windmills in Persia is said to go back to 1000 BC. As El-Hibri says (*Parable and Politics*, 121) Abū Lu'lu'ah is speaking with an insinuating metaphor: *raḥā*, "millstone" is a common metaphor for war and fate.

361 The Arabic is "*ḥass!*"; "the Arabs say *ḥass!* when burned by fire or sharp pain" (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, ḤSS).

362 Q al-Aḥzāb 33:38. 'Umar died a few days later of his wounds (26 Dhū l-Hijjah 23/3 November 644). A conspiracy was surmised by some, either a Persian one (Abū Lu'lu'ah had been seen in the company of other Persians, see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 2795–2797) or a plot of some prominent Companions of the Prophet, but such suspicions may have been unfounded; see e.g. *E12*, "al-Hurmuzān" (L. Veccia Vaglieri) and "Umar (i) b. al-Khaṭṭāb" (G. Levi Della Vida and M. Bonner).

be asked for help!" He turned away, muttering. 'Umar asked, "What is he saying?" Someone answered, "He claims that he can make you a millstone that will be the talk of the Arabs and the non-Arabs".³⁶⁰ "What is that slave saying," wondered 'Umar, "Is he threatening or promising or scaring me?" Then he left.

Merely a few days later he sprang upon 'Umar, who was putting people in straight rows for the morning prayer. Looking right and left, he called out "God is Great!" whenever a row was straight. Abū Lu'lu'ah stabbed him twice or three times above the pubic region, below the navel, with a knife that had two blades, with the handle in the middle. 'Umar was wearing a yellow robe; he clutched it over his belly, saying "Ouch!"³⁶¹ «And God's command is destination decreed». ³⁶² He made 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf³⁶³ come to the fore to lead the people in the morning prayer.³⁶⁴

It is told that 'Ā'ishah (*r*)³⁶⁵ said, "When I was travelling between Mecca and Medina at dawn after a moonlit night, I heard someone say: 156

Let all those who weep weep for Islam,
for they are all but lost even when the time is still young!
The world has turned its back, the best of it is gone;
those who once believed its promise are weary of it."

They looked for the man who said this but he was not found.³⁶⁶ 'Ā'ishah said, "I was afraid that this would be a portent of some event. Only a few days later 'Umar (*r*) was killed!"

363 A prominent early convert to Islam of the Banū Zuhrah, a branch of Quraysh and one of the ten to whom the Prophet promised Paradise. He played an important role in securing the succession of 'Umar for 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān as the third caliph. See *E13*, "Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf" (W. Madelung). He died 32/652–653.

364 Other sources (e.g. Ma'mar ibn Rashīd, *Maghāzī*) add that Abū Lu'lu'ah, having mortally wounded the caliph and wounded some bystanders, slits his own throat and kills himself.

365 The daughter of Abū Bakr, the first caliph, and the favourite wife of the Prophet, whom she survived until she died in 58/678 at the age of c. 64, having played a prominent role in a few decisive events and as a transmitter of many reports about the Prophet. See *E13*, "Ā'isha bt. Abī Bakr" (Asma Afsaruddin).

366 The verses are attributed to a jinnee or a disembodied voice (*hātif*); see e.g. al-Jāhīz, *Bayān*, iii, 364, Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣbahānī, *Zahrah*, 843.

[§ 31] ومنهم سالم بن دارة، أحد بني عبد الله بن غطفان، وكان هجاً رجلاً من بني فزارة يقال له زُمَيْل بن وَبَيْر،^١ وهو ابن أم دينار، فقال في قصيدة له طويلة:

ألي ابن دارة جَهْدًا لا يُصالحُكُمْ حتّى يَبِيكَ زُمَيْلُ أمِّ دينارٍ

ثمّ إنّ ابن دارة لقي بعد ذلك زُمَيْلاً بالداء^٢ فقال: يا زُمَيْل، ألا تفعل بأُمّك حتّى أصلح قومي! فقال له زُمَيْل: مَعذَرَةٌ إلى الله ثمّ إليك، إنّه ليس معي ولا في رَحلي إلا مِخْبَطٌ أشدُّ به على وكائي. ثمّ لقيه مرّةً أخرى بشراف، فقال له | أيضاً مثل قولته الأولى: حتّى أصلح عَشيرتي. فقال ١٥٧ له: معذرةً إلى الله ثمّ إليك، إنّه ليس معي إلا سيكّين أصلح به جذائي. ثمّ إنّ زُمَيْلاً قَدِمَ المدينة بعد ذلك بزمان فقضى حوائجه، حتّى إذا صدر عن الشُّقْرة سمع رجلاً يتغنّى بقوله:

١ في النسختين (زبير) وفي ك: (دبير) والتصحيح من هـ، نقلاً عن المراجع المعتادة.

٢ في النسختين (الدائمة) والتصحيح من هـ، ك، نقلاً عن المراجع المعتادة.

367 Sālim ibn Dārah's murder is in the correct place chronologically, because it took place at some time during the caliphate of 'Umar's successor, 'Uthmān (r. 23–35/644–656). He cannot be counted, however, among the "nobles" (*ashrāf*) and he is primarily known as a poet. He is in fact listed below in the section on murdered poets (§111) with the brief remark "One of the Banū 'Abd Allāh ibn Ghaṭafān; his story went before, among the murdered (*al-muḡhtālīn*)". Yet stranger than Sālim's appearance here is the absence of one of the most prominent murder victims in Islamic history, one with dire consequences, for the killing of the caliph 'Uthmān in 35/644, with its subsequent recriminations and civil strife, ultimately caused the split between Shi'ites and Sunnites. Perhaps Ibn Ḥabīb did not consider his death, in a small-scale rebellion, a proper *ighṭiyāl*, "assassination". On Sālim ibn Dārah, see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 238–239; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 401–402; al-Mubarrad, *Ta'āzī*, 255–256; 'Umar ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah*, 1058–1060; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxi, 229–248; al-'Askarī, *Jamharah*, i, 229–230; al-Maydānī, *Majma'*, ii, 329–330; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 144–150, xi, 390. The story even made it into dictionaries (Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* and al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs*, *DWR*).

368 On 'Abd Allāh ibn Ghaṭafān, see *ĠN*, i, 92, 136 (where Sālim appears as Sālim ibn Ru'aybah Dārat al-Qamar) and ii, 110. Dārah, short for Dārat al-Qamar ("Moon's Halo"), was the name of his mother (see also Ibn Ḥabīb's *Man nusiba ilā ummih*, 92); his father was Musāfi' ibn Yarbū' (other names are also mentioned).

[§ 31 Sālim ibn Dārah³⁶⁷]

Another is Sālim ibn Dārah, of the Banū ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ghaṭafān.³⁶⁸ He had lampooned a man of the Banū Fazārah called Zumayl ibn Wubayr, who is the son of Umm Dīnār.³⁶⁹ He said, in the course of a long poem:³⁷⁰

Ibn Dārah has sworn a solemn oath: he shall not make peace with you
until Zumayl fucks Umm Dīnār.

Afterwards, when Ibn Dārah met Zumayl in al-Dā‘ah,³⁷¹ he said to him, “Zumayl, why don’t you do it to your mother so that I can make peace with my people?” Zumayl replied, “I ask God’s forgiveness and yours, but in my saddlebag I have only a needle for sewing on the strap of my waterskin.” Then they met a second time, in Sharāf.³⁷² Ibn Dārah asked | the same question again: “... so that I can make peace with my kinsmen!” Zumayl said, “I have only a knife on me to mend my shoes with.” Some time afterwards Zumayl went to Medina and did some business there. Upon leaving al-Shuqrah³⁷³ he heard a man sing the following verses:³⁷⁴

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369 Fazārah (see *EI2*, “Fazāra” [W. Montgomery Watt]) was part of Dhubyān, itself part of Ghaṭafān (on which see “Ghaṭafān” [J.W. Fück]). Zumayl was also known among “those traced to their mother” (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Man nusiba ilā ummih*, 92, al-Āmidī, *Mu’talif*, 129). The name of his father is given as Wubayr or Ubayr. Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi’r*, 401 mentions Thābit ibn Rāfi‘ as Ibn Dārah’s killer, only to say thereafter, “The one who took it upon him to kill him (viz., Ibn Dārah) was Zumayl ibn ‘Abd Manāf”. Perhaps Thābit ibn Rāfi‘ (not found elsewhere) is the name of the Christian physician who actually kills Sālim in the version in the present book. Zumayl may have considered himself the killer, judging by lines attributed to him: “I am Zumayl of the Banū Fazārah; | I am Zumayl, the killer of Ibn Dārah” (Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi’r*, 402, Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 25, etc.).

370 In ‘Umar ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh al-Madīnah*, 1058 it is the first line of a poem of eight lines, the third of which (in which he accuses the women of Fazārah of being overly fond of male camels) is often quoted; e.g. Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi’r*, 401 and many other sources. The first line has a variant (e.g. al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 148): “Tell Fazārah I shall not make peace with them until ...”

371 A place or a mountain near Mecca (Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, 530–531).

372 A watering place not far from Medina (Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, 788–789).

373 “The first village upon leaving Medina” (Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, 749, 805).

374 The second verse is in ‘Umar ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh al-Madīnah*, 1060. The first has not been found elsewhere.

مَلَكَتْ بِهَا الْإِدْلَاجَ حَتَّىٰ بَدَا لَهَا مَعَ الصُّبْحِ مِنْ أَشْبَاعِ رُكُنٍ يَلْمَلِمُ
وَقَدْ أَوْغَلَتْ فِي السَّيْرِ حَتَّىٰ كَانَمَا يُكْسِرُ قَيْضٌ بَيْنَهُنَّ وَحَنَّتُمْ^٢

فَعَرَفَ زُمَيْلٌ صَوْتَ سَالِمٍ، فَأَقْبَلَ إِلَيْهِ فَضْرِبَهُ ضَرْبَتَيْنِ، ثُمَّ عَقَرَ بَعِيرَهُ، فَحَمَلَ سَالِمٌ إِلَى عَثْمَانَ بْنِ عَقَّانٍ، فَدَفَعَهُ إِلَى طَبِيبِ نَصْرَانِيٍّ حَتَّىٰ إِذَا بَرَأَ وَوَعَتَ كُلُّوْمُهُ دَخَلَ النَّصْرَانِيُّ، وَإِذَا سَالِمٌ يُشَامِعُ امْرَأَتَهُ، فَاحْتَقَنَهَا عَلَيْهِ، فَقَالَ لَهُ النَّصْرَانِيُّ: إِنِّي لَأَرَى عَظْمًا نَاتِنًا، فَهَلْ لَكَ أَنْ أَجْعَلَ عَلَيْهِ دَوَاءً حَتَّىٰ يَسْقُطَ؟ قَالَ: نَعَمْ فَاَفْعَلْ. فَسَمَّهَ فَمَاتَ.

وَيُقَالُ إِنَّ أُمَّ الْبَنِيْنَ بِنْتَ عَيْيْنَةَ بْنِ حِصْنِ الْفَزَارِيِّ، وَكَانَتْ عِنْدَ عَثْمَانَ بْنِ عَقَّانٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، جَعَلَتْ لِلطَّبِيبِ جُعْلًا حَتَّىٰ سَمَّهَ فَمَاتَ. فَذَلِكَ قَوْلُ الْكُمَيْتِ بْنِ تَعْلَبَةَ:

فَلَا تُكْتَرُوا فِيهَا الصَّجَاجَ فَإِنَّهُ مَحَا السَّيْفُ مَا قَالَ ابْنُ دَارَةَ أَجْمَعَا

١ كَذَا فِي النَّسَخَتَيْنِ.

٢ فِي الْبَيْتَيْنِ إِقْوَاءً.

٣ كَذَا فِي النَّسَخَتَيْنِ وَفِي هـ، ك؛ وَلَعَلَّ الصَّوَابَ إِمَّا (فَاحْتَقَدَهَا) كَمَا جَعَلَهَا الشَّنْقِيطِيُّ وَإِمَّا (فَاحْتَقَنَهَا) كَمَا فِي خِرَانَةِ الْأَدَبِ لِعَبْدِ الْقَادِرِ الْبَغْدَادِيِّ.

375 The context suggests that the pronoun refers to his she-camel. For the sense of *malaka* here cf. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* (MLK): *malaktu bihā kaffi* (...) *ya'ni shadattu bi-l-ta'nah*. The phrase *malaktu bihā l-idlāja* is also found in a poem by Hudbah ibn Khashram (Ibn Maymūn, *Muntahā*, iii, 228, Hudbah ibn Khashram, *Shi'r*, 132).

376 Not identified.

377 A mountain two nights' travelling from Mecca (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, 1398–1399).

I exerted her³⁷⁵ during the night until there appeared to her
 in the morning, from Ashbā',³⁷⁶ the side of Mount Yalamlam.³⁷⁷
 She had paced so fast that it was as if
 ostrich shells and wine-jars were broken between them.³⁷⁸

Zumayl recognised Sālim's voice. He turned to him and struck him twice; then he hamstrung his camel. Sālim was carried to 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, who handed him over to a physician, a Christian. When he was cured and his wounds had healed the Christian went in to Sālim, finding him fooling around with his wife. Resenting this, he said to Sālim, "I see a bone jutting out through your skin. Would you like me to put some medicine on it to make it come out?" "Yes," said Sālim, "Please do!" The man poisoned him and he died.

It is also said that Umm al-Banīn,³⁷⁹ the daughter of 'Uyaynah ibn Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī, who was the wife of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (*r*), made a payment to the doctor, who poisoned Sālim, so he died. To this refers the verse by al-Kumayt ibn Tha'labah:³⁸⁰

Don't make a great to-do about it:
 the sword effaced all Ibn Dārah's words.

378 Meaning "between the camel's hooves"; cf. an anonymous line quoted in Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (NHY): "Their hooves crush the pebbles as if | ostrich shells and flasks were broken between them."

379 Mulaykah, known as Umm al-Banīn ("Mother of Sons"), daughter of 'Uyaynah ibn Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī, was one of the wives of the caliph 'Uthmān and the mother of one of his sons, 'Abd al-Malik (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vi, 231).

380 Al-Kumayt al-Akbar ("the older", to distinguish him from two other and more famous poets called al-Kumayt) ibn Tha'labah, of the tribe of Faq'as—Asad (ĠN, i, 50 and ii, 373; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 227). The line is quoted in al-Jāhiz, *Bayān*, i, 389; al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsah*, 24; al-Āmidī, *Mu'talif*, 170; al-Marzubānī, *Mu'jam*, 237–238; and, in a poem of 13 lines, al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, xi, 389–390. The second half of the quoted line became a proverb (Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 26; al-'Askarī, *Jamharah*, i, 229–230; al-Maydānī, *Majma'*, ii, 329–330).

١٥٨ [٣٢ §] ومنهم الزُّبَيْرُ بن العَوَّامِ رضي الله عنه. وسبب ذلك أَنَّهُ لَمَّا انصرف عن حرب الجَمَلِ عندما ذَكَرَهُ عَلِيٌّ بن أَبِي طالب رضي الله عنه، استجار النَّعْرُ بن الرَّمَّامِ المُجَاشِعِيِّ، فَأَتَى آتِ الأَحْنَفِ بن قَيْسٍ فقال: هذا الزُّبَيْرُ قد مرَّ أَنفَاءً! قال الأَحْنَفُ: ما أَصنع به، جمع فَيْتَيْنِ من المسلمين فقتل بعضهم بعضاً، ثُمَّ لحق بقومه. فنهض عَمْرُو بن جُرْمُوزٍ، وَفَضَالَةُ بن حَابِسٍ، وَنُفَيْعُ بن كَعْبِ بن عُمَيْرٍ، فلحقوه بوادي السَّبَاعِ، ففكرَ عليهم الزُّبَيْرُ حين رآهم، فانهزموا عنه، ولحق الزُّبَيْرُ ابنَ جُرْمُوزٍ فَلَمَّا رَهَقَهُ قال: اللَّهُ اللَّهُ أبا عبد الله! فرجع عنه، ومضى الزُّبَيْرُ وانصرف عنه فَضَالَةُ وَنُفَيْعٌ، ولزمه عمرو بن حرموز، فسأيرَه في ليلة مُقَمَّرَةٍ، فعطف عليه الزُّبَيْرُ فقال: أَنشدك اللَّهُ يا أبا عبد الله! فكفَّ عنه وسأيرَه، وأغفى الزُّبَيْرُ على فرسه فطعنهُ فأذراه عنه، فقال الزُّبَيْرُ: قَاتَلَهُ اللَّهُ، يذكَرُ بالله وينساه! ومات.

فقالَت عاتكة أخت سعيد بن زيد بن عمرو بن نُفَيْلِ العَدَوِيِّ:

١ ك: (عمر).

- 381 Al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām opposed 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and fought him after the latter had become the fourth caliph in the famous “Battle of the Camel” (36/656), near Basra. He was supported by Ṭalḥah ibn 'Ubayd Allāh and the Prophet's widow, 'Ā'ishah, a fierce opponent of 'Alī; she attended the battle seated on a camel in an armoured palanquin. They were defeated and al-Zubayr was killed soon afterwards. The story is told in numerous sources; see e.g. *E12*, “Djamaal” (L. Vecchia Vaglieri), and “al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām” (I. Hasson). The Battle of the Camel is described in detail in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 3091–3233, tr. *The History*, xvi, 32–172; on al-Zubayr's death *ibid.*, i, 3218–3219; also al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xviii, 53–63.
- 382 He belonged to Quraysh; for his lineage, see *ĠN*, i, 19 and ii, 608–609. An early convert and, with 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf (see above, § 30) and 'Alī, among those promised Paradise by the Prophet, he distinguished himself in the early conquests. He and others accused 'Alī of being implicated in the rebellion that ended with 'Uthmān's death, or at least of not dealing firmly with the perpetrators.
- 383 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 3185–3186; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 182; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 107–108; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xviii, 54.
- 384 Abū 'Ubaydah, *Naqā'id*, 80, 222 mentions this name in his commentary on lines by the poet Jarīr (d. 111/729) attacking Mujāshī' (the tribe of his rival al-Farazdaq) for failing to protect al-Zubayr. But Ibn Durayd (*Ishtiqāq*, 327) apparently believes there was no person of this name: “Al-Na'ir ibn al-Zammām al-Mujāshī'ī, who gave protection to al-Zubayr as they allege; but this is a false claim, for it is something that [the poet] Jarīr derided them [viz., the tribe of Mujāshī'] with; it is derived from the expression *ḥimār na'ir*, i.e., a fly-bitten donkey.” In support of this one notes that this al-Na'ir cannot be found elsewhere except in the context of this story and that Na'ir (“fly-bitten”) is not known as a personal name.
- 385 Al-Aḥnaf Ṣakhr ibn Qays (d. 67/686–687), prominent leader of Tamīm, neutral at the time of the Battle of the Camel; on him, see *E12*, “al-Aḥnaf b. Qays” (Ch. Pellat); *ĠN*, i, 76; Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 423–425.

[§ 32 al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām³⁸¹]

Another is al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām (*r*).³⁸² The cause of his death was as follows. When he had withdrawn from the fighting at the Battle of the Camel, after ‘Alī (*r*) had reminded him of past events,³⁸³ he sought protection with al-Na‘ir ibn al-Zammām al-Mujāshī‘ī.³⁸⁴ Someone came to al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays³⁸⁵ and said, “This al-Zubayr has just come past.” Al-Aḥnaf said, “What should I do with him? He has made two parties of Muslims meet and kill one another, and then he left to join his own people.” Then ‘Amr ibn Jurmūz,³⁸⁶ Faḍālah ibn Ḥābis, and Nufay‘ ibn Ka‘b ibn ‘Umayr³⁸⁷ went in pursuit and caught up with al-Zubayr in Wādī l-Sibā‘.³⁸⁸ Al-Zubayr attacked them when he saw them and they fled. Al-Zubayr pursued Ibn Jurmūz and when he caught up with him, Ibn Jurmūz said, “By God, by God, please, servant of God!”³⁸⁹ Al-Zubayr let him go and went his way. Faḍālah and Nufay‘ left, but ‘Amr ibn Jurmūz stuck to al-Zubayr and rode along with him. It was a moonlit night. Al-Zubayr turned to him and Ibn Jurmūz said, “I implore you by God, servant of God!” so al-Zubayr let him off again. They rode on together. Al-Zubayr nodded off, seated on his horse; then Ibn Jurmūz stabbed him, throwing him from the saddle. Al-Zubayr cried out, “God curse him! He mentions God to me and then forgets Him!” Then he died. ‘Ātikah, the sister of Sa‘īd ibn Zayd ibn ‘Amr ibn Nufayl al-‘Adawī,³⁹⁰ said:

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386 On ‘Amr ibn al-Jurmūz see *ĠN*, i, 75 and ii, 173. He is often mentioned or referred to (sometimes as Ibn al-Dhayyāl) in Jarīr’s invective poems on al-Farazdaq, see Abū ‘Ubaydah, *Naqā‘id*, 81–82, 179–180, 318, 592, 833.

387 Faḍālah ibn Ḥābis and Nufay‘ ibn Ka‘b are found only in connection with this event. Instead of Faḍālah, the editors of *Aghānī*, xviii, 56 have Fuḍālah, probably incorrectly.

388 A place five miles from Basra on the road to Mecca (Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, 715–716). Its name (“Valley of Lions, or predatory animals”) is said to be derived from a woman named Asmā’ bint Duraym who dwelt there and who was nicknamed Umm al-Asbu‘ (Mother of Lions); but the editor of al-Bakrī’s *Mu‘jam* thinks that real animals are meant, quoting verses by Suḥaym ibn Wathil in support.

389 He uses ‘*abd Allāh*’ not as a name but in its literal sense.

390 ‘Ātikah bint Zayd ibn ‘Amr was a wife of al-Zubayr’s. She is listed by Ibn Ḥabīb (*Muḥabbar*, 437) among women who married three or more times, having earlier been the wife of ‘Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn al-Muṭṭalib and then ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr, and afterwards of Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr and finally, it seems, ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ. That her last husband was al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī (thus al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xviii, 62) or al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī (thus al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi, 560) is not corroborated by the main sources. See also al-Madā‘īnī, *Murdifāt*, 61–64; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, x, 252–253; *EI2*, “Ātika” (J.W. Fück); Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 314–315. The following verses are from a poem, lines of which are quoted in many sources, including al-Madā‘īnī, *Murdifāt*, 64; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsah* (al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ*, 1106–1107); al-Washshā’, *Muwashshā*, 80–81; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xviii, 58; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, x, 373–378 (with a discussion of the syntax of the third line).

غَدَرَ ابْنُ جَرْمُوزٍ بَفَارِسٍ بُهْمَةً يَوْمَ اللَّقَاءِ وَكَانَ غَيْرَ مَعْرُودٍ
 يَا عَمْرُؤُ لَوْ نَبَّهْتَهُ لَوَجَدْتَهُ لَا طَائِشًا رَعِشَ الْجَنَانِ وَلَا الْيَدِ
 هَبَلْتِكَ أُمُّكَ إِنْ قَتَلْتَ لِمُسْلِمًا حَلَّتْ عَلَيْكَ عَقُوبَةُ الْمُتَعَمِّدِ

وجاء ابن جرموز بسيف الزبير إلى علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه، وقال: أَخْبِرْهُ أَنِّي قَاتِلُ الزُّبَيْرِ. فقال علي: بَشِّرْ قَاتِلَ ابْنِ صَفِيَّةَ بِالنَّارِ! وأخذ السيف منه وقال: سَيْفٌ طَالَمَا فَرَجَ الْعِمَامَةَ عَنْ وَجْهِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.
 قال: فكان ابن جرموز يدعو لأمر الدنيا، فقيل له: لو دَعَوْتَ لِأَمْرِ آخِرَتِكَ. فقال: قد يَمْسُتُ مِنَ الْجَنَّةِ مَنْذُ قَتَلْتُ الزُّبَيْرِ.

[٣٣٨] وَمِنْهُمْ مَالِكُ بْنُ الْحَارِثِ الْأَشْتَرِ. وَكَانَ أَتَى عَلِيًّا رَضِيَ اللَّهُ لَمَّا وَلَّى عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبَّاسٍ الْبَصْرَةَ، وَعُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ الْيَمَنَ، وَقَتَّمْ مَكَّةَ، فَقَالَ لَهُ: وَلَيْتَ بَنِي عَمِّكَ فَلِمَ قَتَلْنَا الشَّيْخَ، يَعْنِي عَثْمَانَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، إِنَّمَا قَتَلْنَاهُ حِينَ آتَرَ أَهْلَ بَيْتِهِ بِالْوِلَايَةِ! فَتَقَاوَلَا فَأَغْلَظَ كُلُّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهُمَا لِصَاحِبِهِ، فَدَخَلَ بَيْنَهُمَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ، وَكَانَ عَلِيٌّ لَهُ مَكْرِمًا، فَانصَرَفَ الْأَشْتَرُ مَغَاضِبًا، فَتَرَكَ إِتْيَانَ عَلِيٍّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ حَتَّى قَتَلَ أَهْلَ مِصْرَ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ أَبِي بَكْرٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، وَكَانَ عَامِلٌ عَلِيٍّ عَلَيْهَا. فَلَمَّا بَلَغَهُ قَتْلُهُ قَالَ لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ جَعْفَرٍ: مَنْ تَرَى لِمِصْرَ؟ فَقَالَ: الْأَشْتَرُ، هُمْ قَوْمُهُ، وَجَّهَهُ، فَإِنْ هَلَكَ

391 For the literal and figurative meanings of *buhmah*, see Lane, *Lexicon* (BHM); it often has the force of “courageous man”.

392 Al-Zubayr’s mother was Ṣafīyyah bint ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet Muḥammad’s aunt. ‘Alī’s ironic use of *bashshir*, “bring good tidings”, may have been inspired by the Qur’an (e.g. Q al-Nisā’ 4:138: «Bring good tidings to the hypocrites that they will receive a painful punishment!»).

393 For parallels see e.g. al-Ya‘qūbī, ii, 227, tr. *The Works*, 849–850; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 3392–3395, tr. *The History*, xvii, 144–146; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 161.

394 Mālik ibn al-Ḥārith al-Nakha‘ī, called al-Ashtar (“with inverted eyelid”) after a wound received at the Battle of the Yarmūk (15/636), belonged to the tribe of al-Nakha‘, part of Madhḥij (ĠN, i, 264 and ii, 389). He was a leading opponent of ‘Uthmān and involved in the rebellion that led to ‘Uthmān’s violent death. He supported ‘Alī during the Battle of the Camel (see above, § 32) and the Battle of Ṣiffin (37/657) between the forces of ‘Alī and Mu‘āwīyah, but he opposed the truce between the two. His death may have occurred in 37/657–658 or the following year. See on him also EI3, “al-Ashtar, Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha‘ī” (Harry Munt), al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxv, 35–37.

395 ‘Abd Allāh ibn (al-)Abbās ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. c. 68/687–688) was a paternal cousin of the

Ibn Jurmūz betrayed a valiant knight, a rock,³⁹¹
 on the day of battle, one who does not flee from the fight.
 ‘Amr, if you had awakened him you would have found him
 not mindless, trembling of neither heart nor hand.
 May your mother be bereft of you! Since you killed a Muslim
 the punishment for intentional homicide applies to you!

Ibn Jurmūz took the sword of al-Zubayr to ‘Alī (*r*), saying, “Tell him that I am the one who killed al-Zubayr!” But ‘Alī replied, “Bring good tidings to Ibn Ṣafīyyah’s killer: he’ll go to Hell!”³⁹² He took the sword from him, saying, “So often has this sword lifted a cloud from the face of the Messenger of God (ṣ)!” 159

Ibn Jurmūz used to pray for his life in this world; they said to him, “Wouldn’t you pray for your life in the hereafter?” He replied, “I have lost all hope of Paradise since I killed al-Zubayr.”

[§ 33 Mālik ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar³⁹³]

Another was Mālik ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar.³⁹⁴ He went to ‘Alī (*r*) when he had appointed ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās³⁹⁵ as governor of Basra, ‘Ubayd Allāh³⁹⁶ as governor of Yemen, and Qutham³⁹⁷ as governor of Mecca. “You have appointed your cousins,” he said, “so why was it that we killed the old man?”—he referred to ‘Uthmān—“We only killed him when he began to appoint his own kin as governors!”³⁹⁸ They started to argue, both using rude words. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ja‘far³⁹⁹ intervened; he was someone ‘Alī respected. But al-Ashtar left angry and stopped seeing ‘Alī (*r*) until the Egyptians killed Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr (*r*), who was ‘Alī’s governor there.⁴⁰⁰ When ‘Alī heard about his death he asked ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ja‘far, “Who do you think should be governor of Egypt?”

Prophet as well as of ‘Alī, who appointed him as governor of Basra in 36/657. His status as a great scholar grew after the founding of the Abbasid dynasty, called after his father. See *EI3*, “‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās” (Claude Gilliot).

396 He is the brother of ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās; see *EI2*, “‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās” (C.E. Bosworth).

397 Qutham is another brother of Ibn ‘Abbās; see *EI2*, “Qutham b. al-‘Abbās” (C.E. Bosworth).

398 ‘Uthmān was accused of nepotism, which contributed to the discontent about his rule but was not the direct cause of the rebellion that cost him his life.

399 Another cousin of ‘Alī; see *EI3*, “‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib” (Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi).

400 He was a son of the caliph Abū Bakr and a half-brother of ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ja‘far, who had advised ‘Alī to appoint him as governor of Egypt, where he was soon killed by supporters of Mu‘āwiyah. See *EI2*, “Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr” (G.R. Hawting).

هَلَك، وإن مَلَكَ مَلَك. فبعث إلى الأشر فولاه مصرَ. فأخذ على طريق الحِجاز إليها، وبلغ ذلك مُعَاوِيَةَ، فكتب إلى الجايشتار،^١ دِهْقَان الْقَلْزَم، يأمره باغتتيال الأشر ويضع عنه^٢ خَرَاجَه. فلَمَّا نزل به الأشر أكرمه، وكان الأشر يحب السمك فأمجده منه، وجعل الأشر يأكل السمك أَكْلَ مُتَقٍّ، وكان الغالب عليه البُلْعَم. فقال له: أَيُّهَا الرَّجُل، لَا تَهَبِ السَّمَك، فَإِنَّ عِنْدِي دَوَاءَهُ، قال: ١٦٠ وما هو؟ قال: العَسَل. فأكل ثم قال له: هَاتِ العَسَل. فجدَّح له فيه سُمًّا فقتله. فلَمَّا بلغ معاوية قتلَه قام خطيباً فقال: يَا أَهْلَ الشَّام، إِنَّ عَلِيًّا كَانَتْ لَهُ يَدَانِ، إِحْدَاهُمَا عَمَّارُ بَنِ يَاسِرٍ، وَالْأُخْرَى الْأَشْر، فَقَطَعَهُمَا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى.

[§ ٣٤] ومنهم علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله تعالى عنه. كان سبب ذلك أن عبد الرحمن بن ملجم التَّجُوبِي، وعداؤه في مُرَاد، والبُرْك بن عبد الله التَّمِيمِي وهو صاحب معاوية، وعمرو

١ هـ، ك: (الجانسار)، والتصحيح من تاريخ الطبري.

٢ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

- 401 The tribe of Madhḥij, to which al-Ashtar belonged, participated in the conquest of Egypt and some of its members were among those rebels coming from Egypt to confront ‘Uthmān (E12, “Madhḥidj” [G.R. Smith—C.E. Bosworth]).
- 402 Mu‘āwiyah, son of the Meccan Qurayshite leader Abū Sufyān (see above, §26) was ‘Alī’s adversary in the undecided Battle of Ṣiffīn and became the founder of the Umayyad dynasty after ‘Alī’s death, reigning as caliph from 41/661 to 60/680.
- 403 This word, thus in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 3393 (with several other corrupt spellings in the critical apparatus) would have been unintelligible to contemporary readers; in ‘ASH and SKH it appears as *jānsār*. Apparently a Byzantine administrative rank, it has been said to be the Latin word *logistarius* (E12, “al-Ashtar” [L. Vecchia Vaglieri]) but other words have also been suggested (see Hawting’s translation of al-Ṭabarī, *The History*, xvii, 145, note 598), among them *quaestor* (see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, *Glossarium*, clvii) and *augustalis*, which is supported by the form *jaṣṭāl* found in administrative papyri.
- 404 *Dihqān* (originally a Persian word), village head or local feudal ruler.
- 405 Ancient Klyasma, on the Egyptian Red Sea coast, at the site of modern Suez.
- 406 Fish, in the Galenic-Arab medical and nutritional theory, counts as cold and moist (unsurprisingly), and should therefore not be eaten in quantity by people predominantly phlegmatic (also characterised by coldness and moisture). Honey, classified as hot and dry, would be counteractive.
- 407 ‘Ammār ibn Yāsir, also of Madhḥij (ĠN, i, 272 and ii, 167), was an early convert who fought at the Battle of Badr and was killed fighting for ‘Alī at the Battle of Ṣiffīn. See e.g. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxii, 376–378.
- 408 Among all murder victims in the book ‘Alī and ‘Umar (and the Prophet Muḥammad if he really died of the much earlier poisoning) are the most prominent. ‘Alī was the Prophet’s

“Al-Ashtar”, he replied, “They are his kin;⁴⁰¹ send him! If he dies, he dies; if he rules, he rules.” ‘Alī summoned al-Ashtar and appointed him governor of Egypt. He set off on the Hijaz road towards Egypt. Mu‘āwiyah,⁴⁰² hearing of this, wrote to the *jāyastār*,⁴⁰³ the local chief⁴⁰⁴ of al-Qulzum,⁴⁰⁵ ordering him to have al-Ashtar murdered, after which he would relieve him of paying taxes. When al-Ashtar arrived at him, he received him hospitably. Al-Ashtar was fond of fish and the local dignitary served him a lot of it. Al-Ashtar began to eat the fish, but being circumspect, because his was a predominantly phlegmatic nature.⁴⁰⁶ His host said to him, “Man, don’t be afraid of the fish! For | I have a remedy for it.” “What is it?” asked al-Ashtar. “Honey”, he answered. And al-Ashtar ate. Then he said, “Give me the honey!” The man had mixed some poison in it, and this killed him. When Mu‘āwiyah learned of his death he stood up to give a speech, saying, “Syrians! ‘Alī once had two hands. One was ‘Ammār ibn Yāsir,⁴⁰⁷ the other was al-Ashtar. God the exalted has cut off both of them!”

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[§ 34 ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib⁴⁰⁸]

Another was ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (*r*). The cause was as follows. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muljam al-Tajūbī,⁴⁰⁹ who belonged to Murād, met in Mecca with al-Burak ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī,⁴¹⁰ who was a companion of Mu‘āwiyah, and ‘Amr ibn

cousin; the husband of his daughter Fāṭimah; the fourth and last of the so-called “Rightly Guided” caliphs (*al-Rāshidūn*), whose troubled reign was characterised by setbacks and recriminations but who should have been the first caliph according to those who later became the Shi‘ites (from *shī‘at ‘Alī*, “Alī’s party”); and he was the father or forefather of those collectively called the ‘Alids, many of whom were involved in revolts, movements, or sects (for a survey of the ‘Alids, see e.g. *E12*, “Alids” [B. Lewis] and *E13*, “Alids” [Farhad Daftary]). On ‘Alī, see e.g. *E13*, “Alī b. Abī Ṭālib” (Robert M. Gleave). Naturally, ‘Alī’s death is described in countless sources. See e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 3456–3469, tr. *The History*, xvii, 213–226; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl*, 227–230; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, iii, 31–38; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii, 36–39; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, iv, 359–361; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 164–169; al-Ḥafḥānī, *Maqātil al-Ṭālibīyyīn*, 43–57. When the Battle of Šiffin between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah ended without a clear result and ‘Alī had agreed to arbitration, some of his fiercest supporters, mainly from the tribe of Tamīm, were so disgusted by what they perceived as an unpardonable weakness that they became his fiercest opponents, known as Khārījites (al-Khawārij, “the Leavers”). ‘Alī defeated them at the Battle of al-Nahrawān in 38/658. Ibn Muljam, who assassinated ‘Alī in 40/661, was a Khārījite.

409 For his lineage, on which there is considerable confusion, see *ĈN*, i, 271 and ii, 129. Tajūb is not found in his line, but he belonged to Tadūl, a branch of Murād. One wonders if al-Tajūbī is a corruption of al-Tadūlī. On him and the story of ‘Alī’s murder in detail, see e.g. *E12*, “Ibn Muljam” (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

410 See *ĈN*, ii, 229; there is some confusion about the name and lineage of Mu‘āwiyah’s would-be assassin.

بن بُكَيْرِ التَّمِيمِيِّ، وهو صاحب عمرو بن العاص، اجتمعوا جميعاً بمكة فتذاكروا أهل النَّهْرَوَانَ فترحموا عليهم وقالوا: واللَّهِ ما نَعْبَأُ بالبقاء في الدنيا شيئاً بعد إخواننا الذين كانوا لا يخافون في الله لَوْمَةَ لائِمٍ، وكانوا مَصَابِيحَ الْهُدَى. ثم ذكروا النَّاسَ فعابوا عليهم أفعالهم، وقالوا: [لو] أنا شَرِينَا أَنفَسْنَا لِلَّهِ وَالتَّمَسْنَا غِرَّةَ هَوْلَاءِ الْأَيْمَةِ الضُّلَّالِ فَتَارْنَا بِهِمْ إِخْوَانَنَا، وَأَرْحْنَا مِنْهُمْ الْعِبَادَ. فقال عبد الرحمن: أنا لكم العليّ، وقال البرك: أنا لكم لمعاوية، وقال عمرو بن بُكَيْرٍ: أنا لكم لعمرو بن العاص. فتعاهدوا على ذلك وتواتقوا لا يَنْكُصُ رجلٌ منهم عن صاحبه الذي سمّاه حتى يقتله أو يموتَ دونه. فاتَّعدوا في شهر رمضان ليلة سَبْعِ عَشْرَةَ ثُمَّ افترقوا على | ذلك، وتوجَّه كلُّ رجلٍ ١٦١ منهم إلى المِصرِ الذي فيه صاحبه، وكان عليٌّ رضي الله عنه قد ضَجِرَ من أهل الكوفة، وكان كثيراً ما يدعو عليهم، وكان كثيراً ما يُنْشِدُ إذا آذَوْه:

خَلُّوا سَبِيلَ الْعَيْرِ يَا تِ أَهْلَهُ سَوْفَ تَرَوْنَ فِعْلَكُمْ وَفِعْلَهُ

وكان كثيراً ما يقول:

لا شيءَ إِلَّا اللهُ فَارْفَعْ ظَنِّكَ يَكْفِيكَ رَبُّ النَّاسِ مَا أَهَمَّكَ

١ كذا في هـ، ك؛ والتكملة من تاريخ الطبري، ويقتضيها السياق.

411 On this 'Amr ibn Bukayr there is again some confusion as to his name and identity. In some sources he is a Persian called Zādawayh (or Zādhawayh). On the conspirators see the above-mentioned entry "Ibn Muldjam" in *EI2*.

412 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ (d. 42/662 or 43/664), of Sahn, a branch of Quraysh, was a companion of the Prophet and one of the leading generals during the first wave of conquests; he conquered Egypt during 'Umar's reign and became a strong and shrewd supporter of Mu'awiyah in his conflict with 'Ali.

Bukayr al-Tamīmī,⁴¹¹ who was a companion of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ.⁴¹² They talked about those who had died at al-Nahrawān,⁴¹³ imploring God for mercy on them. “By God”, they said, “We do not care about staying alive in this world now that our brothers have died, who «did not fear» for the sake of God «the blame of any blamer»!⁴¹⁴ They were the lamps of the Right Guidance!” They talked about people, denouncing their actions. They said, “What if we give our lives to God, seeking to get at those errant leaders unawares, avenge our brothers, and rid God’s servants of them!” ‘Abd al-Raḥmān said, “I’ll deal with ‘Alī for you”, al-Burak said, “I’ll deal with Mu‘āwiyah for you”, and ‘Amr ibn Bukayr said, “I’ll deal with ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ for you.” They made pledges to that effect, affirming that none of them would let the others down, each one either killing his assigned victim or dying in the attempt. They agreed on carrying out their plans on the eve of the seventeenth of the month of Ramadan.⁴¹⁵ Then they dispersed. | Each man went to the town where his intended victim was. ‘Alī (r) was annoyed with the Kufans, often cursing them.⁴¹⁶ Often, when they thwarted him, he would recite:⁴¹⁷

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Let the wild ass run free and it will go to its kin;
You will see what you do and what it does!

He would also often say,⁴¹⁸

There is nothing but God. Leave your assumptions!
The Lord of People will protect you from your worries.

413 A town east of the Tigris in Iraq, where ‘Alī defeated the Khārījites.

414 Q al-Mā’idah 4:54.

415 This corresponds to January 24, AD 661; other dates are also mentioned.

416 Kufa, in Iraq, had been ‘Alī’s main residence after he left Medina to fight al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām (above, § 32), but he had great trouble in keeping his coalition together after the Battle of Ṣiffin.

417 This couplet in *rajaz* metre, the interpretation of which is not wholly obvious, has not been found elsewhere except in a later anthology, al-Afṭasī (d. 515/1121), *al-Majmū’ al-laṭif*, 242. It is not found in ‘Alī’s *Dīwān* (collected verse); the verb *anshada* (“to recite”) suggests that he is quoting an unknown poet. The wild ass or onager (*‘ayr*) is apparently a metaphor for the unruly Kufans.

418 Another *rajaz* couplet, found in ‘Alī’s *Dīwān*, 139.

وكان يقول أيضاً:

خَلُّوا سَبِيلَ الْجَاهِدِ الْمُجَاهِدِ أَيَّتُ أَنْ أَعْبُدَ غَيْرَ الْوَاحِدِ

وكان يقول:

فَأَيُّ يَوْمِي مِنَ الْمَوْتِ أَفْرٌ أَيَوْمَ لَمْ يُقَدَّرْ أَمْ يَوْمَ قُدِرْ

وكان يقول: ما يحبس أشقاها، أما والله لعهده إلى النبي الأمي صلى الله عليه وسلم أن هذه تُخْضَبُ من هذه، يعني لحيته من هامته؛ وكان يقول:
أشدُّد ...

... حَيَازِيمَكَ لِلْمَوْتِ فَإِنَّ الْمَوْتَ آتِيكَ
وَلَا تَجْزَعُ مِنَ الْمَوْتِ إِذَا حَلَّ بِوَادِيكَ

فلما كانت الليلة التي أتعدوا لها، وكانت ليلة الجمعة، بات ابن مُلْجَم في مسجد الجامعة بجنب الأشعث بن قيس الكندي.
وكان علي رضي الله عنه رأى في تلك الليلة رؤيا فخبّر بها أبا عبد الرحمن السلمي وهو مجروح، فذكر أبو عبد الرحمن وكان مؤدّب الحسَن والحُسَيْن رضي الله عنهما، قال: دخلتُ

١ ك: (الليل).

419 The couplet is found in 'Alī's *Dīwān*, 60.

420 *Al-jāhid al-mujāhid*.

421 A couplet found in 'Alī's *Dīwān*, 79; al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsah*, 51; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, i, 105, v, 274, 287; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 133. It was discussed by grammarians (e.g. Abū Zayd, *Navādir*, 164; Ibn Jinnī, *Khaṣā'is*, iii, 94, Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-Arab* [QDR]) because of the irregular *yuqdar*, required by the metre, instead of *yuqdar*.

422 An echo of Q al-Shams 91:12, «Then the most wretched of them rose up», on the pre-Islamic people of Thamūd, who slaughtered the God-given camel.

And he would say,⁴¹⁹

Let him who struggles strenuously⁴²⁰ run free!
I refuse to worship any but the One.

And he would say,⁴²¹

On which of two days can I flee from death,
A day that is not predestined or a day that is predestined?

He also used to say, “What can hold back the most wretched man of them?⁴²² By God, the Prophet who did not read or write⁴²³ (ṣ) has pledged that this ...” (meaning his beard) “... would be dyed by that!” (meaning his head).⁴²⁴ He also used to say,⁴²⁵

Strengthen
Your breast for death,
for death will come to you.
Be not afraid of death
when it lodges in your valley.

On the evening they had agreed upon, which was the eve of Friday, Ibn Muljam spent the night in the congregational mosque at the side of al-Ash‘ath ibn Qays al-Kindī.⁴²⁶

In that night ‘Alī (r) had a dream, which he told to Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī⁴²⁷ when he was lying wounded. Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who was the

423 On the somewhat ambiguous term *ummī*, see *EI2*, “ummī” (E. Geoffroy). It could mean “illiterate” in the sense that Muḥammad did not know, or did not have to know, earlier scriptures. It has also been interpreted as “sent to the Gentiles” (cf. *ummah*, “nation”).

424 i.e., his beard will be soaked with blood streaming from his head.

425 These lines in *hazaj* metre are quoted in many sources (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii, 39; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, iii, 31; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xv, 229, idem, *Maqātil*, 45, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, *Dīwān*, 140; etc.); the opening word *ushdud* is extra-metrical, a rare occurrence.

426 Ma‘dīkarib ibn Qays, nicknamed al-Ash‘ath (“Rumple-hair”) or al-Ashajj (“Scarface”), a chief of the tribe of Kindah and leading figure in Kufa, a supporter of ‘Alī though preferring peace rather than the latter’s supremacy. He died in 40/661, a few weeks after ‘Alī. See *ĠN*, i, and ii, 381, *EI3*, “al-Ash‘ath b. Qays” (Khalid Yahya Blankinship).

427 Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥabīb al-Sulamī (d. in the 80s/between 699 and 707), noted for his knowledge of the Qur’an; see Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma‘ārif*, 528, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii, 121.

عليه وهو مجروح فقال: اذُنٌ مِنِّي يا أبا عبد الرحمن، والنساءُ يَبْكِينَ، فدنوتُ منه فقال لي: بِتُّ الليلةَ أوْ قَطَّ أهلي، فمَلَكْتَنِي عَيْنِي وأنا جالس، فسَنَح لي رسولُ الله صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وسلَّمَ | ١٦٢ فقلتُ: يا رسولَ الله، ما لقيتُ من أُمَّتِكَ من الأودِ واللَّدَد! فقال: ادْعُ عليهم. فقلتُ: اللَّهُمَّ أبدلني بهم من هو خيرٌ لي منهم، وأبدلهم بي من هو شرٌّ مِنِّي! ودخل ابن التَّيَّاح المؤدِّن على ذلك، فقال: الصلاة. فأخذتُ بيده، فمشى ابن التَّيَّاح بين يديَّ وأنا خَلْفَه.

(ورجع الحديث) قال: فقال الأشعث لابن مُلْجَم: فَضَحَك الصُّبْحُ! فانطلق ابن ملجم، وشبيب بن بَجْرَةَ الأشْجَعِيَّ وخرج عليٌّ من منزله وهو يقول: أَيُّها الناس الصلاة، أَيُّها الناس الصلاة! فضربه ابن ملجم ضربةً من جَبْهته إلى قَرْنه، وأصاب السيفَ الحائطَ فثلم فيه، ثم ألقى السيفَ وأقبلَ الناسُ فجعل يقول: أَيُّها الناس، إياكم والسيفَ فَإِنَّهُ مسموم! فذكروا أَنَّهُ سَمَهُ شهراً. فأدْخَلَ عليٌّ رضي الله عنه، وأدْخَلَ ابنُ ملْجَم عليه فقالت أمُّ كُلْثوم بنت علي: أَقْتَلت يا عدُوَّ الله أميرَ المؤمنين؟! قال: لم أَقتُلْ إلاَّ أباك. فقالت واللهِ إِنِّي لأرجو أن لا يكون على أمير المؤمنين بأس. قال: فلمَ تَبْكِينَ إِذاً، واللهِ لقد سَمَمْتُهُ شهراً، فَإِنْ أَخْلَفني فأبعده الله وأسْحَقَه! ثمَّ إِنَّ عَلِيًّا رَحِمَهُ اللهُ قال: أَطِيبُوا طَعَامَهُ، وَأَلِينُوا فَرَّاشَهُ، فَإِنْ أَعِشْ فَعَفُّوْهُ أَوْ قِصَّاص، وَإِنْ أَمُتْ فَأَلْحِقُوهُ بي أُخَاصِمُهُ عند ربِّ العالمين.

وذكروا أَنَّ ابنَ ملْجَم خطب امرأةً من الرِّبَاب يقال لها قَطَام وكانت من أجملِ الناس، وكانت خارجيَّةً، وكان عليٌّ قتلَ أهلَ بيتِها بالنُّهْران، فقالت: لا أتزوَّجك إلاَّ على ثلاثة

١ ك: (ادع الله عليهم).

428 'Ali's two sons; on al-Ḥasan, see below, § 37.

429 First name and lineage unknown.

430 Shabīb ibn Bajarah was another Khārijite, who in other versions (see e.g. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, iii, 35; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 262; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 3458, al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 46) had been approached by Ibn Muljam to assist him in the assassination attempt. Instead of Bajarah (thus explicitly e.g. in al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs* [BJR]) one also finds Bujrah (thus e.g. in 'ASH) or Najdah (thus according to Vecchia Vaglieri in *EI2*, "Ibn Muldjam", 889a).

431 She was Zaynab, daughter of 'Ali and the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah and not to be confused with her aunt also called Umm Kulthūm, daughter of the Prophet and his first wife, Khadijah. Zaynab had been married to the second caliph 'Umar.

432 *Qisās*, "retaliation", in Islam is applied to cases of killing or wounding; it may be replaced by forgiveness with or without compensation. See e.g. *EI2*, "Qisās" (J. Schacht).

tutor of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (*r*),⁴²⁸ said, “I went in to him while he was lying wounded. He said to me, ‘Come closer to me, Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān!’ The women were all crying. I went closer to him and he said to me, ‘I spent the night keeping my family awake, but my eyes got the better of me and I fell asleep, sitting up. Then the Messenger of God (ṣ) appeared to me. | I said, ‘O Messenger of God! I have encountered such deviousness and obstinacy from your community!’ ‘Then curse them!’ So I said, ‘O God, give me instead of them someone who is better to me than they are, and give them instead of me someone who is worse to them than I am!’ Ibn al-Tayyāḥ the muezzin⁴²⁹ then entered, saying, ‘Prayer time!’ I took him by the hand and we left, Ibn al-Tayyāḥ in front of me and I behind him.’”

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To continue the story: al-Ash‘ath said to Ibn Muġjam, “Shame on you! It is light already!” And Ibn Muġjam got up and was off, together with Shabīb ibn Bajarah al-Ashjā‘ī.⁴³⁰ ‘Alī came out of his house, shouting, “People, Prayer! People, Prayer!” Then Ibn Muġjam struck him one blow, from his forehead to the top of his head. The sword also hit the wall, making an indentation. Then he threw down the sword. People approached. He began to shout, “People! Beware the sword, it is poisoned!”. They say that he had poisoned it for a whole month. ‘Alī (*r*) was taken inside, together with Ibn Muġjam. Umm Kulthūm, ‘Alī’s daughter⁴³¹ cried out, “Enemy of God! Have you killed the Commander of the Believers?” Ibn Muġjam replied, “I have merely killed your father.” She said, “I do hope, by God, that the Commander of the Believers will be all right!” “Why are you crying then?” he said, “By God, I have poisoned it for a month. If it fails me, may God remove it and destroy it!” ‘Alī—God have mercy on him—said, “Feed him well, give him a comfortable place to sleep. If I live, then either forgive him or exact retaliation;⁴³² if I die, make him join me so that I may sue him in the presence of the Lord of All Beings.”⁴³³

They say that Ibn Muġjam had proposed to a woman of al-Ribāb in marriage; she was called Qaṭām,⁴³⁴ one of the most beautiful women. She was a Khār-ijite; her nearest kin had been killed at al-Nahrawān. “I shall only marry you,”

433 The text omits to add that ‘Alī died of his wound two or three days after the attack and that Ibn Muġjam was duly executed, possibly after being mutilated and tortured as some sources tell (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii, 39; al-Dīnawārī, *Akhbār*, 229; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 168, etc.).

434 Al-Ribāb were a confederation of five tribes of Ṭaym, see *ĠN*, i, 85 and ii, 468 and 486. Qaṭām’s brother, father, and paternal uncle had been killed at al-Nahrawān. In other versions Qaṭām asks, in addition, for a male and a female slave (see the following poem).

آلاف، وقتل علي بن أبي طالب بعد ذلك. فترجّحها وبني بها، فلما فرغ منها قالت: يا هذا، إنك قد فرغت فأفرغ! فخرج فضرب علياً.

وقال بعض الشعراء:

فلم أرَ مَهْرًا ساقَهُ ذو سَمَاحَةٍ كَمَهْرٍ قَطَامٍ من فَصِيحٍ وَأَعَجَمٍ
ثَلَاثَةٌ آلَافٍ وَعَبْدٌ وَقَيْنَةٌ وَضَرْبٌ عَلِيٍّ بِالْحُسَامِ الْمَصْمَمِ
فَلَا مَهْرَ أَعْلَى من عَلِيٍّ وَإِنْ غَلَا وَلَا قَتَلَ إِلَّا دُونَ قَتْلِ ابْنِ مُلْجَمِ

وأما صاحب معاوية فطعن معاوية وقد خرج لصلاة الفجر في تلك الليلة في أليته، فلم يؤلّد لمعاوية بعدها حتى مات. وبذلك السبب جعلت المقصورة في المسجد الجامع.

[٣٥ §] ومنهم خارجة بن خذافة العدوي، وكان قاضي مصر، وكان له صلاحٌ وصُحبة، فخرج صاحب عمرو بن العاص فوجد خارجة في مجلس عمرو يعيشي الناس، وقد كان عمرو شغل تلك الليلة، فدنا منه وهو يظنّه عمراً، وهو على سرير عمرو جالساً، فضربه من ورائه بالسيف على عاتقه. فأخذ الرجل، وخرج عمرو، وحمل خارجة إلى منزله مُثخنًا، فأثاه عمرو فقال له خارجة: والله ما أراد غيرك. فقال عمرو بن العاص: ولكن الله أراد خارجة.

435 In al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 3467 the lines are attributed to Ibn Abī Mayyās al-Murādī (see also 'Abbās, *Shi'r al-Khawārij*, 35–36).

436 *Faṣīḥ aw a'jam*, meaning probably "either Arab or non-Arab".

437 Instead of *al-muṣammim* ("piercing"), some sources have *al-musammam* ("poisoned"), e.g. al-Maqḍīsī, *Bad'*, v, 233; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, vii, 89, xviii, 288.

she said, "if you give a bride-price of three thousand dirhams and afterwards kill 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib." He married her and consummated the marriage. Having done so, she said, "I say, man, you have done your business, now strike!" So he left and struck 'Alī.

A poet said,⁴³⁵

I never saw a bride-price paid by a generous man,
 either eloquent or inarticulate,⁴³⁶ like that of Qaṭām:
 Three thousand, a slave, a slave-girl,
 and slaying 'Alī with piercing sword.⁴³⁷
 No bride-price, no matter how dear, was dearer than 'Alī,
 and no murder was lower than Ibn Muljam's.

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As for Mu'āwiyah's would-be assassin, he stabbed Mu'āwiyah in the buttocks when he was going out to perform the morning prayer that night. After that, no more children were born to Mu'āwiyah before he died. This was why the reserved box in the mosque was introduced.⁴³⁸

[§ 35 Khārijah ibn Ḥudhāfah al-'Adawī⁴³⁹]

Another was Khārijah ibn Ḥudhāfah al-'Adawī,⁴⁴⁰ who was Chief Judge of Egypt. He was pious and a Companion of the Prophet. The would-be assassin of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ went out and found Khārijah in 'Amr's court, where he was providing supper to the people. 'Amr was elsewhere occupied that evening.⁴⁴¹ The man approached him, thinking that he was 'Amr, for he was sitting on 'Amr's seat. He struck him from behind with his sword on his shoulder. The man was apprehended. 'Amr came; Khārijah was carried to his house, mortally wounded. 'Amr visited him and Khārijah said to him, "He only wanted you!" 'Amr replied, "But God wanted Khārijah."

438 On the *maqṣūrah* and the various reports on its introduction see *EI2*, "Masḍjid" (J. Pedersen), vi, 661b–662b.

439 For parallels see e.g. al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii, 40; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 170; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 44–45.

440 Khārijah ibn Ḥudhāfah (d. 40/661) was of the tribe of 'Adī, a branch of Quraysh, see *ĠN*, Tab 26 and ii, 344. As he was a Companion of the Prophet, his biography is found in numerous sources (see e.g. al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xiii, 239). He took part in the conquest of Egypt. His bungling murderer was 'Amr ibn Bukayr, see § 34.

441 According to al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii, 40, he had a bellyache.

١٦٤ [٣٦§] ومنهم خالد بن المعمّر السّدُوسيّ. وكان معاوية دسّ إليه بالعراق أن يدعُو ربيعةً إلى الوثوب بعليّ بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه، وأن ينقضّ عليه أمره، فإنّ هو فعَل ولاءه خُراسان. ففعل ذلك خالد بن المعمّر حتّى آذت ربيعةً عليّاً وشنّعوا عليه. وبلغ ذلك معاويةً، فلمّا قُتِل عليّ رضي الله عنه أحبّ معاوية الوفاء لخالد بن المعمّر. وقال بعض شعراء بني سدوس:

مُعَاوِيَّ أَكْرَمُ خَالِدَ بْنَ الْمُعَمَّرِ فَإِنَّكَ لَوْلَا خَالِدٌ لَمْ تُؤمَّرِ

فكتب إليه معاوية بعهدته على خُراسان، ودسّ إليه رجلاً فسقاه شربةً بظهر الكوفة بقصّر بني مُقاتِل، فقتلته وقد أجمع الناس على معاوية.

[٣٧§] ومنهم الحسن بن عليّ رضي الله تعالى عنهما. ذكره يعقوب بن الدُّورقيّ. قال: أخبرنا أسعد بن إبراهيم، قال: حدّثنا ابن عَوْن، عن عُمَيْر بن إسحاق قال: دخلت على الحسن بن عليّ رضي الله عنهما، أنا ورجل، فقال لصاحبي: أيّ فلان، سلني. قال: ما أنا بسائلك شيئاً. ثمّ قام من عندنا فدخل كنيفاً له ثمّ خرج فقال: أيّ فلان، سلني قبل أن لا تسألني؛ فإنّي والله لقد

442 See Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, 317–319, and briefly Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, xvi, 206.

443 Khālid ibn al-Muʿammar, of the tribe of Sadūs, part of Shayban—Bakr ibn Wāʿil—Rabīʿah. See *ĉN*, i, 153 and ii, 342, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xiii, 264. He fought with ʿAlī at the Battle of Ṣiffin but after ʿAlī's death pledged allegiance to Muʿāwiyah instead of ʿAlī's son al-Ḥasan (on whom see below, § 37).

444 Quoted anonymously in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Maʿadd wa-l-Yaman*, 55, al-Jāhīz, *Bayān*, iii, 108. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, 318–319 and Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, xvi, 206, name the poet as al-Aʿwar al-Shannī (Abū Munqidh Bishr ibn Munqidh, see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 196).

445 Called Qaṣr Muqātil by Yāqūt (*Muʿjam al-buldān*), said to lie between ʿAyn al-Tamr (N.-W. of Kufa) and Syria, near al-Qutqūṭānah (on which see above, § 1, note 9). It was called after Muqātil ibn Ḥassān, one of the ʿIbād of al-Ḥīrah (§ 19, note 226), see *ĉN*, i, 80 and ii, 431. After its destruction in the 8th century another castle was built there, in modern times called al-Ukhayḍir (E12, “al-Ukhayḍir” [A. Northedge]).

446 This sentence succinctly provides a transition to the following section about ʿAlī's son Ḥasan, who is said to have renounced the caliphate, and who abdicated having reached a settlement with Muʿāwiyah.

[§ 36 Khālid ibn al-Mu‘ammar al-Sadūsī⁴⁴²]

Another was Khālid ibn al-Mu‘ammar al-Sadūsī.⁴⁴³ Mu‘āwiyah had sent a secret message to him in Iraq, asking him to rally Rabī‘ah against ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (*r*) and to obstruct his cause. If he were to do this, he would appoint him as governor of Khorasan. Khālid ibn al-Mu‘ammar did so and as a result Rabī‘ah harmed ‘Alī’s cause and calumniated him. Mu‘āwiyah heard of this, and when ‘Alī (*r*) was killed he wanted to be true to his pledge to Khālid ibn al-Mu‘ammar. But one of the poets of the tribe of Sadūs said,⁴⁴⁴

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Mu‘āwiyah, honour Khālid ibn al-Mu‘ammar!
For but for Khālid you would not have been made to rule!

Thereupon Mu‘āwiyah wrote to him, appointing him a governor of Khorasan; but he secretly sent a man to him who gave him a potion to drink outside Kufa, at the castle of the Banū Muqātil,⁴⁴⁵ which killed him. People agreed to acknowledge Mu‘āwiyah.⁴⁴⁶

[§ 37 al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī⁴⁴⁷]

Another was al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī (*r*). He is mentioned by Ya‘qūb al-Dawraqī,⁴⁴⁸ who said: I was told by As‘ad ibn Ibrāhīm,⁴⁴⁹ who said: Ibn ‘Awn⁴⁵⁰ told us, on the authority of ‘Umayr ibn Ishāq,⁴⁵¹ who said:

I visited al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī (*r*), together with another man. Al-Ḥasan said to my companion, “Sir, ask me for something!” The man replied, “I am not asking you for anything.” Al-Ḥasan stood up, leaving us and entering a closet. He came out again and asked, “Sir, ask from me, before you can no longer ask from me!

447 Since he was a son of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Fāṭimah and a grandson of the Prophet, sources about him and his death are very numerous. He is said to have died as the result of an illness or from poisoning, perhaps by one of his many wives (his wives in successive marriages are reckoned in scores and his concubines in hundreds). Ja‘dah bint al-Ash‘ath is sometimes named as having been bribed by Mu‘āwiyah to do the deed; see e.g. al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 60, 80–81. The date of his death is also disputed (49/669–670, or several years later). See e.g. *EI2*, “(al-)Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib” (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

448 This section and the one about ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid (below, § 39) are exceptional in explicitly naming sources. For Ya‘qūb ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Kathīr al-Dawraqī (d. 252/866) see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxviii, 468–469.

449 Not identified.

450 Identified by ‘ASH as ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Awn (d. 232/846–847); al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii, 389.

451 See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, ix, 219, al-Bustī, *Thiqāt*, v, 254.

١٦٥ لفظت طائفة | من كيدي، قلبتها بعودٍ كان معي، وإني قد سقيت السم مراراً فلم أسق مثل هذا قط، فسألني! قال: ما أنا بسائلك شيئاً، يعافيك الله إن شاء الله! ثم خرجنا فأتيته الغد وهو يسوق، وجاء الحسين فقعده عند رأسه فقال: أي أخي، نبئني من سقاك؟ فقال: لم؟ ليتقتله؟ قال: نعم. قال: ما أنا بمحدثك شيئاً. إن يكن صاحبي الذي أضن، فالله أشد نقمة، وإلا فوالله لا يُقتل بي بريء!

[٣٨§] ومنهم سعيد بن عثمان بن عفان. وكان بلغ معاوية أن أهل المدينة يقولون، إماؤهم وعبيدهم، مقالة قد شاعت على أفواههم:

والله لا ينالها يزيد حتى يعضّ هامه الحديد إن الأمير بعده سعيد

وكانت أم سعيد أم عبد الله بنت الوليد بن الوليد بن المغيرة، وكانت قاتلت عن عثمان يوم قتل، وأصابته جراحة؛ وأعانته نائلة بنت الفرافصة على المدافعة عنه، فجرحنا جميعاً. فلما بلغ معاوية هذا القول عن سرعان أهل المدينة، كتب إلى سعيد بن عثمان فقدم عليه، فلما دخل عليه قال: ما شيء بلغني أن أهل المدينة يقولون: | والله لا ينالها يزيد؟ وأنشد الأبيات الثلاثة. ١٦٦ فقال سعيد: وما تنكير هذا يا معاوية؟ والله إن أبي لخير من أبي يزيد، وأمي خير من أم يزيد، ولأنا خير من يزيد. ومع هذا أنا وليناك فما عزلناك، ورفعناك فما وضعناك، ثم صارت هذه الأشياء في يدك فحلاتنا عن جميع ذلك.

452 "The Shi'is further maintain that Mu'awiya tried to poison al-Hasan 70 times" (E12, "al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib").

453 His younger brother, who was to become the Shi'ites' greatest martyr when he was killed in a revolt against Umayyad rule at Karbala in Iraq in 61/680, an event still widely commemorated by Shi'ites.

454 This son of the caliph 'Uthmān campaigned in Transoxania in 56/676 and died in Medina shortly after the death of Mu'awiyah in 60/680. On him see al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, vi, 245-248; Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, iii, 306-314; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 177-180, tr. *The History*, xviii, 187-190; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq*, ix, 334-336; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xv, 241-242.

For, by God! I have just spat out a part | of my liver. I stirred it with a stick: I 165
 have been given poison more than once⁴⁵² but I have never been given to drink
 anything like this. So ask!" The man repeated, "I am not asking you for anything.
 May God restore your health, if He wills!"

We left. The following morning I came to him while he was about to give
 up the ghost. Al-Ḥusayn⁴⁵³ also came and sat down at his head. "Brother," he
 said, "Let me know who gave you poison!" But al-Ḥasan replied, "Why? So that
 you can kill him?" "Yes!" "I am not going to tell you," said al-Ḥasan, "For if it
 is the fellow I suspect, then God will wreak a stronger vengeance. And if it is
 otherwise, then, by God! no innocent person shall be killed because of me."

[§ 38 Saʿīd ibn ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān⁴⁵⁴]

Another is Saʿīd ibn ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān. It had reached Muʿāwiyah that the
 people of Medina, their slaves female and male, were repeating the following
 verses publicly and widely:

By God, Yazīd will not get it⁴⁵⁵
 Until a blade bites his skull!
 The Commander after him is Saʿīd.

Saʿīd's mother was Umm ʿAbd Allāh bint al-Walīd ibn al-Walīd ibn al-Mugh-
 hīrah.⁴⁵⁶ She had tried to defend ʿUthmān the day he was killed and she had
 been wounded. Nāʾilah bint al-Furāfiṣah⁴⁵⁷ had assisted her in defending him
 and both were wounded. When Muʿāwiyah heard what had been said from
 some people of Medina, he wrote to Saʿīd ibn ʿUthmān, who came to him. When
 he had entered the caliph's presence the latter asked. "What's this I hear the
 people of Medina are saying, | 'By God, Yazīd will not get it ...'?"—he recited 166
 the three lines. Saʿīd answered, "Why don't you like it, Muʿāwiyah? By God, my
 father was better than Yazīd's father, my mother was better than Yazīd's mother,
 and I am better than Yazīd! Nevertheless, we have appointed you and we have
 not deposed you. We have raised you and not lowered you. And now, when you
 hold all the power, you keep us away from all of it!"

455 Yazīd is Muʿāwiyah's son, who reigned after him, 60–64/680–683 and who died a natural
 death despite the verses. "It" apparently refers to the succession as caliph.

456 On al-Walīd ibn al-Mughhīrah see above, § 26. In al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, Saʿīd's mother is called
 Fāṭimah ibnat al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd Shams ibn al-Mughhīrah.

457 ʿUthmān's wife.

قال معاوية: أمّا قولك يا ابن أخي إنّ أبي خير من أبي يزيد فقد صدقتَ رحمَ الله أمير المؤمنين عثمان، هو والله كان خيراً منّي. وأمّا قولك إنّ أمّي خير من أمّ يزيد فصدقتَ، لعمري لأمرأة من قريش خير من امرأة من كلب، وبحسب امرأة أن تكون من صالحى نساء قومها. وأمّا قولك إنّى خير من يزيد فولله يا ابن أخي ما يسرّني أنّ حبلاً مُدّ فيما بين العراق فنظّم لي فيه أمثالك بيزيد! ولكن انطلق فقد وليتكَ خراسان.

وكتب إلى زياد أن ولّه ثغرها وأقيم معه على الخراج رجلاً حازماً يُحصنه ويحفظه على أمير المؤمنين. فضرب زياد البعث على أهل السجون والشطّار وكلّ من يلوذ من أهل المصر من داعر وما أشبهه، فصاروا أربعة آلاف، وولّى أسلم بن زُرعة الكلابيّ على الخراج. ومضى سعيدٌ حتّى | ١٦٧
نزل مرو، وفوّز منها يريد سمرقند، فلمّا انتهى إلى نهر بلخ دعا بالعامات ليعبر عليها. فلمّا تحمّلوا وجازوا كان أوّل ما سمعه من النداء نداء منادٍ من غلمان العسكر: يا ظفّر! فتفاهل بالظفر. ثمّ نادى آخر: يا علوان! فقال: علا أمركم إن شاء الله. وبدر الناس رفيع أبو العالية الرّياحيّ الفقيه، فصلّى ركعتين، فكان أوّل من صلّى ركعتين من وراء النهر.

ونفذ الناس حتّى انتهى إلى بخارى، والملكة يومئذ بينخارى يقال لها خُنك خاتون، فصالحها صلحاً معلوماً على أن تُخلّي له الطريق إلى سمرقند، وأخذ منها رهناً على الوفاء ثلاثين غلاماً من أبناء الملوك مُرداً كأنّ وجوههم السيوف، وسهّلت له الطريق، والتقى هو وخاتون فقرقهما أهل خراسان، وغنّوا عليهما أغنيتاً بالخراسانيّة، وهي:

١ كذا في هـ، ك، ولعلّ الصواب (خَيْلاً).

٢ ك: (ونفد).

458 Both Mu'awiyah and Sa'id were descendants of Umayyah, great-great-grandfather of 'Uthmān and great-grandfather of Mu'awiyah.

459 The image is not quite clear and the text is likely to be corrupt. Instead of a rope (*ḥabl*) a manuscript has a mountain (*jabal*) and *Tahdhīb Tārīkh Dimashq* has horsemen (*khayl*), all three differing only by their dots. It seems that *khayl* is the original reading and that Mu'awiyah means: "I would be pleased if horsemen were lined up over Iraq with people like you together with Yazīd!" Compare the variants of this dialogue in Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa-l-siyāṣah*, i, 214, where Mu'awiyah laughs and says, "By God! How I would love (*mā aḥabba*) my house to be filled with men like you instead of Yazīd!", and in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 178: "How I would love the Ghūṭah (a region near Damascus) to be stuffed with men like you for Yazīd!"

Mu‘āwiyah replied, “Nephew,⁴⁵⁸ when you say, ‘My father was better than Yazīd’s father’, you are right, may God have mercy on ‘Uthmān, the Commander of Believers, for, by God, he was better than me. When you say, ‘My mother was better than Yazīd’s mother’, you are right, for upon my life! a woman from Quraysh is better than a woman from Kalb. It is enough for a woman to be one of the good women of her tribe. But when you say, ‘I am better than Yazīd’, by God, I would not like it if a rope would be extended over all Iraq and those like you strung upon it for me with Yazīd.⁴⁵⁹ But leave; I appoint you as governor over Khorasan.”

He wrote on his behalf to Ziyād:⁴⁶⁰ “Appoint him as governor of the border territory and send with him a judicious man in charge of the land tax (*kharāj*), someone who will keep it safe and preserve it for the Commander of Believers.” Ziyād enlisted for the expedition prisoners, villains (*shuṭṭār*), every scoundrel from the city⁴⁶¹ who sought refuge with him, and the like. They amounted to four thousand. He appointed Aslam ibn Zur‘ah al-Kilābī in charge of the land tax. Sa‘īd left and | reached Marw. He set out to travel through the desert to Samarqand. When he reached the river of Balkh he called for rafts to cross the river. When they had boarded and crossed, the first thing that he heard was the call of some of the slaves in the army, “Zafar!”⁴⁶² He took this as a favourable omen. Then another shouted, “Alwān!” Sa‘īd said, “Your fortune will rise (*‘alā*), if God wills!” Rufay‘ Abū l-‘Āliyah al-Riyāḥī,⁴⁶³ the jurist, took the initiative and performed two *rak‘ahs* of ritual prayer;⁴⁶⁴ he was the first to do this in Transoxania.

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They continued their journey and reached Bukhara. At the time the queen of Bukhara was called Khunuk⁴⁶⁵ Khātūn. Sa‘īd made a pact with her, which allowed him to proceed to Samarqand. To ensure loyalty he took as hostages from her thirty young men of royal blood, beardless, their faces white like swords. The queen gave him an easy passage. He met the Khātūn, but the Khorasanis had misgivings about their behaviour and sang a song about them in the language of Khorasan, as follows:

460 Ziyād ibn Abīh, (d. 53/673), Mu‘āwiyah’s governor over Iraq and the eastern provinces.

461 *Al-miṣr*, apparently meaning Basra.

462 *Zafar*, here apparently a man’s name but meaning “victory”.

463 Rufay‘ ibn Mihrān Abū l-‘Āliyah al-Riyāḥī al-Baṣrī (d. 90/708–709), a *mawlā*. See al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xiv, 138–139.

464 A *rak‘ah* is a sequence of movements as part of a *ṣalāt* or ritual prayer. The regular morning prayer consists of two *rak‘ahs*, as do some prayers for special occasions, such as being on a journey.

465 *Kh.y.l* in Ibn A‘tham, *Futūḥ*, iii, 310.

كورا خمير آمد خاتون دروغ كنده

فمضى إلى سمرقند فظفر وقتل وسبى ثلاثين ألف رأس، ثم رجع فلما انتهى إلى بخارى
قالت له الملكة خنك خاتون: اردد عليّ الرهون فقد سلمك الله. فقال: إني أخاف غدرك حتى
أقطع النهر. فلما قطع النهر بعثت إليه ارددهم. قال: حتى أنزل مرو. فمضى بهم ولم يرددهم
عليها. ومضى قافلاً إلى المدينة، | فجعل أولئك الرهن فلاحين في نخل له وحرث بالمدينة،
١٦٨ فأتاهم يوماً يتعهّد ماله فاغتالوه فقتلوه،^٢ وجوّوه بخناجرهم.

وبلغ الخبر أهل المدينة فساروا إليهم فحصرهم في جبل هناك، ولم يُقدّموا على حربهم
حتى ماتوا في ذلك الجبل عطشاً. فجعلت ابنته سعيد جارية لها يُقال لها مردانة في رحالة فقالت:
من يبكي أبي بيّتين شعْرهما في نفسي فله هذه الجارية بما عليها. فقال في ذلك الشعراء فلم
يصنعوا شيئاً، فقال خُلَيْدُ عَيْنِيْنِ العَبْدِي:

يا عينُ أَذْرِي دَمْعَةً وَابْكِي الشَّهِيْدَ ابْنَ الشَّهِيْدِ
فَلَقَدْ قُتِلَتْ بِغَيْرَةٍ وَجَلِبْتَ حَتْفَكَ مِنْ بَعِيْدِ

فلما قالهما قالت: إن هذان اللذان كانا في نفسي. وأعطته الجارية برحالتها.

١ ك: (كورع).

٢ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

٣ كذا.

466 As the editor's note says, *kūr* means "blind"; if read *gawr* it means "unbeliever". Since Sa'īd was one-eyed, *a'war* (al-Haytham ibn 'Adī, 'Umyān, in al-Jāhīz, *Burṣān*, 567; al-Jāhīz, *Burṣān*, 90–91; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 302), *kūr* seems the better reading. But the line is likely to be corrupt and its interpretation unknown. Even the language is uncertain: it has been argued that it is Sogdian rather than Persian or Khorasanian. See the discussions (in Persian) at <https://parsianjoman.org/?p=2604> and http://www.bbc.com/persian/arts/story/2004/08/printable/040826_mj-taj-bukhara-oldpoem.shtml (I thank Dr Anna Livia Beelaert, Leiden, for summarising the discussion for me).

*Kūr khamīr āmad durūgh kandah.*⁴⁶⁶

Saʿīd went on to Samarqand, which he conquered, killing or taking captive thirty thousand people;⁴⁶⁷ then he went back. When he reached Bukhara, Queen Khunuk Khātūn said to him, “Give me my hostages back! God has preserved you.” Saʿīd replied, “I fear that you may betray me before I cross the river.” When he had crossed the river she sent him a message saying “Give them back!” He answered, “Let me reach Marw first.” He went on with them without returning them to her and travelled back to Medina. | He turned those hostages into farmers on a date palm plantation of his and on farmland in Medina. One day he came to them to look after his property. They murdered him, stabbing him with their daggers.

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When the people of Medina learned this they went to them and surrounded them on a mountain in the neighbourhood. They did not attack them but let them die of thirst on that mountain. Saʿīd’s daughter mounted a slave-girl of hers called Mardānah on a camel saddle and said, “Whoever will lament my father in two lines of verse that are in my mind will have this girl and what she is wearing!” Several poets came up with something but without success. Then Khulayd ʿAynayn al-ʿAbdī said:⁴⁶⁸

Shed a tear, my eye
and weep for the martyr, son of a martyr!
You were killed unawares,
having brought your death from afar.

When he had uttered the lines she said, “These verses were in my mind!” She gave him the slave-girl with the saddle and all.

467 Saʿīd’s conquest is somewhat doubtful. “The Muslim Arabs do not appear for certain in the affairs of Samarqand until the time of the governor of Khurāsān, Qutayba b. Muslim”, *EI2*, “Samarqand” (H.H. Schaeder & C.E. Bosworth). Qutaybah’s siege of Samarqand took place in 93/712.

468 On him, a poet from Hajar, see Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaqāt*, 345, 385; al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, i, 266; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shiʿr*, 463. ʿAynayn (“Two Wells”) refers to a locality. In *al-Aghānī*, ii, 253 these verses, with a third, are said by Ibn Sayhān, better known as Ibn Arṭāh, and it is Saʿīd’s mother, not his daughter, who asks for an elegy. In al-Zawzanī, *Ḥamāsāt al-zurafāʾ*, 80, the two lines by Khulayd ʿAynayn are said to be not on Saʿīd but on ʿAmr, another son of ʿUthmān.

[§ 39] ومنهم عبد الرحمن بن خالد بن الوليد بن المُغيرة المخزومي. ذكر الكلبي عن خالد بن سعيد^١ عن أبيه [أن]^٢ معاوية قال لأهل الشام لما أراد البيعة ليزيد: إن أمير المؤمنين قد كبرت سنه، ودنا من أجله، وقد أراد أن يولي الأمر رجلاً من بعده فماذا ترون؟ فقالوا: عليك بعبد الرحمن بن خالد بن الوليد. وكان فاضلاً؛ فسكت معاوية وأضمرها في نفسه. ثم إن | عبد الرحمن ١٦٩ اشتكى، فدعا معاوية ابن أثال الطبيب، وكان من عظماء الروم، فقال: أتت عبد الرحمن فأنعت له. فأثاه فسقاه شربة انحرف منها عبد الرحمن ومات. فقال معاوية حين بلغه موته: لا جد إلا ما أنفض عنك ما تكره. ثم إن كعب بن جُعيل التَّغْلبي وكان صديقاً لعبد الرحمن بن خالد دخل على معاوية فقال له: قد كنت صديقاً لعبد الرحمن بن خالد فما الذي قلت فيه؟ قال: قلت:

ألا تبكي وما ظلمت فريش^١ بإعوال البكاء على فتناها
ولو سُئلت دمشق وأهل حمص^٢ وبُصري من أتاح لكم^٣ قراها

١ هـ، ك: (يزيد)، والتصحيح من المنمق لابن حبيب ومصادر غيره.

٢ الكلمة ليست في النسختين.

٣ ك: (لكن).

469 On him see *E12*, “Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid” (H.A.R. Gibb) and *E13*, “Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd” (Eric J. Hanne). He was the son of the famous general Khālid ibn al-Walīd (d. 21/642). Under Mu‘āwiyah he became governor of Homs but his popularity caused his death in 46/666 as described below. He belonged to Makhzūm, a prominent clan of Quraysh (for his lineage see *ĀN*, i, 23). For parallel texts see e.g. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 360–362; Muṣ‘ab ibn al-Zubayr, *Nasab Quraysh*, 324–326; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, x, 210–211; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 82–83, tr. *The History*, xviii, 88–89; al-Isfahānī, *Aghānī*, xvii, 197–198; al-‘Askarī, *Awā’il*, 159–160; idem, *Jamharah*, ii, 301; al-Maydānī, *Majma’*, ii, 255; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah, *Uyūn al-anbā’*, ed. Savage-Smith, ii, 326, tr. iii, 322, ed. Müller, i, 118; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii, 143–144.

470 The historian and genealogist Hishām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 204/819).

471 ‘AṢH and SKḤ: Khālid ibn Yazīd (suggesting that this is Mu‘āwiyah’s grandson, son of his successor Yazīd, which is obviously incorrect). It is Khālid ibn Sa‘īd ibn ‘Amr ibn Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ, as in Ibn Ḥabīb’s *Munammaq*, 360, al-‘Askarī, *Jamharah*, ii, 301, and other sources.

[§ 39 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid ibn al-Walīd⁴⁶⁹]

Another is ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid ibn al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī. Ibn al-Kalbī⁴⁷⁰ mentions on the authority of Khālid ibn Sa‘īd,⁴⁷¹ on the authority of his father, that when Mu‘āwiyah wanted the Syrians to pledge allegiance to Yazīd he said to them, “The Commander of Believers is old and his end is nigh. Now he wants to appoint a man to rule after him. What do you think?” They said, “You should appoint ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid ibn al-Walīd!” He was an excellent candidate. Mu‘āwiyah said nothing but kept a grudge in his heart. Then it happened | that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān suffered from some complaint. Mu‘āwiyah summoned Ibn Uthāl the physician,⁴⁷² one of the important Byzantines,⁴⁷³ and said to him, “Go to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and prescribe a medicine for him.” Ibn Uthāl went to him and gave him a potion that upset ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s constitution, and he died. When Mu‘āwiyah heard of his death he said, “There is good fortune to compare with one that removes what you dislike.”⁴⁷⁴

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Ka‘b ibn Ju‘ayl al-Taghlibī,⁴⁷⁵ who was a friend of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid, visited Mu‘āwiyah, who said to him, “You were a friend of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid. What have you composed on him?” He replied, “I said:

Ah, the Quraysh weep—and they do not do wrong—
bemoaning their hero.
If Damascus were asked, or the people of Homs
or Buṣrā:⁴⁷⁶ ‘Who has granted you its villages?’

472 He was a Christian physician in Damascus, a favourite of Mu‘āwiyah because, as Ibn Abī Uṣaybī‘ah explains (*‘Uyūn al-anbā’*, ed. Savage-Smith, ii, 322, tr. iii, 317; ed. Müller, i, 116–117), he “possessed extensive knowledge of the properties of simples and compound medicines, including highly toxic ones. Many prominent Muslims and persons of rank died of poisoning in Mu‘āwiyah’s time.” In Sezgin, *Geschichte*, iii, 204–205 his name is given as Ibn Athāl. Al-Ṭabarī mentions that Ibn Uthāl was killed in retaliation by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s son Khālid.

473 *Mīn ‘uḡamā’ al-Rūm*; but his father’s name seems to be Arabic.

474 This saying is found in collections of proverbs (al-‘Askarī, *Jamharah*, ii, 301; al-Maydānī, *Majma’*, ii, 255; al-Zamakhsharī, *Mustaqṣā*, ii, 261). Instead of *anfaḍa ... mā takrahu* “removes ... what you dislike”, all other versions (including Ibn Ḥabīb’s *Munammaq*) have *aq‘asa ... man takrahu* “kills on the spot ... whom you dislike”, which is no doubt the original version.

475 A poet, born before Islam, close to Mu‘āwiyah. He is said to have died at a good age during the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik (reg. 86–96/705–715). See Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 162–163; for his genealogy see *ĠN*, i, 165.

476 Ancient Bostra, in southern Syria.

فسيفُ اللهُ أَدْخَلَهَا المَنَايَا وَهَدَّمَ حِصْنَهَا وَحَمَى جِمَاهَا
وَأَسْكَنَهَا مَعَاوِيَةَ بْنَ حَرْبٍ وَكَانَتْ أَرْضُهُ أَرْضاً سِوَاهَا

[٤٠ §] **ومنهم** شَيْبَانُ بْنُ عَبْدِ شَمْسِ بْنِ شِهَابٍ، أَحَدِ بَنِي رِبِيعَةَ بْنِ كَعْبِ بْنِ سَعْدٍ، وَكَانَ صَاحِبَ شُرْطَةِ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ زِيَادِ بْنِ أَبِيهِ، وَكَانَ عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ يُكْثِرُ الْقَتْلَ فِي الْخَوَارِجِ، فَأَقْبَلَ شَيْبَانَ مَنصُرفاً إِلَى مَنْزِلِهِ مَعَهُ ثَمَانِيَةَ بَنِينَ لَهُ، فَعَرَضَ لَهُ نَاسٌ مِنَ الْخَوَارِجِ فَقَالُوا: لَنَا حَاجَةٌ. فَقَالَ: أَضَعُ ثِيَابِي وَأُخْرِجُ لَكُمْ. فَدَخَلَ وَأَلْقَى ثِيَابَهُ وَأَلْقَى بَنُوهُ سِلَاحَهُمْ، ثُمَّ خَرَجَ فَنَاولَهُ بَعْضُهُمْ كِتَاباً فَجَعَلَ يَنْظُرُ فِيهِ، وَوَثَبُوا عَلَيْهِ فَقَتَلُوهُ، وَخَرَجَ بَنُوهُ حُسْرًا | فَقَتَلُوهُمْ، فَخَرَجَ إِلَيْهِمْ بِشْرُ بْنُ عَتْبَةَ أَخُو بَنِي رِبِيعَةَ بْنِ كَعْبٍ، فَقَتَلَهُمْ جَمِيعاً. فَقَالَ الْفَرَزْدَقُ:

لِعَمْرِكَ مَا لَيْتُ بِخَفَّانَ خَادِرُ بِأَشْجَعِ مَنْ بِشْرُ بْنُ عَتْبَةَ مُقَدِّمًا
أَبَاءَ بِشَيْبَانَ الثُّوْرَ وَقَدْ رَأَى بَنِي فَاتِكٍ هَابُوا الْوَشِيحَ الْمُقَوِّمًا

[٤١ §] **ومنهم** عَبَّادُ بْنُ عَلْقَمَةَ، الْمَعْرُوفُ بِابْنِ أَخْضَرَ الْمَازَنِيِّ. وَهُوَ الَّذِي قَتَلَ أَبَا بِلَالٍ مِرْدَاسَ بْنَ أَدِيَّةَ بِالْأَهْوَازِ. فَأَقْبَلَ عَبَّادُ مِنَ الْجَمْعَةِ يَرِيدُ مَنْزِلَهُ، حَتَّى إِذَا كَانَ فِي بَنِي كَلَيْبٍ خَرَجَ عَلَيْهِ أَحَدٌ عَشْرَ رِجَالًا مِنَ السُّكَّةِ الَّتِي تَنْحَرُ مَسْجِدَهُمْ، فَقَامَ تَسْعَةَ مِنْهُمْ فِي السُّكَّةِ وَدَنَا مِنْهُ رَجُلَانِ فَقَالَا:

477 Sayf Allāh was the honorific name given to 'Abd al-Raḥmān's father Khālid ibn al-Walid, conqueror of Syria.

478 See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xii, 378, Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 155.

479 For this tribe see *ĠN*, i, 75; Shaybān is not shown.

480 *Shurṭah*; see *EI2*, "Shurṭa" (J.S. Nielsen).

481 Like his father Ziyād he was Umayyad governor of Iraq and the East, d. 67/686, see *EI2*, "Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād" (C.F. Robinson).

482 According to al-Balādhurī and Ibn Durayd seven sons were killed.

483 Hammām ibn Ghālib, commonly known as al-Farazdaq (d. 110/728), was one of the leading poets of the Umayyad period. The lines are in his *Dīwān*, ii, 811. Bishr ibn 'Utbah has not been found in other contexts.

484 A place near Kufa said to be roamed by lions (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*).

485 Fātik ibn al-Dīl is a clan of Rabī'ah ibn Ka'b ibn Sa'd (*ĠN*, i, 75), to which Shaybān apparently belonged.

486 For parallels see al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii, 80–84; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, ii, 45.

Well, 'God's Sword'⁴⁷⁷ brought death's doom to them,
 he destroyed its fortress, protected its territory,
 And made Mu'āwiyah ibn Ḥarb dwell there,
 whose land had been another land."

[§ 40 Shaybān ibn 'Abd Shams ibn Shihāb⁴⁷⁸]

Another was Shaybān ibn 'Abd Shams ibn Shihāb, one of the Banū Rabī'ah ibn Ka'b ibn Sa'd.⁴⁷⁹ He was the commander of the police⁴⁸⁰ under 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād ibn Abīh,⁴⁸¹ who had killed a large number of Khārijites. When Shaybān was on his way home with eight of his sons some Khārijites came up to him and said, "We want a word." "Let me take off my robes", he said, "and I'll see you then." He went in and took off his robes. His sons laid down their weapons. He went out and one of the men handed him a letter. When he started looking at it they jumped at him and killed him. His sons came out, unarmed, | and they 170
 killed them too.⁴⁸² Bishr ibn 'Utbah, allied with the Banū Rabī'ah ibn Ka'b, went out and killed them all.

Al-Farazdaq composed the following lines:⁴⁸³

Upon my life, a lion in his lair at Khaffān⁴⁸⁴
 is not more courageous than Bishr ibn 'Utbah when he advances.
 He killed in retaliation for Shaybān, having seen
 that the Banū Fātik were afraid of the entangled erect spears.⁴⁸⁵

[§ 41 'Abbād ibn 'Alqamah⁴⁸⁶]

Another is 'Abbād ibn 'Alqamah, who is known as Ibn Akhḍar al-Māzinī.⁴⁸⁷ He is the one who killed Abū Bilāl ibn Udayyah in al-Ahwāz.⁴⁸⁸ 'Abbād was on his way home from the Friday communal prayer.⁴⁸⁹ When he was among the Banū Kulayb⁴⁹⁰ eleven men came to him from the alley opposite the mosque. Nine

487 For his lineage see *ĠN*, i, 82; he is called Ibn Akhḍar after the second husband of his mother. Māzin is a tribe belonging to Tamīm.

488 Abū Bilāl Mirdās ibn Udayyah was a Khārijite leader who was defeated and killed in al-Ahwāz in 61/680–681; see *EI2*, "Mirdās b. Udayya" (G. Levi Della Vida), where Ibn al-Akhḍar is misspelled as "b. Akhdār".

489 Abū Bilāl's troops had been attacked in spite of an agreement between both camps not to resume fighting until after the end of the Friday prayer. The Khārijites obviously chose a Friday for their revenge.

490 Al-Mubarrad says the incident took place near "the mosque of the Banū Kulayb"; they are Kulayb ibn Yarbū' (*ĠN*, i, 68).

قف أيها الشيخ نكلّمك. فوقف لهما فدنّوا منه فقال أحدهما: إنّ هذا أخي قد ظلمني حقّي وغصبني مالي فليس يدفعه إليّ. فقال عبّاد: استعدّ عليه. فقال: إنّه أوجّه عند السلطان منّي. فقال عبّاد: خذ حقّك منه إن قدرتّ عليه. فقالا جميعاً: الله أكبر، قضيتّ على نفسك. ثمّ ابتدراه بسيفيهما، وخرج عليه التسعة الذين كانوا في السكّة وأخذوا بلبجامة فقتلوه وحكّموا، وتنادى الناس، وبلغ الخبر بني مازن، فأقبل مَعْبُدُ أخوه، فلَمّا انتهى إلى الخوارج وهم في السكّة وعليهم السلاح وعلى جميع من معه من بني مازن قال للشرطة: خلّوا عنّا وعن ثأرنا. وقال لأصحابه: انزلوا إليهم فاقتلوهم رجالةً في مثل حالهم. فنزلوا فاقتتلوا، فقتلوا الخوارج إلّا رجلاً أفلت في الزحام. فقال الفرزدق:

١٧١ لقد طَلَبَتْ بِالذَّحْلِ غَيْرَ ذَمِيمَةٍ إِذَا دُمَّ طُلَّابُ الذُّحُولِ الْأَخْضَرِ
لقد جرّدوا الأسيافَ يومَ ابنِ أخضِرٍ فنالوا التي لا فوقها نالٌ نائِرٌ
أفادوا به أَسَدًا لها في اقتحامها على العَمَرَاتِ في الحروبِ بَصَائِرُ

[٤٢§] ومنهم مسعود بن عمرو العتكيّ الذي يقال له قمر العراق. وكان سبب قتله أنّ عامل البصرة كان استشاره في نافع بن الأزرق وعطيّة بن الأسود الخارجيين، وكان بالبصرة،

١ ك: (أفادوا).

- 491 Al-Mubarrad states that ‘Abbād was riding a mule, with a son sitting behind him (not mentioned in the present account). His father threw him down and he escaped.
- 492 This slogan of the Khārijites derives from an incident at the Battle of Šiffin, the beginning of the Khārijī movement and (later) sect.
- 493 He was a son of Akhḍar.
- 494 *Al-shurṭah*.
- 495 Al-Mubarrad identifies him as ‘Ubaydah ibn Hilāl.
- 496 Al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, 391 (in a poem of ten lines); al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii, 83; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, ii, 45. In the lines not quoted here, the poet lampoons the Banū Kulayb who had failed to come to the rescue.
- 497 For this sense of *baṣīrah* (here in the plural *baṣā’ir*) see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh, Glossarium*, cxxxv: “[*baṣīrah*] est ardor, inflammatio animi (enthousiasme)”.¹
- 498 He was a leader of al-Azd in Basra and was killed in 64/684. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 450–456, Abū ‘Ubaydah, *Naqā’id*, 113, 117, and index, p. 219.

of them positioned themselves in the alley and two approached him. "Stop, Sir," they said, "We want to have a word." He stopped and they came nearer. One of them said, "This is my brother. He has wronged me, he took my money and will not give it back!" 'Abbād said, "You must raise a formal complaint." The man replied, "But he has more influence with the authorities than I have!" 'Abbād said, "Take from him what he owes you if you can!" Then they both cried out, "*Allāhu akbar!* You have killed yourself!" They sprang upon him with their swords, and the nine others who were in the alley came, took his reins,⁴⁹¹ and killed him. They shouted, "Judgement belongs only to God!"⁴⁹² People called out to one another and the news reached the Banū Māzin. 'Abbād's brother Ma'bad⁴⁹³ came to the scene. When he reached the Khārijites in the alley, who were still carrying their weapons, as were all the Māzinīs who were with him, he said to the police,⁴⁹⁴ "Leave us, let us deal with our revenge!" To his companions he said, "Dismount, kill them on foot, just as they are!" They dismounted and fought, and they killed all the Khārijites except one, who escaped into the crowd.⁴⁹⁵

Al-Farazdaq said:⁴⁹⁶

The sons of Akhḍar sought revenge, they cannot be faulted,
 if ever those seeking revenge can be faulted.
 They unsheathed their swords on the Day of Ibn Akhḍar
 and attained what no avenger can surpass.
 They killed in revenge for him, as lions full of fervour,⁴⁹⁷
 when they attacked, submerged in fights.

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[§ 42 Mas'ūd ibn 'Amr al-'Atakī⁴⁹⁸]

Another is Mas'ūd ibn 'Amr al-'Atakī, called "the Moon of Iraq".⁴⁹⁹ He was killed because the governor of Basra had consulted him about Nāfi' ibn al-Azraq and 'Aṭīyyah ibn al-Aswad, the Khārijites.⁵⁰⁰ He was in Basra.⁵⁰¹ Mas'ūd had pointed

499 See *ġN*, i, 213, ii, 402, where his lineage in al-Azd does not go back to al-'Atik, so that his *nisbah* al-'Atakī is apparently incorrect; it is al-Ma'nī in some sources. In Abū 'Ubaydah, *Naqā'id*, 720 he is Mas'ūd ibn 'Amr ibn 'Adī with a line going back to Ma'n ibn Malik ibn Fahm. His owed his nickname to being handsome (al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, iv, 24).

500 On Nāfi' (d. 65/685), see *EI2*, "Nāfi' b. al-Azraq" (A.J. Wensinck). He was a leading Khārijite whose followers became known as the *Azāriqah*, see *EI3*, "Azāriqa" (Keith Lewinstein). 'Aṭīyyah also gave his name to another, less famous, sub-sect of the Khārijites, the 'Aṭaw-iyah (al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, i, 176).

501 It is not clear who "he" is; perhaps instead of *kāna* ("he was") one should read *kānā* ("the two [Khārijites] were").

فأشار عليهما فحبسهما وكانا من رؤوس الأزارقة، فحققت الأزارقة ذلك عليه فدسوا له من قتله، ولا يُعرف قاتله. ويقال: إنه لما مات يزيد بن معاوية، وفُتِن أهل البصرة، وهرب عبيد الله بن زياد، رأست اليمَنُ وربيعَةُ عليها مسعوداً، فأقبل مسعود وعليه قَبَاءٌ ديباجٍ أصفر، مولَّعٌ بسوادٍ في الأزد وربيعة، ورأست تميمٍ عليها عَبْساً أَخَا كَهْمَسِ السَّعْدِيِّ، فأقبل مسعود قاصداً إلى المسجد الجامع، فصعد المنبر فجعل يأمر بالسُّنَّةِ وينهى عن الفتنة، وغفل الناسُ عن السجن وفيه الخوارج الذين حبسهم ابن زياد، فجاءهم أولياؤهم حتى أخرجوهم من السجن، وكان أكثرهم من بني تميم، فدخلوا المسجد فاغتالوه وهو غافل، فقتلوه ومضوا من وجههم إلى الأهواز، فقال سوار بن حيان المنقري:

١٧٢

ألم يكن في قتل مسعودٍ غَيْرٌ جاء يُريدُ إمرةً فما أمرُ
نحن ضربنا رأس مسعودٍ فخرٌّ ولم يوسدْ خدُّه حيث انقعرُ
فأصبح العبدُ المَزُونِيُّ عَثْرُ حتى رأى الموتَ قريباً قد حَضِرُ
فطممهم؛ بحرٌ تميمٍ إذ زخرُ وقيسِ عيلانَ ببحرٍ فانفجرُ
من حولهم فما دروا أين المفرُّ حتى علا السيلُ عليهم فغمرُ

١ ك: (لهمس).

٢ ك: (فجاء).

٣ كذا في نقائض جرير والفرزدق، وفي هـ، ك: (يزيد أمره).

٤ ك: (فأطمعهم).

٥ ك: (دورا).

502 In 64/683.

503 Two important tribal groupings. Many Khārijites were of Tamīm.

504 cf. al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 201: "Abs ibn Ṭalq al-Ṭi'ān, known as the brother of Kahmas, of the tribe of Ṣarīm ibn Yarbu'"; Abū 'Ubaydah, *Naqā'id*, 732: 'Abd ibn Ṭalq ibn Rabī'ah (with a long lineage via Ṣarīm to Ka'b ibn Sa'd).505 The awkward repetition of *fa-aqbalā Mas'ūd* ("Mas'ūd came") suggests that its first occurrence, with the description of his arrival in his finery, was misplaced by a copyist, since it fits better here.

them out to him and he had imprisoned them. They were among the leaders of the Azāriqah. The Azāriqah resented this and sent someone to kill him; the killer was not identified.

It is said that when Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah died⁵⁰² and there were riots in Basra and ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Ziyād fled, al-Yaman and Rabīʿah⁵⁰³ made Masʿūd their leader. Masʿūd, wearing a yellow robe brocaded with black stripes, came with men from al-Azd and Rabīʿah. Tamīm made ʿAbs, the brother of Kahmas al-Saʿdī, their leader.⁵⁰⁴ Masʿūd came⁵⁰⁵ towards the Friday mosque, ascended the pulpit, and began to command people to follow the Sunnah and to abstain from rioting.⁵⁰⁶ The people failed to keep an eye on the jail in which the Khārījites had been imprisoned by Ibn Ziyād. Then their followers came and freed them. Most of them belonged to Tamīm. They entered the mosque and murdered him before he was aware of what was happening. Having killed him they went their way to al-Ahwāz. Sawwār ibn Ḥayyān al-Minqarī said:⁵⁰⁷

The killing of Masʿūd, now wasn't there a change of fortune!⁵⁰⁸
 He came, wanting to command—but he did not command.
 We struck Masʿūd's head and he fell
 And his cheek was not laid on a pillow where he bit the dust.
 The slave from al-Mazūn stumbled⁵⁰⁹
 And finally saw death had come close.
 A sea of Tamīm inundated them, overflowing,
 And Qays ʿAylān were at sea and it burst
 Around them. They knew not where to flee
 Until the flood rose over them, submerging them.

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506 *Sunnah* here does not refer to the Sunnites as opposed to the Shiʿites but to proper behaviour in general; the word here rendered as “riot” is *fitnah*, originally “temptation” but often meaning “test, trial, disturbance, civil war”.

507 Minqar is a branch of Tamīm (ĠN, i, 76). The lines (in *rajaz* metre) are also in Abū ʿUbaydah, *Naqāʾid*, 117.

508 Instead of *ghiyar*, *Naqāʾid* has *ʿibar*: “Wasn't there a lesson to be learned from the killing of Masʿūd!”

509 Although the context suggests this is still about Masʿūd, it appears to be a reference to al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufrah (d. 82/702 or 83/703), a general who fought the Azāriqah. See *ET2*, “al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra” (P. Crone). Although he is given a lineage in al-Azd with the *nisbah* al-ʿAtakī (ĠN, i, 204), he may have been of humble origin, from Oman, and was mockingly called al-Mazūnī, al-Mazūn being another name for Oman (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*).

وقال نافع بن الأزرق:

فتكنا بمسعود بن عمرو لِقِيلِهِ لِيَبَّيَّةَ لَا تُخْرِجُ مِنَ السَّجْنِ نَافِعَا
وَلَا تُخْرِجَنَّ مِنْهُ عَطِيَّةً وَابْنَهُ فَخُضْنَا لَهُ شَوْبًا مِنَ السَّمِّ نَافِعَا
وَكَانَتْ لَهُ فِي الْأَزْدِ حَالٌ عَظِيمَةٌ وَكَانَ لِمَا يَهْوَى مِنَ الْأَمْرِ صَانِعَا
فَقَالَتْ تَمِيمٌ نَحْنُ أَصْحَابُ ثَأْرِهِ وَلَنْ يَنْتَهَوْا حَتَّى يَعْضُوا الْأَصَابِعَا
وَيَصْلُوا بِحَرْبِ الْأَزْدِ وَالْأَزْدُ جَمْرَةٌ مَتَى يَصْطَلُوهَا يُصْبِحُ الْأَمْرُ جَاشِعَا
فَقُلْ لَتَمِيمٍ مَا أَرَدْتُمْ بِكَذْبَةٍ تَكُونُ لَهَا الْأَوْطَانُ مِنْكُمْ بَلَافِعَا

[§ 43] **ومنهم** محمد بن عبد الله بن خازم السلمي. وكان عبد الله بن خازم ولي ابنه محمداً هراً، وجعل معه شماس بن دينار العطاردى على أمره وقفان؛ حاله وقال لابنه: لا تقطع أمراً دون شماس. | وقد كان ابن عم لشماس قُتل في الحرب النبي كانت بين ابن خازم وبين بني تميم، فشرّب يوماً شماس، فلما أخذت فيه الشراب ذكر ابن عمه ذلك فقال: لا أرى ابن السوداء

١ ه، ك: (لِيَبَّيَّةَ) غلطاً.

٢ كذا في ك، وأظنّها الصواب. وفي ه: (مانعا).

٣ ه، ك: (زياد) والتصحيح من أنساب الأشراف للبلادري وتاريخ الطبري.

٤ ك: (قفان) بدون واو العطف.

٥ ك: (أخذ)، مع تعليقة: "والتاء زائدة فحذفتها". وتعليقة ه: "والتأنيث لتضمين معنى الخمر".

510 The poem is in 'Abbās, *Shi'r al-Khawārij*, 68–69, Ibn Ḥabīb's text being its only source.

511 Thus instead of Baybah as in 'ASH, SKḤ. Babbah was the nickname of 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Nawfal, a descendant of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (the Prophet's grandfather). He was appointed *amūr* in Basra in 65/684. See *ĠN*, i, 7, ii, 111, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii, 114–115. His nickname derives from an often-quoted song his mother used to sing to him when he was young ("I'll marry Babbah / to a buxom girl ...").

Nāfiʿ ibn al-Azraq said:⁵¹⁰

We murdered Masʿūd ibn ʿAmr because he said
 To Babbah,⁵¹¹ “Don’t let Nāfiʿ get out of jail!
 And don’t let ʿAṭīyya get out nor his son!”
 Then we mixed for him a deadly brew of poison.
 He had among the Azd a mighty position
 And he did whatever he liked.⁵¹²
 Tamīm said, “We shall take revenge on him!”
 They will not stop until they bite their fingers in regret,
 And they warm themselves with war with al-Azd: al-Azd is a glowing
 ember;
 when they warm themselves at them, the affair will be ... (?)⁵¹³
 Say to Tamīm, “What do you want with a lie
 that will leave your homelands wastelands?”

[§ 43 Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Khāzim al-Sulamī⁵¹⁴]

Another is Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Khāzim al-Sulamī. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Khāzim⁵¹⁵ had appointed his son Muḥammad as governor of Herat and sent with him Shammās ibn Dithār al-ʿUṭāridī⁵¹⁶ as his associate in command and to look after his affairs. He told his son, “Don’t make any decision without consulting Shammās.” | A cousin of Shammās had been killed in the war between Ibn Khāzim and the Banū Tamīm. One day, Shammās was drinking. Under the influence of the wine he mentioned his cousin, saying, “I don’t think it is right

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512 Instead of *mānīʿā*, as in ʿASH and ʿAbbās, *Shiʿr al-khawārij*, which I do not understand, I prefer reading *ṣānīʿā*, as in SKḤ.

513 The sense of *jāshīʿā* (“eager, desirous” or “terrified”) is uncertain here. ʿASH suggests reading *khāshīʿā*, “submissive, humble”, which is not much clearer.

514 See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 593, tr. *The History*, xx, 177.

515 ʿAbd Allāh ibn Khāzim took part in an expedition to Khorasan in 31/651–652 and was its governor intermittently. He was killed c. 73/692–693 by a deputy of his. See EI2, “Abd Allāh b. Khāzim” (H.A.R. Gibb), EI3, “Abd Allāh b. Khāzim” (Abdulahadi Alajmi).

516 He was a leading member of Tamīm, ʿUṭārid being a branch of it. ʿASH and SKḤ incorrectly have Ziyād instead of Dithār.

قتل ابن عمِّي وهو حيٌّ يتنعم بيننا. فاغتال محمّد بن عبد الله بن خازم فقتله، ثمّ خرج بمن تابعه من بني تميم، حتى انتهى إلى مرّو، وبها عبد الله بن خازم.

[§ 44] ومنهم عبد الله بن بشار بن أبي عقّب الشاعر. وكان رضيح الحسين بن عليّ بن أبي طالب، وكان يجالس عبّيد الله بن الحرّ الجعفيّ فيخبر بما خبره عن عليّ رضي الله عنه، وهو صاحب أشعار الملاحم. وكان يقول: إنّ الحسين رضي الله عنه قال لي: إنك تُقتل، يقتلك عبّيد الله بن زياد بالجازر.

وقال ابن الحرّ: إنّ ابن أبي عقب كان يخبرني عن الحسين رضي الله عنه أشياء يكذبها عليه، ويزعم أنّ ابن زياد يقتله. فأتاه عبّيد الله بن الحرّ ليلاً مشتملاً على السيف، فناداه فخرج إليه، فقال: ابلغ معي إلى حاجة لي. فخرج معه ابن أبي عقب، فلمّا بز إلى السبخة ضربه بالسيف حتّى مات.

[§ 45] ومنهم مرّوان بن الحكّم بن أبي العاص. وكان خطب حبة بنت أبي هاشم بن ١٧٤ عتبة بن ربيعة بن عبد شمس، وهي أمّ خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية. فقال لها خالد: لا تزوّجيه

١ هـ، ك: (حَيَّة) غلطاً؛ وحبّة لقبها كما في أنساب الأشراف للبلاذريّ، واسمها فاخنة.

517 Ibn Ḥabīb (*Muḥabbar*, 308) lists 'Abd Allāh ibn Khāzim among "the sons of Abyssinian (or Ethiopian) women (*abnā' al-Ḥabashīyyāt*)"; his mother was called 'Ajlā. He is called "Ibn Khāzim, son of 'Ajlā" by a black poet in a poem boasting of eminent black people (*al-Jāḥiẓ, Fakhr al-sūdān*, 191).

518 The account ends rather abruptly.

519 He is not often found in other sources. Lines by Ibn Abi 'Aqib, usually without *ism* or *nasab*, are quoted by al-Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, iii, 406), al-Ṭabarī (*Tārīkh*, ii, 360, 678, with *nisbah* al-Laythī) and al-Isfahānī (*Aghānī*, vii, 71–72). In *Ansāb*, xi, 105 he is called 'Abd Allāh ibn Yasār ibn Abi 'Aqib, a member of Banū Layth, a branch of Kinānah. Bashshār and Yasār differ only in their diacritical dots and could easily be confused.

520 See below, § 114.

521 *Malāḥim*, pl. of *malḥamah*, "epic battle, bloody fight", could refer to apocalyptic and eschatological accounts. Whatever it means here, no such poems by him are known.

522 A place near al-Madā'in, the site of a battle between 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād and Ibrāhīm ibn Mālik al-Ashtar in 67/686; see e.g. Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*. There is some confusion with another place, al-Khāzīr (also in Yāqūt).

that that son of a black woman⁵¹⁷ who killed my cousin is living a life of ease among us!" and he murdered Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Khāzim. Then he and those of the Banū Tamīm that followed him left and went to Marw, where 'Abd Allāh ibn Khāzim was.⁵¹⁸

[§ 44 'Abd Allāh ibn Bashshār ibn Abī 'Aqib⁵¹⁹]

Another was 'Abd Allāh ibn Bashshār ibn Abī 'Aqib, the poet. He was a foster-brother of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and he was a companion of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr al-Ju'fi,⁵²⁰ who would pass on information about what 'Alī (*r*) had told him. He composed poems about battle days.⁵²¹ He used to say, "Al-Ḥusayn (*r*) said to me, 'You will be killed. 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād will kill you at al-Jāzīr'"⁵²²

Ibn al-Ḥurr said, "Ibn Abī 'Aqib told many lies in what he told me about al-Ḥusayn (*r*), and he asserted that Ibn Ziyād would kill him." 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr went to him one evening, carrying a sword under his robe. He called him and when Ibn Abī 'Aqib came out he said to him, "Come with me, I've got something to do!" Ibn Abī 'Aqib went along with him. When they reached al-Sabakhah⁵²³ he struck him with the sword and killed him.

[§ 45 Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Abī l-'Āṣ⁵²⁴]

Another was Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam ibn Abī l-'Āṣ. He proposed to Ḥabbah bint Abī Hāshim ibn 'Utbah ibn Rabī'ah ibn 'Abd Shams,⁵²⁵ who was the mother of Khālid ibn Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah.⁵²⁶ Khālid said to her, "Don't get married to

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523 "The Swamp", a place near Basra.

524 He was the first caliph of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyads. He reigned only briefly in 64–65/684–685, at the age of at least 63, possibly over 70; al-Damīrī (*Ḥayāt al-ḥawawān*, i, 62) has 83. See e.g. *EI*2, "Marwān I b. al-Ḥakam" (C.E. Bosworth). For the story of his death see e.g. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 389, vi, 299–300 (followed by a different account involving poisoned milk); al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 576–578, tr. *The History*, xx, 161; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, iv, 398.

525 In 'ASH and SKḤ she is called Ḥayyah, which is a corruption of Ḥabbah, her nickname, whereas her proper name was Fākhītah (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vi, 299: *ismuhā Fākhītah wa-laqaḥuhā li-qīṣarīhā Ḥabbah*). On her father, Abū Hashim al-Walid ibn 'Utbah, see *ĀN*, i, 8; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxvii, 473.

526 He was one of the sons of the caliph Yazīd, Mu'āwiyah's son. At the death of his brother Mu'āwiyah (II) in 64/683, he was a potential candidate for the caliphate but on account of Khālid's youth (he was still in his teens) the elderly Marwān was elected instead.

فإنه إنما يريد أن يضع مني. فأبث وتزوجته،^١ فتكلم يوماً خالدٌ ومروانٌ حاضر، فقال له مروان: اسكت يا ابن الرحبية! فأرتج عليه وخجل. وبلغ الخبر أم خالد، فلما انصرف إليها قالت: قد بلغني ما كلمك به الفاسق. قال خالد: قد قال لي شيئاً هو أعلم به مني. قالت: أما والله ليعلمن، فأحبت أن لا يرى في وجهك غضباً. قال: نعم. فلما انصرف مروان إليها سكتت عنه حتى إذا صار إلى فراشه قامت إلى مرفقة فالفقتها على وجهه، ثم اضطجعت عليها، فلم تفارقه حتى لفظ عصبه.

[٤٦٨] ومنهم قبيصة بن القين الهلالي. وكان سبب [قتل]ه^٢ أن المغيرة بن شعبة أتى برجلين من الخوارج فحبسهما، وكتب إلى معاوية في أمرهما، وكان المغيرة يتقي الدماء، وكان أحد الرجلين من بني تميم والآخر من محارب، فكتب معاوية إلى المغيرة: إن شهدا أنني أمير المؤمنين فخل سبيلهما، وإن أيا ذلك فاقتلها. فجاء بنو تميم فشهدوا على صاحبهم بالجنون فخل سبيله. ثم دعا بالمحاربي، وكان يقال له معين، وقبيصة بن القين جالس عند المغيرة فقال لمعين: أتشهد أن معاوية أمير المؤمنين؟ قال: أشهد أن بني تميم أكثر من محارب! فقام قبيصة بن القين فقال: أصلح الله الأمير، أسقني دمه. قال: اضرب عنقه. فضرب قبيصة عنق معين ١٧٥ الخارجي.

فمضى المغيرة، وولي بعده زياد بن أبيه، وبعده عبيد الله بن زياد، ثم خالد بن أسيد، ثم الضحاک بن قيس الفهري، ثم عبد الرحمن بن أم الحکم، ثم الثعمان بن بشير، إلى أن ولي بشر

١ (فإنه إنما يريد أن يضع مني. فأبث وتزوجته): ناقصة في ك

٢ هـ، ك: (سببه)، والزيادة يقتضيها السياق.

527 "Wide one", a literal translation of *al-raḥibah*, is a shortening of "wide-cunted one". In al-Ṭabarī and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih it is *yā bna l-raḥbat al-ist* ("You son of a wet-arsed woman").

528 *Lafaḡa ʿaṣbahu*, a somewhat unusual idiom; literally, "he spat out his dried-up saliva". In al-Balādhurī's account she is assisted by her female servants.

529 See on him al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 173, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, iii, 277 (year 41/661–662).

530 See above, § 30.

531 On Muḥārib ibn Khaṣafah (ġN, i, 92), see *E12*, "Muḥārib" (G. Levi Della Vida).

him, for he wants to humble me!" But she refused to listen and got married to Marwān. One day Khālid was speaking when Marwān was present. Then Marwān said, "Shut up, you son of the wide one!"⁵²⁷ Khālid fell silent, embarrassed. His mother heard what happened. When Khālid saw his mother she said to him, "I have heard what that wicked man said to you." Khālid replied, "He said something that he would know better than me." "O yes, by God!" she said, "He surely knows! But I would prefer it if he did not see you with an angry face." "All right!", he said.

When Marwān came home to her she did not say a thing. When he went to bed she got a pillow, put it on his face, and lay down on it, not stopping until he gave up the ghost.⁵²⁸

[§ 46 Qabīṣah ibn al-Qayn al-Hilālī⁵²⁹]

Another is Qabīṣah ibn al-Qayn al-Hilālī. He was killed on account of the following. Al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah⁵³⁰ was sent two men of the Khārijites and he detained them. He wrote to Mu'āwiyah about them; al-Mughīrah was averse to shedding blood. One of the two men was of the Banū Tamīm and the other belonged to Muḥārib.⁵³¹ Mu'āwiyah wrote back to al-Mughīrah, "If they testify that I am the Commander of the Believers, you must let them go. But if they refuse, kill them." The Banū Tamīm came and testified that their man was insane, and al-Mughīrah let him go. Then he summoned the Muḥāribī, who was called Mu'ayn.⁵³² Qabīṣah ibn al-Qayn was seated with al-Mughīrah, who asked Mu'ayn, "Do you testify that Mu'āwiyah is the Commander of the Believers?" The man replied, "I testify that the Banū Tamīm are larger in number than Muḥārib."⁵³³ Qabīṣah ibn al-Qayn stood up and said, "God make the emir prosper! | Give me his blood!" Al-Mughīrah said, "Cut off his head!" Then Qabīṣah cut off the head of Mu'ayn, the Khārijite.

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Al-Mughīrah was succeeded by Ziyād ibn Abīh, then 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād was appointed governor, then Khālid ibn Asīd, then al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays al-Fihri, then 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Umm al-Ḥakam, then al-Nu'mān ibn Bashir;

532 Al-Balādhurī identifies him as Mu'ayn (specifying that this is a diminutive of Ma'n) ibn 'Abd al-Muḥāribī (it is Mu'ayn ibn 'Abd Allāh in Ibn al-Athīr).

533 Instead of this non-sequitur, in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, he says, "I testify that God, Almighty and Glorious, is the Truth; that the Hour is coming, no doubt about it; and that God will resurrect those that are in the graves." In al-Balādhurī's account he begins with a pious sentence, adding that he hopes to be one of the pious jinnees, and ending with saying that Tamīm is nobler (*akram*) than Muḥārib. Although al-Mughīrah calls him a madman (*majnūn*), too, the outcome is the same as in the present story.

بن مروان بن الحكم، فأكرم هذا الحيّ من قيس، وكانوا أخواله، ثمّ بنى عامر خاصّةً، وأكرم قبيصة بن القين الهلالي، فتقدّم رجل من عُمان يرى رأي الخوارج فدخل مسجد الكوفة، فأتى حلقةً فيها قبيصة بن القين في صدر المجلس، فقال العُمانيّ ليفهم: من هذا؟ فقال: قبيصة بن القين خالّ الأمير. قال: ما أعرفه. فقال الرجل المسئول: هذا قاتل معين الخارجيّ المحاربيّ! فأقبل على الذي يليه فسأله كما سأل الأول، فقال له مثل قول صاحبه، حتّى سأل أربعة نفر، فاتفقوا على قول واحد. فلمّا اجتمعوا على منطلق واحد انطلق إلى الصياقلة، وفي كُمة نقيّة له، فطلب سيفاً صارماً، فأُتِيَ بسيف من البيض، فهزّه فإذا هو شديد المتن فاشتراه. وكانت الأمراء تعشّي عند العصر فلا تفرّغ إلا عند احمرار الشمس. فخرج قبيصة بن القين من عند بشر، فعرض له العُمانيّ فقال: أصلحك الله، إنّي رجل غريب ظلّمني عاملي ولا أحد لي، وقد أُخبرْتُ بمكانك من الأمير. فقال: هي! وطولها وهو يسير رويداً، والعُمانيّ يتلقت يريد الحلوّة من الطريق، وقبيصة يسير رويداً حتّى انتهى إلى دار السّمط بن مُسلم، إلى زُقاق يأخذ إلى بني دُهن من بَجيلة، فخلا له الطريق فطرح بته وقال: لا حُكَم إلا لله، يا ثارات مُعين! ثمّ ضربه | ضربةً أطنّ منها فخذه، ثمّ ولّى العُمانيّ وأقبل الناس إليه، فنادى قبيصة: إنّه لا بأس عليّ، أدركوا الرجل! فلمّا سمع العُمانيّ قوله: لا بأس عليّ رجع على الناس فصاح بهم: أفرجوا! ففرجوا له وضربه حتّى قتله، ومضى العُمانيّ فطلب فلم يُوجد.

١ هـ (لا حُكَم إلا لله).

534 On Khālid ibn Asīd, a descendant of Umayyah, see al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xiii, 246; on al-Ḍahḥāk ibn Qays see *E12*, “al-Ḍahḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri” (A. Dietrich); ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Umm al-Ḥakam is identified as ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Rabī‘ah by Ibn Ḥabīb (*Muḥabbar*, 380), who lists him under “the stupid people (*hamqā*) of Thaqif”. On al-Nu‘mān ibn Bashīr see *E12*, “al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr” (K.V. Zetterstéén), and on Bishr ibn Marwān, a son of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, see *E12*, “Bishr b. Marwān” (L. Veccia Vaglieri). He was made governor of Kufa in 73/692–693 and died soon afterwards of an illness.

and then Bishr ibn Marwān was appointed.⁵³⁴ He honoured this tribe of Qays, who were his in-laws, and the Banū ‘Āmir in particular,⁵³⁵ and he honoured Qabīṣah ibn al-Qayn al-Hilālī. There came a man from Oman who was of the Khārijite persuasion. He entered the mosque in Kufa and came upon a circle of people, in which Qabīṣah ibn al-Qayn was seated in the place of honour. The Omani asked, to find out, “Who is that?” Someone answered, “Qabīṣah ibn al-Qayn, the maternal uncle of the emir.” “I don’t know him”, said the Omani. “He is the man who killed Mu‘ayn, the Khārijite of Muḥārib,” said the other. The Omani turned to the next man and asked the same question and received the same answer as before. In the end he had asked four people, who all said the same. When all their answers agreed he went to a sword-seller.⁵³⁶ He had a small sum in his sleeve⁵³⁷ and he asked for a sharp sword. He was shown a shining one. He swung it, it proved to be a strong blade, and he bought it.

The commanders had gone to have their dinner and did not finish until the sun was red. Then Qabīṣah ibn al-Qayn left Bishr. The Omani walked up to him and said, “God make you prosper! I am a stranger here. My governor has wronged me and I have no one to help me. I was told about your status with the emir.” Qabīṣah said, “Yeeeaah!”,⁵³⁸ lengthening it, and walked on slowly. The Omani looked about, seeking a lonely spot on the way, while Qabīṣah walked on slowly. When they reached the house of al-Simṭ ibn Muslim,⁵³⁹ at an alley leading to the Banū Duhn, of Bajīlah, they were alone together. The Omani threw off his coarse robe and said, “Judgement belongs only to God!⁵⁴⁰ Revenge for Mu‘ayn!” Then he struck him | with a blow that cut off his thigh. The Omani ran away, while people went to Qabīṣah, who called out, “I am all right! Get that man!” When the Omani heard Qabīṣah’s “I am all right” he turned back to the crowd, shouting, “Make way!” They made way for him and he struck Qabīṣah until he had killed him. Then he ran off. They looked for him but he was not found.

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535 Hilāl is a branch of ‘Āmir ibn Ṣa‘sa‘ah, part of Qays (ĠN, i, 92, 110).

536 A *ṣayqal* is strictly someone who polishes, burnishes, or sharpens swords.

537 Sleeves served as pockets.

538 The Arabic has *hy*, probably pronounced *hī*, or *hū* when lengthened. It is not among the common interjections. It could be a variation of *ī* which means “yes”.

539 A commander, associate of the governor Khālid al-Qasrī (ĠN, i, 222, ii, 513).

540 See above, § 41. ‘ASH has *lā ḥakama* (instead of *ḥukma*) *illā llāh* (instead of *li-llāh*), which is likely to be an error.

فذكروا أنه خرج بعد ذلك مع شبيب بن يزيد الشيباني، وكان بشر أخذ بالعماني يومئذ البريء والسقيم. فلما دخل شبيب الكوفة والحجاج أمير العراق جعل العماني يصيح: يا أهل الكوفة، يا فسقة، تأخذون البريء بالسقيم، أنا قاتل قبيصة بن القين!

[٤٧٨] ومنهم بحير بن ورقاء السعدي. وكان عبد الملك استعمل أمية بن عبد الله بن خالد بن أسيد بن أبي العيص على خراسان حيث اجتمع الناس عليه. فولى أمية بحيراً شرطه،^٢ وولى بكير بن وشاح السعدي أيضاً ساقته، فغدر بكير بن وشاح بأمية بن عبد الله وقد عبر أمية نهر بلخ يريد سمرقند، فعمد بكير فحرق المعابر ورجع إلى مرو فغلب عليها وجعل يجيئها، فرجع أمية فلم يجد ما يعبر عليه، فمضى إلى الترمذ ليعبر من هناك، وحاصر بكيراً، ثم أعطاه الأمان، ففتح له مدينة مرو.

١٧٧ وإن بحيراً وشى ببكير وقال له: إنه على الوثوب بك. فقال له أمية: أنا أوليك من أمره ما توليت فكن أنت قاتله. فقال له بكير: يا بحير دع أمية يولي قتلي غيرك، فإنني أخاف إن فعلت أفسدت بين قومنا. فقدّمه بحير فضرب عنقه.

وبلغ بحيراً أن عشرة من بني سعد يطلبونه بدم بكير، فكان لا يفارق الدرع. وإن رجلاً من قومه أتى عامل سجستان فأنتمى له إلى بني حنيفة وسأله أن يكتب له كتاباً إلى بحير

١ هـ: (بجير بن الوراق) وفي كـ: (بجير بن الوفاء)، والتصحيح من تاريخ الطبري والكامل لابن الأثير وغيرهما من المراجع.

٢ كـ: (شرطته)، كما في نسخة الشنقيطي.

٣ كـ: (وساج).

541 On Shabīb ibn Yazīd, a Khārijite leader who led a rebellion from 76/695 until 77/697, see *EI2*, "Shabīb b. Yazīd" (K.V. Zetterstéen & C.F. Robinson).

542 Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf (d. 95/714) was the most powerful, ruthless, and loyal governor of the Umayyads. See *EI2*, "al-Ḥadjdjad b. Yūsuf" (A. Dietrich).

543 In 'ASH his name is spelled Bujayr ibn al-Warqā' and in SKH it is Bujayr ibn al-Wafā'; it has been corrected here following al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 1047–1051, tr. al-Ṭabarī, *History*, xxii, 197–200; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, iv, 195–197; and other sources. His *nisbah* is also given as al-Ṣarīmī (Ṣarīm being a branch of Sa'd/Tamīm see *ĠN*, i, 76). The murder of Bahīr took place in 81/700–701.

544 On him see *ĠN*, Tab, 11, ii, 569; he was governor of Khorasan between 74/693 and 78/697.

545 *Shurat*.

They say that he rebelled afterwards, together with Shabīb ibn Yazīd al-Shaybānī.⁵⁴¹ At that time Bishr had apprehended every Omani, the innocent and the bad alike. When Shabīb entered Kufa, while al-Ḥajjāj⁵⁴² was the ruler of Iraq, the Omani cried out, “People of Kufa! You evil ones! You arrest the innocent instead of the bad! I am the one who killed Qabiṣah ibn al-Qayn!”

[§ 47 Baḥīr ibn Warqā’ al-Sa’dī⁵⁴³]

When ‘Abd al-Malik had been generally acknowledged as caliph by the people he had appointed Umayyah ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Khālīd ibn Asīd ibn Abī l-‘Īṣ as governor of Khorasan.⁵⁴⁴ Umayyah appointed Baḥīr as head of his police forces⁵⁴⁵ and he appointed Bukayr ibn Wishāḥ al-Sa’dī⁵⁴⁶ as commander of his rearguard.⁵⁴⁷ Bukayr ibn Wishāḥ betrayed Umayyah ibn ‘Abd Allāh. Umayyah had crossed the river at Balkh on his way to Samarqand but Bukayr went there, burnt the ferries, and returned to Marw. He took the town and imposed taxes on it. When Umayyah returned he did not find a place to cross the river, so he went to Tirmidh⁵⁴⁸ in order to cross there, and he laid siege to Bukayr. But then he pardoned him and Bukayr opened the city of Marw to him.

Baḥīr denounced Bukayr, saying to Umayyah, “He will attack you!” Umayyah said, “I will let you deal with him as you wish; be the one who kills him!” Then Bukayr said to him, “Let Umayyah assign my killing to someone else, for I fear that if you do it you will stir up trouble within our tribe.” But Baḥīr had him brought up and cut off his head.

When Baḥīr heard that ten people of the Banū Sa’d⁵⁵⁰ were after him seeking to revenge Bukayr’s blood, he never took off his coat of mail. One man of his tribe⁵⁵¹ went to the governor of Sijistān⁵⁵² saying that he belonged to the Banū Ḥanīfah. He asked him to write a letter for him to Baḥīr with advice.⁵⁵³ The

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546 On him see *EI2*, “Bukayr b. Wishāḥ” (J. Sourdel-Thomine) and *EI3*, “Bukayr b. Wishāḥ” (Elton L. Daniel). His father’s name is sometimes given as Wassāj.

547 *Sāqah*.

548 Tirmidh, in present-day Uzbekistan, lies on the river Oxus, some 100 km NE of Balkh (in modern Afghanistan).

549 The page in ‘ASH is wrongly numbered 178.

550 In al-Ṭabarī they are seventeen men.

551 In al-Ṭabarī he is identified as Ṣa’ṣa’ah ibn Ḥarb al-‘Awfī (‘Awf ibn Ka’b being a branch of Sa’d).

552 Sijistān, or Sistān, now in Iran and Afghanistan, is the region south of Khorasan.

553 According to al-Ṭabarī the man says he hopes the letter will help him to claim an inheritance he is entitled to.

بالوصاة. فكتب له ولا يظنّه إلا حَقَّقِيًّا. فلمّا قدم على بَحِيرِ أدناه، فجعل الجُشَمِيّ^١ من بَحِيرِ غِرَّةً فلا يجدها، فلبث كذلك حتّى عزل عبد الملك أُمِيَّةَ ووَلِيَّ الحَجَّاجِ العِراقَ. فولّى الحَجَّاجُ المهلَّبَ بن أبي صُفْرَةَ خراسان. فقال^٢ بَحِيرِ عند رواق المهلَّبِ وهم في عسكر وقد أتى بَحِيرِ والناس يطلبون الإذْنَ على المهلَّبِ إذ جاء العَوْفِيّ من خلفه، الذي ذكر أنه حنفيّ، كأنه يُسارّه، فأصغى إليه بَحِيرِ قطعنه بخنجر كان معه فنحره به. ونادى الناس: الحروريّ! الحروريّ! فرمى بالخنجر ونادى: واللّه ما أنا بحروريّ ولكنّي اخز يالثارات^٣ بُكَيْرِ بن وشاح! وأخذ الرجل وكان غيره رجلٌ بالبادية بأن قال له: إنك لَنُؤُومٍ عن طلب وتُرك في بُكَيْرِ بن وشاح! فجعل على نفسه أن لا يأكل لحماً ولا يدهن رأسه حتّى يقتل قاتل بُكَيْرِ.

[٤٨٨] ومنهم يزيد بن الحُصَيْنِ بن نُمَيْرِ السَّكُونِيّ؛ وكان سبب ذلك أنّ الحَجَّاجَ أخبر عن راهبٍ بطريق الشام بعلم بارع، فوفد الحَجَّاجُ إلى عبد الملك فأتى الراهبَ فقال له: يا راهب، أنا الحَجَّاجُ وإنّي لأعلم أنّي بين موت وعزل فمَنْ تُرى يلي مكاني؟ فنظر الراهب فقال: يلي

١ كذا، وهو ظاهر الغلط، والصحيح إمّا أن يكون (العَوْفِيّ) أو (الحَنَفِيّ).

٢ كذا ولعلّ الصحيح (فكان).

٣ كذا في هـ؛ وفي كـ: (ولكني أخذ بالثارات [كذا] بكير). ولعلّ الصحيح (ولكنّي أخذ بثارات بكير).

٤ هـ، كـ: (السَّكْسَكِيّ)؛ والصحيح (السَّكُونِيّ) كما في المراجع.

554 Thus in 'ASH and SKḤ, which is clearly an error, as SKḤ points out in a note, for al-'Awfi or al-Ḥanafī.

555 Reading, tentatively, *fa-kāna Baḥīr* instead of *fa-qāla Baḥīr* ("and Baḥīr said") as in 'ASH and SKḤ, which does not fit the context—unless *qāla* means "he had a midday nap" here, which sounds unlikely.

556 *Fa-naḥarahū*. In al-Ṭabarī he stabs him in his side (*fa-waja'ahī bi-khanjarihī fī khāshiratihī fa-ghayyabahū fī jawfihī*).

governor wrote it, believing the man to belong to Ḥanīfah. When he reached Baḥīr the latter received him among his close associates, but although the man of Jusham⁵⁵⁴ sought an opportunity to take Baḥīr by surprise, he did not find it. This lasted a while until ‘Abd al-Malik dismissed Umayyah and al-Ḥajjāj became governor of Iraq, and al-Ḥajjāj appointed al-Muhallab ibn Abī Ṣufrah as governor of Khorasan. Baḥīr was⁵⁵⁵ in the pavilion of al-Muhallab, for they were in the same army camp. Baḥīr had come when people were asking permission to see al-Muhallab. Then the man of ‘Awf, who had said he was from Ḥanīfah, came up behind him, as if he wanted to say something in private. Baḥīr listened to him; then the man stabbed him with a dagger that he was carrying and cut his throat.⁵⁵⁶ People cried, “A Ḥarūrī! A Ḥarūrī!”⁵⁵⁷ He threw down his dagger and shouted, “By God, I am not a Ḥarūrī! Shame! Revenge for⁵⁵⁸ Bukayr ibn Wishāḥ!” The man was apprehended. Someone in the desert had upbraided him, saying, “You are shirking from seeking revenge for Bukayr ibn Wishāḥ!” Then he pledged not to eat meat or anoint his head until he killed Bukayr’s killer.⁵⁵⁹

[§ 48 Yazīd ibn al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr al-Sakūnī⁵⁶⁰]

Another is Yazīd ibn al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr al-Sakūnī. The story is as follows. Al-Ḥajjāj had been informed that on the road to Syria⁵⁶¹ there was a monk who possessed surpassing knowledge. When he was on his way to see ‘Abd al-Malik he visited the monk and said to him, “Monk! I am al-Ḥajjāj and I am aware that I am hanging between death and dismissal. Who do you think will take my place?” The monk reflected and replied, “Yazīd will take your place.”

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557 i.e., a Khārījite, after Ḥarūrā’, a place near Kufa, where the Khārījite movement originated in 37/658 as a protest against ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb’s decision to submit to arbitration between him and Mu‘āwiyah.

558 ‘ASH’s text could be read as *wa-lākinnī ikhza yā la-tha’rāt Bukayr*; SKH has *wa-lākinnī ākhidhun* (or *ākhudhu*) *bi-l-thārāth* [*sic*, with article and final *th*] *Bukayr*.

559 The murderer, Ṣa’ṣa’ah, is executed.

560 Both editions give the *nisbah* as al-Saksakī (after al-Saksak ibn Ashras, or al-Sakāsik, a South Arab tribe, see *ĠN*, i, 243); however, Yazīd ibn al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr’s proper *nisbah* is al-Sakūnī (see e.g. *ĠN*, i, 241, ii, 594, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxviii, 385). The confusion may have arisen because another Yazīd who figures in this story, Yazīd ibn Abī Kabshah, belonged to the Sakāsik. Yazīd ibn al-Ḥuṣayn was governor of Homs and died in 103/721–722. No parallels of Ibn Ḥabīb’s account have been found.

562 The page in ‘ASH is misnumbered 177.

561 *Al-Shām* could also refer to Damascus.

مكانك يزيد. فسأل الحجاج سُفَيَانَ مَنْجَمَهُ عَمَّا قَالَ الرَّاهِبَ فَقَالَ لَهُ: صَدَقَكَ. فَقَالَ الْحَجَّاجُ: أَمَّا يَزِيدُ بْنُ أَبِي مُسْلِمٍ فَلَيْسَ الْعَبْدُ هُنَاكَ، وَأَمَّا يَزِيدُ بْنُ الْمَهَلَّبِ فَخَلِيقٌ أَنْ يَكُونَ، أَوْ يَزِيدُ بْنُ الْحُصَيْنِ بْنُ نُمَيْرٍ فَإِنَّهُ سَيِّدُ الشَّامِ.

فلم يزل يحمل عبد الملك والوليد بعده على آل المهلب حتى أمكن فيهم فعذبهم وأغرمهم ستة آلاف^١. ودرست سفیان منجمه إلى يزيد بن الحُصَيْنِ فقال: اكْفِينِيهِ^٢. فَأَتَاهُ سَفِيَانُ فَلَاطَفَهُ حَتَّى أُنِسَ بِهِ وَاطْمَأَنَّ إِلَيْهِ وَاخْتَلَطَ بِهِ، ثُمَّ سَقَاهُ سَمًّا فَقَتَلَهُ. فَوَلَّى الْعِرَاقَ بَعْدَهُ الْوَلِيدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ يَزِيدَ بْنِ أَبِي كَبْشَةَ ثُمَّ وَلِيَهُ لِسُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ يَزِيدُ بْنُ الْمَهَلَّبِ.

[٤٩ §] **ومنهم** نَجْدَةُ بْنُ عَامِرِ الْحَنْفِيِّ، وَكَانَ رَئِيسَ الْخَوَارِجِ، فَوَجَدُوا عَلَيْهِ بَأَنَّهُ ظَفَرَ بِنْتِ عَمْرٍو بْنِ عَثْمَانَ بْنِ عَفَّانَ فَرَدَّهَا إِلَى قُرَيْشٍ. وَفِي أَنَّهُ أَمَرَ لِمَالِكِ بْنِ مِسْمَعٍ، وَكَانَ هَرَبَ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ مُضْعَبٍ، بِمِائَةِ نَاقَةٍ. وَأَعْطَى عُبَيْدَ اللَّهِ بْنِ زِيَادِ بْنِ ظَبْيَانَ، أَحَدَ بَنِي تَيْمِ اللَّهِ بْنِ ثَعْلَبَةَ بْنِ عُكَّابَةَ، وَكَانَ هَرَبَ إِلَيْهِ أَيْضًا، مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ. فَرَأَسُوا عَلَيْهِمْ أَبَا فُدَيْكٍ، وَخَلَعُوا نَجْدَةَ، فَجَلَسَ فِي مَنْزِلِهِ وَخَلَّاهُمْ.

١ كذا في هـ، ك، ولا شك أن الصحيح (ستة آلاف ألف) كما في تاريخ الطبري.

٢ ك: (اكفنيه).

563 No such person has been found in other sources.

564 Yazid ibn Abi Muslim Dinār, secretary of state and governor (d. 102/720–721), was a *mawlā* (freedman) of Thaḳīf, al-Ḥajjāj's tribe. See *EI2*, "Yazid b. Abi Muslim" (Patricia Crone).

565 A son of al-Muhallab ibn Abi Ṣufrah (see above, §§ 42 and 47); after a chequered career he was killed in 102/720. See *EI2*, "Muhallabids" (P. Crone).

566 Walid succeeded his father 'Abd al-Malik in 86/705 as caliph.

567 Dirhams are meant. This paltry sum is no doubt an error and instead of *sittat ālāf* it should be *sittat ālāf alf*, "six million", as in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 1209.

568 Yazid ibn Ḥaywīl Abi Kabshah al-Saksakī, see *ĠN*, i, 243, ii, 594.

569 Sulaymān, an enemy of al-Ḥajjāj, succeeded his brother al-Walid as caliph in 96/715.

570 He was a Khārījite leader in Yamāmah (eastern Arabian Peninsula). On him see *ĠN*, i, 156 and ii, 441–442; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vii, 173–187; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxvi, 720–721. His death occurred in 72/691.

Al-Ḥajjāj then asked his Sufyān, his astrologer⁵⁶³ about the monk's words. "He spoke the truth" said Sufyān. Then al-Ḥajjāj said, "Now Yazīd ibn Abī Muslim, that slave, he can't be it.⁵⁶⁴ As for Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab,⁵⁶⁵ he would be eligible, or else Yazīd ibn al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr, for he is the lord of Syria."

Then he kept on inciting 'Abd al-Malik and after him al-Walīd⁵⁶⁶ against the Muhallabids. In the end he was given power over them; he put them to torture and imposed fines on them of six thousand.⁵⁶⁷ He sent his astrologer, Sufyān, to Yazīd ibn al-Ḥuṣayn with the words, "Deal with him for me!" Sufyān went to him and fawned upon him so that he got on intimate terms with him; Yazīd trusted him and let him into his company. Then Sufyān put poison in his drink, killing him. Upon his death, Al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik appointed Yazīd ibn Abū Kabshah⁵⁶⁸ as governor of Iraq. Subsequently, Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab became its governor under Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik.⁵⁶⁹

[§ 49 Najdah ibn 'Āmir al-Ḥanafī⁵⁷⁰]

Another is Najdah ibn 'Āmir al-Ḥanafī, a leader of the Khārijites. They were angry with him because he had captured the daughter of 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān⁵⁷¹ but had returned her to Quraysh. Also, because he had given orders for one hundred she-camels to be given to Mālik ibn Misma', who had fled to him from Muṣ'ab,⁵⁷² and because he had given the same to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād ibn Ḍabyān,⁵⁷³ one of the Banū Taym Allāh ibn Tha'labah ibn 'Ukābah, who had also fled to him. So they made Abū Fudayk⁵⁷⁴ their leader and deposed Najdah, who stayed at home and let them go.

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571 'Amr (d. 73/692) was a son of the caliph 'Uthmān.

572 Mālik ibn Misma' (d. 72/691 or shortly afterwards) was a leading figure in Basra, of the Banū Shaybān. In 69/688–689 or 70/689–690 he fled to Yamāmah after an unsuccessful attempt to expel Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr from Basra; he returned after Najdah's death. See *EI2*, "Masāmi'ah" (P. Crone), *ĠN*, i, 155, ii, 391. Muṣ'ab (d. 72/691), son of al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām and brother of the "anti-caliph" 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, was a prominent leader who had taken Basra from the rebel al-Mukhtār in 67/687. See on him *ĠN*, i, 19 and ii, 437, *EI2*, "Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr" (H. Lammens & Ch. Pellat).

573 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād ibn Ḍabyān killed Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr in the latter's battle with 'Abd al-Malik's troops and took his head to 'Abd al-Malik. See e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 809; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 311–312; *ĠN*, i, 151, ii, 563.

574 Abū Fudayk 'Abd Allāh ibn Thawr left Nāfi' ibn al-Azraq (see above, § 42), to join Najdah, after whose murder he was able to resist the caliphal troops until he was defeated and killed in 73/693. See *EI2*, "Abū Fudayk" (M.Th. Houtsma), *EI3*, "Abū Fudayk" (Keith Lewin-stein).

ثم إن أصحاب أبي فديك تذا مروا بينهم قالوا: لا نأمن أصحاب نجدة أن يغاوروه، لقدّر نجدة كان فيهم. فاغتالوه حتى قتلوه في منزله.

[٥٠ §] ومنهم أبو هاشم عبد الله بن محمد بن علي بن أبي طالب، وكان من رجال قريش، وإنه وفد إلى سليمان بن عبد الملك، ومعه عدة من الشيعة، وكان من أشد أهل زمانه عارضةً وأبينهم بياناً، فلما كلمه سليمان عجب منه وقال: ما كلمت قريشياً قط يشبه هذا، ما أظنّه إلا الذي كنتنا نحدث عنه! وأحسن جوائزته وجوائز من معه، وقضى حوائجه وحوائجهم، ثم شخص يريد فلسطين، فبعث سليمان قوماً إلى بلاد لحم وجذام، فضربوا أبنيةً، بين كل بناءين ميل وأكثر من ميل، ومعهم اللبن المسموم، فلما مرّ بهم أبو هاشم وهو على بغلة له قالوا: يا عبد الله، هل لك في الشراب؟ فقال: جزيتم خيراً. ثم مرّ بأخرين فعزموا عليه أيضاً، ففعل ذلك مراراً حتى مرّ بقوم أيضاً فعزموا عليه فقال: هلّموا. فلما شرب واستقرّ في جوفه اللبن قال: يا هؤلاء، أنا والله ميت فانظروا هؤلاء القوم من هم. فنظروا فإذا القوم قد قوضوا أبنيتهم وذهبوا، فقال: ميلوا بي إلى ابن عمي محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن العباس، وما أظنني مدركه. فأغذوا به السير حتى أتوا كدأداً من الشرة وبها محمد بن علي بالحميمة، فنزل عنده ومات بها.

١ هـ، ك: (يا أبا عبد الله) وهو واضح الغلط.

575 Abū Hāshim, great-grandson of the Prophet, son of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyah, succeeded his father as leader of a Shi'ite branch. His death occurred c. 98/716. See *EI2*, "Abū Hāshim" (S. Moscati), E13, "Abū Hāshim" (Tamima Bayhom Daou). An often discussed, and contested, account (not part of Ibn Ḥabīb's) tells that on his death (leaving no sons) he designated Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn (al-)'Abbās (al-'Abbās being the Prophet's uncle), who is mentioned in the present story, as successor, thus legitimising the claims of the Abbasids who came to power some decades afterwards. For parallel texts on his murder, see e.g. al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 356–358, tr. *The Works*, 1008–1010; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, iv, 475–476; al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil*, 123–124.

Subsequently the followers of Abū Fudayk were grumbling among themselves and said, “We cannot be sure that Najdah’s supporters will pressure him into action”—because of Najdah’s status with them. So they murdered him in his house.

[§ 50 Abū Hāshim ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib⁵⁷⁵]

Another was Abū Hāshim ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, of Quraysh. He visited Sulaymān ibn ‘Abd al-Malik⁵⁷⁶ in the company of some Shi’ites. He was one of the sturdiest men of his time and the most eloquent. When Sulaymān conversed with him he was amazed and said, “I have never spoken with anyone from Quraysh like him. I think he must be the one we have been told about!” He gave him and those who were with him handsome gifts and fulfilled his and their needs. Then Abū Hāshim went towards Palestine. Sulaymān sent some men to the land of Lakhm and Judhām⁵⁷⁷ who erected a series of buildings,⁵⁷⁸ each one mile or more apart. They had with them some poisoned milk. When Abū Hāshim came along, riding his mule, they said, “‘Abd Allāh,⁵⁷⁹ would you like a drink?” “May God reward you well!”, he replied. | He came past some others who also invited him. This happened several times until he came past yet other men who invited him, and he said, “Out with it!” When he had drunk and the milk had settled in his stomach he said, “Men, I am dying, by God! Find out who these people are!” They went back to look and, behold! they had taken down their buildings and had gone. Abū Hāshim said, “Take me to my cousin Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-‘Abbās; but I think I may not make it to him!” So they increased their speed until they reached Kudād in al-Sharāh, where Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī dwelled in al-Ḥumaymah.⁵⁸⁰ There, with him, he stayed and there he died.

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576 Umayyad caliph, reg. 96–99/715–717.

577 Lakhm and Judhām are two South Arab tribes settled in Palestine and Syria.

578 *Abniyah*; al-Ya‘qūbī has *akhbiyah nazalū fihā*, “tents in which they camped”. *Akhbiyah* could easily be misread as *abniyah*.

579 In ‘ASH and SKḤ he is, clearly incorrectly, addressed as Abū ‘Abd Allāh. It is *yā ‘Abd Allāh* in al-Ya‘qūbī, even though one might have expected the somewhat more polite *yā Abā Hāshim*. One can also address any stranger as *‘abd allāh*, “servant of God”, which may be intended here.

580 Kudād, though not found in geographical dictionaries, is apparently a place-name, as in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv, 164. Al-Sharāh, according to Yāqūt, is a region between Damascus and Medina and, as said in his entry on al-Ḥumaymah, “part of the district of Amman”. The ruins of al-Ḥumaymah are in the south of present-day Jordan, see *EI2*, “al-Ḥumayma” (D. Sourdel).

[٥١ §] ومنهم عمر بن عبد العزيز بن مروان رضي الله تعالى عنه. وكان أراد أن يجعل الخلافة في بني هاشم، فكتب إلى الآفاق ليأتيه فقهاؤهم فيشاوروه، وجعل يرّد المظالم ويُنصف من بني أمية، حتى أسرع ذلك في ضياعهم.^١ وكان بنو مروان يعظّمون أمّ البنين بنت الحَكَم بن أبي العاص. ذكر محمد بن الحسين قال: أخبرنا نَوْفَل بن الفُرات قال: كانت أمّ البنين إذا دخلت على خلفاء بني أمية نزلت على أبواب مجالسهم، فلما ولي عمر بن عبد العزيز دخلت عليه فتلقاها وأنزلها، فلما جلست جعل يكلمها ويقول: يا عمّة، أما رأيتِ الحرس بالباب، مازحاً أيّ إنّه لا حرس لي. فلما رأى أنّها لا تكلمه قال: يا عمّة، إنّ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قبض والناس على نهرٍ مورود، فولّي بعده رجلاً قبض ولم يستقض منه شيئاً، ثمّ ولي رجلاً آخر قبض ولم يستقض منه شيئاً، ثمّ ولي رجلاً آخر كرى فيه ساقية، ثمّ كريت السواقي حتى جفّ ماؤه وذهب، وإن قدرت لأعيدن ذلك النهر إلى مجراه. قال: فقالت: فلا يسبوا عندك أهل بيته. قال: ومن يسبهم؟ إنّما هو الرجل يرفع المظلمة، فأمر بردها.

١ ك: (ضَيَاعِهِمْ).

581 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (reg. 99–101/717–720) is the only Umayyad caliph with a wholly favourable reputation of piety and fairness among Arabic historiographers (who wrote in Abbasid times); hence the pious blessing after his name. See e.g. *EL2*, "Umar (11) b. 'Abd al-'Azīz" (P.M. Cobb). For al-Ṭabarī's account of his death see his *Tārikh*, ii, 1361–1362, tr. *The History*, xxiv, 91; there is no mention of poisoning, but al-Ya'qūbī (*Tārikh*, ii, 370, tr. *The Works*, 1023) says it was rumoured that 'Umar was poisoned by members of his family. See also e.g. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, iv, 439 (where Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik is mentioned as the culprit), al-Suyūṭī, *Tārikh al-khulafā'*, 292–293.

582 The Banū Hāshim are the descendants of Hāshim, the great-grandfather of the Prophet Muḥammad. These would include the 'Alids ("Sh'ites") and the Abbasids but not the Umayyads. The designation al-Hāshimiyah, used by the Abbasids during their early days, was said to be derived from this Hāsim, but it is thought that the movement of Abū Hāshim (see the preceding story) may originally have been behind this name.

583 *Fuqahā'*, "specialists in Islamic Law"; but in 'Umar's time the word probably had a more general sense.

[§ 51 ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān⁵⁸¹]

Another is ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān (*r*). He intended to let the Banū Hāshim have the caliphate.⁵⁸² He wrote to all regions telling their learned men⁵⁸³ to come to him for consultation. He redressed wrongs⁵⁸⁴ and dealt without discrimination with the Umayyads, which hastened their ruin.

The descendants of Marwān⁵⁸⁵ greatly respected Umm al-Banīn, the daughter of al-Ḥakam ibn al-‘Āṣ. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn reports: Nawfal ibn al-Furāt⁵⁸⁶ told us: When Umm al-Banīn came to visit the caliphs she would take up quarters near the doors of their audience rooms. When ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz became caliph she visited him and he received her and made her stay with him. When she sat down he began to converse with her. “Aunt,” he asked, “Haven’t you seen the guard at the door?” He was joking, for he meant “I don’t have a guard.” When he saw that she did not speak he said, “Aunt, the Messenger of God (God bless and preserve him) passed away when people were all drinking from the same river. After him a man ruled who did not | appropriate
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anything of it.⁵⁸⁷ Then another man ruled who dug an irrigation channel.⁵⁸⁸ Then more irrigation channels were dug and in the end the water dried up and disappeared. If I could, I would make the river run its course again.”

Nawfal continued: Then she said, “And let them not curse his family in your presence!”⁵⁸⁹ The caliph asked, “And who is cursing them?! If a man raises a complaint about being wronged, I shall give orders to redress it.”

584 *Radda l-mazālim*. The institution known as *al-mazālim*, for the dispensation of justice directly by the ruler, is sometimes attributed to ‘Abd al-Malik, but it was under the early Abbasids that it became regular. See *EI2*, “Maḏālim” (J.S. Nielsen).

585 See above, § 45. Umm al-Banīn was Marwān’s sister and a great-aunt of ‘Umar (who had a daughter also called Umm al-Banīn, which literally means “Mother of Sons”).

586 Another of the few *isnāds* in this work. Nawfal ibn al-Furāt (or ibn Abī l-Furāt) ibn Muslim (or Sālim) Abū l-Jarrāh, a *mawlā*, has an entry in Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar Tāriḫ Dimashq*, xxvi, 219. For parallels to the following, see *ibid.*, xx, 265–266, Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāghah*, v, 49–50.

587 Translation of *lam yastaqḍi minhu shay’an* uncertain. Other readings are *lam yastakhiṣṣa* (Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar Tāriḫ Dimashq*, xx, 366) and *lam yustanqaṣ* (*ibidem*).

588 *Karā minhu sāqiyah*. A *sāqiyah* often means “water wheel” but here seems to be “channel for irrigation” (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*) and *karā* could mean “he let, farmed out”, but here it probably means “to dig a bed for a river, to regulate a river” (thus *wkas*, *Kāf*, 159a).

589 The Prophet’s family are primarily the ‘Alids, many of whom opposed the Umayyads believing that the caliph (or imam) should be a direct descendant of Muḥammad through his daughter Fāṭimah and her spouse ‘Alī. ‘Umar is credited with abolishing the formal cursing of ‘Alī during Friday sermons (e.g. al-Suyūṭī, *Tāriḫ al-khulafā’*, 290).

ومن غير حديث ابن معين قال: فلما رأى ذلك بنو مروان دسوا حاضنه وأعطوه ألف دينار على أن يسّمه، ففعل. فلما أحسّ عمر من نفسه دعا الخادم فسأله فأقرّ، فقال له: كم أُعطيّت؟ قال: ألف دينار. فأخذها عمر منه فطرحها في بيت المال وقال للخادم: انج لا تُقتل. فمضى الخادم، ومات عمر.

وذكر ابن أبي شيخ أنّ مجاهدًا دخل على عمر في مرضه، فقال له: ما يقول الناس يا مجاهد؟ قال: يقولون إنك مسحور. فقال: لست مسحورًا ولكني مسموم، سمّني غلامي هذا. ثمّ قال له: ما حملك على ما فعلت؟ قال: جعل لي عتقي وألف دينار. قال: هات الألف. فأخذها فجعلها في بيت المال، وقال اذهب فأنت حرّ.

[§ ٥٢] ومنهم عمر بن يزيد بن عمير الأسيديّ. وكان يلي البصرة مرّةً، ويليها مالك بن المنذر ١٨٢ بن الجارود مرّةً، وكان صديقاً لمالك، فدخل بينهما رجل من بني كُرَيْز فأفسد ذلك، فولّي مالك بن المنذر فحبس الفرزدق وادّعى عليه أنّه هجا نهر المُبارك، وكتب إلى خالد بن عبد الله القسري وهو عامل العراق يحمله على عمر بن يزيد، فكتب إليه خالد يأمره بحبسه، فبعث إليه في داره. ثمّ دسّ إليه من لوى عنقه فقتله. فلما كان الغد حُمِل على دابّة، ورُكِب وراءه

١ كذا في هـ، ك؛ ولعلّ الصحيح (أيس).

590 Or Mu'ayn, Mu'īn. As noted in 'ASH, he has not been mentioned before.

591 The word *ḥādīn* is more often found as a feminine noun, *ḥādīnah*, "nurse". One would not expect a grown-up man such as 'Umar to have a male nurse and perhaps the text is corrupt. Below, the man is called *khādīm* and *ghulām*, "servant" or "slave".

592 The text has *aḥassa ... min nafsihī*, which seems to miss an object and I suspect it is a corruption of the common idiom *ayisa min nafsihī*.

593 Mujāhid ibn Jabr (d. between 100/718 and 104/722) was a famous early Qur'anic exegete. See E12, "Mudjāhid b. Djabr al-Makkī" (A. Ripplin).

594 viz., the servant. This is obviously a slightly different account of what went before and a proper transition is missing.

595 Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn Yazīd ibn 'Umayr al-Uṣayyidī al-Tamīmī was head of police in Basra under al-Ḥajjāj. He was killed in 109/727. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 1495–1496, tr. *The His-*

In a tradition not from Ibn Maʿīn⁵⁹⁰ he said: When the Marwānids saw this they schemed with ʿUmar’s personal servant.⁵⁹¹ They gave him one thousand dinars to poison ʿUmar. When ʿUmar was aware he would die⁵⁹² he summoned the servant and questioned him. The man confessed. ʿUmar asked, “How much did they give you?” “One thousand dinars.” Then ʿUmar took them away from him and put them in the treasury. He said to the servant, “Get away or you will be killed!” The man got away and ʿUmar died.

Ibn Abī l-Shaykh mentions that Mujāhid⁵⁹³ visited ʿUmar during his illness. ʿUmar asked him, “What are people saying, Mujāhid?” He answered, “They say you have been bewitched.” “I have not been bewitched, I have been poisoned! That servant of mine gave me poison.” Then he asked him,⁵⁹⁴ “What brought you to what you did?” The man replied, “I was given my freedom and one thousand dinars.” “Give me the thousand”, said ʿUmar. He took them and put them in the treasury. Then he said, “Go, you are free!”

[§ 52 ʿUmar ibn Yazīd ibn ʿUmayr al-Usayyidī⁵⁹⁵]

Another is ʿUmar ibn Yazīd ibn ʿUmayr al-Usayyidī. He was governor of Basra alternating with Mālik ibn al-Mundhir ibn al-Jārūd,⁵⁹⁶ who was a friend of his. A man of the Banū Kurayz came between them and sowed enmity. When Mālik ibn al-Mundhir came to power again he imprisoned al-Farazdaq, claiming that he had made a lampoon on the Mubāarak canal.⁵⁹⁷ He wrote to Khālid al-Qasrī, who was the governor of Iraq, inciting him against ʿUmar ibn Yazīd, upon which Khālid wrote to him, ordering him to imprison ʿUmar. So Mālik sent for him and detained him in his house. Then he secretly sent someone who twisted his neck,⁵⁹⁸ killing him. The following morning he was carried on a mule,⁵⁹⁹ with

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tory, xxv, 33–34; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxi, 379–380; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar Tārikh Dimashq*, xix, 166–167; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, iv, 370, where the vowelling al-Usayyidī is given explicitly as being favoured by Hadith specialists (*muḥaddithūn*), whereas grammarians (*nuḥāh*) prefer al-Asīdī, both groups deriving the *nisbah* from Usayyid/Asīd ibn ʿAmr ibn Tamīm (see ĞN, i, 83, where he appears as ʿUmar ibn Yazīd ibn ʿUmar, of Usayyid ibn ʿAmr).

596 Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar Tārikh Dimashq*, xxiv, 68–71.

597 Nahr al-Mubāarak (“the Blessed Canal”) had been a project of the famous governor Khālid al-Qasrī. For al-Farazdaq’s poem, see his *Dīwān*, 600–601 (2 lines), Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaqāt*, 294 (3 lines), where it begins: “You have wasted God’s money unjustifiedly | on your Wretched, not Blessed, canal.” See also al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxi, 313–314, 331, xxii, 20.

598 *Lawā ʿunuqahu*, an unusual but effective method of killing.

599 *Dābbah*, which could be any riding animal but most likely a mule here.

رجل يُمسك ظهره، فيجعل رأس عمر يتذبذب، فجاء الذي وراءه عنقه ويقول: أقم رأسك فإنك نجّات! وأدخل فلما أصبحوا من غد قالوا: مصّ خاتمته وفيه سمّ ومات.

وكان الفرزدق محبوباً في غير السجن الذي كان فيه عمر فأتى الفرزدق ابنه لبطّة فقال: أما علمت أنّ عمر بن يزيد مصّ خاتمته فوجدوه ميتاً؟ فقال له | الفرزدق: وأعلم أن ذلك معمول وأنه قُتل، وأبوك، والله، إن لم يلحق واسط سيمصّ خاتمته!

[٥٣] ومنهم قتادة بن سابة بن ثابت بن معبد أخو بني أبي ربيعة بن ذهل بن شيبان، وكان أصاب دماً في بني شريك، فمشت الشفراء حتى صلح الأمر، فمشوا بذلك ما شاء الله. ثم إن حريث بن أسود بن شريك ومؤلى له يقال له يقظان لقياً قتادة بالبصرة وقد أسلم خفيين له إلى إسكاف، فجعلوا للإسكاف جُعلاً على أن يحبس خفييه إلى الليل، ففعل ذلك، وقال لقتادة: اتنني صلاة المغرب حتى أعطيك خفيك: فلما جاء ليأخذها وقد كمنّا له شداً عليه فقتلاه، وهاج بينهما الناس فصاحا: إنّما نحن ثائران! فأحجم الناس عنهما فنجيا. وقال حريث في قتله:

فقلتُ له صبراً حريثُ فإننا كذلك نجزي قرضكم آل مرثدٍ
قتادةُ يعلو رهطه وعلوئه بأبيض من ماء الحديد مهتدٍ

١ كذا في هـ، وقال المصحح: "ولعلها (فحتاً). حتاه: ضربه." وفي ك: (فجاء الذي وراءه [فضرب]).

600 A guess, for *fa-jā'u ... 'unuqahū*, as in 'ASH, is strange; Hārūn suggests (without convincing me) reading *fa-hata'a*, explained as *fa-daraba* ("he struck"), as in SKH.

601 'ASH and SKH have *fa-innaka najjāth*, which they explain as "someone who investigates (*baḥḥāth*) reports", which strikes me as unlikely. I am unable to suggest a translation or emendation. In *Aghānī*, xxi, 379 the corpse is taken to prison. The gaoler refuses to admit a dead body but they take the keys from him and bring the body inside. The following morning they spread the rumour that 'Umar ibn Yazīd had killed himself with poison from his signet ring.

602 This somewhat cryptic statement appears in *Aghānī*, xxi, 379 as *la-in lam talḥaq bi-Wāsiṭ la-yamaṣṣu abūka khātamahū*. Wāsiṭ is a town in Iraq roughly between Kufa and Basra.

603 He is not found in other sources. Sābah is not known as a personal name; as Hārūn mentions in a note, Sayābah is found (but no Qatādah ibn Sayābah is known). On the possibility of identifying him as Qatādah ibn Jandal, see below, note 607.

a man riding behind who held his back. ‘Umar’s head was dangling; the man behind him struck⁶⁰⁰ his neck and said, “Keep your head up! You are a ... (?)”⁶⁰¹ He was brought inside again. The following morning they said, “He sucked his signet ring, which contained poison, and he died.”

Al-Farazdaq was detained in another prison, not that of ‘Umar. Labaṭah, al-Farazdaq’s son, came to see him and said, “Did you know that ‘Umar ibn Yazīd sucked his signet ring and they found him dead?” Al-Farazdaq replied, | “I know that was done and that he was killed. Your father, by God! unless he reaches Wāsiṭ, will also suck his signet ring!”⁶⁰²

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[§ 53 Qatādah ibn Sābah ibn Thābit ibn Ma‘bad⁶⁰³]

Another is Qatādah ibn Sābah ibn Thābit ibn Ma‘bad, a member of the Banū Rabī‘ah ibn Dhuhl ibn Shaybān.⁶⁰⁴ He had incurred a blood-guilt among the Banū Sharīk.⁶⁰⁵ Emissaries moved between the parties and a reconciliation was reached; they spent much effort in this. Subsequently Ḥurayth ibn Aswad ibn Sharīk and a *mawlā* (“client”) of his called Yaḳḳān met Qatādah in Basra. He had given a pair of shoes to a cobbler. The two paid some money to the cobbler on condition that he would keep the shoes until the evening. This he did. He said to Qatādah, “Come at the time of the sunset prayer and I’ll give you your shoes.” When Qatādah came to pick them up, the two were hiding in ambush. They sprang upon him and killed him. There was a commotion among the people, but the two cried, “We are only taking revenge!” Then the people let them go and they escaped. Ḥurayth said about the killing:

I said to him, Patience, Ḥurayth!⁶⁰⁶

Thus we requite your loan to the clan of Marthad.⁶⁰⁷

Qatādah overcame his kinsmen but I overcame him,
with a white Indian sword of lustrous steel.⁶⁰⁸

604 On this tribe see *ĠN*, i, 149.

605 This is probably Sharīk ibn ‘Amr, of Murrah ibn Dhuhl ibn Shaybān, see *ĠN*, i, 146, where Aswad ibn Sharīk (but not his son Ḥurayth mentioned below) is found.

606 Poets often address themselves, but if Ḥurayth is the poet it is strange to find “I said to him” meaning himself. Hārūn suggests *Ḥuraythu* may be an error for *Qatāda* (short for *Qatādatu*).

607 Not identified with certainty. One notes that Marthad ibn ‘Āmir belongs to Abū Rabī‘ah ibn Dhuhl, and that this Marthad has a great-grandson called Qatādah ibn Jandal (*ĠN*, i, 149), so one wonders if he is the Qatādah of the present story.

608 This hemistich is a near-quotation of al-Shanfarā, see *Aghānī*, xxi, 190. High-quality swords are often said to be of Indian make (*muhannad*).

١٨٤ [٥٤] **ومنهم عمرو بن محمد الثَّقَفِيّ**. وكان عاملاً على السُّنْد، فوجّه إليه منصورُ بن جمهور الكَلْبِيّ، وكان منصور بن جمهور افتعل عهداً فُولِيّ العراق، وهو الذي يقول له الناس: منصور بن جمهور، أمير غير مأمور، وذلك في فتنة مروان بن محمد؛ فوجّه إلى عمرو بن محمد بن القاسم الثَّقَفِيّ، وكان عامل مروان، رجلاً من أهل الشام يقال [له] فُلان بن عِمْران يأخذ عمراً بالحساب، فحبسه ودمس إليه من قتله فأصبح ميّتاً وأشاع أنه قتل نفسه من خوف المُحاسبَة.

[٥٥] **ومنهم منظور بن جمهور**، أخو منصور. وكان منصور ضمّ إلى أخيه منظور رجلاً من أهل الشام من الأهل اليَمَن يقال له رِفاعة بن ثابت بن نُعَيْم، فكان الغالب على أمر منظور، وكان يسامره وينادمه. فلمّا ضبط أبو مُسْلِم خراسان وجّه على السند رجلاً من بكر بن وائل، يقال له مغلّس،^١ فبلغ ذلك رِفاعة بن ثابت. وأنّ مغلّساً قد دنا من السند، فقعد هو ومنظور ووصيفٌ لمنظور يشربون، فلمّا أخذ فيهم الشراب نام منظور ووصيفه، وخرج رِفاعة فأتى منزله وجاء بسيفه وبمولى له معه، وأخذ سِكَّة فرسه، وأتى حائطاً يُفضي إلى درجة الغرفة التي منظور ووصيفه فيها، فنقبه هو ومولاه حتّى أفضيا | إلى الدرجة، فصعدا إلى السطح ١٨٥ فإذا منظور ووصيفه نائمان، فقتل منظوراً وجاء إلى الوصيف ليقبله فانتبه الوصيف حين وجد مسّ الحديد، فقال: يا منظور، تُسامرنِي من أوّل الليل وتقتلني من آخره؟! وهو يظنّه منظوراً،

١ في هـ، ك: (مغلّس) والتصحيح من تاريخ خليفة بن خيَاط وغيره.

609 'Amr ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim founded the city called al-Manṣūrah, allegedly called after the governor al-Manṣūr ibn Jumhūr. 'Amr was the son of Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafi, conqueror of Sind (roughly modern Pakistan). See *EI2*, "al-Manṣūra" (Y. Friedmann), "Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim" (Y. Friedmann). No parallel texts on his murder have been found.

610 The awkward construction of this sentence in the Arabic has been followed in the translation.

611 *Amīr ghayr ma'mūr*.

612 Marwān ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān (reg. 127–132/744–750) was the last Umayyad caliph. He was killed in the course of the revolution that brought the Abbasids to power.

613 The Arabic for "So-and-so" is Fulān. Possibly it is here corruption of the name given in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 1839, tr. *The History*, xxvi, 199–200, as Muḥammad ibn Ghazzān, or 'Azzān, al-Kalbī.

[§ 54 ‘Amr ibn Muḥammad al-Thaqafi⁶⁰⁹]

Another is ‘Amr ibn Muḥammad al-Thaqafi. He was governor of Sind. Manṣūr ibn Jumhūr al-Kalbī⁶¹⁰—this Manṣūr ibn Jumhūr had forged a covenant and had become governor of Iraq; he is the one people called “Manṣūr ibn Jumhūr, the non-commissioned emir”⁶¹¹ (and this was during the civil war in Marwān ibn Muḥammad’s time)⁶¹²—he sent to ‘Amr ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Thaqafi, Marwān’s governor, a man from Syria called So-and-so ibn ‘Imrān,⁶¹³ to audit ‘Amr. He arrested ‘Amr and secretly sent someone to kill him. He was found dead the following morning but the rumour was spread that he had killed himself for fear of the audit. 184

[§ 55 Manzūr ibn Jumhūr⁶¹⁴]

Another is Manzūr ibn Jumhūr, the brother of Manṣūr. Manṣūr had sent a man from Syria belonging to Yaman called Rifā‘ah ibn Thābit ibn Nu‘aym,⁶¹⁵ to join his brother Manzūr. Rifā‘ah came to dominate Manzūr. He would spend the evenings with him and be his drinking companion. When Abū Muslim⁶¹⁶ had secured Khorasan he sent a man of the Bakr ibn Wā’il called Mughallis⁶¹⁷ to take control of Sind. Rifā‘ah heard about this and learned that Mughallis was approaching Sind. He, together with Manzūr and a servant of Manzūr, were drinking together. Overcome by the wine, Manzūr and his servant fell asleep. Rifā‘ah left and went home, picked up a sword and took a *mawlā* of his with him. He took the road of his horse⁶¹⁸ and came to a wall that was level with the steps leading to the room in which Manzūr and his servant were. He and his *mawlā* made a hole in the wall and reached | the staircase. They went up and found Manzūr and his servant, fast asleep. Rifā‘ah killed Manzūr and went to the servant to kill him too, but the man awoke when he felt the steel. “Manzūr!” he cried, “You spend the evening with me early in the evening and you kill me later?”, thinking that it was Manzūr. Rifā‘ah finished him off. He said to 185

614 No parallel texts on his murder have been found. According to al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, iv, 233, Manzūr was killed after being defeated by Abū Muslim.

615 Not found in other sources. *Mīn ahl al-Yaman* could also mean “(originally) from Yemen”, but it is more likely that al-Yaman here stands for the South Arabs collectively.

616 On him see also below, § 63. Probably of Persian descent, he was the effective leader of the Abbasid revolution that ended the Umayyad dynasty.

617 ‘ASH and SKḤ: Mu‘allis (or Mu‘allas). It is an error for Mughallis, as e.g. in Khalifah ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh*, 413.

618 I am not sure what this means.

فأجهز عليه. وقال لوصيف^١ لمنظور: افعِلْ ما أمرك به وإلا قتلْتُك. فقال: مُرني بما شئت. فقال: ادْعُ لي صاحبَ الحرسِ على لسانِ مؤلاك! وكان رجلاً من بني أسد، فأشرف الغلام وقال: الأمير يدعوك! فلَمَّا أطلع رأسه قام رفاعه ومولاه فقتلاه، وجعل يقتل الرجل من الوجوه هكذا، حتَّى قتل ثمانية نفر. قال الشاعر:

يا رِفاعَ بنِ ثابتِ بنِ نَعِيمٍ ما جزيَتَ الإحسانَ بالإحسانِ
ولقد أتلفتَ يَمِينُكَ خِرْقاً أرِيحياً وفارسَ الفُرسانِ
فأدالَ المليكُ منك فقد أصدَّ سبحتَ في كَفِّ نائِرِ حِرَّانِ

وظفر منصورٌ برفاعة فقتله.

[§ ٥٦] ومنهم عبد الله بن عمر بن عبد العزيز. وكان عامل مروان على العراق قبل ابن هُبيرة، فغلبت الخوارجُ على الكوفة، ثم مضوا إلى واسط فحصره بها، وكان رئيس الخوارج الضحَّاك بن قيس الشيباني، فلَمَّا طال حصاره بعث إليه عبد الله بن عمر: إنني عاملك فامض إلى مروان فقاتله فإن ظفرت به أو قتلته فأنا عاملك وداع لك. فمضى الضحَّاك فقتله مروان. وولَّى يزيد بن عمر بن هُبيرة على العراق. فقتل الخوارج. وبعث إليه بعبد الله بن عمر فحبسه بحِرَّان. ثم دسَّ إليه قوماً فوضعوا على وجهه مِرْفقتَه فأصبح في السجن ميئاً.

١ ك: (الوصيف).

619 He is the son of the caliph 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz (see above, § 51). See *E12*, "Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz" (K.V. Zetterstéén), *E13*, "Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz" (Steven C. Judd). He died in 132/749–750. According to some accounts he was not murdered but died in prison of the plague (see e.g. Ibn Manzūr, *Mukhtaṣar Tārikh Dimashq*, xiii, 188).

another servant of Manzūr, “Do what I tell you or I’ll kill you!” “Tell me whatever you want!” said the man. Rifā‘ah said, “Call the head of the guard in the name of your master!”. He was a man of the Banū Asad. The servant called out, “The commander calls you!”. When the man showed his face Rifā‘ah and his servant got up and killed him. In the same manner he killed one after the other of the leaders, until he had killed eight of them. A poet said,

Rifā‘ah ibn Thābit ibn Nu‘aym,
 You did not requite a good deed with another!
 Your right hand destroyed a generous man,
 a munificent man, the most eminent knight!
 May God overthrow your fortune! You are now
 in the hand of an avenger thirsty for revenge!

Manzūr seized Rifā‘ah and killed him.

[§ 56 ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz⁶¹⁹]

Another is ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. He was the governor of Iraq under Marwān⁶²⁰ before Ibn Hubayrah.⁶²¹ The Khārijites took Kufa. Then they went to Wāsiṭ and laid siege to it, where Allāh ibn ‘Umar resided. The leader of the Khārijites was al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Qays al-Shaybānī.⁶²² When the siege was protracted ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar sent him a message saying, “I am your governor. Go to Marwān and fight him! If you are victorious or kill him, I will be your governor and support your case.”⁶²³ Al-Ḍaḥḥāk marched off but Marwān killed him. He appointed Yazīd ibn ‘Umar ibn Hubayrah as governor of Iraq, who killed the Khārijites. ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar was sent to him and he imprisoned him in Ḥarrān.⁶²⁴ He secretly sent some men to him, who smothered him with his pillow. The following morning he was found dead in the prison.

620 The caliph Marwān ibn Muḥammad, see above § 54.

621 Yūsuf ibn ‘Umar ibn Hubayrah, governor of Iraq 129–132/741–749. See on him and his father *EI2*, “Ibn Hubayra” (J.-C. Vadet); his son Yazīd (mentioned below and § 60) was the last Umayyad governor of Iraq (see on him e.g. al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxviii, 415–418).

622 On him see *EI2*, “al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī” (L. Vecchia Vaglieri). He fell in battle against Marwān in 128/746.

623 As Judd states (*EI3*), the fact that an Umayyad prince was prepared to give allegiance to the Khārijites (and he was not the only one) is an indication of the desperate state of Umayyad rule.

624 Ḥarrān, ancient Carrhae, a town in northern Mesopotamia, now in Turkey.

١٨٦ [٥٧§] ومنهم الإمام إبراهيم بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن عباس. وكان نصر بن سيار كتب إلى مروان يُعلمه بخروج أبي مسلم وكثرة تبّعه وأنه يخاف أن يستولي على خراسان، وأن الدعوة لإبراهيم بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله. فألقى الكتاب إلى مروان، وقد أتى إبراهيم رسول أبي مسلم بكتاب. فسأل إبراهيم الرسول: ممّن هو؟ قال: من العرب. فردّ جواب كتاب أبي مسلم يلعنه فيه أن ترك المواثبة لجذيع الكرمانيّ ونصر بن سيار ويأمره فيه ألا يدع بخراسان عربياً إلا قتله.

فانطلق الرجل إلى مروان بالكتاب فوضعه في يده، فكتب مروان إلى معاوية بن الوليد بن عبد الملك، وهو عامله على دمشق، أن أكتب إلى عامل البلقاء فليسر إلى كُداد والحُميمة، فليأخذ إبراهيم بن محمد فليشدّه وثاقاً، وليبعث به إليه مع خيل كثيفة، ثم وجه به إلى أمير المؤمنين.

١٨٧ قال: فاتى وهو جالس في مسجد القرية، فأخذ فلّف رأسه وحمل فأدخل على مروان، فأبّه وشتّمه، فاشتدّ لسان إبراهيم عليه وقال: يا أمير المؤمنين، ما أظنّ ما يروى الناس عليك إلا حقاً، في بغض بني هاشم، وما لي وما تصيف؟ فقال له مروان: أدركك الله بأعمالك الخبيثة، فانّ الله

١ كذا في هـ، ولعلّ الصواب (يرتك) أو (اترك) كما في ك

٢ ك: (فليشدّه وثاقه).

625 He was the brother of the first two Abbasid caliphs, al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr, and the son of Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī mentioned before (§ 50). At his orders the rising against the Umayyads was begun in 129/747. While the revolution was in full swing he was captured and died in 132/749. He is often called Ibrāhīm al-Imām, as here. See e.g. *E12*, “Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad” (F. Omar). For a parallel text see Anon., *Akhbār al-Dawlah al-‘Abbāsīyah*, 391–393 (quoting Ibn Ḥabīb), al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 1974–1975.

626 Naṣr ibn Sayyār al-Laythī was the last governor of Khorasan under the Umayyads and vainly tried to resist the uprising. While Umayyad power was crumbling in the East he died a natural death at an advanced age in 131/748. See *E12*, “Naṣr b. Sayyār” (C.E. Bosworth).

[§ 57 Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās⁶²⁵]

Another is the Imam Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās. Naṣr ibn Sayyār⁶²⁶ had written to Marwān, informing him of the rebellion of Abū Muslim and the multitude of his followers, adding that he feared Abū Muslim would take control of Khorasan and that the revolt was carried out in the name of Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh. The letter was conveyed to Marwān after a messenger of Abū Muslim had brought Ibrāhīm another letter. Ibrāhīm asked the messenger, “Who sent it?” He answered, “The Arabs.” Ibrāhīm sent a reply to Abū Muslim’s letter, cursing him, telling him to leave off attacking Juday’ al-Kirmānī⁶²⁷ and Naṣr ibn Sayyār, and ordering him to leave no Arab alive in Khorasan. 186

But the messenger went to Marwān with that letter and handed it to him. Then Marwān wrote to Mu‘āwiyah ibn al-Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik,⁶²⁸ who was his governor in Damascus saying, “Write to the governor of al-Balqā’ and tell him to go to Kudād and al-Ḥumaymah.⁶²⁹ Let him apprehend Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad and put him in chains. He should have him sent to him⁶³⁰ with a large cavalry escort, then have him sent to the Commander of the Believers.”

They came for Ibrāhīm while he was sitting in the mosque of the village. He was apprehended, his head was wrapped up and he was carried and brought in to Marwān, who scolded and reviled him. Then Ibrāhīm spoke harshly to him, saying, “Commander of the Believers, I think everything people say about you is true, about hating the descendants of Hāshim!⁶³¹ What have I to do with how you describe them?” | Marwān replied, “May God requite you for your evil 187

627 Juday’ ibn ‘Alī, a chief of the Azd tribe, of the “Yamanite” faction, was involved in another rebellion against the Umayyads. On his sons ‘Alī and ‘Uthmān see below, § 61. The *nisbah* al-Kirmānī refers to Kirmān, a region in southern Persia to the east of Fārs. The “vulgar” from Kirmān is generally used (cf. *E12*, “Kirmān” [A.S. Lambton]) even though the Arab lexicographers and Yāqūt in *Mu’jam al-buldān* say the correct form is Karmān (which is supported by its ancient Greek and Latin name, Carmania).

628 He was a son of caliph al-Walīd (reg. 86–96/705–715). As Hārūn notes, other sources mention al-Walīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*) or al-Walīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah ibn Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam (al-Mas’ūdī, *Tanbīh*, Anon., *Akhbār al-Dawlah al-‘Abbāsīyah*).

629 Al-Balqā’ is a region roughly corresponding to modern Jordan. For Kudād and al-Ḥumaymah see above, § 50.

630 viz., the governor of Damascus.

631 See above, § 51 note 582.

لا يأخذ على أوّل ذنب؛ اذْهَبَا بِهِ إِلَى السِّجْنِ. فحَبَسَهُ أَيَّامًا، ثُمَّ أَمَرَ قَوْمًا فَدَخَلُوا إِلَى السِّجْنِ بَعْدَ مَا مَرَّ صَدْرٌ مِنَ اللَّيْلِ، فَغَمَّ إِبْرَاهِيمَ فِي جِرَابِ نُورَةَ، وَغَمَّ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عَمْرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ بِمِرْفَقَةٍ، فَأَصْبَحَا مَيِّتَيْنِ فِي غَدَاةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ. رَحِمَهُمَا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى.

[٥٨٨] وَمِنْهُمْ أَبُو سَلْمَةَ حَفْصُ بْنُ سَلِيمَانَ مَوْلَى بَنِي مُسْلِمِيَّةٍ، وَكَانَ يُقَالُ لَهُ وَزِيرُ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ. وَكَانَ أَبُو سَلْمَةَ لَمَّا اسْتَتَبَ الْأَمْرَ وَاسْتَقَامَتِ خِرَاسَانَ وَالْجِبَالَ وَفَارِسَ وَجَهَّ أَبُو سَلْمَةَ لِلْعُمَلَاءِ فِي السَّهْلِ وَالْجِبَلِ، ثُمَّ أَقَامَ أَبُو سَلْمَةَ نَحْوًا مِنْ أَرْبَعِينَ يَوْمًا لَا يُظْهَرُ أَمْرَ أَبِي الْعَبَّاسِ، وَأَبُو جَعْفَرٍ وَعَبْدُ اللَّهِ وَإِسْمَاعِيلُ وَعَيْسَى وَدَاوُدُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ قَدِ قَدَمُوا مِنَ الشَّامِ، فَأَنْزَلَهُمْ أَبُو سَلْمَةَ دَارَ الْوَلِيدِ بْنِ سَعِيدٍ فِي بَنِي أَوْدٍ.

وكان القواد الذين قدموا من خراسان يقولون لأبي سلمة: أين الإمام؟ فيقول: لا تعجلوا. وكان أبو سلمة يدبرها لبني فاطمة رضي الله عنها، فجعل يريثهم^٢ ويقول: نعم اليوم غدا! حتى خرج أبو حميد، وهو يريد الكناسة، فلقي مولى لهم أسود قد كان يعرفه حيث كان يأتي إبراهيم بالشام. فلما رآه احتضنه وقال: ويحك، ما فعل الإمام ومواليك؟ قال: هم ها هنا والله مذ أكثر من شهرين. | قال: وأين هم؟ قال: في دار الوليد بن سعيد في بني أود. قال: فانطلق فأرنيهم.^٣ فخرج الأسود

١ ك: (قام).

٢ ك: (يرثهم).

٣ ك: (فأرنيهم).

632 For no apparent reason the text uses a dual form for the imperative; *Akhbār al-Dawlah al-Abbāsiyyah* has a plural.

633 He was a freed slave from Kufa, one of the emissaries of the Abbasid cause and the first to be called vizier (*wazīr*). He died in 132/750. See *EI2*, "Abū Salama" (S. Moscati) and *EI3*, "Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl" (Elton L. Daniel). On his death see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 58–61, tr. *The History*, 182–184; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv, 203–205; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 422, tr. *The Works*, 1079; Ibn Qutaybah, *Imāmah*, ii, 165–166; al-Tanūkhī, *Faraj*, iv, 272–277.

634 Al-Jibāl, "the Mountains", i.e., the Zagros Mountains, a region in western Iran, ancient Media; Fārs or Fāris (the Arabicised form of Pārs) is south-western Iran.

deeds! God does not punish a first offender! Take him to jail!”⁶³² He imprisoned him for a few days. Then he told some men to enter the prison early at night. Ibrāhīm was put in a sack with quicklime and ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was smothered with a pillow. Both were found dead the same morning, God the Exalted have mercy on them.

[§ 58 Abū Salamah Ḥafṣ ibn Sulaymān⁶³³]

Another is Abū Salamah Ḥafṣ ibn Sulaymān, the *mawlā* of the Banū Musliyah; he was called “the Vizier of the Family of Muḥammad”. When matters were settled and Khorasan, al-Jibāl, and Fārs⁶³⁴ were secured, Abū Salamah sent messages to all governors in the lowlands and highlands. Then he stayed put for some forty days without declaring openly for Abū l-‘Abbās.⁶³⁵ Abū Ja‘far, ‘Abd Allāh, Ismā‘īl, ‘Īsā, and Dāwūd, all sons of ‘Alī,⁶³⁶ had arrived from Syria and Abū Salamah let them lodge in the house of al-Walīd ibn Sa‘īd among the Banū Awd.⁶³⁷ The army commanders who had come from Khorasan would ask Abū Salamah, “Where is the Imam?”⁶³⁸ and Abū Salamah would say, “There’s no hurry!” He was arranging the imamate for the descendants of Fāṭimah (*r*). He began to delay matters and would say, “Tomorrow is a good day!” This lasted until Abū Ḥumayd⁶³⁹ went on his way to al-Kunāsah.⁶⁴⁰ He met a black *mawlā* of theirs⁶⁴¹ whom he used to know when he visited Ibrāhīm⁶⁴² in Syria. When he saw him he embraced him and asked, “I say, what are the Imam and your masters doing?” “They have been here, by God, for more than two months!” | “Where are they?” asked Abū Ḥumayd. The man answered, “In the house of al-Walīd ibn Sa‘īd, among the Banū Awd.” “Come on,” said Abū Ḥumayd, “Show

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635 Abū l-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī, also known as al-Saffāh, was the first Abbasid caliph.

636 They are the sons of ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-‘Abbās (as explicitly said e.g. in al-Dīnawārī, *al-Akhhbār al-tiwāl*, 357), the grandfather of the first two Abbasid caliphs and the ancestor of all subsequent Abbasids. He died in 117/735 or the following year.

637 Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 34 calls him al-Walīd ibn Sa‘īd, a *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim. The Banū Awd were a branch of Madhhij; they had settled in Kufa (ĠN, i, 270 and ii, 206).

638 *Imām*, literally “leader” (e.g. in ritual prayer) is often used (especially by Shi‘ites) for the leader of the Muslim community generally, as a synonym of *khalīfah*, caliph.

639 Abū Ḥumayd Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥimyarī was one of the “missionaries” or propagandists (*du‘āh*) of the Abbasid movement, see e.g. Anon., *Akhhbār*, 321.

640 A famous market and meeting place in Kufa.

641 He is named as Sābiq al-Khwārazmī in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 34.

642 i.e., the Imam Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad (§ 57).

بين يديه وأبو حُميد يتبعه في موكبه حتّى دخل فقال: السلام عليك أمير المؤمنين ورحمة الله. ثم أرسل عينيه بالبكاء وقال: ما لكم هاهنا؟ قالوا: تركنا أبو سلمة ها هنا منذ شهرين. فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين، منذ شهرين أركب. فحملة وأهل بيته ثم أقبل بهم إلى المسجد، وعلم أبو سلمة ما وقع فيه فقال: إنّما أخرتُ أمركم لإحكام ما أريد منه.

ثم إن أبا العباس تنكّر لأبي سلمة، فلمّا همّوا به كرهوا الإقدام عليه دون مشاورة أبي مسلم، فكتب إليه يُعلمه بغشّه وما أراد من صرّف الأمر إلى غيره وما يتخوّف منه. فكتب أبو مسلم إلى أبي العباس: فليقتله أمير المؤمنين. فقال له داود بن عليّ: لا تفعل يا أمير المؤمنين فيحتجّ عليك أبو مسلم وأهل خراسان الذين معك، وحاله عندهم حاله، ولكنّ اكتُب إلى أبي مسلم أن يبعث إليه من يقتله. فكتب إليه بذلك، فوجه أبو مسلم مرار بن أنس الضبّيّ، فقدم على أبي العباس فأعلمه قدومه. وكان أبو سلمة يسمّر عند أبي العباس، فجاء مرار الضبّيّ فجلس على باب أبي العباس، فلمّا خرج أبو سلمة وتنحّى عن الباب شدّ عليه فقتله. فلمّا أصبح لعن على باب الخليفة، وذكروا فسقه وغشّه وغدره، فقال سليمان بن المهاجر البجليّ:

إنّ الوزيرَ وزيرَ آلِ محمّدٍ أوّدى فمَنْ يَشْنَاكَ كان وزيراً

[٥٩٩] ومنهم عبد الله بن معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر بن أبي طالب. وكان عبد الله خرج ١٨٩ بالكوفة^٣ في ولاية عبد الله بن عمر بن عبد العزيز على العراق فقاتله فهزّمه، فسار إلى المدائن

١ ك: (وعلم أبو سهل فيه).

٢ (أن يبعث ... فوجه أبو مسلم): ناقصة في ك

٣ ك: (في الكوفة).

643 Dāwūd ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh (d. 133/750–751), a paternal uncle of Abū l-'Abbās, see e.g. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xiii, 478–479.

644 Marrār ibn Anas, of the tribe of Ḍabbah, is listed among the seventy missionaries (*du'āh*), Anon, *Akhbār*, 221.

645 See Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 454. The line is quoted in e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 60; anonymously in al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 368; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iv, n6; Ibn al-Ṭīqṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 156.

me!" The black *mawlā* went before, with Abū Ḥumayd following him with his escort. Upon entering he said, "Peace upon you, Commander of the Believers, and God's mercy!" He burst into tears. "What are you doing here?" he asked. They replied, "Abū Salamah has left us here for two months." "But, Commander of the Believers," said Abū Ḥumayd, "I have been riding for two months!" He took him and the members of his family and brought them to the mosque. Abū Salamah learned what had happened and said, "I have delayed your cause in order to strengthen what I wanted for it."

Abū l-'Abbās had become hostile to Abū Salamah. When they were about to act they did not want to proceed against him without consulting Abū Muslim. Abū l-'Abbās wrote to him, telling him of his duplicity, that Abū Salamah wanted to change his allegiance to another, and that he was afraid of him. Abū Muslim wrote in reply to Abū l-'Abbās: "The Commander of the Believers must kill him!" But Dāwūd ibn 'Alī⁶⁴³ said, "Don't do it, Commander of the Believers, or else Abū Muslim and the Khorasanis with you will use it against you, for they are in a similar situation as Abū Salamah. But write to Abū Muslim, telling him to send someone to kill him!" Abū l-'Abbās wrote accordingly. Then Abū Muslim sent Marrār ibn Anas al-Ḍabbī,⁶⁴⁴ who went to Abū l-'Abbās and informed him of his arrival. Abū Salamah used to spend the evenings in the company of Abū l-'Abbās. Marrār al-Ḍabbī came and sat at the door of Abū l-'Abbās's place. When Abū Salamah left and had turned away from the door he attacked him and killed him. The following morning he was publicly cursed at the caliph's door; they mentioned his depravity, his disloyalty, and his treachery. Sulaymān ibn al-Muhājir al-Bajalī said,⁶⁴⁵

The Vizier, the vizier of Muḥammad's Family,
has perished! He who hates you has become vizier.

[§ 59 'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far in Abī Ṭālib⁶⁴⁶]

Another is 'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib. He rose in revolt in Kufa when the governor of Iraq was 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz,⁶⁴⁷ who fought him and defeated him. 'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwiyah

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646 On this 'Alid, a great-grandson of 'Alī's brother Ja'far, and his uprising see *EI2*, "'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiyah" (K.V. Zetterstéén), *EI3*, "'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyah" (Antoine Borrut). On his revolt and death see also e.g. al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 155–159. He was killed probably in 131/148–149.

647 See above, § 56.

فتبعه بها قومٌ فساروا إلى حُلوان فأخذ الجبال ودعا لنفسه، ثم مضى إلى أصبهان فأقام بها، ثم سار إلى إصطخر فجى كُور فارس، وضرب دراهم عليها: ﴿قُلْ لَا أَسْأَلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَجْرًا إِلَّا الْمَوَدَّةَ فِي الْقُرْبَى﴾. فلما قدم يزيد بن عمر بن هُبيرة عاملاً على العراق بعد عبد الله بن عمر وجه إليه ابن ضبارة فهزمه إلى سجستان، ثم صار إلى هرة وقد استتب أمر خراسان لأبي مسلم، وأخذوا أخويه الحسن ويزيد ابني معاوية، فاعتقل في الحبس ثم وجد ميتاً فيه.

[§ 60] ومنهم يزيد بن عمر بن هُبيرة الفزاري، أمير العراق لمروان بن محمد. وكان أبو جعفر المنصور حاصره بواسط، ومعه حميد والحسن ابنا قحطبة، ومالك بن الهيثم الخزاعي، فطلب الأمان، فكتب إلى أبي العباس بذلك فأعطاه الأمان على نفسه وقرباته وحاشيته وقواده، فمكث كتاب الأمان يُقرأ على الفقهاء أكثر من أربعين يوماً حتى أُكِّد، وأراد أبو جعفر الوفاء به،^٢ وإن داود بن علي ولي الحجاز وصاحب مقدمته أبو حماد. فأخذ أبو حماد رجلاً فقال له: أين تريد؟ قال: العراق. قال: ممن أنت؟ قال: من موالي بني هاشم. ففتشه فلم يجد معه كتاباً، فقدمه ليضرب عنقه، فقال: لا تعجل، وفتق قباءً محشوًّا، فأخرج منه حريرةً فيها كتاب من

١ ك: (وأقربائه).

٢ ك: (الوقاية).

648 Al-Madā'in ("the Cities"), on the site of ancient Ctesiphon, lies some 20 miles southeast of Baghdad. Ḥulwān is a town on a pass through the Zagros Mountains (al-Jibāl).

649 A town near ancient Persepolis in Fārs.

650 Q al-Shūrā 42:23. Although the Qur'anic text is not explicit about the sense of *fi l-qurbā*, exegetes, especially of pro-'Alid leanings, would naturally see a reference to the Prophet's kin.

651 See below, § 60.

652 See above, § 56.

653 'Āmir ibn Ḍubārah al-Murri.

654 Other sources explicitly say that he was killed at the order of Abū Muslim; he may have been poisoned (al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 158).

655 On his father see above, § 56. On Yazid, whose death occurred in 132/750, see e.g. Ibn Khalīkān, *Wafayāt*, vi, 313–321; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxviii, 415–418; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv, 191–202; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 68–71, tr. *The History*, xxvii, 191–194.

656 Abū Ja'far, brother of Abū l-'Abbās al-Saffāh, was to become the second Abbasid caliph (reg. 136–158/754–775).

went to al-Madā'in⁶⁴⁸ where some people followed him. They went to Ḥulwān, and he took the al-Jibāl region and proclaimed himself imam. Then he went to Isfahan and stayed there a while; then he went to Iṣṭakhr,⁶⁴⁹ levied taxes on the rural districts of Fārs, and had dirhams struck with the inscription «Say: I do not ask you a fee for it except love for kinship».⁶⁵⁰

When Yazīd ibn 'Umar ibn Hubayrah⁶⁵¹ arrived as governor of Iraq, succeeding 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar,⁶⁵² he sent Ibn Ḍubārah⁶⁵³ who defeated 'Abd Allāh ibn Mu'āwiyah, who fled to Sijistān and then to Herat, after Khorasan was under the control of Abū Muslim. They apprehended his two brothers al-Ḥasan and Yazīd, sons of Mu'āwiyah, and he himself was detained in prison. Subsequently he was found dead there.⁶⁵⁴

[§ 60 Yazīd ibn 'Umar ibn Hubayrah⁶⁵⁵]

Another is Yazīd ibn 'Umar ibn Hubayrah al-Fazārī, commander in Iraq under Marwān ibn Muḥammad. Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr⁶⁵⁶ besieged him in Wāsiṭ, together with the two sons of Qaḥṭabah, Ḥumayd and al-Ḥasan,⁶⁵⁷ and Mālik ibn al-Haytham al-Khuzā'i.⁶⁵⁸ Yazīd asked for an assurance of protection, so Abū Ja'far wrote about this to Abū l-'Abbās, who granted protection to Yazīd himself, his kinsfolk, his retinue, and his commanders. The letter of protection remained in the hands of the legal scholars who studied it for more than forty days before it was finally confirmed. Abū Ja'far | intended to be loyal to the promise.

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Dāwūd ibn 'Alī was governor of the Hijaz;⁶⁵⁹ the commander of his vanguard was Abū Ḥammād.⁶⁶⁰ This Abū Ḥammād apprehended a man and asked him, "Where are you going?" The man replied, "To Iraq." "To whom do you belong?" "To the *mawālī* (clients) of Abū Hāshim." He was searched but they did not find a letter on him. He was brought to be beheaded, but he said, "Don't be hasty!" and he tore open a lined robe, extricating a silk purse containing a letter from

657 Qaḥṭabah ibn Shabīb al-Ṭā'i (d. 132/749) was a leading commander of the Abbasid revolt. See *EI2*, "Qaḥṭaba" (M. Sharon). His son Ḥumayd (d. 159/775–776) became governor of northern Mesopotamia (al-Jazīrah), then Egypt, then Khorasan (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xiii, 199); al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah (d. 181/797–798) became a general of Hārūn al-Rashīd (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xii, 208).

658 Mālik ibn al-Haytham ibn 'Awf al-Salūli was another Abbasid missionary and commander.

659 Dāwūd ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās (d. 133/750–751) was a paternal uncle of Abū l-'Abbās al-Saffāh and Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr; see e.g. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xiii, 478–479.

660 He is Abū Ḥammād al-Abrāṣ Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥassān al-Sulamī (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 73).

محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن، جواب كتاب ابن هبيرة، كتب إليه: لا تعجل بالخروج، ومأطلمهم حتى يستتب أمرنا؛ فقد ذكرت أن قبلك من فرسان العرب ثلاثين ألفاً. فدافع القوم بتأكيد الأمان.

فرفع الرجل والحريرة إلى داود، فقتل الرجل وبعث بالحريرة إلى أبي العباس، فكتب أبو العباس إلى أبي جعفر يأمره بقتله، فراجع أبو جعفر وأراد الوفاء له فكتب إليه: إن أنت فعلت، وإلا أمرت على عسكري الحسن بن قحطبة. وقد كان أبو جعفر أحرز الخزائن والأموال، وجعل ابن هبيرة يركب غبياً إلى أبي جعفر في قواد أهل الشام، فلما هم بذلك بعث خازم بن خزيمة النهشلي، والهيثم بن شعبة، والأغلب بن سالم، وكل من بني تميم، في جماعة أصحابهم، فدخلوا رحبة القصر وأرسلوا إلى أبي هبيرة: إننا نريد أن ننظر إلى الخزائن ونحمل ما فيها. فأذن لهم فدخلوا وطافوا ساعة وجعلوا يخلفون عند كل باب جماعة من أصحابهم، ثم انصرفوا إليه فقالوا: أرسل معنا من يدلنا على المواضع التي فيها الخزائن وبيت الأموال. فقال: أوليس قد ختمتم عليها ١٩١ وأحرزتموها؟ يا أبا عثمان، يريد كاتبه، اذهب معهم فاذلهم على الذي يريدون، أو أرسل معهم. فأرسل معهم، فطاف خازم وأصحابه في القصر، ثم أقبل على ابن هبيرة وعليه قميص مصري، وملاءة مؤزرّة، وهو مسند ظهره إلى حائط المسجد، وبنيته صبح غلام صغير في حجره، فقتلوا داود ابنه وكاتبه وحاجبه وأربعة من مواليه، ثم مشوا نحوه فخرّ ساجداً وقال: نحوا عنّي هذا الصبي. فقتلوه وهو ساجد.

وبعث أبو جعفر إلى قواده وهم لا يعلمون بأمر ابن هبيرة، فلما أدخلوا الرواق كتفوا ودفعوا إلى القواد فقتلهم في منازلهم.

١ ك: (وهم يعلمون).

661 Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. But cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi, 318 and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxviii, 417, where it is said that Ibn Hubayrah corresponded with 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan, the leader of the 'Alids.

662 Abbasid commanders, Khāzīm ibn Khuzaymah being the most prominent of the three.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan,⁶⁶¹ in response to a letter from Ibn Hubayrah, which read as follows: “Do not rashly leave but put them off until our cause is settled. You mentioned that you have thirty thousand Arab horsemen with you. Resist the men, while confirming the promise of protection.”

The man and the purse were taken to Dāwūd, who had the man killed and the purse sent to Abū l-‘Abbās, who wrote to Abū Ja‘far, ordering him to kill Ibn Hubayrah. Abū Ja‘far wrote to him again, because he wanted to be true to his promise. But Abū l-‘Abbās answered, “You either do it or I shall make al-Ḥasan ibn Qaḥṭabah the commander of your army.” Abū Ja‘far had put all coffers and money in a secure place. Ibn Hubayrah rode to Abū Ja‘far every other day together with the commanders of the Syrians. When Abū Ja‘far was about to act, he sent Khāzim ibn Khuzaymah al-Nahshālī, al-Haytham ibn Shu‘bah, al-Aghlab ibn Sālim,⁶⁶² all of them of the Banū Tamīm, with all their followers. They entered the courtyard of the castle and sent a message to Ibn Hubayrah, saying, “We want to have a look at the treasury and take away the contents.” He gave permission and they entered. They moved around for a while, leaving some of their men behind at every gate. Then they went to Ibn Hubayrah and said, “Send someone with us who can lead us to the places where the coffers are stored and where the treasure rooms are!” Ibn Hubayrah replied, “But you have sealed | them and you have put them in a secure place, haven’t you! Abū ‘Uthmān!”—meaning his secretary—“Go with them and take them where they want, or send someone with them.” He sent someone with them. Khāzim and his men went around in the castle. Then he came to Ibn Hubayrah, who was wearing an Egyptian shirt⁶⁶³ and a wrap round his loins.⁶⁶⁴ He was sitting, his back leaning against the wall of the mosque, with his little son, Ṣubḥ, on his lap. They killed his son Dāwūd, his secretary,⁶⁶⁵ his chamberlain, and four of his *mawlās*. Then they went for him. He prostrated himself as for prayer and said, “Take this boy away from me!” Then they killed him while prostrated.

Abū Ja‘far sent for Ibn Hubayrah’s commanders, who were not aware of what had happened to Ibn Hubayrah. When they were brought into the portico their hands were tied behind their backs. They were handed over to the commanders, who killed them in their several dwellings.

663 Egyptian textiles were noted for quality.

664 I am not certain about the precise nature of this piece of clothing (*mulā‘ah mu‘azzarah*). A *mulā‘ah* is not only worn by women, as wrongly suggested in *EI2* (entry “Libās” and Index volume); see also Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.

665 He is identified as ‘Amr ibn Ayyūb in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 69.

[§ 61] **ومنهم عليّ وعثمان**، ابنا جُدَيْع الكِرْمَانِيّ الأزدِيّ. وكانا سارا إلى أبي مسلم بعد قتل نصر بن سيار أباهما غيلةً وغدراً، فناصرهما أبو مسلم وأحسننا معونته، حتى إذا استقامت خراسان دعا أبو مسلم عليّاً فقال له: سَمِّ لي^١ أصحابك فقد نصحت وأحسنت وقضيت ما عليك، وبقي ما علينا. فسماهم له، فولّى عثمان أخاه طخارستان، ففرّق عنه فرسانه. ثم قال له: أحضِر لي أصحابك لأجيزهم. فقال لهم عليّ: اغدوا على جوائز أبي مسلم. فغدوا وغدا، فأدخلوا داراً فأعطوا فيها الجوائز، ثم قيل: ادخلوا^٢ فتشكروا لأبي مسلم. فلما خرجوا أدخلوا داراً أخرى فمطوا وأخذت الجوائز منهم فقتلوا، وكتب إلى أبي داود الذُّهليّ، وهو خالد بن إبراهيم: لا يغليبتك عثمان بن الكِرْمَانِيّ. فاتخذ له^٣ طعاماً، وبعث إليه فاتاه في فؤاده ووجوه فرسانه، وكان أبو داود عاملاً على ما وراء النهر. فلما أتوه وحضر الطعام أخذوا فضربت أعناقهم، ثم ركب إلى عسكرهم فقتل فيه تسعمائة رجل، وتتبع من كان أبو مسلم ولّاه منهم فقتله.

[§ 62] **ومنهم عبد الله بن عليّ بن عبد الله بن العباس**. وكان عبد الله لما بلغه موت أبي العباس خلع أبا جعفر ودعا إلى نفسه وكان أبو جعفر حاجاً، وثار عيسى بن موسى بن محمد بن عليّ، فأحرز الخزائن وضبط الأمر حتى قدم أبو جعفر، فوجه أبا مسلم لحربه، فحاربه فهزّمه، فلجأ إلى أخيه سليمان بن عليّ، وهو عامل على البصرة، فأخذ له الأمان المؤكّد.

١ ك: (لك).

٢ كذا.

٣ ك: (لهم).

666 On their father Juday' see above, § 57; see also ĞN, i, 213, ii, 263. 'Alī and 'Uthmān were killed in 130/747–748; see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 1997–2000, tr. *The History*, xxvii, 104–107. Ibn Ḥabīb does not give a motive for the murder. It appears that Abū Muslim is merely consolidating his position by removing potential rivals after having used them to his advantage; see Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam*, 115–116.

667 On him see above, § 57.

668 The region of Balkh, ancient Bactria.

669 The context seems to require "Go outside".

670 'ASH suggests that instead *qumīṭū* one could read *fa-muṭū*, "they were thrown on their backs".

671 Abū Dāwūd Khālīd ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 140/757) was the governor of Balkh and Transoxania. See ĞN, i, 152, ii, 341.

672 Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī (d. 147/764) was a paternal uncle of Abū l-'Abbās al-Saffāh and Abū

[§ 61 ‘Alī and ‘Uthmān, sons of Juday‘ al-Kirmānī al-Azdī⁶⁶⁶]

Among them are ‘Alī and ‘Uthmān, the two sons of Juday‘ al-Kirmānī al-Azdī. They had gone over to Abū Muslim after Naṣr ibn Sayyār⁶⁶⁷ had betrayed their father and had him assassinated. They acted as advisers to Abū Muslim and supported him. When Khorasan was under control, Abū Muslim summoned ‘Alī and said, “Give me the names of your followers! You have given me good advice and you have done what you had to do. Now it remains for me to do what I have to.” ‘Alī gave him their names. Then Abū Muslim appointed ‘Alī’s brother ‘Uthmān as governor of Tokharistan.⁶⁶⁸ He separated ‘Alī’s cavalry from him, then he said to him, “Bring your followers, so that I can reward them!” ‘Alī told them, “Tomorrow you’ll get rewards from Abū Muslim.” He and they came the following day. They were led into a house and given presents. Then they were told, “Go inside⁶⁶⁹ and give thanks to Abū Muslim!” When they went outside they were made to enter another house, where their hands and feet were tied up together,⁶⁷⁰ their presents were taken away from them, and they were killed. He wrote to Abū Dāwūd al-Dhuhlī, | i.e., Khālīd ibn Ibrāhīm:⁶⁷¹ “Don’t let ‘Uthmān, al-Kirmānī’s son, get the better of you!” Abū Dāwūd prepared a dish for him and had it sent to him. He visited him amidst his commanders and cavalry leaders; Abū Dāwūd was governor of Transoxania. When they got to him and the food was served, they were apprehended and they were beheaded. Then he rode to their army camp and killed nine hundred men. He traced all those that Abū Muslim had appointed and killed them.

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[§ 62 ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-‘Abbās⁶⁷²]

When ‘Abd Allāh heard that Abū l-‘Abbās had died, he refused allegiance to Abū Ja‘far and proclaimed himself as successor. Abū Ja‘far was on pilgrimage. ‘Īsā ibn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī⁶⁷³ rose into action; he secured the treasury and took control until Abū Ja‘far returned. The latter sent Abū Muslim to fight ‘Abd Allāh. Abū Muslim gave battle and defeated him. ‘Abd Allāh sought refuge with his brother Sulaymān ibn ‘Alī, who was governor of Basra, and he

Ja‘far al-Manṣūr. See *E12*, “‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī” (K.V. Zetterstéen & S. Moscati), *E13*, “‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī” (J. Lassner). He played a major part in the Abbasid revolt and claimed the caliphate after al-Saffāh’s death, having a better military record than al-Manṣūr.

673 ‘Īsā’s father Mūsā was a brother of al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr. On ‘Īsā (d. 167/783–784) see *E12*, “‘Īsā b. Mūsā” (D. Sourdell).

ثم إنَّ أبا جعفر دفعه عيسى بن موسى فكان محبوباً عنده، فجعل يرفُّه عنه ويشترى له الجارية بعد الجارية. ولما خرج محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بالمدينة أمر عيسى بن موسى بالخروج إليه، وأن يدفعه إلى أبي الأزهر عبد الملك بن عُبيَّث المَهْرِيِّ، فجاء به حتى أدخله بيتاً في قصر أبي جعفر، وخرج أبو جعفر إلى أوانا، وسقط البيت على عبد الله بن عليّ، رحمه الله.

[63 §] ومنهم أبو مُسلم صاحب الدولة. وكان أبو جعفر وجَّهه أبو العباس في ثلاثين من وجوه قُريش والعرب إلى خراسان زائراً أبا مسلم، فرأى منهم استخفافاً احتقنهما^١ أبو جعفر عليه، وكان إذا كتب إليه بدأ بنفسه قبله. فكان أبو جعفر يقول لأبي العباس كثيراً: إنَّه لا مُلك لك وأبو مسلم حيّ، فتغدَّه قبل أن يتعشى بك! وكان أبو العباس يأبى ذلك لَقَدْره في أهل خراسان. فلما أفضى الأمر إلى أبي جعفر وكان أبو مسلم حاجاً فقدم ووجَّهه^٢ أبو جعفر فحارب عبد الله بن عليّ واستباح عسكره. ثم وجَّه أبو جعفر إلى أبي مسلم يَقْطِين بن موسى لقبض ما صار في يد أبي مسلم من عسكر عبد الله، فغَضِب أبو مسلم وقال: لا يُوثَق بي في هذا القدر! وشمتم

١ كذا في هـ، ك؛ ويظهر أنَّ الصحيح (أبي الأزهر المهلب) كما في المراجع.

٢ لعلَّ الصحيح، كما قال هـ، (فرأى منه استخفافاً وأشياء احتقنهما).

٣ ك: (ووجَّه).

674 Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn (al-)Ḥasan ibn (al-)Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, called al-Nafs al-Zakiyah ("the Pure Soul"), led an 'Alid revolt in Medina and was killed in 145/762–763. See al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 206–262; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, iii, 297–300; *EI2*, "Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (...) al-Nafs al-Zakiyya" (F. Buhl).

675 As often, the use of pronouns is confusing and potentially misleading. In this sentence the first "him" seems to refer to al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah and the second to 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī.

676 This seems to be an error for Abū l-Azhar al-Muhallab ibn 'Ubaythir al-Mahri, who is mentioned in al-Jāhīz, *Bayān*, ii, 111, iii, 372 and *ĠN*, i, 328, ii, 421.

677 'Abd Allāh's imprisonment seems to have lasted for several years. His death, here described as an "accident", was clearly considered as intended (or else he would not have been included in the book). Other accounts say that he was strangled together with a concubine, after which the room was made to collapse (e.g. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iv, 160–161). Al-Manṣūr is said to have denied responsibility: "It is not my fault if a room has collapsed on him!" (al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvii, 322).

678 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muslim, usually called Abū Muslim (d. 137/755), has already appeared above on many occasions. He was probably Persian (see the discussion of his descent

was guaranteed protection. Abū Ja‘far had him sent to ‘Īsā ibn Mūsā and he was detained at his place. ‘Īsā made his life comfortable and provided him with one concubine after another.

When Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan⁶⁷⁴ rebelled in Medina, Abū Ja‘far ordered ‘Īsā ibn Mūsā to march to him and to deliver him⁶⁷⁵ unto Abū l-Azhar ‘Abd al-Malik ibn ‘Ubaythir al-Mahrī.⁶⁷⁶ He brought him to a room in Abū Ja‘far’s castle. The room collapsed on ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī, God have mercy on him.⁶⁷⁷

[§ 63 Abū Muslim⁶⁷⁸]

Another is Abū Muslim, “Master of the Dynasty”.⁶⁷⁹ Abū Ja‘far had been sent by Abū l-‘Abbās, together with thirty prominent members of Quraysh and the Arabs, to Khorasan to visit Abū Muslim. Abū Ja‘far then noticed a disdain in Abū Muslim⁶⁸⁰ and saw things he resented. When Abū Muslim wrote to him he began with his own name before Abū Ja‘far’s. Abū Ja‘far would often say to Abū l-‘Abbās, “You do not reign as long Abū Muslim is alive. Have him for breakfast before he has you for dinner!” But Abū l-‘Abbās turned down this advice because of Abū Muslim’s status among the Khorasanians.

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When Abū Ja‘far came to power Abū Muslim was away on pilgrimage. When he returned, Abū Ja‘far sent him to fight ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī,⁶⁸¹ whose army camp he plundered as booty. Then Abū Ja‘far sent Yaḳṭīn ibn Mūsā⁶⁸² to confiscate the goods Abū Muslim had taken from ‘Abd Allāh’s army. This incensed Abū Muslim, who said, “Am I not to be trusted to that extent?!” and he uttered vile

in e.g. al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, iv, 78 and the Persian lineage given to him in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii, 145 that goes back to the Sassanid minister Buzurgmihr). He was the effective leader of the Abbasid movement that began in Khorasan and ended with the overthrow of the Umayyads. On him see *ET3*, “Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī” (Salah Said Agha). Among the many parallel texts about his death see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 99–117, tr. *The History*, xxviii, 18–41; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv, 270–276; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, iv, 138–143; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-tiwāl*, 373–378; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāmah wa-l-siyāsah*, ii, 183–185; al-Maḳḍisī, *al-Bad’ wa-l-tārīkh*, vi, 76–82.

679 The word *dawlah* often means “dynasty” (and, in modern Arabic, “state”), but its original meaning is “alternation, rotation, change of fortune” and *ṣāhib al-dawlah* could therefore also be interpreted as “Master of the Revolution”.

680 As ‘ASH suggests, one ought to read *minhu* (“from him”, viz. Abū Muslim) instead of *minhum* (“from them”).

681 See § 62.

682 Yaḳṭīn ibn Mūsā (d. 186/802) was one of the “missionaries” of the Abbasid movement. See e.g. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xxix, 40–41.

شَتْمًا قَبِيحًا. ومضى من الأنبار يريد خراسان مُخَالِفًا، ومضى أبو جعفر إلى المدائن فنزل الروميّة. وقد كان قبيل لأبي مسلم: إنك تُقتل بالروم. فوجه أبو جعفر إلى أبي مسلم جرير بن يزيد بن جرير بن عبد الله البجليّ، وكان أرجلًا أهل زمانه. وكتب معه فلم يلتفت إلى كتابه. فلم يزل جريرٌ يفتلّ^٢ أبا مسلم في الذّروة والغارب حتّى أقبل إلى أبي جعفر، فلمّا قدم أمر القوَاد والنّاس أن يتلقّوه، ثمّ أذن له فدخل على دابّته وعانقه وأكرمه وقال: كدت تخرج قبل أن أفضي إليك ما^٣ أريد. قال: | يا أمير المؤمنين، قد أتيتك فمرُّ بأمرك. قال: انصرف إلى منزلك فضع ثيابك، وادخل الحمام يذهب عنك كلال السفر. فجعل أبو جعفر ينتظر به الفرص، فمكث به أيّاماً يأتي أبا جعفر كلّ يوم فيريه من الإكرام أكثر ممّا أراه قبل ذلك، ويتزيّد في القرب واللّطف، حتّى إذا مضت له أيّامٌ أقبل على التجنّي عليه. فأتى أبو مسلم عيسى بن موسى فقال: اركب معي إلى أمير المؤمنين، فإنّي أريد عتابه بحضرتك. فقال له: تقدّم حتّى آتيك. فقال: إنني أخافه. فقال له عيسى: أنت في ذمّتي. وأقبل أبو مسلم فقيل له: ادخل. فدخل حتّى إذا صار إلى الرواق قيل: أمير المؤمنين يتوضّأ، فلو جلست. فجلس وأبطأ عيسى عليه، وقد هيأ أبو جعفر عثمان بن نهيك العكبيّ، وهو على حرسه، في عدّة فيهم شبيب بن واج وأبو حنيفه، وتقدّم إلى عثمان فقال: إذا عاتبته فعلا صوتي فلا تحرّكوا، فإذا صفقت بيدي فدوتك يا عثمان!

وقد صير عثمان وأصحابه في رواقٍ خلف أبي جعفر، ثمّ قيل لأبي مسلم: قد جلس أمير المؤمنين فقم. فقام ليدخل فقيل له: انزع سيفك. فقال: ما كان يُصنع هذا بي. قالوا: وما عليك؟ فنزع سيفه وعليه قباء أسود على جبة خزّ بنفسجيّة، فدخل فسلم وجلس على وسادة ليس في

١ لعلّ الصحيح (أوحد).

٢ ك: (يقتل).

٣ لعلّ الصحيح (بما).

683 See §1 note 4.

684 A location near al-Madā'in, see e.g. al-Dīnawārī, *Akhbār*, 70, 379. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 307 says it was built by the Sassanid emperor Anūsharwān with spoils taken from the Romans.

685 The text has *arjal*, whatever this means. Probably it is a misreading of *awḥad*. Al-Maqdisī, *Bad'*, vi, 79, calls Jarīr ibn Yazīd "unmatched in his time in cunning, deceit, shrewdness, duplicity, and eloquence" (*awḥad zamānīhī fī l-makr wa-l-khidā' wa-l-dahā' wa-l-talbīs wa-l-lisān*): the right man to lure Abū Muslim back.

insults. He left al-Anbār,⁶⁸³ intending to go to Khorasan, disobeying orders. Abū Ja‘far went to al-Madā’in and stayed in al-Rūmiyyah.⁶⁸⁴ Abū Muslim had been told, “You will be killed in Rūm”.

Abū Ja‘far sent Jarīr ibn Yazīd ibn Jarīr ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Bajalī, the most fleet-footed man of his time,⁶⁸⁵ to Abū Muslim, and he sent letters with him, but Abū Muslim did not pay any attention to the writing. Jarīr kept coaxing Abū Muslim high and low⁶⁸⁶ until in the end he went to Abū Ja‘far. When he arrived, Abū Ja‘far told the commanders and the other people to receive him; then he gave him permission to enter. He came in on his mount. Abū Ja‘far embraced him and honoured him, saying, “You were almost gone before I could let you know what I want.” Abū Muslim replied, | “Commander of the Believers, I have come to you. Tell me your command.” “Go home, take off your robes, go and have a bath, to recover from the fatigue of travelling!”

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Abū Ja‘far kept waiting for an opportunity. Abū Muslim stayed for days, seeing Abū Ja‘far every day, while being paid more respect than he had ever been paid before. Abū Ja‘far showed ever more intimacy and friendliness, until, after several days, Abū Muslim even dared to accuse him. He went to ‘Īsā ibn Mūsā⁶⁸⁷ and said, “Ride with me to the Commander of the Believers, for I want to reproach him in your presence.” ‘Īsā said, “You go ahead, I’ll come.” “I am afraid of him”, said Abū Muslim. ‘Īsā replied, “I’ll protect you.” Abū Muslim arrived and they said to him, “Enter!” He entered, and when he got to the portico they said, “The Commander of the Believers is performing the minor ablution. Wouldn’t you sit down?” So he sat down, waiting for ‘Īsā’s arrival. Abū Ja‘far had instructed ‘Uthmān ibn Nahik al-‘Akkī, the commander of his guard, with a number of others, including Shabīb ibn Wāj⁶⁸⁸ and Abū Ḥanīfah.⁶⁸⁹ He told ‘Uthmān, “When I reproach him in a loud voice, don’t move, but when I clap my hands, it’s your turn, ‘Uthmān!”

‘Uthmān and his men had been posted in the portico, behind Abū Ja‘far. They told Abū Muslim, “The Commander of Believers has sat down; stand up!” He stood up in order to enter. “Take off your sword!”, they told him. He said, “They never did this to me!” But they said, “Don’t you worry!” So he took off his sword. He was wearing a black robe over a violet silk mantle. He entered,

686 Literally, “kept twisting Abū Muslim from the top of the camel’s hump to the bottom”.

687 See above, § 62.

688 Al-Ṭabarī calls him Shabīb ibn Wāj al-Marwarrūdhī, i.e., from Marwarrūdh (or Marw al-Rūdh), a town in Khorasan.

689 In al-Ṭabarī’s *Tārīkh* he is called Abū Ḥanīfah Ḥarb ibn Qays.

المجلس غيرها، وخلف ظهره القوم، فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين صنّع بي ما لم يُصنع بأحد، نُزِعَ سيفي من عنقي. قال: ومن فعل ذلك بك قَبَحَ اللهُ؟ ثمَّ أقبل يعاتبه: فعلتَ وفعلتَ. فقال أبو مسلم: ليس يقال هذا لي بعد بلائي وما كان مني! فقال: يا ابن الخبيثة، | لو كانت أُمَّةً مكانك ١٩٥ لأجراتُ ناحيتيها. إنما عملتَ ما عملتَ في دولتنا، ألسنَ الكاتبِ إليّ تبدأ بنفسك، والكاتب إليّ تخطبُ أمينة بنت عليّ بن عبد الله بن العباس، وترعّمُ أنك ابن سليل بن عبد الله بن العباس؟ لقد ارتقيتَ لا أمُّ لك مرتقى صعباً! وهو يفرك بيديه. فلما رأى أبو مسلم عينيه قال: يا أمير المؤمنين لا تُدخِلْ على نفسك؛ فإنَّ قدرِي أصغر من أن يبلغ هذا منك. ثمَّ صفّق بيديه، فيضربه عثمان ضربة خفيفة، فأخذ برجل أبي جعفر وقال: أنشدك الله يا أمير المؤمنين! فدفعه برجله وضربه شبيب بن واج ضربةً على حبل العاتق، فأسرعت فيه، فصاح: وانفساه! ألا قُوّة، ألا مُغيث! وخرج القوم فاعتوروه بأسيا فهم، ولحق بأُمَّه الهاوية.

[٦٤§] ومنهم مَعْن بن زائدة الشيباني، وكان أبو جعفر وُلّاه اليمن، فلما صار إلى الكوفة بعث إلى محمّد بن سهل، راوية شعر الكُميت بن زيد، فأثاه فقال: أنشدني قصيدة الكميت التي يدعو فيها ربيعةً إلى قطع جلفها مع اليمن. وهي: ألم تُلِمِّم على الطلّل المُحيل؛ فأنشده

١ ك: (الطلّل).

- 690 *Qabahu llāh*, literally “God make him ugly”; on this idiom see Ullmann, *Flüche*, 94–99.
- 691 In al-Maqdisi, *Badʿ*, he claims to be Salīṭ himself. No such son of al-ʿAbbās is found in other sources.
- 692 *Lā umm laka*, literally “you have no mother!” (i.e., no known mother), or, alternatively, “may you have no mother!”; see e.g. Lane, *Lexicon* (ʿMM).
- 693 Al-Ṭabarī has: “Abū Muslim began to rub the caliph’s fingers and kiss them, apologising”.
- 694 *Lā tudkhil ʿalā nafsika*; cf. e.g. al-Dinawarī, *Akhbār: lā tudkhil ʿalā nafsika al-ghamm wa-l-ghayṣ bi-sababi*.
- 695 *Lahīqa bi-ummihi al-hāwīyah*, a reference to Q al-Qārīʿah 101:9, *fa-ummuhū hāwīyah*, a much-debated expression. Arberry: «shall plunge in the womb of the Pit»; Abdel Halim: «will have the Bottomless Pit for his home»; Jones: «His mother will take possession» or «... will be childless» (arguing that *hāwīyah* cannot be “the bottomless pit”, being indefinite). This is the only occasion that Ibn Ḥabīb makes a clear and unmistakably negative comment on the afterlife to be expected for the victim.
- 696 Abū l-Walīd Maʿn ibn Zāʿidah (d. 152/759–760), of Shaybān (for his lineage see *ĠN*, i, 146), general and governor under the last Umayyads and the early Abbasids. See *EI2*, “Maʿn b. Zāʿida” (H. Kennedy). He was famous for his generosity and patronage of poets. On his murder see e.g. al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 462–463, tr. *The Works*, 119–120; Ibn Khallikān,

greeted (the caliph), and sat down on a pillow, the only one in the audience hall. The men were standing behind him. “Commander of the Believers,” he said, “They did to me what has never been done to anyone! My sword has been taken from me!” The caliph replied, “And who did this? Damn him!”⁶⁹⁰ But then he began to reproach him: “You did this, you did that ...!” Abū Muslim replied, “One cannot say this to me, after all the trouble I have endured and what I have achieved!” The caliph said, “You son of a bad woman! | If a slave woman had been in your place she would have done the same. You did all these things to our reign; haven’t you written letters to me mentioning yourself first? And didn’t you write to me asking for the hand in marriage of Amīnah, the daughter of ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-‘Abbās, claiming that you are the son of Salīṭ ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abbās?⁶⁹¹ You have climbed too high, damn you!”⁶⁹² Abū Muslim was rubbing the caliph’s fingers all the while.⁶⁹³ When he looked into the caliph’s eyes, he said, “Commander of the Believers, don’t let it affect you!”⁶⁹⁴ I am too unimportant for the matter to come to this!”

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Then the caliph clapped his hands. ‘Uthmān struck Abū Muslim lightly. He grabbed Abū Ja‘far’s foot and said, “I implore you, by God, Commander of the Believers!” But the caliph pushed him away with his foot and then Shabīb ibn Wāj struck him between his neck and his shoulder, which made for a quick end. He shouted “O my soul! Is there no power, no helper ...?” The men came and took turns to strike him with their swords, and he went to “his mother the Bottomless Pit”.⁶⁹⁵

[§ 64 Ma‘n ibn Zā‘idah al-Shaybānī⁶⁹⁶]

Another is Ma‘n ibn Zā‘idah al-Shaybānī. Abū Ja‘far had appointed him as governor of Yemen. When he arrived in Kufa he sent for Muḥammad ibn Sahl, the transmitter of al-Kumayt.⁶⁹⁷ When he had come Ma‘n asked him, “Recite to me al-Kumayt’s poem in which he calls upon the Rabī‘ah to cut off their alliance with the Yaman!”⁶⁹⁸ It begins with “Have you not visited the campsite’s remains

Wafayāt, v, 249. His murderers were Khārījites, whom he had fought and defeated. The would-be workmen had hidden their swords in bundles of reeds left in the house, as told in al-Ya‘qūbī’s *Tārīkh*.

697 Al-Kumayt ibn Zayd (d. 126/743 or 127/744) was a poet noted for his pro-Shi‘ite poems; on him see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 347–349, *EI2*, “al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asādī” (J. Horovitz & Ch. Pellat). Major poets often had a “transmitter” (*rāwī* or, as here, *rāwīyah*), who memorised their poems.

698 Rabī‘ah and al-Yaman stand for the North and South Arab tribal federations, respectively. It should not be thought that the tribes belonging to al-Yaman actually lived in Yemen.

إِيَّاهَا حَتَّى أَتَى عَلَيْهَا، وَأَمْرٌ بِعِمَامَةٍ فَلَوِيَّتْ وَمُدَّتْ بَيْنَ رَجُلَيْنِ، ثُمَّ قَامَ مَعْنُ فَضْرِبَهَا بِالسِّيفِ
 ١٩٦ فَقَطَعَهَا، وَقَالَ: اشْهَدُوا أَنِّي قَدْ قَطَعْتُ حِلْفَ الْيَمَنِ وَرَبِيعَةَ كَمَا قَطَعْتُ هَذِهِ الْعِمَامَةَ. | ثُمَّ سَارَ
 إِلَى الْيَمَنِ فَأَوْعِثَ فِيهَا، فَلَمَّا وَلِيَ سَجِسْتَانَ ابْنَتِي بِهَا دَارًا، فَدَخَلَ عَلَيْهِ قَوْمٌ مِثَشَبَةٌ بِالْفَعْلَةِ وَهُوَ
 مُغْتَرٌّ قَدْ احْتَجَمَ، فَمَالُوا عَلَيْهِ فَقَتَلُوهُ.

[٦٥ §] وَمِنْهُمْ عُقْبَةُ بْنُ سَلْمِ الْهِنَائِيِّ. وَكَانَ أَبُو جَعْفَرٍ وَوَلَاهُ الْبَحْرَيْنِ، فَجَعَلَ يَبَارِي مَعْنًا بِالْقَتْلِ
 حَتَّى أَتَخَنَ فِي رَبِيعَةَ، فَلَمَّا كَانَ زَمَانَ الْمَهْدِيِّ تَبِعَهُ رَجُلٌ فَاعْتَالَهُ وَهُوَ رَاكِبٌ، فَوَجَّاهُ وَجَّاهًا بِخَنْجَرٍ
 مَسْمُومٍ فَوَقَعَ فِي مَنْطِقَتِهِ حَتَّى وَصَلَ إِلَى جَوْفِهِ، فَأَخَذَ فَأَتَى بِهِ الْمَهْدِيَّ فَسَأَلَهُ مِمَّنْ هُوَ، فَلَمْ يُجِبْهُ
 مَنْ هُوَ وَلَا مِنْ أَيِّ الْبِلْدَانِ هُوَ. فَسَأَلَهُ: أَيْنَ كَانَ يَا أُوِي وَأَيْنَ كَانَ يَطْعَمُ فَقَالَ: كُنْتُ أُوِي الْمَسَاجِدِ،
 وَأَطْعَمُ فِي سُوقِ الْبَقَالِينِ. فَقَتَلَهُ الْمَهْدِيُّ. فِيهِ تَضْرِبُ الْعَامَّةِ الْمَثَلُ: أَجَسِرًا مِنْ قَاتِلِ عَقْبَةَ.

[٦٦ §] وَمِنْهُمْ الرَّبِيعُ بْنُ يُونُسَ الْحَاجِبِ. وَكَانَ هُوَ أَهْدَى إِلَى مُوسَى الْهَادِي أَمَّةَ الْعَزِيزِ، فَوَقَعَتْ
 ١٩٧ مِنْهُ بِالْمَوْقِعِ الَّذِي لَمْ يَقَعْ أَحَدٌ عِنْدَهُ مِثْلَهُ، فَلَبَّغَهُ أَنَّ الرَّبِيعَ يَقُولُ: مَا خَلَوْتُ بِأَمْرَةٍ أَطْيَبَ خَلْوَةً مِنْ |
 أَمَّةَ الْعَزِيزِ. فَدَعَاهُ فَتَعَدَّى مَعَهُ وَقَالَ لَهُ: اشْرَبْ عَلَيَّ غَدَائِكَ أَقْدَاحًا. وَأَمْرٌ صَاحِبِ شِرَابِهِ فَجَدَحَ
 لَهُ فِي قَدْحِهِ سَمًّا، فَلَمَّا صَارَ فِي جَوْفِهِ انصَرَفَ فَمَاتَ مِنْ تَحْتِ لَيْلَتِهِ.

١ هـ، ك: (أخسر)، والتصحيح من مجمع الأمثال للميداني.

- 699 In al-Kumayt's *Dīwān*, 350 only the two opening verses are given and no more verses are known. A long poem (71 verses) beginning with an identical hemistich is by 'Umar ibn Laja' (contemporary of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq), found in Ibn Maymūn, *Muntahā*, iii, 83–87, but it does not refer to Rabī'ah or Yaman and is therefore not the poem requested by Ma'n.
- 700 For his lineage, of Hunā'ah, a branch of al-Azd (belonging to al-Yaman), see *ĠN*, i, 211 and ii, 573. He was murdered in 'Īsābādih near Baghdad in 167/783–784. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 520–521, tr. *The History*, xxix, 238. In al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iv, 70 he is called 'Uqbah ibn Sālim (but Salm is confirmed by several eulogies, notably one by Bashshār ibn Burd, where Sālim would not fit the metre).
- 701 Not the present-day island-state called Bahrein but the nearby eastern coastal area of the Arabian Peninsula.
- 702 Ma'n ibn Zā'idah, see above, § 64.
- 703 Al-Mahdī (reg. 158–169/775–786) succeeded his father Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr as caliph.
- 704 'ASH and SKḤ have *akhsar* ("a greater loser"), evidently a misreading of *ajsar*, as in al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*, i, 241–242, al-Zamakhsharī, *Mustaqṣā*, i, 49; compare al-'Askarī, *Jamharah*, i, 274–275, which has *ajra* ("bolder").
- 705 Al-Rabī' ibn Yūnus, of obscure origin was born a slave in Medina, was appointed as *hājib* (chamberlain) by al-Manṣūr and also served his successors al-Mahdī and al-Hādī (reg. 169–

of yesteryear ...?”⁶⁹⁹ The transmitter recited it until the end. Ma‘n asked for a turban to be brought. It was wound and stretched taut by two men. Then Ma‘n stood up and cut it into two with his sword and said, “Be witness that I cut off the alliance of al-Yaman and Rabī‘ah just as I have cut this turban!” | Then he went off to Yemen, where he acted harshly. When he was appointed governor in Sijistān he built a house for himself. Some men, dressed as workmen, entered when he was off-guard, having just been bled. They went for him and killed him.

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[§ 65 ‘Uqbah ibn Salm al-Hunā’ī⁷⁰⁰]

Another is ‘Uqbah ibn Salm al-Hunā’ī. Abū Ja‘far had appointed him governor of al-Baḥrayn.⁷⁰¹ There he vied with Ma‘n⁷⁰² in killing, making great slaughter among the Rabī‘ah. In the time of al-Mahdī⁷⁰³ a man followed him while he was riding, and he murdered him by stabbing him with a poisoned dagger. It hit his belt but then entered his body. The man was apprehended and taken to al-Mahdī, who asked to whom he belonged. The man did not answer saying who he was or where he was from. Then he asked where he had been staying the night and taking his meals. The man answered, “I’ve been staying in mosques and eating at the greengrocers’ market.” Al-Mahdī had him executed. The common people coined a saying, “More daring than ‘Uqbah’s killer.”⁷⁰⁴

[§ 66 al-Rabī‘ ibn Yūnus⁷⁰⁵]

Another is al-Rabī‘ ibn Yūnus, the chamberlain. He had presented Mūsā al-Hādī with Amat al-‘Azīz,⁷⁰⁶ who pleased al-Hādī like nobody else. Then al-Hādī heard that al-Rabī‘ used to say, “I have never been intimate with a nicer woman than | Amat al-‘Azīz.” The caliph invited him and had breakfast with him. “You must drink some cups with you breakfast!” he said. He told his wine steward to mix poison in his cup.⁷⁰⁷ When it reached his stomach al-Rabī‘ left. He died that night.

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170/785–786). He died in 169 or 170. Some sources say he died of an illness (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, 299). See *EI2*, “al-Rabī‘ b. Yūnus” (A.S. Atiyah). On his death see also al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 520–521, tr. *The History*, xxx, 85–87.

706 Amat al-‘Azīz was a slave-girl owned by al-Rabī‘ ibn Yūnus. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 597–598 says that she was first offered to al-Mahdī, who thought she was more fit to be al-Hādī’s. After the latter’s death she became Hārūn al-Rashīd’s and was the mother of Hārūn’s son ‘Alī.

707 The word *sharāb*, “drink”, often means “wine”, as is also suggested by the word *ka’s* in al-Ṭabarī’s version, where the drink is called *sharāb ‘asal*, a “honey drink”, perhaps a kind of mead.

[٦٧§] ومنهم إدريس بن عبد الله بن حسن بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب. وكان خرج على موسى الهادي [هو]^١ والحسن والحسين ابنا علي بن الحسن بن الحسن، فقتلا بفخ، وانضمّ إدريس إلى أهل المغرب، فحملوه إلى بلادهم واشتملوا عليه وأعظموه وأمره عليهم. فلما ولي هارون الرشيد وولى هرثمة إفريقية دس هرثمة رجلاً من أهل المدينة لإدريس، وجعل له بقتله مائة ألف درهم، فقدم المدني عليه فأنس به إدريس وجعل يسأله عن أهله فيخبره بمعرفة حتى غلب عليه ووثق به، وجعل يهتبل الفرصة ويضع الخيل في القرى فيما بينه وبين إفريقية. وإن إدريس انتهى سمكاً طرياً فقال له المدني: أنا حسن العلاج له. فعالجه وسمه. ثم خرج يريد حاجة، ودعا إدريس بالسملك، فلما أكله واستقر في جوفه ركب، فجعل يركب من قرية إلى قرية ويحلف ما تحته^٢ حتى وصل إلى إفريقية، وكانت جاريته حاملاً فولدت غلاماً فسُمي إدريس بن إدريس.

١ كذا في هـ، ك، والزيادة لمقتضى السياق.

٢ ك: (وانظم).

٣ كذا في النسختين والعبارة غير واضحة. ولعلّ الصواب (ويخلف ما تحته)، يعني الفرس الذي كان يركبه.

708 The name may appear with or, as here, without the article.

709 Idris ibn 'Abd Allāh (d. 175/791), another 'Alid, the brother of al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah (see above, § 62), is the founder of the dynasty that ruled in Morocco for some two centuries, called after him the Idrīsids, see Bosworth, *New Islamic Dynasties*, 25–26; *EI2*, "Idrīs I" (D. Eustache) and "Idrīsids" (D. Eustache); *EI3*, "Idrīsids" (Chafik T. Benchekroun). On his death see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 561–562, tr. *The History*, xxx, 28–30, al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil*, 407–408.

710 A place near Mecca, the site of a battle in 169/786; see *EI2*, "Fakhkh" (L. Vecchia Vaglieri), *EI3*, "Fakhkh" (John P. Turner).

711 *Al-maghrib*, "the place where the sun sets" or "the West", usually refers to North Africa with the exception of Egypt; here it is Morocco (which today is called al-Maghrib).

712 In 170/786.

713 Harthamah ibn A'yan (d. 200/816), prominent general and governor especially under Hārūn al-Rashīd. See *EI2*, "Harthamah b. A'yan" (Ch. Pellat), *EI3*, "Harthamah b. A'yan" (John P. Turner).

714 Ifriqiyah (also spelled Ifriqiyyah) is the eastern part of al-Maghrib, more or less modern Tunisia.

[§ 67 Idrīs ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan⁷⁰⁸ ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib⁷⁰⁹]

Another is Idrīs ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. He had led a revolt against Mūsā al-Hādī, together with al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn the sons of ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan. These two were killed at Fakhkh.⁷¹⁰ Idrīs joined people from the Maghrib,⁷¹¹ who took him to their land. They rallied around him, honoured him, and made him their leader. When Hārūn al-Rashīd had come to rule⁷¹² and had appointed Harthamah⁷¹³ as governor of Ifrīqiyah,⁷¹⁴ the latter secretly sent a man from Medina⁷¹⁵ to Idrīs, giving him 100,000 dirhams if he would kill him. The man from Medina went to him and received a friendly reception from Idrīs, who asked him about his family. The man told him, and in the end Idrīs trusted him. The man was scheming to find an opportunity, while posting horses⁷¹⁶ in the villages between him and Ifrīqiyah.

Idrīs wanted some fresh fish. The man from Medina said to him, “I am good at preparing it”. So he did, and he put poison in it.⁷¹⁷ Then he left on some business. Idrīs called for the fish and when it was inside him he rode off, riding on, while leaving a horse behind in every village(?),⁷¹⁸ until he reached | Ifrīqiyah. His concubine was pregnant and gave birth to a boy, who was called Idrīs ibn Idrīs.⁷¹⁹

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715 He is called al-Shammākh al-Yamāmi in al-Ṭabarī, al-Shammākh al-Yamāni in al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, viii, 318, and Sulaymān ibn Jarīr al-Jazarī, a Zaydī-Shi’ite theologian, in al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 407–408, where also a physician called al-Shammākh is mentioned.

716 ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn suggests that *wa-yada’u l-khayl*, could be a corruption of *wa-yasna’u l-ḥiyal*, but I believe the emendation may not be needed.

717 In al-Ṭabarī he is given poisoned tooth powder (*sanūn*), after he had complained of toothache, in al-Ya’qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 488–489 (tr. *The Works*, 1150–1151) it is a poisoned toothbrush (*miswāk*), and in one version in al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 407–408 it is a poisoned perfume (*ghāliyah*, misspelled *ghāniyah* on p. 407).

718 The editions have *wa-y.h.lf mā tahtahū*, which is unclear to me. SKḤ, taking Idrīs to be the subject of *rakība* and *fa-ja’ala yarkabu*, suggests it means he “made people swear”, i.e., allegiance, or else that Idrīs’s flesh or limbs gradually disintegrated. Perhaps one should read *wa-yukhlifu* (for the verb *akhlafa* in the sense of “relieve oneself”, also after been poisoned, see below, § 70) but I do not know *mā tahtahū* as a euphemism and I have translated as if it were *wa-yukhallifu mā tahtahū*. It would be tempting to assume that it is the poisoner who makes a fast escape using the post-horses (and this is what *Maqātil* says), but here the syntax and what follows show that it can only be Idrīs who travels west. He died in Walīlā, ancient Volubilis, near Meknes (also called Walīlī, see *E12*, “Walīlī” [Mohamed El Mansour]).

719 The concubine was a Berber woman called Kanzah; she gave birth in Walīlā in 175/791 to Idrīs ibn Idrīs who, after a period of regency, reigned 187–213/803–828.

[٦٨ §] **ومنهم** الفضل بن سهل وزير عبد الله المأمون. وكان قد ضيق على المأمون، وحال بينه وبين كثير من لذاته، وكان أخذ عليه ألا ينظر في قصة أحد حتى صار كالوصي الحاجر عليه، فدرس المأمون غالباً الرومي مؤلاه فدخل عليه الحمّام فقتله فيه ومضي، فأُتي به المأمون فقتله. وقتل بسبب الفضل عليّ بن أبي سعد، وعبد العزيز بن عمران الطائي، وخلف المصري، ومؤنس البصري.

[٦٩ §] **ومنهم** إسحاق بن موسى الهادي. وقد كانت الحربيّة اشتملت عليه وأمرته، والمأمون بخراسان، حين خرج إبراهيم بن المهدي، فاستولى على الأمر، فدرس إليه المأمون ابنه وخادماً له فقتلاه، ثم أقاد به ابنه وقتل الخادم بالسيّاط.

١ ك: (كالوحي).

720 Al-Faḍl ibn Sahl ibn Zadhānfarrūkh, of Iranian origin as his grandfather's name shows, had supported al-Ma'mūn during and after the conflict and civil war (193–198/809–813) between the latter and his brother al-Amīn, both sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd. He became head of the administrative as well as military affairs, earning him the title of Dhū l-Ri'āsatayn ("He with the two leaderships"). That al-Ma'mūn was behind al-Faḍl's assassination in 202/818, as told here, is uncertain. He was succeeded by his brother al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl. On al-Faḍl see *EI2*, "al-Faḍl b. Sahl b. Zadhānfarrūkh" (D. Sourdel), *EI3*, "al-Faḍl b. Sahl b. Zadhānfarrūkh" (Hayrettin Yücesoy). On his death see e.g. al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 451–452 (tr. *The Works*, 1215); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iv, 299; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 1027, tr. *The History*, xxxii, 80–81; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iv, 44; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxiv, 43–45.

721 Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iv, 299, for instance, speaks of a concubine whom al-Ma'mūn wanted to buy, but who was killed by al-Faḍl.

722 Al-Ṭabarī mentions four men: Ghālib al-Mas'ūdī al-Aswad, Quṣṭanṭīn al-Rūmī, Faraj al-Daylamī, and Muwaffaq al-Ṣaqlabī, an interesting ethnic combination of African, Byzantine, Iranian, and Slavic, with at least one Arab to follow.

723 In al-Ṭabarī's account all four men mentioned there are beheaded, as well as those others suspected of being implicated. Their heads were presented to al-Faḍl's brother al-Ḥasan.

[§ 68 al-Faḍl ibn Sahl⁷²⁰]

Another is al-Faḍl ibn Sahl, the vizier of ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma’mūn. He had annoyed al-Ma’mūn by often hindering him from enjoying his pleasures.⁷²¹ He also resented that he could not look at anybody’s petition without al-Faḍl acting like his guardian who denied him access. So al-Ma’mūn secretly sent his *mawlā* Ghālib al-Rūmī,⁷²² who entered the hammam, killed al-Faḍl, and left. He was taken to al-Ma’mūn, who had him executed.⁷²³ Also killed on account of al-Faḍl’s murder were ‘Alī ibn Abī Sa’d,⁷²⁴ ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Imrān al-Ṭā’ī,⁷²⁵ Khalaf al-Miṣrī, and Mu’nis al-Baṣrī.⁷²⁶

[§ 69 Ishāq ibn Mūsā al-Hādī⁷²⁷]

Another is Ishāq ibn Mūsā al-Hādī. The troops of al-Ḥarbiyyah⁷²⁸ had rallied around him and made him their leader when al-Ma’mūn was still in Khorasan and when | Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī revolted.⁷²⁹ Ishāq took control, but al-Ma’mūn secretly sent his⁷³⁰ son and a servant who killed him. Then he had the son executed by way of retaliation and the servant killed with whips.

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724 In al-Ṭabarī it is ‘Alī ibn Abī Sa’d, said to be a son of al-Faḍl’s sister.

725 ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn ‘Imrān ibn ‘Amr al-Ṭā’ī was the son of one of al-Manṣūr’s generals.

726 Instead of the two last-mentioned, al-Ṭabarī has “Alī, Mūsā, and Khalaf”, without further clues as to their identities.

727 He was a son of caliph al-Hādī. See e.g. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, v, 425 on the mutiny of the army in Baghdad, and the appointment of Ishāq. The account of his murder has not been found in other sources. Ishāq is mentioned among the eight sons of al-Hādī listed in al-Ya’qūbī, *The Works*, 1153 (he is not mentioned in the Leiden edition).

728 Al-Ḥarbiyyah was a location in Baghdad, called after a general of al-Manṣūr called Ḥarb ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Balkhī (Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*).

729 Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī (d. 224/839), son of caliph al-Mahdī, a gifted musician, poet, and cook, was proclaimed caliph in Baghdad in 201/817. Ishāq ibn Mūsā was designated as his successor (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 1014, 1024), but as al-Ma’mūn approached Baghdad Ibrāhīm lost support and went into hiding in 104/819. When he was apprehended he was forgiven by his nephew al-Ma’mūn. See *EI2*, “Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī” (D. Sourdel), *EI3*, “Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī” (John P. Turner).

730 Clearly, a son of Ishāq is meant.

§ ٧٠] ومنهم حميد بن عبد الحميد الطوسي. وكان حميد كثيراً ما يقول: ما للمأمون عندي يد، إنما الأيادي عندي لأبي محمد الحسن بن سهل. فيرفع إليه. وإنه دعاه المأمون يوماً فأتاه وعنده أحمد بن أبي خالد الأحول. وكان الذي بين حميد وبين أحمد بن أبي خالد سيئاً. فلما قُرِبت المائدة أُجلس المأمون ابن أبي خالد معه على المائدة، فسَاء ذلك حميداً فقال له: يا أمير المؤمنين، لا أماتني الله حتى يُريني الدنيا عليك سهلةً حتى نرى أينما أنفع لك. فقال له ابن أبي خالد: يا أمير المؤمنين، إنما يتمنى فسادُ مُلكك والفتنة. فقام المأمون عن المائدة ولم يتمَّ غداءه واحتقنها عليه. وإنه لما أراد المأمون الخروج للبناء بيوران ابنة الحسن بن سهل قال لحميد: يا أبا غانم، قد أذنتُ لك في الحج. فانصرف حميد مسروراً، فدعا قهارمته فأمرهم بالآلات السفر، ثم أتاه جبريل بن بختيشوع فقال: يا أبا غانم طرَّ بدنك فإني أرجو أن تأتي بكلِّ جارية معك حاملاً. وكان حميد مُغرماً بالناكح، حلالاً وغيره، فسقاه شربة، وكان عنده متطبَّب يقال له عبد الله الطيفوري، فلما رأى الشربة قال لجبريل: أبو غانم اليوم قد ضَعُف عن هذه. فقال له جبريل: قد نسيتَ اليوم! وعرف الطيفوري قصة الشربة فلم يكشف له

١ ك: (شيئاً).

٢ كذا في هـ، ك، ولعلَّ الصحيح (ترى).

٣ ك: (تأينني).

731 Abū Ghānim Ḥumayd ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamid al-Ṭūsī (d. 220/835) was al-Ma’mūn’s general who ended Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī’s rebellion. His generosity was praised by poets. See *E12*, “Ḥumayd b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamid” (Ed.). He belonged to the Arab tribe of Ṭayyī’ and was from Marw, rather than Ṭūs (see Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah, *Uyūn al-anbā’*, ed. Savage-Smith, ii, 404–406, tr. iii, 413–416, ed. Müller, i, 155–156), where his relationship with the physician ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṭayfūrī is described. No parallel texts on his death from poison have been found. Although Ibn Ḥabīb’s text suggests that the caliph was behind the murder, he does not say this explicitly.

732 Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl (d. 236/850–851), the brother of al-Faql ibn Sahl (above, § 68) was secretary and governor under al-Ma’mūn, See *E12*, “al-Ḥasan b. Sahl” (D. Sourdel).

733 Aḥmad ibn Abī Khālid (d. 210/825–826), a *mawlā*, was vizier under al-Ma’mūn after al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl; see Ibn al-Ṭiḡṭaqā, *Fakhrī*, 224–225.

734 Interpretation and translation of *ḥattā yuriyānī l-dunyā sahlatan ‘alayka ḥattā narā* uncertain; I have translated as if the text had *tarā* instead of *narā*.

735 The betrothal of the caliph and Būrān (also called Khadījah), born in 192/807, took place when she was some ten years old, but the consummation was celebrated in 210/825–826,

[§ 70 Ḥumayd ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭūsī⁷³¹]

Another is Ḥumayd ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭūsī. He often said, “I owe no favours to al-Ma’mūn. Rather, I owe favours to Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl!”⁷³² This was reported to al-Ma’mūn.

Al-Ma’mūn invited him one day; Aḥmad ibn Abī Khālid al-Aḥwal⁷³³ was also present. Ḥumayd and Aḥmad ibn Abī Khālid were on bad terms. When the food was served al-Ma’mūn told Ibn Abī Khālid to sit with him at the table, which annoyed Ḥumayd. “Commander of the Believers,” he said, “May God not let me die before He shows me that it is easy for you to see⁷³⁴ which one of us is more useful to you!” Ibn Abī Khālid said, “Commander of the Believers, he only wishes to destroy your rule and to make trouble!” Al-Ma’mūn stood up and left the table without finishing his meal, keeping a grudge against Ḥumayd.

When al-Ma’mūn wanted to leave for the feast for the consummation of his wedding with Būrān, the daughter of al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl,⁷³⁵ he said to Ḥumayd, “Abū Ghānim, I give you permission to go on the Hajj.” Ḥumayd, pleased, left and told his stewards to make preparations for the journey. Then Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū⁷³⁶ came to him and said, “You should refresh your body, Abū Ghānim! For I should like you to come back with every concubine being pregnant!” Ḥumayd was fond of sex, whether legitimate or otherwise. Jibrīl gave him a potion. Ḥumayd had his own physician, called ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṭayfūrī.⁷³⁷ When the latter saw the potion he said to Jibrīl, “Abū Ghānim is too weak today to take this!” But Jibrīl replied, “You have forgotten today!”⁷³⁸ Al-Ṭayfūrī understood what the matter was with the potion but he did not tell Ḥumayd about it. When Ḥumayd had taken it, it made him have to relieve himself two

on such a lavish scale that it became proverbial as “the First Feast of Islam” (*da‘wat al-Islām al-ūlā*), see e.g. al-Tha‘ālibī, *Thimār*, 165–166, idem, *Latā‘if al-ma‘ārif*, 73–74, tr. *The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information*, 99–100. Būrān died in 271/884. See *E12*, “Būrān” (D. Sourdel), *E13*, “Būrān” (Katherine H. Lang). Her name survives in several dishes, as *būr-āniyyah*, *boronā*, *borani*, etc. (see Perry, “*Būrān*: The History of a Dish”), as does that of her husband (see Rodinson, “*Ma’mūniyya* East and West”).

736 Jibrīl ibn Bukhtīshū‘ (d. 212/827) was a member of a family of famous Christian court physicians. See *E12*, “Bukhtīshū” (D. Sourdel), Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah, *‘Uyūn al-Anbā’*, ed. Savage-Smith, ii, 345–367, tr. iii, 344–370, ed. Müller, i, 127–138.

737 On this physician of Iranian origin see Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah, *‘Uyūn al-anbā’*, ed. Savage-Smith, ii, 400–406, tr. iii, 406–416, ed. Müller, i, 153–156.

738 The sense is not entirely clear; perhaps “You’ve forgotten to tell him this today (and now it is too late).” There is some inconsistency in the story, for at the end one is told that al-Ṭayfūrī had told Ḥumayd not to take the potion.

٢٠٠ أمرها، فلَمَّا شربها أَخْلَفَتْهُ مَائَتِي مَرَّةً، وجعل | الطَّيْفُورِيُّ يُطْفِئُهَا حَتَّى تَمَاطِلَ قَلِيلًا. ثُمَّ أَقَامَ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَشَكَا إِلَيْهِ مَا أَصَابَهُ مِنَ الشَّرْبَةِ، فَقَالَ لَهُ: ادْخُلِ السَّاعَةَ الْحَمَّامَ. فَدْخَلَ مِنْ سَاعَتِهِ الْحَمَّامَ فَانْتَقَضَتْ بِهِ. فَمَكَثَ مَبْطُونًا شَهْرَ رَمَضَانَ كُلَّهُ، وَمَاتَ لَيْلَةَ الْفِطْرِ سَنَةَ عَشْرِينَ مَائَتِينَ.

فخبرني أبو عصام، وكان صديقاً، أنّ الطَّيْفُورِيَّ كَانَ يُطْفِئُ بِقَبْرِ حَمِيدٍ وَيَقُولُ: يَا حَمِيدُ، قَدْ نَهَيْتُكَ عَنِ الشَّرْبَةِ فَعَصَيْتَنِي!

[٧١ §] ومنهم عبد الله بن موسى الهادي. وكان قد عضل بالمأمون ممّا يعربد عليه إذا شرب معه، فأمر به فجعل حبسه في منزله، وأقعد على بابه حرساً. ثمّ إنّه تدمّم من ذلك فأظهر له الرضاء وصرف الحرس عن بابه، وكان عبد الله مُعْرَمًا بالصيّد، فُدسَّ إلى خادم من خدمه يقال له حسين فسقاه سمّاً في دُرّاج وهو بموسى باد، فدعا عبد الله بالعشاء فأتاه حسين بذلك الدُرّاج، فلَمَّا أَحْسَسَ بِهِ رَكِبَ فِي اللَّيْلِ وَقَالَ لِأَصْحَابِهِ: هُوَ آخِرُ مَا تَرَوْنِي: وَقَدْ أَكَلَ مَعَهُ مِنَ الدَّرَّاجِ خَادِمَانِ: فَأَمَّا أَحَدُهُمَا فَمَاتَ، وَأَمَّا الْآخَرُ فَضَنِّي حَتَّى مَاتَ، وَمَاتَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بَعْدَ أَيَّامٍ.

[٧٢ §] ومنهم أحمد بن عليّ بن هارون الرشيد. وكان له غلام يقال له نفيس وكان قد غلب عليه، وإنّ نفيساً وأربعة^٢ من غلمانها أجمعوا على قتل أحمد، وكان بين أحمد وبين عياله ثلاثة

١ في هـ، ك: (عشر) والتصحيح من تاريخ الطبري وغيره من المراجع.

٢ ك: (وأربعاً).

739 *Fa-ntaqadat bihi*: this could also mean "it (the hammam, *ḥammām* being sometimes feminine) collapsed with him", but the following shows that the subject is *al-sharbah*, the potion.

740 'ASH and SKḤ have wrongly 210.

741 Not identified.

742 A brother of Iṣḥāq (see above, § 69), he was another son of caliph al-Hādī. His mother was Amat al-'Azīz (see above, § 66). He was erudite and some poetry of his is quoted (al-Ṣūlī, *Awraq*, iii, 84–87; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, x, 193–195; al-Ṣafādī, *Wafī*, xvii, 646). The year of his death is unknown. For parallels see al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, x, 197 (with the following *isnād*: *akhbaranī 'Alī ibn Sulaymān al-Akhfash fī kitāb al-muḡhtālīn qāla ḥad-dathanā Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkarī 'an Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb qāla*), al-Ṣafādī, *Wafī*, xvii, 645–646.

hundred times. Al-Ṭayfūrī proceeded | to assuage its force, so that he recovered a 200
 little. After that he kept complaining of the effect of the potion. Al-Ṭayfūrī said,
 “You should enter the hammam now.” He went into the hammam but there he
 collapsed.⁷³⁹ During all of Ramadan he suffered from bellyache and he died on
 the eve of the Eid al-Fitr feast of the year 220.⁷⁴⁰

Abū ‘Iṣām,⁷⁴¹ a trustworthy source, informed me that al-Ṭayfūrī used to visit
 Ḥumayd’s grave, saying, “O Ḥumayd! I told you not to take the potion, but you
 disobeyed me!”

[§ 71 ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mūsā al-Hādī⁷⁴²]

Another is ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mūsā al-Hādī. He had annoyed al-Ma’mūn by his
 quarrelsome behaviour when he was drinking with him. He put him under
 house arrest and put a guard at his door. When ‘Abd Allāh appeared to have
 abandoned his bad habits the caliph made it appear that he was pleased with
 him and had the guard removed from his door. ‘Abd Allāh was fond of hunt-
 ing. The caliph secretly sent one of his servants called Ḥusayn, who prepared
 a francolin for him that contained poison, when he was in Mūsābād.⁷⁴³ When
 ‘Abd Allāh called for his dinner, Ḥusayn served the francolin. When he felt its
 effect he rode away that evening and said to his companions, “This is the last
 you see of me!” Two servants had eaten from the francolin with him; one of
 them died and the other pined away until he, too, died. ‘Abd Allāh died after a
 few days.

[§ 72 Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd⁷⁴⁴]

Another is Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd. He had a servant called Nafīs, 201
 to whom he had been overbearing. Nafīs and four others among his servants
 agreed to kill Aḥmad. Between Aḥmad and his dependents there were three

743 A place near al-Rayy (near modern Tehran), named after Mūsā al-Hādī, according to Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, where the place is called Mūsayābād, and where a place with the same name, apparently another, is said to have been called after a certain Mūsā from Hamadhān.

744 This grandson of Hārūn al-Rashīd is not mentioned in any other source and no parallels to the story have been found.

أبواب كلها تُغلق دونهم، وإنَّ أحمد أمر بإغلاق الأبواب عند القبيلة كما كان يفعل، فدخل عليه نفيس بمشمَلٍ وهو نائم. فضربه ضربتين إحداهما على رأسه والأخرى على فمه، وإنَّ أحمد تناول المشمل من يد نفيس فخرطه نفيس من يده، فقطع أصابعه غير أنَّها لم تَبِن. ثمَّ عاد نفيس فأجهز له بسكِّين، وأخذ خاتمه فبعث به إلى أهله وقال لهم: هذا خاتم الأمير يأمركم أن تبعثوا إليه بصندوق المال ليُعطي الحشمَ أرزاقهم. فدفعوا إليه الصندوق، فاقتسموا ما فيه من الدنانير ومضوا.

[٧٣ §] ومنهم عليّ بن موسى بن جعفر بن محمّد بن عليّ بن الحسين بن عليّ. وكان المأمون قد بايع له بالعهد بعده، وضربت الدراهم باسمه، وجعل على شُرطه العباس بن جعفر بن محمّد بن الأشعث، وكان ابنه خليفته، وعليّ حرّسه سعيد بن صيلم، وعليّ حجابته يحيى بن مُعاذ بن مُسلم، وإنَّه سقط عند المأمون بكلام في الفضل بن سهل فأخبر به المأمون الفضل؛ للموثق الذي كان الفضل أخذ على المأمون. | وذكر رُوح بن السكِّين عن عُبيد الله بن الحسن العلويّ ٢٠٢ ثمَّ العباسي، أنَّ الفضل قال يوماً وعنده الناس: ما تقولون في بقرة جعلت لها قرنتين من ذهب وكنت أول من نطحته بهما؟ فلم يمض بعد ذلك إلا قليل حتى اعتلّ فمات.

745 He is known as 'Alī al-Riḍā, the eighth imam of the Twelver Shia. See *E12*, "Alī al-Riḍā" (B. Lewis); *E13*, "Alī al-Riḍā" (Tamima Bayhom Daou). In 201/816 al-Ma'mūn appointed him as his heir. His motives are not entirely clear, and it does not seem to have meant that it was a general recognition of the 'Alids as rightful heirs to the caliphate. The appointment caused great consternation among the Abbasids and their followers. The murder of al-Faḍl ibn Sahl, who may or may not have been behind the appointment, took place in 202/818 (above, § 68), and 'Alī al-Riḍā died a few months later, in 203/818 after a short illness. On his death see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 1030, tr. *The History*, xxxii, 84–85, al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 457–458. According to al-Ya'qūbī (*Tārīkh*, ii, 551, tr. *The Works*, 1217) he died of a poisoned pomegranate. Al-Ma'mūn showed distress at his death but his involvement in it (as in al-Ḥasan ibn Faḍl's death) has been suspected. It was certainly convenient to him. In some sources al-Ma'mūn's involvement is explicitly mentioned, but Ibn Ḥabīb merely suggests it.

doors, each of them with a lock. Aḥmad gave orders for the doors to be locked when he had a siesta, as was his wont.⁷⁴⁵ Nafis went in, holding a poniard,⁷⁴⁶ while Aḥmad was sleeping. He hit him twice, on his head and his mouth. Aḥmad took the poniard from Nafis's hand but Nafis pulled it back, cutting but not severing his fingers. Then Nafis killed him off with a knife. He took away his signet ring and brought it to Aḥmad's family, saying, "This is the prince's signet ring. He tells you to send his treasure chest, so that he can pay his servants their wages." They gave him the chest. He and his comrades divided the dinars it contained and absconded.

[§ 73 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ja'far⁷⁴⁷]

Another is 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī. Al-Ma'mūn had people take the pledge of allegiance to him as his heir. Dirhams with 'Alī's name were minted, al-'Abbās ibn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath⁷⁴⁸ was made his head of police, and his son was his second-in-command. Sa'īd ibn Ṣaylam⁷⁴⁹ was head of the guard, Yaḥyā ibn Mu'ādh ibn Muslim⁷⁵⁰ was his chamberlain. But his status with al-Ma'mūn fell because of what was said about al-Faḍl ibn Sahl. Al-Ma'mūn informed al-Faḍl of it, in accordance with the agreement that al-Faḍl had attained from al-Ma'mūn. Rawḥ ibn al-Sakan⁷⁵¹ mentions, on the authority of 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Alawī al-'Abbāsī,⁷⁵² that al-Faḍl once said, publicly, "What would you say of a cow I had given two horns of gold, and me being the first she would gore with them!" Only a few days afterwards 'Alī fell ill and died.

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745 Despite the repeated mention of doors with locks, they do not seem to play a part in the story, for the murderous servant enters without problem. Perhaps a moral point is made: multiple locked doors cannot save a man from Fate.

746 *Mishmal*, a rather uncommon word for a small dagger; the knife mentioned hereafter is *sikkīn*.

748 Not found elsewhere.

749 Not found elsewhere. Ṣaylam is not known as a personal name and may be a corruption.

750 On Yaḥyā ibn Mu'ādh see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, xxviii, 325.

751 He is mentioned in an *isnād* in al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxi (Brünnow), 22. but nothing else is known about him.

752 Not identified.

[٧٤ §] **ومنهم العباس بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن العباس.** وكان قدم على هارون الرقة فحباه حباً كثيراً، وعظمه أشد تعظيم. وإن العباس اعتلّ فدرس له شربة، فلما استودعه إياها أذن له في الانحدار إلى مدينة السلام، وكانت سبب موته.

[٧٥ §] **ومنهم إسماعيل بن هبار بن الأسود بن المطلّب بن أسد.** دخل الحمام بالمدينة وفيه مُصعب بن عبد الرحمن بن عوف الزهري وكان جميلاً بارعاً، فأمرّ يده على ظهره وعجيزته، وتكلّم بكلام فيه بعض ما فيه، فضحك مُصعب في وجهه ليؤنسه، حتى إذا كان الليل جمع مصعب رجالاً فيهم القتال الكلابي، وبعث مولى له أسود، يكتى أبا عجوة، إلى ابن هبار، فدعاه فلما خرج إليه تنحى به إليهم، فوثب عليه القتال فضربه حتى قتله. وهو قول ابن قيس الرقيّات:

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فلن أجيّب بليلٍ داعياً أبداً أخشى العُروَرَ كما عُزَّ ابنُ هبارِ
باتوا يجُرونه في الحشّ منجلداً بئس الهدية لابن العمّ والجارِ

١ كذ: يقول:).

- 753 A younger brother of the first two Abbasid caliphs al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr, al-ʿAbbās died in 186/802, after a career in which he distinguished himself particularly in campaigns against the Byzantines. See *EI2*, “al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad” (E. Lévi-Provençal), *EI3*, “al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī” (Teresa Bernheimer). There seems to be nothing in other sources about his being a murder victim. Ibn Ḥabīb does not give a motive. One notes that Ibn Ḥabīb is described as being a *mawlā* of his sons, so he may have had some inside information or picked up a family rumour.
- 754 Hārūn al-Rashīd spent much of his time in al-Raqqah in Syria, his base for campaigns against the Byzantines.
- 755 Madīnat al-Salām, the official name of Baghdad.
- 756 He belonged to the Asad ibn ʿAbd al-Uzzā branch of Quraysh, see *ĠN*, i, 19 for his lineage. He is described in Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 219, as “one of the men of Medina known for toughness and manliness (*al-jalad wa-l-futuwwah*)”. For the story of his death see *ibid.*, 220, 267, 288–289, 372, al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxiv, 178–182; the incident in the hammam is not mentioned in these sources.
- 757 He belonged to the Banū Zuhrah, another branch of Quraysh, see *ĠN*, i, 20. He was head of police under Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam in Medina during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah and was killed in 64/683 during the siege of Medina, having taken the side of ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr.
- 758 *Takallama bi-kalām fīhi baʿḍ mā fīh*, “he spoke words in which there was some of what there was in it”, an interesting euphemistic phrase.

[§ 74 al-‘Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbās⁷⁵³]

Another is al-‘Abbās ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbās. He had come to Hārūn in al-Raqqah.⁷⁵⁴ Hārūn bestowed many favours upon him and paid him great respect. Al-‘Abbās fell ill, and Hārūn schemed to send him a potion. When he had given it him for safekeeping, he gave him permission to go down to the City of Peace.⁷⁵⁵ This was the cause of his death.

[§ 75 Ismā‘īl ibn Habbār ibn al-Aswad ibn al-Muṭṭalib ibn Asad⁷⁵⁶]

Another is Ismā‘īl ibn Habbār ibn al-Aswad ibn al-Muṭṭalib ibn Asad. Once he entered the hammam. Muṣ‘ab ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Awf al-Zuhrī was there too; he was strikingly handsome.⁷⁵⁷ Ismā‘īl stroked his back and buttocks and addressed him with certain words.⁷⁵⁸ Muṣ‘ab laughed to his face in a friendly manner. But that night Muṣ‘ab gathered some men, among them al-Qattāl al-Kilābī.⁷⁵⁹ He sent a black *mawlā* of his, called Abū ‘Ajwah, to Ibn Habbār asking him to come. When Ibn Habbār came out, Abū ‘Ajwah took him towards the men. Then al-Qattāl sprang upon him and struck, killing him. Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt mentions this:⁷⁶⁰

I will never answer someone’s call at night:

I am afraid of being deceived, just as Ibn Habbār was deceived.

They dragged him, struck down, during the night to the latrines.⁷⁶¹

What a bad present to a cousin and neighbour!

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759 He has an entry in Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 226–229 as one of the *futtāk al-Jāhiliyyah*, “the killers (or reckless men) of the pre-Islamic period”, even though he lived most of his life in the Islamic era. Al-Qattāl (another word for “killer”) is a nickname, his real name as given at the end of the entry is ‘Ubādah ibn Mujīb al-Maḍraḥī (?); see also Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kunā l-shu‘arā’*, 295, idem, *Alqāb al-shu‘arā’*, 312. Instead of Mujīb, ‘ASH and SKḪ have M.h.b.b (Muḥabbab?) as also in *Muḥabbar*, 226 and al-Āmidī, *Mu’talif*, 167, and instead of ‘Ubādah one finds ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Ubayd Allāh, and ‘Abbād. He was a poet; see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 143–144. There is a long entry on him in al-Isfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxiv, 167–195. He died in or soon after 64/683. His *nisbah*, given in ‘ASH as al-Maḍraḥī, is al-Muḍarriḥī in *Aghānī*, xxiv, 168.

760 On the poet ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt (d. 80/699), see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 418–419. He was famous mostly for love poetry. On the several explanations of his nickname, “Ibn Qays of the Ruqayyahs” see al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, vii, 278–284. The verses are also in Ibn Qays al-Ruqayyāt, *Dīwān*, 183; Muṣ‘ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 220; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ix, 463.

761 *Fī l-ḥushsh*, referring to a deserted place of the Banū Zuhrah called Ḥushsh Banī Zuhrah (*Nasab Quraysh*, 220). *Hushsh*, originally “garden”, came to mean “privy”, “because they used to ease themselves in the gardens” (Lane, *Lexicon*, ḤShSh).

وطلب القتال فهرب وقال:

تركتُ ابنَ هَبَّارٍ يُصدِّعُ رأسُهُ وأصبحَ دوني شابَةً وأرومُ
بسيفِ أمرِي لَن أَخْبِرَ الدهرَ بِاسْمِهِ ولو حفزتُ نفسي إليَّ هُمومُ
ودوني من الدهنِ بَسَاطٌ كأنَّها إذا انجابَ ضوءُ الصبحِ عنه أديمُ

القتال: عبادة بن مُجِيبِ بن المَضْرَحِيِّ، وعبد الرحمن بن صباحان المُحَارِبِيُّ.

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[٧٦ §] أسماء من قتل حميمه من الملوك

[١٧٦ §] عمرو بن تُبَّع قتل أخاه حسان بن تُبَّع.

[٧٦ § ب] وسَلَمَةُ بن الحارث الملك بن عمرو المقصور بن حُجْرٍ آكل المَرَارِ الكُنْدِيِّ قتل أخاه شُرْحَبِيلَ بن الحارث، وكان الحارث ملك ولدَه سلمة على حَنْظَلَةَ وتَغْلِبَ، وشرحبيل على الرِّبَابِ وبَكْرَ بن وائل، وحُجْرًا على كِنَانَةَ وأَسَدَ ابْنِي خُزَيْمَةَ، ومَعْدِيكَرَبَ على قَيْسِ عَيْلان. فوثبت بنو أسد فقتلوا حَجْرًا، وسعى المُفْسِدُونَ بين سلمة وشرحبيل حتى احتربا، فقتل سلمة شرحبيل.

١ هـ، ك: (محبب)، والتصحيح من كنى الشعراء لابن حبيب وألقاب الشعراء له.

762 The first two verses, but with some differences including a different rhyme (-ūmuḥā instead of -ūmū), are also in Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 228; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxiv, 180, 182; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* (entry Shābah).

763 Shābah is a mountain in Nejd or the Hijaz, Arūm is a mountain in the territory of the Banū Sulaym (both according Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*).

764 The verb varies in the several sources: *ḥafazat* ('ASH, SKḤ), *ḥaḍarat* (*Muḥabbar*), *ḥaqarat* (*Aghānī*, xxiv, 180), *ajhashat* (*Aghānī*, xxiv, 182).

765 Al-Dahnā' is a very long, narrow sandy desert in Arabia.

766 This person has not been found elsewhere and the reading and vowelings Ṣabḥān are uncertain.

They sought al-Qattāl but he fled and said,⁷⁶²

I left Ibn Habbār, his head smashed,
 —and Shābah and Arūm are now between me and him—⁷⁶³
 With the sword of a man whose name I shall never divulge,
 even if my soul should beset me with worries.⁷⁶⁴
 Between us is a stretch of the Dahnā⁷⁶⁵
 when the light of dawn reveals the earth.

Al-Qattāl is ‘Ubādah ibn Mujīb ibn al-Maḍraḥī and (also the name of) ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣabḥān al-Muḥāribī.⁷⁶⁶

[§ 76] | The Names of Rulers who Killed Their Kinsman⁷⁶⁷

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[§ 76a]

‘Amr ibn Tubba’: he killed his brother Ḥassān ibn Tubba’.⁷⁶⁸

[§ 76b]⁷⁶⁹

Salamah ibn al-Ḥārith al-Malik ibn ‘Amr al-Maqṣūr ibn Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār al-Kindī: he killed his brother Shuraḥbīl ibn al-Ḥārith. Al-Ḥārith had made his son Salamah the ruler of of Ḥanzalah and Taghlib; Shuraḥbīl the ruler of al-Ribāb and Bakr ibn Wā’il; Ḥujr the ruler of Kinānah ibn Khuzaymah and Asad ibn Khuzaymah; and Ma’dikarib the ruler of Qays ‘Aylān. The Banū Qays attacked and killed Ḥujr. Some people stirred up dissension between Salamah and Shuraḥbīl and as a result they fought each other, and Salamah killed Shuraḥbīl.

767 This section differs from all others because it lists people who killed, not murder victims. Some of them have been mentioned in preceding section. The word *ḥamīm* can mean “kinsman”, “brother”, and “friend”.

768 See above, § 2.

769 Al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Amr al-Maqṣūr was the last ruler of the Kingdom of Kindah, a tribe that came to dominate much of the Arabian Peninsula in the 5th and 6th centuries AD. See *EI2*, “Kindah” (I. Shahīd), and for the lineages *ĠN*, i, 238. He was killed c. 529 by the Lakhmid king al-Mundhir of al-Ḥīrah. Al-Ḥārith had divided the main tribes of the North Arabs among his four sons, Ḥujr (the father of the celebrated poet Imru’ al-Qays), Shuraḥbīl, Salamah, and Ma’dikarib; their discord led to the end of the kingdom of Kindah. The killing of Shuraḥbīl is part of the narratives of *Yawm Kulāb al-Awwal*, The First Battle-Day of Kulāb, see e.g. Abū ‘Ubaydah, *Naqā’id Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, 448, 452–461, 1072–1079, al-Isfahānī, *Aghānī*, xii, 208–214.

[٧٦٤ ج] ومنهم عبد الله بن الزبير، قتل أخاه عمرو بن الزبير، وكان عامل المدينة وجهه لمحاربة أخيه ففضّ جيشه وأسره، وكان عمرو بدنا، فأقامه عبد الله للناس وقال: من كان له عنده حقّ فليقتص منه. فضرب حتى مات.

[٧٦٤ د] ومنهم عبد الملك، قتل عمرو بن سعيد بن العاص. وأمّه أمّ البين بنت الحکم بن ٢٠٥ أبي العاص بن أمية. وكان نازع عبد الملك وحاربه حتى جرت بينهما السفراء على أن يجعل عمرو مع كل عامل لعبد الملك عاملاً له، ففعل، فلم يزل عبد الملك يلطف له حتى قتله. وله حديث طويل.

[٧٦٤ هـ] ومنهم يزيد بن الوليد بن عبد الملك، ويزيد الناقص، وثب على ابن عمه الوليد بن يزيد بن عبد الملك فقتله واستولى على ملكه.

[٧٦٤ و] ومنهم أبو جعفر المنصور، وهو عبد الله بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن العباس، وثب عليه عمه عبد الله بن علي، وخلعه ودعا إلى نفسه، فظفر به فحبسه في بيت فسقط عليه البيت.

١ ك: (فضريه).

770 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, son of the prominent Companion al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām, played a major role as caliph (or anti-caliph) in Medina during the civil war for several years until he was killed in 73/692, when 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān was victorious. See *E13*, "Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr" (Sandra Campbell). For his and his brother 'Amr's lineage see *ĠN*, i, 19. See also Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 178, 214–215 (where it is said that 'Amr died in 'Abd Allāh's prison), Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 481 (where 'Abd Allāh is said to have crucified his brother).

771 'Amr al-Ashdaq ibn Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ, see *ĠN*, i, 9, ii, 183; *E12*, "Amr b. Sa'īd" (K.V. Zetterstéen). On his death see the next paragraph.

[§ 76c]⁷⁷⁰

Another is ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, who killed his brother ‘Amr ibn al-Zubayr. The governor of Medina⁷⁷¹ had sent ‘Amr to fight his brother, but ‘Abd Allāh routed his army and took him captive. ‘Amr was an old man. ‘Abd Allāh made him stand up in front of his people and said, “Whoever has a claim on him, let him retaliate!” He was beaten until he died.

[§ 76d]⁷⁷²

Another is ‘Abd al-Malik. He killed ‘Amr ibn Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ, whose mother was Umm al-Banīn, the daughter of al-Ḥakam.⁷⁷³ He challenged ‘Abd al-Malik’s authority and fought him. Then emissaries moved between and it was agreed that ‘Amr would appoint a governor for every governor appointed by ‘Abd al-Malik. This was done. ‘Abd al-Malik was friendly towards him, but in the end he killed him; it is a long story.⁷⁷⁴

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[§ 76e]⁷⁷⁵

Another is Yazīd ibn al-Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik. Yazīd “the Reducer” revolted against his paternal nephew al-Walīd ibn Yazīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik; he killed him and took over his reign.

[§ 76f]⁷⁷⁶

Another is Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr, who is ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-‘Abbās. His paternal uncle ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī revolted against him, declared him deposed, and proclaimed himself caliph. But al-Manṣūr defeated him and imprisoned him in a house, which collapsed on him.

772 On the events see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 783–791 (yr AH 69), tr. *The History*, xxi, 154–163, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 303–305.

773 See above, § 51.

774 Many details are given by al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas‘ūdī and others. ‘Abd al-Malik personally initiated the killing by smashing ‘Amr’s front teeth.

775 Yazīd ibn al-Walīd reigned as caliph for only six months in 126/744. He got his nickname al-Nāqīṣ (the reducer, or diminisher), it is said, because he reduced the salaries of the troops. Al-Nāqīṣ could also mean “the deficient”, but al-Mas‘ūdī (*Murūj*, iv, 58) says he was deficient in neither body nor intellect. He came to power after a revolt against al-Walīd ibn Yazīd, whose notoriously bad behaviour and good poetry is found in many sources. See *E12*, “Yazīd (111) b. al-Walīd” (G.R. Hawting), “al-Walīd” (H. Kennedy and, on the poetry, Renate Jacobi).

776 The story has been told above, § 62.

[٧٦ ز] ومنهم هارون الرشيد، حبس عمه جعفر بن المنصور المعروف بابن الكُرْدِيَّة، فذكروا أنه أصابه زحير فمات منه.

[٧٦ ح] ومنهم عبد الله المأمون، قتل أخاه محمداً الأمين واستولى على ملكه.

[٧٦ ط] ومنهم أبو إسحاق المعتصم، كان بلغه أن العباس بن المأمون قد مالاً ملك الروم على أهل الإسلام عام فتح المعتصم عمورية، وأنه أراد الوثوب على المعتصم، فحبسه وأثقله بالحديد فمات في حديده.

[٧٧ س] وممن قُتِلَ غيلةً زياد بن عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن عبد المَدان الحارثي من بني الحارث بن كعب، وكان خال أبي العباس أمير المؤمنين، وإنه ولأه مكة والمدينة فلم يزل عليهما حتى

777 On Ja'far, a son of caliph al-Manṣūr, called Ja'far al-Aṣghar (the Younger), to distinguish him from another son called Ja'far al-Akbar; also called "the son of the Kurdish woman", see e.g. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xi, 107–109. He is said to have died in 151/768 in al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, viii, 26 (in the entry on Ja'far al-Akbar), but al-Ṣafadī reports that he led the Hajj in 188/804, which is during Hārūn's reign and thus makes more sense. It is not clear, however, why Hārūn is said to have killed him, nor have I found other sources that assert this.

778 *Zahīr*.

779 Hārūn al-Rashīd had divided his realm between two sons, Muḥammad al-Amīn (son of an Abbasid prinsee, Zubaydah), who was to reign over the western part in Baghdad, and 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn (son of a concubine), who was to rule over the east. Soon after Hārūn's death in 193/809 a civil war broke out and after a protracted siege Baghdad was taken by al-Ma'mūn's forces in 198/813 and al-Amīn was killed, not in fact by al-Ma'mūn, who regretted, it is said, his brother's execution by his general Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn.

780 Al-Mu'taṣim, another son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, ruled as caliph from 218/833 until 227/842, succeeding al-Ma'mūn who had designated him on his deathbed. The army supported al-Ma'mūn's son al-'Abbās but the latter was unwilling to press his case.

781 'Ammūriy(y)ah or Amorium was a Byzantine city, S.-W. of Ankara. It was besieged and temporarily captured by al-Mu'taṣim in 223/838. Abū Tammām composed a celebrated ode on the occasion (*Dīwān*, i, 40–74; for a translation and analysis see Bray, "Al-Mu'taṣim's 'bridge of toil'"). See EI3, "Ammūriyya" (Nadia M. El Cheikh). After the capture of Amorium a plot was discovered: disgruntled generals wanted to kill the caliph and, after all, put

[§ 76g]⁷⁷⁷

Another is Hārūn al-Rashīd. He imprisoned his paternal uncle Ja'far ibn al-Manṣūr, known as Ibn al-Kurdiyyah. They say that he was struck by a griping bellyache,⁷⁷⁸ of which he died.

[§ 76h]⁷⁷⁹

Another is 'Abd Allāh al-Ma'mūn, who killed his brother al-Amīn and took over his reign. 206

[§ 76i]⁷⁸⁰

Another is Abū Ishāq al-Mu'taṣim. It had reached him that al-'Abbās ibn al-Ma'mūn had conspired with the king of the Byzantines against the people of Islam in the year al-Mu'taṣim conquered 'Ammūriyah,⁷⁸¹ and that he intended to revolt against al-Mu'taṣim. So he imprisoned him and had him clapped in irons. He died in chains.⁷⁸²

[§ 77]

And among those who were killed murderously⁷⁸³ is Ziyād ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Madān al-Ḥārithī,⁷⁸⁴ of the Banū l-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b. He was a paternal uncle of Abū l-'Abbās, the Commander of Believers,⁷⁸⁵ who made him governor of Mecca and Medina,⁷⁸⁶ which he remained until 207

his nephew al-'Abbās in his place. A purge ensued and many leading persons including al-'Abbās perished. See e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 1249–1250, 1256–1258, 1263–1265, (tr. *The History*, xxxiii, 112–113, 121–123, 128–130), al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 581, tr. *The Works*, 1247. On al-'Abbās, see *EI2*, “al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn” (K.V. Zetterstéén), *EI3*, “al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn” (John P. Turner).

782 It is reported that al-Afshīn, one of al-Mu'taṣim's generals (soon to be executed himself), killed al-'Abbās by giving him salty food but no water.

783 *Wa-mimman qutila ghilatan*. This paragraph is presented in 'ASH as a separate section of the book, and in SKḤ as *Tatimmat al-Bāb al-Awwal*, “the Complement of the First Chapter”. With Ziyād ibn 'Ubayd Allāh it moves back in time somewhat; the end is missing and after a gap the second part of the book begins. This was originally a separate work, it appears, and deals with poets who were killed, beginning with an entry on one of the earliest known poets.

784 He was a maternal uncle of Abū Ja'far al-Saffāh, the first Abbasid caliph. On his lineage see *ĠN*, i, 259, where he appears as Ziyād ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥijr ibn 'Abd al-Madān, of al-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b, a branch of Madhḥij. See also al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xv, 14–15, who says that he died in the 150s (between 767 and 776). His death is not recorded in other sources.

785 Al-Saffāh, the first Abbasid caliph.

786 This was in 133/750–751, see e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 73.

مات، فأقره أبو جعفر على عمله، ثم كتب إليه أن يقتل أبا محمد بن عبد الله بن يزيد بن معاوية، وكان شيخ بني أمية، فقتله.

فلما تغيب محمد وإبراهيم ابنا عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب، رضي الله عنهم، كتب إليه أبو جعفر أن يوثق عبد الله بن الحسن حديداً، ويضيق عليه. فكان زياد يرفه عن عبد الله ويحسن إليه في حبسه. ثم إن أبا جعفر كتب إليه يأمره بقتله، فلم يفعل، فعزله وأغرمه ثمانين ألف دينار، وكره أن يكشف قتله، لموضعه كان من أبي العباس. فلما أخرج أبو جعفر ابنه المهدي إلى الرمي قال لزياد: سير مع ابن أخيك. فسار ثلاث مراحل.

وإن زياداً تغدى مع المهدي ثم انصرف إلى فسطاط، ثم أتى بقده فشربه ولم يعلم المهدي بذلك. فلما ترحل الناس قام المهدي على باب سردقه فقال: ويلك يا غلام [...]^٢

[...]

[أسماء من قتل من الشعراء]

[§ ٧٨] [مهلهل بن ربيعة]

٢٠٨

[...] وإن فتياناً من بني قيس بن ثعلبة اتخذوا طعاماً وابتاعوا خمراً، ثم أتوا عوفاً فقالوا: إننا نحب أن تأذن لمهلهل يأتينا فيتحدث معنا اليوم. ففعل عوف ذلك، فأتاهم مهلهل،

١ ك: (سراقة).

٢ انقطع النص هنا وبينه وبين ما يليه سقط.

787 Al-Manşūr.

788 *Shaykh Banī Umayyah*; Yazīd ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, called Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī, who rebelled and was killed in 133/750–751, see e.g. al-Ya‘qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 425 (tr. *The Works*, 1081–1082).

789 On Muḥammad, called al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah, see above, § 62; on his brother Ibrāhīm, who rebelled together with him, see *ET2*, “Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd Allāh” (L. Veccia Vaglieri). He was killed in 154/762.

790 Al-Manşūr sent his son al-Mahdī, still in his teens, to al-Rayy (near present-day Tehran) in 141/758–759, to be governor of Khorasan.

791 *Fuṣṭāt*, described in al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-‘arūs* as “a structure built when travelling, smaller than a *surādiq*” (on which see next note).

792 *Surādiq*, a structure (tent or awning) made of cotton; or an enclosure without a roof surrounding a tent (see Lane, *Lexicon*).

793 Here the text breaks off. One can make an informed guess as to what follows: the drink

Abū l-‘Abbās died. Abū Ja‘far⁷⁸⁷ confirmed him in his governorship. Then he wrote to him, telling him to kill Abū Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiyah, who was the senior member of the Umayyads,⁷⁸⁸ and he killed him.

When Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm the sons of ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (*r*) disappeared,⁷⁸⁹ Abū Ja‘far wrote to him, telling him to put ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan in chains and treat him harshly. But Ziyād made his life comfortable and treated him well. Then Abū Ja‘far wrote to him again, telling him to kill ‘Abd Allāh, but Ziyād did not do this. So the caliph deposed him and fined him eighty thousand dinars, but was reluctant to have him killed openly, on account of Ziyād’s standing with Abū l-‘Abbās. When Abū Ja‘far sent his son al-Mahdī to al-Rayy,⁷⁹⁰ he said to Ziyād, “Travel together with your nephew!” They travelled for three day-marches.

Ziyād was having breakfast with al-Mahdī and then went off to a marquee.⁷⁹¹ He was brought a cup, which he drank. Al-Mahdī was not aware of this. When the people were departing al-Mahdī went to the door of his pavilion⁷⁹² and said, “Dammit, hey servant! ...”⁷⁹³

[...]

[THE NAMES OF POETS WHO WERE KILLED]⁷⁹⁴

[...]

[§ 78 Muhalhil ibn Rabī‘ah⁷⁹⁵]

[...] | Some men of the Banū Qays ibn Tha‘labah⁷⁹⁶ prepared a meal and bought wine. They went to ‘Awf⁷⁹⁷ and said, “We would like you to allow Muhalhil to come to us so that he can talk with us today.” ‘Awf agreed and Muhalhil came to

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was poisoned, and al-Mahdī finds Ziyād dead or dying in his tent. It is strongly suggested that al-Manṣūr was behind the murder, but no other accounts of the event survive.

794 After the lacuna the manuscript continues with an entry of which the beginning is missing, but which may well have been the first entry of the section on poets who were killed (*Asmā’ man qutila min al-shu‘arā’*), originally perhaps a separate monograph by Ibn Ḥabīb, but amalgamated with the book on prominent murder victims.

795 ‘Adī (or Imru’ al-Qays) ibn Rabī‘ah, nicknamed Muhalhil, of the tribe of Taghlib ibn Wā’il (see *ĠN*, i, 164), is said to have been one of the earliest known poets, the first to compose a longer poem (*qaṣīdah*), and a major player in the legendary “War of Basūs”. He was the maternal uncle of the famous poet Imru’ al-Qays and his death is said to have occurred around AD 525. See Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 148–149. For parallels see e.g. al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, v, 51–52; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i, 423; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 173.

796 Qays Ibn Tha‘labah is a branch of Bakr, see *ĠN*, i, 141, 155.

797 ‘Awf ibn Mālik ibn Ḍubay‘ah, nicknamed al-Burak, of Qays ibn Tha‘labah, hero of the War of Basūs. See *ĠN*, i, 155. Muhalhil is his captive in this account.

فلَمَّا أَخَذَتْ فِيهِ الْخَمْرُ جَعَلَ يُنْشِدُ مَا قَالَ فِي بَكْرِ بْنِ وَائِلٍ وَمَا ذَكَرَهُمْ بِهِ، فَبَلَغَ ذَلِكَ عَوْفًا فَعَضِبَ، فَحَلَفَ لَا يَذُوقُ عِنْدَهُ قَطْرَةَ شَرَابٍ وَلَا مَاءٍ حَتَّى يَرِدَ دَنْيَبٌ، وَكَانَ دَنْيَبٌ جَمَلًا لِعَوْفٍ لَا يَرِدُ إِلَّا خِمْسًا، وَشَدَّ عَلَيْهِ الْقُدُودَ، ثُمَّ تَرَكَهُ، فَمَاتَ مَهْلَهْلٌ قَبْلَ أَنْ يَرِدَ دَنْيَبٌ. وَفِي ذَلِكَ قَالَ مَهْلَهْلٌ:

جَلَّلُونِي جِلْدَ حَوْبٍ بِازِلٍ يَرْتَقِي النَفْسَ مَوْهِنًا لِلتَّرَاقِي
عِنْدَ عَوْفِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ لَسْتُ أَرْجُو لَذَّةَ العَيْشِ مَا عُصِبْتُ بِسَاقِي
وَإِلَيْكَ ابْنَةُ المَجَلَّلِ عَنِّي لَا يَوَاتِي العِنَاقَ مَنْ فِي الوَثَاقِ

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[٧٩٨] **ومنهم** عامر بن جُوَيْنِ بن عبد رُضَا بن قَمْرَانَ الطَّائِيّ، أحد بني جَرَمِ بن عمرو بن العَوْتِ، وكان سيِّدًا شاعرًا فارساً شريفاً، وهو الذي نزل به امرؤ القيس بن حُجْر. وكان سبب قتله أن كلباً غزت بني جرم، فأَسْرَ بِشْرُ بن حارثة وهُبَيْرَة بن صَخْر الكَلْبِيّ عامر بن جُوَيْنِ، وهو شيخ كبير، فجعلوا يتدافعونه لكِبْرِهِ، فقال عامر بن جوين: لا يَكُنْ لعامر بن جوين الهَوَانِ! فقالوا له: وإنك لَهَو؟ قال: نعم. فذبحوه ومضوا. وأقبل الأسود بن عامر، فلَمَّا رَأَى أَبَاهُ قَتِيلًا بَيْنَهُمْ أَخَذَ مِنْهُمْ ثَمَانِيَةَ نَفَرٍ، وَكَانُوا قَتَلُوا عَامِرًا وَقَدْ هَبَّتِ الصَّبَا، فَكَعَمَهُمْ وَوَضَعَ أَيْدِيَهُمْ فِي جِفَانٍ فِيهَا

١ كذا في هـ، ك: (دنيب)، وكما قال هارون في التعليق لعلّ الصحيح ما جاء في الأغاني وهو (زيب الهضاب).

٢ ك: (وإليك يا ابنة).

798 The camel is called Danīb or Dunayb (not found elsewhere as a name or a noun) in ‘ASH and SKH. As Hārūn says in his note, the name appears as Rabīb al-Hiḍāb in al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, v, 52, as Zabīb in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i, 423, and as al-Khuḍayr in al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 173; there are other variants.

799 For a somewhat different version of vss. 1–2 see *Aghānī*, v, 56; a variant of vs. 3 in *Aghānī*, v, 54, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i, 423. The metre of the first hemistich of vs. 1 is irregular. See also Muhalhil, *Dīwān*, 58–59.

them. Under the influence of the wine he began to recite poems he had composed on Bakr ibn Wā'il and what he had said on them. When 'Awf heard about this he was angry and swore that Muhalhil would not drink one drop of wine or water until Danīb⁷⁹⁸ had had a drink (Danīb was a camel of 'Awf that drank only once in four days). He tightened Muhalhil's leather straps and left him. Muhalhil died before Danīb drank. Muhalhil says on this:⁷⁹⁹

They covered me in leather from a young camel stallion;
 my soul rises, in the middle of the night, to my collar-bones.⁸⁰⁰
 With 'Awf ibn Mālik I do not expect
 a pleasant life when my legs are tied.
 Leave me, daughter of al-Mujallil!⁸⁰¹
 Embracing is not easy for a man in fetters.

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[§ 79 'Āmir ibn Juwayn ibn 'Abd Ruḍā ibn Qamrān al-Ṭā'ī⁸⁰²]

Another is 'Āmir ibn Juwayn ibn 'Abd Ruḍā ibn Qamrān al-Ṭā'ī, one of the Banū Jarm ibn 'Amr ibn al-Ghawth.⁸⁰³ He was a tribal leader, a poet, a horseman, and a nobleman. It was with him that Imru' al-Qays stayed.⁸⁰⁴ He was killed because of the following. The tribe of Kalb raided the Banū Jarm. Bishr ibn Ḥārithah⁸⁰⁵ and Hubayrah ibn Ṣakhr al-Kalbī⁸⁰⁶ took 'Āmir ibn Juwayn prisoner; he was an old man. They started to quarrel, each one pushing him to the other, because 'Āmir was so old. 'Āmir said, "Āmir ibn Juwayn will not be humiliated!" They asked him, "Are you really him?" 'Āmir said, "Yes!" Then they cut his throat and left. Then al-Aswad, 'Āmir's son, arrived. When he saw that his father had been killed he took eight men of Kalb. They had killed 'Āmir when the east wind was blowing. Al-Aswad gagged their mouths and put their hands in large bowls

800 An idiom for being on the point of death.

801 In al-Mubarrad, *Ta'āzī*, 301, *Aghānī*, v, 51, 54 it is al-Muḥallil. Mujallil/Muḥallil ibn Tha'labah ibn Jusham ibn Ghubar is the maternal uncle of Muhalhil's mother according to *Aghānī*, v, 51. The last hemistich is also in a poem by 'Adī ibn Zayd (*Aghānī*, ii, 116).

802 See Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 209. For a parallel see al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, i, 53 (quoting *Asmā' al-muḡhtālīn*).

803 On his lineage see *ĠN*, i, 252 (which has Qamarān instead of Qamrān; in Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, *Mu'ammārūn*, 43 it is Qumrān).

804 See Ibn Qutaybah, *Shī'r*, 117, al-İṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ix, 95–96.

805 Not found elsewhere.

806 Hubayrah ibn Ṣakhr ibn Rabī'ah, of 'Āmir al-Akbar, a branch of Kalb; see *ĠN*, i, 288.

ماء، وجعل كُلمًا هبَّت الصِّبا ذبح واحدًا | حتَّى أتى عليهم. وكان الذي وَلِي قتلِ عامرٍ مسعودَ
بن شَدَّاد، فقالت أخته عَمْرَة بنت شَدَّاد:

يا عينُ بَكِّي لمسعودِ بنِ شَدَّادِ	بُكاءَ ذي عَبْرَاتٍ حُزْنُهُ بادِ
من لا يُمارُ له لَحْمَ الجَزورِ ولا	يَجفُو الضيُوفَ إذا ما ضَنَّ بالزادِ
ولا يحلُّ إذا ما حلَّ منتبذًا	خوفَ الرزِيَّةِ بين الحَضْر والبادِ
ألا سقيتمُ بني جَرَمٍ أُسيرِكمُ	نفسِي فدأؤُك من ذي كُرْبَةِ صادِ
يا فارساً ما قتلتمُ غيرَ جِعْشِنَةَ	ولا بَخيلٍ على ذي الحاجةِ الجادي
قد يطعنُ الطَّعْنَةَ النَّجلاءِ يَتبعها	مضرَّجٌ بعدها تَغلي بِإزبادِ
ويتركُ القِرْنَ مَصْفراً أَناملُهُ	كَأنَّ أَثوابَهُ مُجَّت بِفِرْصادِ

[٨٠ §] ومنهم عَنترَة بن معاوية العَبْسيّ. وكان أغار على بني نَبهان فأترد طريدة^١ وهو شيخ كبير، فجعل يطردُها ويقول:

حَظُّ بني نَبهانَ منها الأثَلَبُ كأنما آتارها لا تُحجَبُ آثارُ ظَلْمانٍ بقاعٍ مُجدِبُ

١ ك: (طريده).

807 *Walīya qatla ʿĀmir*; the sense is not clear, because one is told that ʿĀmir was killed by Bishr and Hubayrah.

808 There is much confusion about these verses. Lines 1–4, 6 are found in a poem attributed to Fāriʿah bint Shaddād on her brother (al-Qālī, *Amālī*, ii, 323–324). Lines 4 and 6 are also attributed to the sister of ʿAmr ibn ʿAṣīyah al-Sulamī in *Aghānī*, xii, 106–107, where it is said that they are also attributed to al-Fāriʿah, sister of Masʿūd ibn Shaddād. See also *Aghānī*, xii, 109–111, al-Qālī, *Amālī*, ii, 323–324. Line 7 is part of a poem by ʿAbīd ibn al-Abras (Dīwān, 71, see also al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, xi, 253–258).

809 Translation and interpretation of *lā yumāru lahū* uncertain. *Amālī* has *lā yudhābu lahū shahmu l-sadīfi* (“the fat of a camel’s hump was not melted for him”).

810 *Jiʿthinah*, literally “tree trunk”; cf. an anonymous hemistich quoted in Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (*JʿThN*): *fa-yā fatan mā qatatūm ghayra jiʿthinatin*, glossed as *jabān thaqīl*.

811 The son of a black slave woman, he won his freedom by his bravery in battle. He is the poet of one of the celebrated pre-Islamic *Muʿallaqāt* and he is more commonly called ʿAntarah ibn Shaddād, Muʿāwīyah being his grandfather or great-grandfather; for his genealogy see al-İṣfahānī, viii, 237, *ĠN*, i, 257, ii, 190. In later times he became the hero, now called ʿAntar,

filled with water. Then, whenever the east wind blew, he cut the throat of one of them | until he had finished them off. The man who had been in charge of 210
 ‘Āmir’s killing⁸⁰⁷ was Mas‘ūd ibn Shaddād. His sister ‘Amrah said:⁸⁰⁸

Weep, my eye, for Mas‘ūd ibn Shaddād,
 weep with tears of manifest sorrow!
 The flesh of a slaughtered camel was never brought to him(?),⁸⁰⁹
 nor was he unkind to guests whenever people were sparing with food.
 Whenever he alighted in a remote place he would not do so
 fearing a misfortune among sedentary or nomad folk.
 Would you, Banū Jarm, not let your captives drink?
 My soul be your ransom, you tormented, parched one!
 You horseman! You have killed someone who was no sluggish coward⁸¹⁰
 nor a miser towards a needy one begging a gift.
 He would stab opening a large wound, followed by
 a stream of blood, bubbling and foaming
 And leave his adversary with pale fingers,
 his clothes as if dyed with mulberries.

[§ 80 ‘Antarah ibn Mu‘āwiyah al-‘Absī⁸¹¹]

Another is ‘Antarah ibn Mu‘āwiyah al-‘Absī. He had raided the Banū Nabhān⁸¹² and was driving away some cattle. He was an old man. While driving them, he said,⁸¹³

The Banū Nabhān will only have pebbles and dust!
 Their traces cannot be concealed,
 Traces of ostriches in a barren plain.

of a lengthy and very popular epic (*Sīrat Antar*). On ‘Antarah see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 113–115; *E12*, “Antara” (R. Blachère); *E13*, “Antar, Sīrat” (Peter Heath) and “Antara” (Alan Jones). His *Dīwān* was recently edited and translated by James Montgomery (‘Antarah ibn Shaddād, *War Songs*). For the account of his death see *Aghānī*, viii, 244–245 (with other versions), translated in *War Songs*, 281–282.

812 See *ĀN*, i, 252 and 257; Nabhān is a branch of Ṭayyī’.

813 Of the following three lines in *rajaz* metre, *Aghānī* has only the last. Montgomery (*War Songs*) translates the other two in a note on p. 316. I take the pronominal suffix *-hā* to refer to the cattle, whereas Montgomery takes it to refer to Nabhān (“Pebbles, that’s what Nabhān are worth. Their exploits can never be concealed—they are the exploits of ostriches in a barren plain.”).

وكان وَرَر بن جابر بن سُدوس بن أَصمع النُّبْهاني في مَنْزِهِ، فرماه وقال: خُذْها وأنا ابن سلمى ٢١١
فقطِع مَطاه، فتَحامل بِالرَّمِيَةِ حتَّى أتى أَهلَهُ فمات. فقال وهو مجروح:

فإنَّ ابنَ سلمى عنده فاطلبوا دمي وهيهات لا يُرجى ابنُ سلمى ولا دمي
يظلُّ يمشي بين أجدالِ طيِّءٍ مكانَ الثُّرَيَّا ليس بالمتَهَضِّمِ

[٨١ §] **ومنهم عبيد بن الأبرص**، وكان المُنْذِر بن امرئ القيس اللُّخميّ، ابنُ ماء السماء، وهو الذي يُسمّى ذا القَرْنين، له يومٌ يخرج فيه فيقتل أوَّلَ مَنْ يلقى في ذلك اليوم. فخرج فلقي عبيد بن الأبرص. فأتى به، فلمّا رآه قال: ويَلِك ما أتاني بك؟ قال: المنايا على الحوايا. فذهبت مثلاً. فقال أنشدني: أقفر من أهله ملحوب. فقال: أقفر من أهله عبيد. فقال: أنشدني: أقفر من أهله ملحوب! فقال: حال الجريض دون القريض. فذهب قوله مثلاً، وقتله.

814 *Aghānī* has Zir, Montgomery has Wizr, but see *ĠN*, i, 257, ii, 588.

815 *Fī manzah*; *Aghānī* has *fī futuwwah*, "among some men".

816 Al-Baṭalyawṣī, *Sharḥ al-ash'ar al-sittah*, ii, 297–298 (followed by a third line); in the commentary the killer is called 'Amr ibn Salmā (cf. also al-Āmidī, *Mu'talif*, 99).

817 Another famous pre-Islamic poet. On his lineage (of Sa'd ibn Tha'labah, a branch of Asad) see *ĠN*, i, 54. His poems have been edited and translated by Charles Lyall (see 'Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ, *Dīwān*). See Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 169–171; *EI2*, "Abīd b. al-Abraṣ" (F. Gabrieli); *EI3*, "Abīd b. al-Abraṣ" (Reinhard Weipert). For parallels of the account of his death, which must have taken place before the king's death in AD554, see Lyall's commentary, *The Dīwāns*, 2–4; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 267–268; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxii, 87–88; al-Qālī, *Dhayl al-Amālī wa-l-nawādir*, 195–196; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 217–219.

Wazar⁸¹⁴ ibn Jābir ibn Sudūs ibn Aṣma‘ al-Nabhānī was in a place remote from the water.⁸¹⁵ He shot an arrow at ‘Antarah and said, “Take that! I am Ibn Salmā!” The arrow penetrated ‘Antarah’s back but he kept himself going despite the injury until he reached his people; then he died. While wounded, he said:⁸¹⁶

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My blood is upon Ibn Salmā—get him!
 But how can one hope to get at him and avenge my blood?
 He moves between the mountains of Ṭayyi’
 as remote as the Pleiades. He’ll not get himself up.

[§ 81 ‘Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ⁸¹⁷]

Another is ‘Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ. Al-Mundhir ibn Imri’ al-Qays al-Lakhmī ibn Mā’ al-Samā’—he is the one called Dhū l-Qarnayn (the Two-Horned)⁸¹⁸—used to keep a day on which he would go out and kill the first person he would meet that day. He went out and met ‘Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ, who was taken to him. When he saw him he said, “Damn you! What brought you to me?” ‘Abīd replied, “Fate! On a plate!” which became a proverbial saying.⁸¹⁹ The king said, “Recite to me ‘Malḥūb is desolate, without its people!’”⁸²⁰ ‘Abīd replied, “‘Abīd is desolate, without his people!” The king repeated, “Recite to me ‘Malḥūb is desolate, without its people!’” But ‘Abīd said, “A choking throat prevents a quote.” This became a proverbial saying.⁸²¹ The king had him killed.

818 On him see above, §§ 13 and 21. Of the “two days” observed by the king (a Day of Woe and a Day of Bliss, as told in § 13) only the former is mentioned here.

819 A free rhyming translation of *al-manāyā ‘alā l-ḥawāyā*, literally “the Fates (come) on clothes wound around the hump of a camel” (see Lane, *Lexicon*, HWY, with a different interpretation of *manāyā*). It is found in collections of proverbs, with the sense of “one’s fate cannot be avoided”, e.g. al-‘Askarī, *Jamharah*, i, 290, ii, 220–221; also with *balāyā* (“afflictions”) instead of *manāyā*, as e.g. in al-Maydānī, *Majma‘*, i, 152.

820 This is the opening of ‘Abīd’s most famous poem, sometimes counted as one of the *Mu‘allaqāt*. See his *Dīwān*, 5–17 (Arabic), 17–20 (Lyall’s translation), Jones, *Early Arabic Poetry*, ii, 25–51 (with translation and extensive commentary). Malḥūb is said to be a place in the territory of Asad.

821 Another saying in rhymed prose, *ḥāla l-jarīd dūna l-qarīd*, literally “a choking throat stands in the way of versifying”. It is found in proverb collections, e.g. Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 444; al-‘Askarī, *Jamharah*, i, 290; al-Maydānī, *Majma‘*, i, 251. For a similar excuse at death’s door see below, § 97.

[٨٢ §] ومنهم طرفة بن العبد أخو بني قيس بن ثعلبة. وكان عمرو بن هند مضطرباً الحجارة
اللخمي جعل طرفة والمتلمس في صحابة قابوس أخيه، فكان قابوس يتصيد يوماً ويشرب يوماً.
فكان إذا خرج إلى الصيد خرجا معه، فنصبا وركضا يومهما، فإذا كان يوم لهُوه وقفا على بابه
يومهما كلّه، فلما طال عليهما ذكره طرفة فقال:

فليت لنا مكان المَلِكِ عمرو رَغَوْتاً حول قُبَّتِنَا تَخَوُّرُ
يشاركنا لنا رِخْلَانِ فِيهَا وتعلوها الكيَاشُ فما تَثَوُّرُ
لَعَمْرِكَ إِنَّ قَابُوسَ بنَ هِنْدٍ لَيَجْمَعُ مُلْكُهُ نَوَكٌ كَثِيرُ
قَسَمْتَ العَيْشَ فِي زَمَنِ رِخْيٍ كَذَاكَ الحُكْمُ يَعدِلُ أو يَجورُ
لنا يَوْمٌ ولِلكِرْوَانِ يَوْمٌ تَطِيرُ البَائِسَاتُ وما نَطِيرُ
فَأَمَّا يَوْمُهُنَّ فَيَوْمٌ سَوِيٍّ يَطَارُ دِهْنٌ بِالْحَدَبِ الصُّقُورُ
وَأَمَّا يَوْمُنَا فَنظَلُّ رَكْبًا وُقُوفًا ما نَحُلُّ وما نَسِيرُ

وقد كان طرفة هجا ابن عم له وصيهاً يقال له عبد عمرو بن بشر بن عمرو بن مرثد، فقال:

١ ك: (يعدك).

822 Ṭarafah is another of the poets of the *Mu'allaqāt*. On him see EI2, "Ṭarafa" (J.E. Montgomery), Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 115–118. On his death and the escape of his companion, al-Mutalammis, see e.g. al-Mufaḍḍal, *Fākhir*, 110–111; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 186, 188–189; al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-qaṣā'id al-sab' al-ṭiwāl*, 122–128; al-Qurashī, *Jamharat ash'ar al-'Arab* (ed. Dār Ṣādir) 74–78, (ed. al-Bijāwī), 89–97; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, i, 239–240, tr. *The Works*, 519–521; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxi (Brünnow), 192–195; al-'Askarī, *Jamharat al-amthāl*, i, 476–478; al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*, i, 501–504; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 415–423.

823 On his lineage see ĞN, i, 155, ii, 556. Qays ibn Tha'labah is a branch of Bakr ibn Wā'il.

824 This king of al-Ḥīrah (reg. c. AD 554–569 or 570) earned his nickname by "the severity of his character", see EI2, "Amr b. Hind" (A.J. Wensinck, who renders the nickname prudishly as "he who makes the stone emit sounds"), EI3, "Amr b. Hind" (Irfan Shahīd). He was killed, it is said, by the poet 'Amr ibn Kulthūm (also a poet of one of the *Mu'allaqāt*).

825 Another poet, see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 163–175, EI2, "al-Mutalammis" (Ch. Pellat).

826 Qābūs succeeded his brother and died in AD 573.

827 See Ṭarafah's *Dīwān* in al-Baṭalyawsī, *Sharḥ al-ash'ar al-sittah*, ii, 435–441; al-Mufaḍḍal, *Fākhir*, 110; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 415–418.

[§ 82 Ṭarafah ibn al-ʿAbd⁸²²]

Another is Ṭarafah ibn al-ʿAbd, of the Banū Qays ibn Thaʿlabah.⁸²³ ʿAmr ibn Hind Muḍarriṭ al-Ḥijārah (“Who Makes Stones Fart”) al-Lakhmī⁸²⁴ had included Ṭarafah and al-Mutalammis⁸²⁵ in the company of his brother Qābūs.⁸²⁶ Qābūs would hunt and drink on alternate days. When he went hunting the other two would go with him; they would run and ride all day. When it was his day of entertainment the other two would sit at his gate all day. When they had waited a long time, Ṭarafah mentioned this and said,⁸²⁷

I wish we had, instead of king ʿAmr,
 a ewe suckling her young, bleating around our tent!
 We would have to share her milk with two lambs,
 while rams are mounting her, and she not rising.⁸²⁸
 Upon your life, the reign of Qābūs ibn Hind,
 comprises much foolishness.
 You⁸²⁹ have distributed the good life in a time of ease—
 thus a judgement⁸³⁰ is either just or unjust.
 One day is for us, another for the curlews;⁸³¹
 the wretched creatures fly up but we do not.
 Their day is a bad day,
 saker falcons hunt them in the hills.
 And as for our day, we are still mounted,
 standing still, neither dismounting nor going!

Ṭarafah had lampooned a nephew of his, a relation by marriage called ʿAbd ʿAmr ibn Bishr ibn ʿAmr ibn Marthad,⁸³² saying,⁸³³

828 Instead of *fa-mā tathūru* the *Dīwān* has *fa-mā tanūrū*, “and she not avoiding (them)”, which may be the better reading. Al-Baṭalyawsī explains the sense of vss. 1–2 as if the poet says, We would be satisfied with such a sheep, even though it would be little good to us, since she would not have left much milk for us. But it would be better than having ʿAmr.

829 He addresses Qābūs. Al-Baṭalyawsī paraphrases the sense of lines 3–5 as “You divide your time into two, one part for hurting animals and one for hurting people. You are helped in this by a time in which your bad qualities are ignored.”

830 *Dīwān*: *al-dahru*, “Fate” or “Time”.

831 *Karawān* (here the plural, *kirwān*) is a bird translated as “partridge”, “plover”, “stone curlew”, or “curlew”.

832 For his lineage see ĞN, i, 155. Marthad was a brother of Ṭarafah’s paternal grandfather.

833 The verse is often quoted, see e.g. al-Baṭalyawsī, *Sharḥ*, ii, 432; al-Mufaḍḍal, *Fākhīr*, 110; al-Baḡhdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 419, 421. In the *Dīwān* it is the second of a piece of six lines.

لا عَيْبَ فِيهِ غَيْرَ أَنْ قِيلَ وَاجِدٌ وَأَنَّ لَهُ كَشْحًا إِذَا قَامَ أَهْضِمًا

وكان عبد عمرو نديماً لعمرو بن هند وجليساً وإنساً، فدخل معه الحمام، فلما تجرّد نظر إليه ٢١٣ عمرو فقال: كأنّ ابن عمك كان يراك حين يقول:

لا عَيْبَ فِيهِ غَيْرَ أَنْ قِيلَ وَاجِدٌ وَأَنَّ لَهُ كَشْحًا إِذَا قَامَ أَهْضِمًا

حتّى أتى على الشعر. فقال: ما قال فيك أيّها الملك أشدّ! قال: وما قال؟ قال: فأنشده: فليّت لنا مكان المَلِكِ عمرو، إلى آخرها. فقال: لا أصدّقك عليه لِمَا بينك وبينه. واحتملها في قلبه على طرفة.

فلما كان بعد ذلك بيسير قال لطرفة وللمتملّس: أظنّكما قد اشتقّتما أهلكما، فهل لكما في أن أكتب لكما إلى عامل البحرّين بصِلّةٍ وجائزة؟ قالوا: نعم. فكتب إليه بقتلها. فأخذا كتابهما ومضيا، وأحسّ المتملّس بالشرّ وخاف الداهية، فقال لطرفة: إنّ حملنا هذين الكتابين ولا ندري ما فيهما عَجْزٌ، فهل لك أن ننظر فيهما؟ فقال طرفة: لم يكن ليُقَدِّمَ عليّ ولا على قومي، وما بينهما إلّا خير! فمرّاً بنهر الجيرة فإذا بغلمان يلعبون، ففكّ المتملّس صحيفته ودفعها إلى غلامٍ منهم فقرأها فإذا الشرّ، فألقاها في الماء وقال لطرفة: اعلم أنّ في كتابك ما في كتابي. فقال: لم يكن ليفعل ولا يجتري على قومي. فقال المتملّس:

قَذَفْتُ بِهَا بِالتَّنِيٍّ^٢ مِنْ جَنْبِ كَافِرٍ كَذَلِكَ أَقْنُو كُلَّ قَطٍّ مُضَلِّلٍ
رَضِيْتُ لَهَا بِالمَاءِ لَمَّا رَأَيْتُهَا يَجُولُ بِهَا التِّيَّارُ فِي كُلِّ جَدُولٍ

١ من (كأنّ ابن عمك ...) إلى (... على الشعر فقال:): ساقط في ك

٢ كذ: (التني).

834 The commentators say that Ṭarafah describes 'Abd 'Amr with terms suitable for women rather than men.

835 See § 29 note 338.

No blame is attached to him, except that he is rich
and has a slim waist when he stands up.⁸³⁴

‘Abd ‘Amr was a boon companion of ‘Amr ibn Hind. He would sit with him as one would with a familiar friend and he bathed together with him in the hammam. When ‘Abd ‘Amr took off his clothes, ‘Amr looked at him and said, “It is as if your nephew saw you when he said, ‘No blame is attached to him, except that he is rich / and has a slim waist when he stands up.’” He recited the whole poem. Then ‘Abd ‘Amr said, “What he said about you, Sire, is worse!” “What did he say?” asked ‘Amr. Then ‘Abd ‘Amr recited “I wish we had, instead of king ‘Amr ...”, until the end. The king said, “I don’t believe you, because of your bad relationship with him!” But secretly he harboured a grudge against Ṭarafah.

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A short time after this he said to Ṭarafah and al-Mutalammis, “I think you must be longing for your family. Would you like me to write a letter on your behalf to the governor of al-Baḥrayn,⁸³⁵ together with a present and a gift?” They assented, and he wrote letters to him ordering their execution. They took their letters and left. Al-Mutalammis had a feeling that something was amiss. He feared the worst and said to Ṭarafah, “It cannot be right that we carry these letters without knowing what is in them. Shall we see what they say?” But Ṭarafah replied, “He would not do anything to me or my people! We are on good terms with him.” When they came along the river of al-Ḥīrah⁸³⁶ they came upon some boys who were playing. Al-Mutalammis opened his letter, handed it to one of the boys, who read it to him.⁸³⁷ It turned out to be the worst. He threw it into the water and said to Ṭarafah, “Surely your letter contains the same as mine!” But Ṭarafah said, “He wouldn’t dare to do that to my people!” Al-Mutalammis said,

I threw it in the bend of the river Kāfir:
that is how I reward a misleading gift.
I was pleased to let the water have it when I saw
how the current ran away with it in every stream.

836 Al-Ḥīrah, located near present-day Najaf and not far from Kufah, lies on the Euphrates, but the river (or canal) meant here is called Kāfir, as in the following. See e.g. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, entry “Kāfir”.

837 Pellat says (*EI2*, “al-Mutalammis”) that this shows that al-Mutalammis was illiterate, rather than that he may have been able to read the South Semitic script but could not read the early form of Arabic writing used in al-Ḥīrah, as Beeston suggested.

٢١٤ ومضى المتلمس إلى الشام، ومضى طرفه بكتابه إلى عامل البحرين، وهو عبد هُند بن جرد بن جُري بن جُروة بن عُمير التُّغلبِي، فلَمَّا قرأ الكتاب قال: أترى ما في كتابك؟ قال: لا. قال: فإنَّ فيه قَتْلُكَ، وأنت رجلٌ شريف، وبيننا وبينك إخوانٌ قديمٌ فإنَّجُ قبيل أن يُعلَمَ بمكانك؛ فإنِّي إن قرأتُ كتابك لم أجدُ بُدًّا من قتلِكَ! فخرج ولقيه شباب من عبد القيس، فجعلوا يَسْتَقُونَهُ ويقول الشعر، فلَمَّا علم بمكانه قدَّمه فضرب عنقه. وهو قول المتلمس:

وَطُرِفَةُ بن العبدِ كان هَدِيَّهمْ ضربوا صميمَ قَداله بمهتدِ

[٨٣ §] ومنهم بشر بن أبي خازم الأَسديّ. وكان أغار في مَقَنبٍ من قومه على الأبناء من بني صَعَصعة بن معاوية وكان بنو صعصعة إلا عامر بن صعصعة يُدْعَوْنَ الأبناء، وهم وائلة ومازن وسلول. فلَمَّا جالت الخيل بموضع يقال له الرَّذَه مرَّ بشر بغلام من بني وائلة، فقال له بشر: أعط بيدك. فقال له الوائلي: لتتنحَّين^١ أو لأشعرنك سهمًا من كِنانتي! فأبى بشرٌ إلا أسره، فرماه بسهم على | ثُنْدُوته، فاعتنق بشرٌ فرسه، وأخذ الغلام فأوثقه، فلَمَّا كان الليل أطلقه بشر من وثاقه ٢١٥ وخلقى سبيله، وقال: أعلِمَ قومك أنك قد قتلت بشرًا. وهو قوله:

١ كذا في هـ، ك؛ ولعلَّ الصحيح (جُرذ).

٢ ك: (للتنحَّين).

838 Not found in ċN; instead of J.r.d in 'ASH and SKH, I read Juradh, as in al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 422. Al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-qaṣā'id al-sab' al-tiwāl*, 127 has Jurad with a variant Jarad, but Juradh, despite meaning "rat", is attested as a man's name.

839 The details about Ṭarafah's end and the manner of his execution differ in the various sources, but they all end with his death. The expression *ṣaḥīfat al-Mutalammis* ("al-Mutalammis's letter") became proverbial. It may seem odd that it mentions al-Mutalammis, for one would expect it to be *ṣaḥīfat Ṭarafah*, but *ṣaḥīfat al-Mutalammis* offers a better metrical fit for poets, see e.g. the line by al-Farazdaq, *Diwān*, 483, also in al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xvi, 167, xxi, 383, with two more examples of the phrase in verse cited in al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār*, 217–218.

840 Instead of Ṭarafah (which would not fit the metre) the poet uses the diminutive form, Ṭurayfah, which could convey the sense of "dear Ṭarafah" or "young Ṭarafah". He is said to have been in his twenties when he died (Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 188 calls his *ibn al-īshrīn*).

841 Al-Jāhīz, *Bursān*, 77, quoting this verse, says that *hadīyy* means "bride" (*'arūs*). I prefer to take it as a masculine form of *hadīyyah*, the sacrificial animal led to the Kaaba in Mecca. Alternatively, it means "prisoner" (*asīr*), see Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (HDY), quoting this verse.

842 On "Indian", see above, § 53.

Al-Mutalammis went to Syria and Ṭarafah took his letter to the governor of al-Baḥrayn, ‘Abd Hind ibn Juradh ibn Jurayy ibn Jurwah ibn ‘Umayr al-Taghlibī.⁸³⁸ When the latter read the letter he said, “What do you think is in your letter?” “I don’t know”, answered Ṭarafah. “It says you are to be killed”, said the governor. “You are a man of nobility and there is an old friendship between me and your family. Now save yourself before it gets known where you are, for I have read your letter and I would be bound to have you killed.” Ṭarafah left. He met some young men of the tribe of ‘Abd al-Qays, who gave him some wine to drink. He composed some poetry, and when his whereabouts became known he was taken and beheaded.⁸³⁹ Al-Mutalammis refers to this in his verse:

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Young Ṭarafah⁸⁴⁰ ibn al-‘Abd was their sacrificial victim:⁸⁴¹
they struck the nape of his neck with an Indian sword.⁸⁴²

[§ 83 Bishr ibn Abī Khāzim al-Asadī⁸⁴³]

Another is Bishr ibn Abī Khāzim al-Asadī. He was on a raid, in a troop of horsemen of his kinsmen, against the Abnā’ of the Banū Ṣaṣa’ah ibn Mu’āwiyah. The Banū Ṣaṣa’ah, with the exception of the branch of ‘Āmir ibn Ṣaṣa’ah, were called al-Abnā’ (“the sons”); they are Wā’ilah, Māzin, and Salūl.⁸⁴⁴ When the horses arrived at a place called al-Rad’h,⁸⁴⁵ Bishr came past a boy of the Banū Wā’ilah.⁸⁴⁶ “Give me your hand!” said Bishr.⁸⁴⁷ The Wā’ilī replied, “Move aside or I’ll make you feel an arrow from my quiver!” But Bishr insisted on taking him prisoner. The boy shot an arrow that hit | his chest. Bishr clung to the neck of his horse, he grabbed the boy and tied him up. But when night fell Bishr released him and let him go. “Tell your people”, he said, “that you have killed Bishr.” To this he refers in his verse.⁸⁴⁸

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843 See Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 211–212, *EI2*, “Bishr b. Abī Khāzim” (J.W. Fück). He lived in the second half of the 6th century. For his lineage see *ĠN*, i, 55. For a parallel see al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, iv, 441–442 (quoting Ibn Ḥabīb), Ibn al-Shajarī, *Mukhtārāt*, 302, and see Bishr’s *Dīwān*, 25.

844 See *ĠN*, i, 92. The term Abnā’ (“Sons”) is used for collectives of brother tribes when younger brothers ally themselves against older brothers (*ĠN*, ii, 135).

845 See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*: “A place in the territory of Qays, where the poet Bishr ibn Abī Khāzim is buried”, quoting a line by Bishr that mentions it, taken from the same poem mentioned below. See Ibn al-Shajarī, *Mukhtārāt*, 305, Ibn Maymūn, *Muntahā l-ṭalab*, i, 155.

846 He is identified as ‘Amr ibn Ḥudhār in al-Marzubānī, *Muʿjam al-shuʿarā*, 37 and as ‘Abs ibn Ḥudhār in al-Anbārī’s commentary on the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 31.

847 Meaning, “Surrender to me as a captive!” (*Khizānah has istaʿsir*).

848 It is line 4 of a poem of twenty lines, found in Ibn al-Shajarī, *Mukhtārāt*, 302–313 (with commentary), Ibn Maymūn, *Muntahā l-ṭalab*, i, 155–156, and Bishr’s *Dīwān*, 35–36.

وَإِنَّ الْوَائِلِيَّ أَصَابَ قَلْبِي بِسَهْمٍ لَمْ يَكُنْ نِكَسًا لُغَابَا

في شعر طويل.

[٨٤ §] وَمِنْهُمْ عَدِيٌّ بْنُ زَيْدِ الْعِبَادِيِّ وَقَدْ مَرَّ حَدِيثُهُ فِي الْمَغْتَالِينَ.

[٨٥ §] وَمِنْهُمْ تَابِطُ شَرًّا الْفَهْمِيُّ وَهُوَ ثَابِتُ بْنُ جَابِرِ بْنِ سُفْيَانَ، وَكَانَ مِنْ شُعْرَاءِ الْعَرَبِ وَفُتَاكَهْمُ وَإِنَّهُ خَرَجَ غَازِيًّا فِي نَفَرٍ مِنْ قَوْمِهِ إِذْ عَرَضَ لَهُمْ بَيْتٌ مِنْ هُدَيْلٍ^١ بَيْنَ صَدَّيْ جَبَلٍ فَقَالَ: اغْنَمُوا هَذَا الْبَيْتَ. فَقَالُوا: وَاللَّهِ مَا لَنَا فِيهِ أَرْبٌ، وَلَسْنَا كَانَتْ فِيهِ غَنِيمَةٌ فَمَا نَسْتَطِيعُ أَنْ نَسُوقَهَا، فَقَالَ: إِنِّي أَتَفَاءَلُ أَنْ تَكُونَ غَنِيمَةً! وَوَقَفَ وَأَتَتْ لَهُ صَبْعٌ عَنْ يَسَارِهِ، فَكَرِهَهَا وَعَافَ عَلَى غَيْرِ الَّذِي رَأَى، وَقَالَ: أَبِشْرِي أُشْبِعُكَ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ غَدًا. فَقَالَ لَهُ أَصْحَابُهُ: وَيْلَكَ انْطَلِقْ، وَاللَّهِ مَا نَرَى^٢ أَنْ نَقِيمَ عَلَيْهَا! فَقَالَ: | وَاللَّهِ لَا أَرِيْمُ! وَأَتَتْ لَهُ الضَّبْعُ فَقَالَ لَهَا: أَبِشْرِي أُشْبِعُكَ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ غَدًا! فَقَالَ أَحَدُ^{٢١٦} الْقَوْمِ: وَاللَّهِ إِنِّي لَأَرَاهَا تَأْتِي لَكَ.

١ ك: (هزيل).

٢ ك: (تري).

849 Above, § 19.

850 On this famous brigand-poet see e.g. Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 137–139; *EI2*, x, 2–3 “Ta’abbaṭa Šarran” (A. Arazi); Toumi, “Ta’abbaṭa Šarran—ein Räuberdichter der vorislamischer Zeit”. Arabic sources include Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 196–198; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xiii, 278–284; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi’r*, 312–314, 672–674; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxi, 126–173; al-Maqrīzī, *Luṣūṣ* (in Webb, *Arab Thieves*, 192–237, with translation). For the story of his death see *Ansāb*, xiii, 282, *Aghānī*, xxi, 166–168, identical with the present text apart from some slight variations; al-Maqrīzī offers a shortened version (*Luṣūṣ*, 216–219). In *Aghānī* it is followed (169–170) by a different account of his death, also by the hand of a boy who shot him. This account is attributed to Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī; it is also found in al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ ash‘ār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, 845–846.

851 For his genealogy see *ĠN*, i, 140; Fahm ibn ‘Amr is a branch of Qays ‘Aylān. Their territory was adjacent to that of Hudhayl. His nickname, which translates as “He took evil under

The Wā'ilī hit my heart
with an arrow that was no badly fletched dud.

It is part of a longer poem.

[§ 84 'Adī ibn Zayd al-'Ibādī]

Another is 'Adī ibn Zayd al-'Ibādī. His story has been told above, among the murder victims.⁸⁴⁹

[§ 85 Ta'abbaṭa Sharrā⁸⁵⁰]

Another is Ta'abbaṭa Sharrā al-Fahmī, Thābit ibn Jābir ibn Sufyān,⁸⁵¹ one of the poets and killers (*futtāk*) of the Arabs. When on a raid with some others of his tribe he came upon a tent of the tribe Hudayl, between the two sides of a mountain.⁸⁵² He said, "Plunder it!" But the others said, "By God, there is nothing for us there. If there are camels to take we will not be able to drive them away!" Ta'abbaṭa Sharrā replied, "But I predict success, there will be booty!"⁸⁵³ He stopped and a hyena appeared on his left side. He did not like this but gave a prediction⁸⁵⁴ contrary to what he had seen. "Good tidings to you," he said to the animal, "I'll fill your belly with the men tomorrow!" His companions said to him, "Damn you, move on! By God, we are not going to stay here!" But he said, | "By God, I won't budge!" The hyena⁸⁵⁵ appeared (again) and he said to it, "Good tidings to you, I'll fill your belly with the men tomorrow!" One of his companions said, "By God, I think it is coming for you, rather!"

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his arm", is explained variously: as a young boy he was seen carrying a sword under his arm, or a ram that turned out to be a ghoul, or a bag with snakes (thus in Ibn Ḥabīb, *Alqāb al-shu'arā'*, 307). Sometimes his name is shortened to Ta'abbaṭa. I follow Lyall in giving his name in correct pausal form, with Sharrā; most modern studies write it as Ta'abbaṭa Sharran.

852 *Bayna ṣadday jabal*; Instead of *ṣadday*, *Aghānī* has *ṣuwā* "hillocks" or "marking stones".

853 He uses the verb *tafā'ala*, "to see a favourable omen". The appearance of animals is often part of taking omens: coming from the right, this is a good sign (*sāniḥ*). The hyena that appears from the left (*bārīḥ*), however, is an inauspicious sign.

854 The verb *āfa* strictly refers to augury involving the flight of birds but is here used in a more general sense.

855 *Aghānī* has "a hyena (i.e., another one) appeared on his left".

فبات حتى إذا كان في وجه الصبح وقد عدّهم على النار وأبصر سوادهم غلاماً مع القوم ذوي
المحتلم، فذهب في الجبل، وعدّوا على القوم فقتلوا شيخاً وعجوزاً، وحازوا جاريتين وإبلاً. ثم
قال تأبّط شراً: فأين الغلام الذي كان معكم؟ وأبصروا أثره، فاتبعه، فقال له أصحابه: ويلك،
دعه فإنك لا تريد إليه شيئاً. فاتبعه واستدري الغلام بوقفة إلى صخرة، وأقبل تأبّط شراً يقصّه،
وأوفق الغلام سهماً حين رأى ألا يُنجيه شيء، وأمهلته حتى إذا دنا منه قفز قفزة فوثب على
الصخرة وأرسل السهم، فلم يسمع تأبّط شراً الحبيضة،^٣ فرفع رأسه وانتظم السهم قلبه، وأقبل
نحوه وهو يقول: لا بأس! فقال الغلام: لا بأس؟ والله، لقد وضعتُه، حيث تكره. وعشبيّه تأبّط شراً
بالسيف، وجعل الغلام يلوذ بالدرة، ويضربها تأبّط شراً بحشاشته فيخذ منها ما أصاب منها
حتى خلس إليه فقتله، ونزل إلى أصحابه يجرّ برجله. فلما رأوه وثبوا فسألوه: ما أصابك؟ فلم
ينطق ومات في أيديهم، فانطلقوا وتركوه، فجعل لا يأكل منه سبع ولا طائر إلا مات، فاحتمله
هُذيل فطرحوه في غار يقال له غار رَحمان. فقالت أخته ريطة ترضيه:

١ لعلّ الصحيح (برنفة).

٢ ك: (أوافق).

٣ هـ، ك: (الحبيضة)، والتصحيح من الأغاني.

٤ كذا في الأغاني وأظنه الصواب. وفي هـ: (وأقبل الغلام نحوه وهو يقول: لا بأس! فقال الغلام وهو
يقول: أما والله لقد وضعتُه) وفي ك: (وأقبل الغلام نحوه، وهو يقول: لا بأس. فأقبل الغلام وهو يقول:
أما والله لقد وضعتُه).

٥ ك: (فيخذ).

856 In *Aghānī* Ta'abbāṭa Sharrā sees the shape (*sawād*) of the boy and the words "left for the mountain" are omitted. The following shows that Ta'abbāṭa Sharrā has indeed seen the boy, so possibly both texts are incomplete.

857 He presumably asks the girls; cf. *Aghānī*: "with them", asking his companions.

858 Possibly *bi-waqfah* is a misreading of *bi-ranfah*, "at a willow tree", see note 860 below.

859 *Aghānī* has "When Ta'abbāṭa heard the twanging of the bowstring he raised his head", which may be the better reading.

860 In *Aghānī* the boy hides behind a thorny bush (*qatādah*) which Ta'abbāṭa Sharrā hacks away. Al-Maqrīzī (*Luṣūṣ*, 218, also al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs* [RNF]) adds: "it is (also) said that he took refuge behind a willow tree (*ranfah*)"; it seems likely that the rare word *ranfah* was misread again, this time as *daraqah* ("leather shield").

He stayed there that night and when morning dawned he was able to count the men sitting at the fire. A young lad among them, not yet having reached puberty, saw their shapes in the dark and left for the mountain.⁸⁵⁶ Then they attacked the people, killing an old man and an old woman. They took two girls and some camels. Ta'abbaṭa Sharrā asked, "Where is that boy who was with you?"⁸⁵⁷ They noticed his footprints, so he followed them. His companions said, "Come on, leave him! You don't want anything from him." But he went on tracking the boy, who had taken refuge behind a rock where he stopped.⁸⁵⁸ When Ta'abbaṭa Sharrā, following his tracks, approached, the boy put an arrow to his bow, seeing that he would not be able to escape from him. He waited until the other was near, then he jumped up, leapt on top of the rock, and shot his arrow. Ta'abbaṭa Sharrā did not hear the twanging of the bowstring, he raised his head,⁸⁵⁹ and the arrow pierced his heart.

The boy approached him. "It's all right!" said Ta'abbaṭa Sharrā. "All right?" said the boy, "By God, I've put it where you don't like it!" Ta'abbaṭa Sharrā struck him with his sword. The boy protected himself with a leather shield.⁸⁶⁰ With his last strength Ta'abbaṭa Sharrā hewed upon it, cutting it away until the boy was at his mercy and he killed him. Dragging his feet he went down and returned to his companions. They jumped up and asked him, "What has happened to you?" But he did not speak another word and died in their arms. They departed and left him. Whenever a wild beast or bird started to eat from his body it would die.⁸⁶¹ The men of Hudhayl carried his corpse away and left it in a cave called Rakhmān Cave.⁸⁶² His sister Rayṭah lamented him.⁸⁶³

861 Al-Maqrīzī (*Luṣūṣ*, 218–219) dwells at some length on the bad miasma of the body and its dire effects, adding: "and it was said that whenever the stench of his corpse wafted over any living being, it became ill. Some youths from the Hudayl went to bury Ta'abbaṭa Šarran, but all of them who smelled his body died. Some others veiled their faces and plugged their noses, and they hurled his corpse into the Cave of Raḥmān, yet when they returned, the bones of every one of them decayed and then they all went blind" (tr. Webb). These details have not been found in older texts.

862 See Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, 646–647, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, who give no more information than what they know of Ta'abbaṭa Sharrā's story.

863 Nearly identical verses are attributed to his mother in al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ ash'ār al-Hudhalyūn*, 846; the first two lines are anonymous in Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 312. The metre of these lines is called *rajaz* in the index of *Nawādir al-makhtūṭāt*, ii, 485, whereas in a note in *Aghānī* (xxi, 168) it is called *sarī*. On the similarity of *rajaz* and *sarī* see Ullmann, *Untersuchungen*, 16–17, where it is argued that the rhyme scheme should decide in ambiguous cases. This means it is taken to be *rajaz* here. See also *EI2*, "sarī" (W. Stöetzer).

نِعَمَ الْفَتَى غَادِرْتُمْ بِرِخْمَانٍ ثَابِتُ بْنُ جَابِرِ بْنِ سُفْيَانَ
 قَدْ يَقْتُلُ الْقِرْنَ وَيُرْوِي النَّدْمَانَ

[٨٦§] وَمِنْهُمْ صَخْرُ بْنُ الشَّرِيدِ السُّلَمِيِّ. وَكَانَ غَزَا بَنِي أَسَدِ بْنِ خُرَيْمَةَ وَأَصَابَ غَنَائِمَ وَسَبِيًّا، وَإِنَّ أَبَا ثَوْرٍ بِنَ رَبِيعَةَ^١ بِنَ ثَعْلَبَةَ بِنَ رِثَابٍ^٢ بِنَ الْأَشْتَرِ الْأَسَدِيِّ طَعَنَ صَخْرًا وَعَلِيهِ الدَّرْعُ، فَدَخَلَتْ حَلَقَةٌ مِنْ حَلَقَاتِ الدَّرْعِ بَطْنَ صَخْرٍ، فَتَحَامَلَ بِالطَّعْنَةِ^٣، وَفَاتَ بَنِي أَسَدٍ، فَجَوِيَ مِنْهَا، وَكَانَ تَمَرُّضٌ قَرِيبًا مِنْ سَنَةِ حَتَّى مَلَءَ أَهْلَهُ، فَسَمِعَ امْرَأَةً وَهِيَ تَسْأَلُ سَلْمَى امْرَأَتَهُ: كَيْفَ بَعْلُكَ؟ قَالَتْ: لَا حَيٌّ فَيُرْجَى وَلَا مَيِّتٌ فَيُنْعَى، لَقِينَا مِنْهُ الْأَمْرَيْنِ! فَلَمَّا سَمِعَ ذَلِكَ مِنْهَا قَالَ:

أَرَى أُمَّ صَخْرٍ مَا تَمَلُّ عِيَادَتِي وَمَلَّتْ سُلَيْمَى مَضْجَعِي وَمَكَانِي
 فَأَيُّ امْرَأَةٍ سَاوَى بَأْمٍ حَلِيلَةٌ فَلَا عَاشٍ إِلَّا فِي شَقَاءٍ وَهَوَانٍ
 لَعَمْرِي لَقَدْ نَبَّهْتُ مَنْ كَانَ نَائِمًا وَأَسْمَعْتُ مَنْ كَانَتْ لَهُ أُذُنَانِ
 أَهْمٌ بِأَمْرِ الْحَزْمِ لَوْ أُسْتَطِيعُهُ وَقَدْ حِيلَ بَيْنَ الْعَيْرِ وَالتَّرْوَانِ

- ١ هـ، ك: (أبا ثور بن ربيعة).
 ٢ هـ، ك: (رباب).
 ٣ الكلمتان ناقصتان في ك
 ٤ ك: (فقال).

864 'ASH and SKH read *Thābitu bnu Jābiri*, which is metrically irregular. In *Aghānī* it is vowelled as *Thābitun-t bnu Jābiri*, correcting the metre but grammatically irregular. In other versions (al-Balādhurī, al-Sukkarī, Ibn Qutaybah) it is *bi-Thābiti bni Jābiri*.

865 Listed here among poets, the fame of Ṣakhr ibn 'Amr al-Sharīd of Sulaym as a poet is eclipsed by that of his sister al-Khansā' ("Snubnose"; her given name being Tumāḍir), who composed numerous elegies on him and his brother Mu'āwiyah, both of whom died shortly before the coming of Islam. She died as a Muslim c. 640 or even some decades later. On their lineage see ČN, i, 122. For parallels see e.g. al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii, 254–255; idem, *Ta'āzī*, 90–92; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 344–345; idem, *Uyūn*, iv, 118–119; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, v, 166–167; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xv, 77–79; al-Shimshāḥī, *Anwār*, i, 110–112; Abū 'Ubayd, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 71–72; al-'Askarī, *Jamharah*, i, 300; al-Maydānī, *Majma'*, ii, 117–118; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirah*, vii, 386–387; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, xv, 368; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, i, 436–437.

A splendid man you left at Rakhmān!
 Thābit, son of Jābir, son of Sufyān,⁸⁶⁴
 Who would kill his opponent and quench the thirst of his drinking com-
 panions!

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[§ 86 Ṣakhr ibn al-Sharīd al-Sulamī⁸⁶⁵]

Another is Ṣakhr ibn al-Sharīd al-Sulamī. He had raided the Banū Asad ibn Khuzaymah and had taken booty and prisoners. Abū l-Thawr Rabī'ah ibn Tha'labah ibn Rī'āb ibn al-Ashtar al-Asadī⁸⁶⁶ had stabbed Ṣakhr, who was wearing a coat of mail. One of its rings had entered Ṣakhr's belly. He had kept himself going despite the wound and had escaped from the Banū Asad. The wound festered and he was ill for nearly a year, so that in the end his people became weary of it. He heard a woman ask Salmā, his wife, "How is your husband?" She answered, "Neither alive so that one could expect him to live, nor dead so that his death could be announced: we suffer with him the two most bitter things".⁸⁶⁷ When he heard this, he said,⁸⁶⁸

I see that Umm Ṣakhr is not tired of coming to my sickbed,
 but Sulaymā is weary of lying with me and being with me.⁸⁶⁹
 Any man who would equal a wife to a mother,
 may he not live except in misery and disgrace!
 Upon my life, you⁸⁷⁰ have woken up a sleeping man
 and you have given it to hear to whoever has two ears.
 I am eager to act resolutely, if only I could,
 but the wild ass is prevented from mounting.⁸⁷¹

866 See *ĠN*, i, 50. Instead of Abū Thawr Rabī'ah, 'ASH and SKḤ have Abū Thawr ibn Rabī'ah; instead of Rī'āb they have R.bāb.

867 Some versions (such as al-Maydānī, *Majma'*) add that a man, seeing Ṣakhr's wife, asked her, "Are the buttocks for sale?" upon which she replied, "Soon."

868 This is a poem included in the collection of early poetry, *al-Aṣma'īyyāt* (146–147), where it has seven lines.

869 Umm Ṣakhr is his mother. In *al-Aṣma'īyyāt* it is "I see that Umm Ṣakhr's tears are not drying up". Sulaymā is a common variant of Salmā.

870 For this verb 'ASH offers two readings, *nabbahti* (2nd ps. fem. sing.) and *nabbahtu* (1st ps. sing.); likewise for the following verb. Most parallels favour the former reading.

871 This metaphor became a proverb, found in all major collections of proverbs. As for his resoluteness, Ibn Qutaybah tells that, angry with Salmā, he tied her to a post of the tent until she died. An alternative version has it that he asked for his sword in order to kill her, but he was too weak to carry out his intention.

٢١٨ فلما طال عليه البلاء والمرض وقد نتأت قطعة من جنبه^١ مثل اللبد في موضع | الطعنة، قالوا: لو قطعته رجونا أن تبرأ منها، فقال: شأنكم! وأشفق عليه بعضهم فنهاه، فقال: الموت أهون علي مما أنا فيه! فأحموا له شفرة فقطعوها، فيئس من نفسه. وسمع أخته الخنساء تسأل: كيف كان صبره؟ فقال:

أجارتنا إنَّ الخطوبَ تريبُ علينا وكلُّ المُخطئين تُصيبُ
فإنَّ تسأليني كيف صبري فإنني صبورٌ على ريبِ الزمانِ أريبُ
كأنِّي وقد أدنوا الحزَّ شفارهم من الصبرِ دامي الصفحتين ركوبُ
أجارتنا لستُ الغداةَ بظاعنٍ ولكن مقيمٌ ما أقام عسيبُ

فمات فدفن هناك.

[٨٧§] ومنهم طريف بن تميم العنبري. وكان قُتل يوم مَبَاضٍ. وكان طريف قتل شراحيل^٢ أخا بني [أبي] ربيعة بن ذهل بن شيبان. وكان^٣ الفرسان لا تشهد عكاظ إلا مبرقة مخافة الثورة، وكان طريف لا يتبرقع كما يتبرقعون. فلما ورد عكاظ قال حمصيصة بن شراحيل | الشيباني: ٢١٩

١ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

٢ ه، ك: (شرحبيل) والتصحيح من العقد الفريد ومراجع أخرى.

٣ ك: (وكانت).

872 *A-jāratānā*, literally "female neighbour of us!", is ambiguous. A *jārah* is often one's wife, but the context makes it clear that he is addressing his sister.

873 This hemistich is also attributed to Imru' al-Qays, see his *Dīwān*, 357; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ix, 100–101; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, s.v. 'Asīb.

874 According to al-Askarī, *Jamharah*, i, 300, "he was buried at the side of 'Asīb, a mountain near Medina; his grave is marked there."

875 On his lineage see ĠN, i, 81. For parallels see Abū 'Ubaydah, *Dibāj*, 149–151; idem, *Ayyām*, 445–451; al-Mufaḍḍal, *Fākhīr*, 247–250; al-Jāhīz, *Bayān*, iii, 100–101; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, v, 208–210 (on *Yawm Mubāyīd*); al-Shimshāṭī, *Anwār*, i, 96–101 (where the battle day is called *Yawm Ubāyīd*); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i, 477–479; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, xv, 394–395. The battle was between Tamim and Bakr ibn Wā'il.

His misery and illness lasted a long time. An excrescence protruded from his side, like a piece of felt, at the place | of the wound. They said to him, “If you cut it off, we expect you may be cured.” “As you wish”, he said. Someone was concerned for him and told him not to do it, but he said, “I would rather die than stay like this!”. They heated a blade and cut it off. As a result he gave up any hope of living. He heard his sister al-Khansā’ ask someone, “How did he endure it?” Then he said,

Sister!⁸⁷² Mishaps are alarming us
 and they hit unerringly all those who err.
 If you ask me how I endured it, well, I am
 one who bears Time’s misfortunes, skilled in it.
 When they took their blade to me, ready to cut, it was as if
 I were, for endurance, a riding camel with bloodied flanks.
 Sister, I shall not be departing this morning
 but I shall remain here, as long as Mount ‘Asīb remains.⁸⁷³

Then he died and was buried there.⁸⁷⁴

[§ 87 Ṭarīf ibn Tamīm al-‘Anbarī⁸⁷⁵]

Another is Ṭarīf ibn Tamīm al-‘Anbarī. He was killed on the battle day of Mubāyīd. Ṭarīf had killed Sharāḥīl, one of the Banū Abū Rabī‘ah ibn Dhuhl ibn Shaybān.⁸⁷⁶ Knights would come to the market at ‘Ukāz wearing veils, fearing blood revenge,⁸⁷⁷ but Ṭarīf would not wear a veil as the others did. When he arrived at ‘Ukāz, Ḥamaṣīṣah, the son of Sharāḥīl | al-Shaybānī,⁸⁷⁸ said, “Show

876 For this branch of Bakr ibn Wā’il see *ĠN*, i, 149. Sharāḥīl is not mentioned there. In ‘ASH and SKḪ this name is spelled as Shurahbīl; since Ṭarīf’s killer is given as Ḥamaṣīṣah ibn Sharāḥīl, I have emended Shurahbīl to Sharāḥīl, as it is also in e.g. Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *ʿIqd* and al-Shimshāṭī, *Anwār*.

877 During the annual market days at ‘Ukāz, not far from Mecca (see *EI2*, “Ukāz” [Irfan Shahīd]) bloodshed was forbidden, but taking precautions was no doubt wise.

878 Ḥamaṣīṣah (also absent from the lineage in *ĠN*) is spelled Ḥimṣīyyah in Abū ‘Ubaydah, *Dībāj*, 148; Ḥumayṣīṣah in Abū ‘Ubaydah, *Ayyām*, ii, 445 and al-Shimshāṭī, *Anwār*, i, 97; Ḥaṣīṣah in Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih; *ʿIqd*, v, 208; and as Ḥamīṣah (or Ḥumayṣah) in al-Maydānī, *Majma‘*, ii, 525 and Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, i, 477. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-Arab* (*HMS*) gives ḥamaṣīṣ as the name of a plant.

أُرُونِي طَرِيفاً. فَأَرُوهُ إِيَّاهُ فَجَعَلَ يَتَأَمَّلُهُ، فَقَالَ لَهُ طَرِيفٌ: مَا لَكَ؟ فَقَالَ: أَتَوَسَّمُكَ لِأَعْرِفَكَ، فَإِنْ لَقَيْتُكَ فِي حَرْبٍ فَلِلَّهِ عَلَيَّ أَنْ أَقْتَلَكَ أَوْ تَقْتَلَنِي! فَقَالَ طَرِيفٌ:

أَوْكَلَّمَا وَرَدَتْ عُكَاطٌ قَبِيلَةٌ بعثوا إليَّ عَرِيفَهُمْ يَتَوَسَّمُ
فَتَوَسَّمُونِي إِنْ بِي أَنَا ذَاكُمْ شاكي سِلَاحٍ فِي الْحَوَادِثِ مُعَلِّمٌ
تَحْتِي الْأَعْرُوفُ فَوْقَ جِلْدِي نَثْرَةٌ زَعْفٌ تَرْدُ السِّيفِ وَهُوَ مِثْلُهُ
وَلِكُلِّ بَكَرِيٍّ عَلَيَّ عَدَاوَةٌ وَأَبُو رِبِيعَةَ شَانِيٌّ وَمَحَلِّمٌ
حَوْلِي أَسِيدٌ وَالْهَجِيمِ وَمَارِئٌ وَإِذَا حَلَلْتُ فَحَوْلَ بَيْتِي خَصَمٌ

فمضى لذلك ما شاء الله. ثم إنَّ عائذة، وهم حُلفاء لبني أبي ربيعة بن ذهل، أغار عليهم طريفٌ في بني العنبر، وقد كَيَّ بن أعبد في بني منقر، وأبو الجدعاء في بني طهية، فالتقوا بمبايض فاقتتلوا قتالاً شديداً، فقتل أبو الجدعاء، وهرب فدكي، ولم يكن لحمصيصة همَّ غير طريف، فلما عرفه رماه فقتله. فقال أبو مارد، أخو بني أبي ربيعة، في قتل حمصيصة طريفاً:

خَاضَ الْغَدَاةَ إِلَى طَرِيفٍ فِي الْوَعْيِ حَمَصِيصَةُ الْمَغْوَارِ فِي الْهَيْجَاءِ

١ ه، ك: (أو كَلَّمَا).

٢ ك: (كعاط).

٣ ه، ك: (ومحرم)، والتصحيح من الأصمعيات ومصادر كثيرة غيرها.

٤ ك: (رماد).

879 Apart from being quoted in the sources given above, the poem is also included in *al-Aṣma'īyyāt*, 127–128 and *al-Akhfash*, *al-Ikhtiyārāyn*, 189–190.

880 This line is given in the famous grammar by Sibawayh (ii, 215) as an example of the form *fa'il* (here 'arīf) functioning as *fā'il* (here 'arīf).

881 His horse.

882 'AṢH and SKḤ have *muḥarram* or *muḥarrim*; I have read *Muḥallim*, as found in all other sources. The context seems to require a name. In *ĠN*, i, 148 one finds two persons called *Muḥallim*, both belonging to *Dhuhl ibn Shaybān*: *Muḥallim ibn Sayyār ibn Abī 'Amr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Dhuhl* and *Muḥallim ibn Ḥafar ibn Sayyār ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Dhuhl*; but it is likely that *Muḥallim ibn Dhuhl ibn Shaybān* is meant here (*ĠN*, i, 142).

me Ṭarīf!" They pointed Ṭarīf out to him and he looked at him attentively. Ṭarīf asked him, "What do you want?" Ḥamaṣīṣah replied, "I am taking note of your features so that I can recognise you. If I meet you again in battle, I swear to God I will kill you or else you will kill me." Then Ṭarīf said,⁸⁷⁹

Whenever a tribe arrives at 'Ukāz, do they then
 send for an expert of theirs to take note and examine?⁸⁸⁰
 Examine me then! I am that man,
 arms at the ready, distinguished in battle events.
 Beneath me is Bright Blaze,⁸⁸¹ on my skin is a smooth
 coat of mail that leaves a sword blunted.
 Every man of Bakr is hostile to me,
 and the Abū Rabī'ah and Muḥallim hate me.⁸⁸²
 Around me are Usayyid, al-Hujaym, and Māzin,
 and when I am at home, then around my tent are Khaḍḍam!⁸⁸³

Subsequently, the 'Ā'idhah,⁸⁸⁴ who were allied to the Banū Abī Rabī'ah ibn Dhuhl, were raided by Ṭarīf together with Fadakī ibn A'bad with men of the Banū Minqar⁸⁸⁵ and Abū l-Jad'ā' with men of the Banū Ṭuhayyah.⁸⁸⁶ They met at Mubāyid⁸⁸⁷ where they fought a hard battle. Abū l-Jad'ā' was killed, Fadakī fled, but Ḥamaṣīṣah's only concern was Ṭarīf. Upon recognising him he shot an arrow at him and killed him. Abū Mārid, of the Banū Abī Rabī'ah, said,⁸⁸⁸

That morning there plunged into the fray
 Ḥamaṣīṣah, a man bold in battle.

883 Usayyid, al-Hujaym, and Mālik are branches of Tamīm, see *ĠN*, i, 81. Khaḍḍam is said to be another name for al-'Anbar ibn 'Amr ibn Tamīm, the branch to which Ṭarīf belonged, see e.g. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab (KhDM)*, where this verse is quoted.

884 On 'Ā'idhah, a branch of Quraysh, see *ĠN* i, 4, 30 and ii, 148 ('Ā'idhah being a "matriarch", the patriarch being Khuzaymah ibn Lu'ayy).

885 For his lineage in Minqar see *ĠN*, i, 76.

886 Ṭuhayyah is the collective name of several branches of Tamīm, see *ĠN*, i, 59. Abū l-Jad'ā' cannot be found there.

887 On detailed descriptions of this battle day see the sources quote above, note 875. Mubāyid is mentioned in Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, but its location is not given. It is said to be a waterhole of the Banū Abī Rabī'ah (see e.g. al-Mufaḍḍal, *Fākhīr*, 248).

888 Abū Mārid has not been identified. The line is also ascribed to Abū l-Najm al-'Ijlī (al-Mufaḍḍal, *Fākhīr*, 249–250). Abū l-Najm, better known as a poet of *rajaz*, also composed a poem with the same rhyme and metre but the line is not found in the edition of the *Dōwān* by Hämeen-Anttila (1–3).

- ٢٢٠ [٨٨ §] ومنهم السُّليكَ بن السُّلُكَة، وهي أمّه، وأبوهُ عُمَيْرٌ السَّعْدِيُّ. وكان غزاً خَتَعَمَ فسبى امرأة فأولدها. ثمَّ إنَّ المرأة قالت لسُّليكَ: أُرزني قومي،^٢ وإني لا أغدر بك، وما ولدي منك إلا كولدي من غيرك. فاحتملها وأتى بها أرض ختعم فقالت له: أقم بهذا الموضع، لموضع أمرت به، حتّى آتيك بعد يومين أو ثلاثة. فلمّا أتت زوجها قالت له: هذا سُّليكَ بموضع كذا. فلم تر عند زوجها خيراً، فقالت لابن عمّه أنس بن مُدْرِك، فخرج أنس فقتله،^٣ فوثب زوج المرأة على أنس حتّى عقّله، فقال أنس:

غَضِبْتُ للمرء إذ نيكت؛ حليلتُه وإذ يُشدُّ على وجعائها الثَّقَرُ
أنى تناسيَّ هاماتٍ بمَجْزرةٍ لا يزددهيني سوادُ الليل والجَهْرُ

١ التكملة من الأغاني.

٢ هن في النسختين (قومك).

٣ كذا، كما يقتضيه السياق. وفي هـ، ك: (فقاتله).

٤ ك: (للمرء نكحت).

٥ كذا في الديباج لأبي عبيدة والأغاني للإصفهاني، وفي هـ: (فمحرورة) وفي ك: (فمخروه).

889 Oddly, there are two somewhat overlapping entries on him, see below, §93, perhaps through a copyist's error. Rather than merging them they are given here as they are found in the text.

890 On this brigand and poet, whose name is also spelled without articles (Sulayk ibn Sulakah), see e.g. Abū 'Ubaydah, *Dibāj*, 44–46, 71–73; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xii, 349–351; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 365–368; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xx, 374–387; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 139–140; al-Maqrīzī, *Luṣūṣ*, 246–261 and index. Al-Sulakah was the name of his mother, a black woman (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 307–308 lists him among the “sons of Ethiopian women”, *abnā' al-Ḥabashīyyāt*). He is counted among the “Arab Crows” (*aghribat al-'Arab*), see e.g. al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār*, 160 and Webb in al-Maqrīzī, *Luṣūṣ*, 47–51, and like some other

[§ 88 al-Sulayk ibn al-Sulakah⁸⁸⁹]

Another is al-Sulayk ibn al-Sulakah,⁸⁹⁰ al-Sulakah being his mother. His father was ‘Umayr al-Sa’dī. On a raid against the tribe of Khath’am he captured a woman and had a child by her. One day the woman said to Sulayk, “Let me visit my people; I shall not betray your trust, for my child with you is as dear to me as my other children.” Sulayk took her to the territory of Khath’am. She said to him, “Stay in this place”—pointing out some place to him—“until I return to you after two or three days.” When she came to her husband she told him, “Sulayk is in such-and-such a place.” But she did not find him up to anything, so she went to his paternal cousin, Anas ibn Mudrik.⁸⁹¹ He went out and killed al-Sulayk.⁸⁹² Then the woman’s husband rushed at Anas and made him pay the blood-price. Then Anas said,⁸⁹³

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I was angry on behalf of that man when his spouse was fucked⁸⁹⁴
and when on her behind a crupper was tied.

How could I forget the skulls in a place of carnage,⁸⁹⁵
when neither the nights’ blackness nor the moon (?)⁸⁹⁶ lifted my spir-
its!

brigands such as al-Shanfarā (see § 97) he was famous as a fast runner (al-‘Askarī, *Jamharah*, ii, 60; al-Maydanī, *Majma’*, ii, 55–56; al-Tha‘ālibī, *Thimār*, 134–135; see on this motif Webb in *Luṣūṣ*, 34–47). The name of his father is given as ‘Amr, ‘Āmir, or ‘Umayr ibn Yathribī. See *ĀN*, i, 76.

891 See *ĀN*, i, 224. He is also called Anas ibn Mudrikah [thus] al-Khath’amī (e.g. al-Jāhīz, *Hayawān*, iii, 81, *Aghānī*, x, 35).

892 The two editions have *fa-qātalahu* (“Anas) fought with him”) but the context makes clear that he killed him and that one ought to read *fa-qatalahu*.

893 Some or all of these lines are also, with several variants, in Abū ‘Ubaydah, *Dibāj*, 45–46; al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, i, 18; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi’r*, 368; idem, *Ma‘ānī*, 928, 1009; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, iii, 130; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xx, 387; Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 387–388; al-Maydanī, *Majma’*, ii, 170–171; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj* (wJ’).

894 In SKḤ the word *nikat* is replaced by the less offensive but unmetrical *nukihat*; the same on its reappearance in § 93.

895 Reading, with *Dibāj* and *Aghānī*, *bi-majzaratin* instead of the editions’ *fa-maḥrūratan*, which I do not understand. Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 387, has *bi-makhrūatin*, “in a shitting place” (with the comment, “this is more contemptible”).

896 I do not understand *al-jahar* (‘AṢḤ, SKḤ) and have translated the version of *Aghānī* (*al-qamar*); *Dibāj* has *al-khumur* (“the thicket”).

أَغَشَى الْهِيَاجَ وَسِرْبَالِي مِضَاعِفَةً تَغَشَى الْبِنَانَ وَسِيفِي صَارِمٌ ذَكَرٌ
إِنِّي وَقْتَلِي سَلِيكاً ثُمَّ أَعْقَلُهُ كَالشُّورِ يُضْرَبُ لَمَّا عَافَتِ الْبَقْرُ

- ۲۲۱ [۸۹ §] ومنهم عبد عمرو بن عمّار الطائي. كان الحارث بن أبي شمر العسائي لما قتل المُنذر بن ماء السماء بعث رجلاً من أهل بيته يقال له الأبرد، فنزل بين العراق والشام، وكان يسمّى المُلَيْك، أي ليس بملك تامّ، فأثاب عبد عمرو فامتدحه فوصله، فلم يرض صلته، فهجاه فقال:

كَأَنَّ ثَنِيَاهَ إِذَا افْتَرَّ ضَاحِكاً رُؤُوسُ جَرَادٍ فِي رُؤُوسٍ تُحَسَّحَسُ

فقال: ويلكم، ائتوني بجراد. فأنتي بجراد فأمر به فوضع على النار، فأرهنّ يتحرّكن، فقال: ويلكم، إن ابن عمّار لم يهجنني ولكنّ سلح عليّ! وكان ممّا هجاه به أيضاً قوله:

١ ك: (وكان).

٢ ه، ك: (المَلَيْك).

897 For the unusual subjunctive (*a'qilahū*) see Wright, *Grammar*, ii, 33. The word *thawr*, close to *baqar*, "cows", of course suggests "bull", but several sources (among them *Iqd; Majma' al-amthāl; Lisān al-'Arab [ThWR]*) record that others took *thawr* to mean *ṭuḥlub*, "green moss or algae". Lines by al-A'shā (see Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ānī*, 928) seem to support "bull" (*innī ... la-ka-l-thawri wa-l-jūnnīyyu yaḍribu zahrahū | wa-mā dhanbuhū an 'āfati l-mā'a mashrabā*). The second hemistich became a proverb for someone who feels wronged. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Luṣūṣ*, 258–261.

898 He is 'Abd 'Amr ibn 'Ammār ibn 'Amr, of Jamr, a branch of Tayyī; see *ĠN*, i, 252, ii, 122; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 175. For a (very brief) parallel see Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 235, where a line by al-A'shā mentioning Ibn 'Ammār is quoted; cf. al-A'shā, *Dīwān*, 179.

899 He was the Lakhmid king of al-Ḥīrah, see above, § 21. He was defeated in 554 by al-Ḥārith ibn Jabalah ibn al-Mundhir, Ghassānid king of the Jafnid dynasty (reg. AD 529–569). On him see e.g. *ĠN*, i, 193, ii, 305–306; *E12*, "al-Ḥārith b. Djabala" (Irfan Shāhid).

900 For al-Ḥārith ibn Abī Shamir Jabalah ibn al-Ḥārith, also of Ghassān, see *ĠN*, i, 193, ii, 312–313. There is some confusion between this al-Ḥārith (who is said to have died in 8/630, much later than the events here described) and al-Ḥārith ibn Jabalah, mentioned in the previous note, who is probably meant here.

I join the fray with a double coat of mail
 that covers the fingers, and my sword is sharp, of good steel.
 Having killed Sulayk and then to pay the blood-price, I was
 like a bull beaten away when the cows are loath to drink.⁸⁹⁷

[§ 89 ‘Abd ‘Amr ibn ‘Ammār al-Ṭā’ī⁸⁹⁸]

Another is ‘Abd ‘Amr ibn ‘Ammār al-Ṭā’ī. When al-Mundhir ibn Mā’ al-Samā’⁸⁹⁹ was killed, al-Ḥārith ibn Abī Shamir al-Ghassānī⁹⁰⁰ sent a man of his family called al-Abrad,⁹⁰¹ who established himself between Iraq and Syria. He was called al-Mulayk⁹⁰² (“the Kinglet”), meaning that he was not a full king. ‘Abd ‘Amr came to him and eulogised him. for which he received a reward.⁹⁰³ He was not satisfied with the reward and lampooned him, saying,⁹⁰⁴

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When he opens his mouth, laughing, his front teeth
 are like the heads of locusts when their heads are roasted.⁹⁰⁵

Al-Mulayk said, “Damn you, bring me some locusts!” When they were brought to him he told them to put them on the fire. He saw them move about and said, “Damn you, Ibn ‘Ammār did not just lampoon me, he shat on me!” Ibn ‘Ammār had also lampooned him with the following:⁹⁰⁶

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- 901 His lineage has not been found. In al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-qaṣā'id al-sab'*, 131, he is called al-Ubayrid al-Ghassānī.
- 902 ‘ASH and SKḤ vowel this as al-Malik, but this seems unlikely in view of what follows. *Malik* is a synonym of *malik*, “king”, and is even applied to God in the Qur’an (al-Qamar 54:55: *‘inda malikin muqtadir*), so I prefer to read it as the diminutive form *mulayk*.
- 903 The only extant poem of any length attributed to ‘Abd ‘Amr is a *qaṣīdah* of 32 lines which is also attributed to ‘Āmir ibn Juwayn; see Ibn Maymūn, *Muntahā l-talab*, iii, 327–329. It is not a panegyric on al-Abrad.
- 904 This line is found in al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-qaṣā'id al-sab'*, 131; it is attributed to Ṭarafah, lampooning ‘Amr ibn Hind, in al-Qurashī, *Jamharah* (ed. Dār Ṣādir), 79, (ed. al-Bijāwī), 96, with rhyme-word *tukhashkhishū* instead of *tuhashhasū*.
- 905 The verb *hashasa* and its synonym *khashkhasha* imply sound as well as movement. Instead of *fī ru'ūsīn*, with its awkward repetition of *ru'ūs*, the version in al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ* and al-Qurashī, *Jamharah* has *fī irīnīn* (wrongly *arīnīn* in ed. Dār Ṣādir), “in fireplaces”, *irīn* being the plural of *irah* (w'R).
- 906 Lines 2–6, in a different order and with variants, are attributed to Ṭarafah in al-Qurashī, *Jamharah* (Dār Ṣādir), 78–79, (Bijāwī), 95–96, and to al-Mutalammis in al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-qaṣā'id al-sab'*, 130–131 and al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxi (Brünnow), 192. A version of line 1 is quoted anonymously in Tha'lab, *Majālis*, ii, 416. The verses are not in Ṭarafah's *Dīwān* such as edited by Ahlwardt and Nāṣir al-Dīn or in al-Baṭalyawsī, *Sharḥ al-ash'ār*.

قل للذي خَيْرُهُ دون الصهاقيم^١ ومنطني عندنا أحلا من الدبس^٢
لو كنتُ كلبَ قنيصٍ كنتَ ذا جُدَدٍ قُبِّحَ ذا وجهٍ أنفٍ ثمَّ منتكسٍ
إنَّ المُلِكِ إذا عَثَرُوا على تَعَرُّقِهِ باللهِ لم يَكُسِ
تَعَلَّمَنَّ أَنَّ شَرَّ النَّاسِ كُلِّهِمُ الْأَفْقَمُ؛ الْأَنْفِ وَالْأَضْرَاسُ كَالْعَدَسِ
كان امرأً صالحاً فارتدَّ مُوسِئَةً حَمْرًا يرهزها رامي بني مرس
يمشي بطيناً ولما يقضِ نَهْمَتَهُ ماءُ الرجالِ على فخذَيْهِ كَالْقَرَسِ

ثمَّ إنَّ الأسود بن عامر بن جُوَيْن الطائِيّ انطلق إلى الشام فنزل بالمليك فنسبه فانتسب له فعرفه، فقال: أيُّ رجل ابن عمّار فيكم؟ فأخبره أنّه من أسرة قليلة ذليلة وأنّه لا خير فيه. فقال: لا جرمَ لا تفارقني حتّى أوتى به. وكان ابن عمّار قد لجأ إلى أوس بن حارثة بن لأم الطائِيّ، فأعطى الأسود المليك رهينةً من ولده، وأقبل حتّى أخذ ابن عمّار، فذهب أوسٌ يحول بينه وبينه؛ فقال: أتحوّل بيني وبين ابن عمّي؟ فدوّنك؛ أتراني كنتُ مُسْلِمَه للقتل؟! فانطلق به إلى المليك فضرب عنقه، فقال خَوْلِي بن سَهْلَة الطائِيّ:

١ كذا في هـ، وفي ك كأنها كلمتان: (الصهاقيم).

٢ كذا في الأصل والبيت واضح التحريف. والأرجح أنّ العجز: (ومنطقي عندنا أحلى من الدبس).

٣ في البيت نقص.

٤ أوّل الهمزتين يقتضيها الوزن.

٥ ك: (موسية).

907 The last word, *al-ṣahāqīm*, does not make sense metrically or semantically. In SKH it is printed as two words, which does not help much. Perhaps it is to be read as *dūna l-Suhā*, “less than al-Suhā” (a star in Ursa major proverbial for its dimness), but the following word remains obscure.

908 Instead of the unintelligible *wa-m.ṇ.ṇī* I have translated as if it is *wa-mantiqī*.

909 Following al-Anbārī’s commentary on *judad* (*shabbahāhū bi-kalb fūhi buqa’ wa-in shīta baqa’*), similar to that of Tha’lab (*al-‘alāmāt wa-l-ṭuruq*); Hārūn interprets it as “collars”.

910 Translation of the second hemistich tentative; it looks corrupt. In *Aghānī* and *Majālis Tha’lab* it is *takūnu urbatuhū fi ākhiri l-marasī*, “his collar would be at the end of the rope” (meaning, according to Tha’lab, that he is no good).

911 There is a lacuna in the text. The line, for which I have not found parallels, is obscure.

912 *Afqam* often means “having unequal jaws, having an over- or an underbite”. Other versions have the more plausible *akhnas*, “pugnosed”.

Say to him whose good is beneath ...⁹⁰⁷
 —and my speech, in our opinion, is sweeter than honey—⁹⁰⁸
 If you were a hunting dog you would have spots and stripes;⁹⁰⁹
 what an ugly face with that nose is there, turned upside down!⁹¹⁰
 Al-Mulayk, when ...⁹¹¹ they stumble
 despite being hamstrung, by God, he does not hop.(?)
 You should know that the worst of all people
 is someone with a crooked nose⁹¹² and teeth like lentils.
 He was a decent man but he turned into a red
 whore, rogered by the archer of the Banū Maras.⁹¹³
 He walks, fat-bellied, not yet having fulfilled his craving,
 with men's spunk on his thighs, congealed.

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Al-Aswad ibn 'Āmir ibn Juwayn al-Ṭā'ī⁹¹⁴ went to Syria. He stopped at al-Mulayk and identified himself to him with his lineage. Al-Mulayk recognised him and asked him, "What status has Ibn 'Ammār among your tribe?" Al-Aswad told him that Ibn 'Ammār belonged to a humble family of small numbers and that he was no good. Al-Mulayk said, "You must certainly not leave me before he is brought before me!" Ibn 'Ammār had taken refuge with Aws ibn Ḥārithah ibn La'm al-Ṭā'ī.⁹¹⁵ Al-Aswad left one of his sons as a hostage with al-Mulayk and went forth until he had taken Ibn 'Ammār prisoner. Aws intervened, but al-Aswad said, "Will you come between me and my cousin? Think twice! Do you think I would surrender him to be killed?!" Then he took him to al-Mulayk, who had him beheaded.

Khawlī ibn Sahlah al-Ṭā'ī said,⁹¹⁶

913 Vowelling uncertain; no such tribe or clan has been found. Perhaps Maras is a corruption of Daras. Other versions have "A king by day, you are a whore at night", followed by the last hemistich of the following line. "Red" is obviously pejorative here, probably short for the common obscenity *hamrā' al-'ijān*.

914 On him see the entry on his father, 'Āmir ibn Juwayn above, § 79.

915 See *ĠN*, i, 250, ii, 214 ("der einflussreichste Häuptling der Ġadīla/Ṭaiyi' um die Wende des 6. Jahrhunderts"). Ibn Ḥabīb lists him among the *ajwād al-Jāhiliyyah*, "the generous men of the pre-Islamic period" (*Muḥabbar*, 145).

916 There is some confusion about this name, see *ĠN*, ii, 299 s.v. Ḥaras b. Ġundab. The poem is found in al-Akhfash, *Ikhtiyārāyn*, 129–120, attributed to 'Āmir ibn Juwayn and in Abū Tammām, *Waḥshīyyāt*, 146. Lines 1–2, 4 are ascribed in al-Jāhīz to Abū Qurdūdah (*Hayawān*, iv, 243, v, 332, *Bayān*, i, 222–223, 349; see also al-Marzubānī, *Mu'jam al-shu'arā'*, 59). Al-Jāhīz says that with these lines Ibn 'Ammār was warned not to be the drinking companion of king al-Nu'mān (ibn al-Mundhir), and that he was killed by al-Nu'mān. Line 3 is attributed by Ibn Qutaybah to 'Āmir ibn Juwayn (*Ma'ānī*, 827). The attribution to Abū Qurdūdah is possibly due to the fact that in *Waḥshīyyāt* the preceding piece is by Abū Qurdūdah, who is then mistakenly taken as the subject of the following *wa-qāla*.

٢٢٣

لقد نهيتُ ابنَ عمّارٍ وقلتُ له لا تأمَنَنَّ أحمرَ العينينِ والشَّعْرَةَ
 إنَّ الملوكَ إذا حللتِ ساحتَهُمْ طارت بِشَوْبِكَ من نيرانِهِمْ شَرَرَهُ
 إنَّ يَقتلوكَ فلا نِكسٌ ولا وَرَعٌ عند اللِّقاءِ ولا هَوَاهِءٌ هُمَرَهُ
 يا غارَةَ كانسجالِ السَّيْلِ قد قَتَلوا ومَنطِقاً مثلَ وَشيِ اليَمَنَةِ الحِجْرَةَ
 لقد نصحتُ له والعِيسُ بارِكَةٌ بين الحُدَيِّياءِ والمَرَماءِ والأَمْرَةَ
 لقد نهيتُكَ عمَّنْ لا كِفاءَ له عند الحِفاظِ وعن عَوْفٍ وعن قَطْرَةَ
 ما قتلوه على ذَنْبِ المِّمِّ به إلا تَواصوا وقالوا قومُهُ خَسْرَةَ

وقال المُليكَ للأسود بن عامر:

قتلتَ ابنَ عمِّكَ من حَشِينا وفي أهله يَقتلَنَّ الحَشِييَ

[٩٠ §] **ومنهم** سُويد بن صامت الأوسِيّ. وكان يُدعى الكامل، وقد كتبناه في أشراف

المغتالين.^٣

١ كذا في الاختيارين للأخفش والوحشيّات لأبي تمام، وفي هـ، كـ (أو).

٢ لعلّ الصحيح (غوث) كما في الاختيارين والوحشيّات.

٣ كذا، ولم يسبق له خبر.

917 I prefer to read *in yaqtulūka* (as in *Waḥshīyāt* and *Ikhtiyārāyn*) instead of *aw yaqtulūka*, as in 'ASH and SKḤ; the parenthesis is my interpretation of the verse.

918 The comparison of Ibn 'Ammār to a raid (*ghārah*) is a strange metaphor. In the other versions he is compared to a bowl (*jafnah*), image for a generous man.

919 *Waḥshīyāt* has al-Judaydā, al-Mawmāh, and al-Amarah. The places have not been identified.

I held Ibn ‘Ammār back and said to him,
 You cannot trust a man with red eyes and hair!
 If you sit in the courtyard of kings
 a spark of their fires will fly into your robe.
 If⁹¹⁷ they kill you, (you were in any case) not a worthless man, not weak
 in battle, no coward or idle talker.
 Ah, what a raid like the flow of a torrent they have killed,⁹¹⁸
 what a speech like the brocade of a striped Yemeni cloth!
 I gave you good advice when the reddish-white camels were kneeling 223
 between al-Ḥudaybā’, al-Marmā’, and al-Amarah;⁹¹⁹
 I told you to hold back from one who has no match in battle
 when honour is to be defended, and from gifts rich or paltry. (?)⁹²⁰
 They did not kill him for a sin associated with him,
 except that they told one another: his people are lowly.⁹²¹

Al-Mulayk said to al-Aswad ibn ‘Āmir,

You have killed your cousin for fear of us,
 and in his family the fearful kills.⁹²²

[§ 90 Suwayd ibn Šāmit al-Awsī]

Another is Suwayd ibn Šāmit al-Awsī. He was called al-Kāmil (“the Perfect”).
 We have written about him in *Prominent Murder Victims*.⁹²³

920 Translation tentative. I cannot make sense of *wa-‘an ‘awfin wa-‘an q.ṭarah* (‘ASH, SKH). *Waḥshiyāt* and *Ikhtiyārayn* have *wa-‘an ghawthin wa-‘an quṭurah*. If *ghawth* (“cry for succour”) can be taken as if standing for *ghayth* (“abundant rain”)—the roots are related—and *quṭ(u)rah* for “a drop, or a paltry thing”, then they may refer to al-Mulayk’s gift mentioned before.

921 *Khasarah*, literally “losers”.

922 The sense is not altogether clear.

923 He does not have a separate entry in *Asmā’ al-mughtālīn*, but see above, § 27 on al-Mujadhdhar ibn Dhiyād, who had killed him and who was killed in turn by Suwayd’s son al-Ḥārith. Suwayd ibn al-Šāmit (normally with the article) was a tribal leader and poet from Yathrib (Medina) and was killed, probably before the Hijra, in battle. See Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 285, ḤN, i, 177, ii, 521.

[§ ٩١] ومنهم دُرَيْدُ بن الصَّمَّةِ الجُشَمِيِّ. وَقُتِلَ مُشْرِكاً يَوْمَ حُنَيْنٍ. وكان مالِكُ بن عَوْفِ النَّصْرِيِّ جَمَعَ لِحَرْبِ رَسولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فَاجْتَمَعَتْ إِلَيْهِ تَقْيِيفٌ كُلُّهَا وَنَصْرٌ وَجُشَمٌ ابنا معاوية، وسعد بن بكر، وناس قليل من بني هلال بن عامر، ولم تحضر كعبٌ وكلاب. فخرج في بني جشم دريدٌ شيخاً كبيراً في شِجَارٍ، ليس عنده إلا التيمُنُ برأيه ومعرفة بالحرب، وكان شيخاً مجرباً. فعسكر مالِكُ بن عوفِ بأوطاس، ومعهم نساءهم وأبنائهم وأموالهم، فأقبل دريد في شِجَارٍ يُقَادُ | به بغيره، فقال: أين نزلتم؟ قالوا: بأوطاس. قال: نَعَمْ مَجَالِ الخَيْلِ، لا حَزْنَ شَرَسَ، ولا سَهْلَ دَهَسَ؛ فما لي أسمعُ رُغَاءَ البعيرِ، ونُهَاقَ الحميرِ، وبُكَاءَ الصغِيرِ، ونُغَاءَ الشاءِ؟ قالوا: ساق مالِكُ بن عوفِ مع الناسِ أبناءهم ونساءهم وأموالهم. قال: أين مالِكُ؟ قالوا: هذا مالِكُ قد عَنَّ له. فقال: يا مالِكُ، إنك قد أصبحتَ رئيسَ قومك، وإنَّ هذا يومَ كائنٍ له ما بعده من الأيامِ، ما لي أسمعُ رُغَاءَ البعيرِ، ونُهَاقَ الحميرِ، وبُكَاءَ الصغِيرِ، ونُغَاءَ الشاءِ؟ قال: سُقْتُ مع الناسِ أبناءهم ونساءهم وأموالهم. قال: ولم؟ قال: أردتُ أن أجعلَ خلفَ كلِّ رجلٍ أهلهَ ومالهَ ليقاتلَ عنهم. فأنقضَ به دريدٌ وقال: راعي ضأنٍ واللهِ! وهل يردُّ المنهزمَ شيءٌ؟ إنَّها إن كانت لك لم ينفَعَكَ إلا رجلٌ بسيفه ورُمحه، وإن كانت عليك فُضحتَ في أهلِكَ ومالكِ!

ثمَّ [قال]:^٢ ما فعلتُ كعبَ وكلاب؟ قالوا: لم يشهدْها منهم أحدٌ. قال: غابَ الجَدُّ والحدُّ، لو كان يومَ رِفْعَةٍ لم يَغِبَ عنه كعبُ وكلاب، ودِدْتُ أنكم فعلتم مثل ما فعلوا. قال: فمن شهدها

١ كذ: (مأسوراً).

٢ التكملة من السيرة، والسياق يقتضيها.

924 On this famous tribal leader and poet see *E12*, "Durayd b. al-Šimma" (K. Petráček), Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 267–268. For his lineage (in Ghaziyyah ibn Jusham, a branch of Hawāzin) see *ĠN*, i, 116, ii, 234. He died at a very advanced age at the Battle of Ḥunayn near Mecca in 8/630, fighting against the Muslims. For parallel passages on his death see Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ii, 437–439, 453 (tr. Guillaume, 566–567, 574); Ibn Qutaybah, *Shiʿr*, 749–750; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1655–1657, 1665–1666, tr. *The History*, x, 3–6, 16–17; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, x, 30–32; al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, xiv, 11; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, xi, 119–121.

925 *Mushrik*, literally "polytheist".

926 Mālik ibn ʿAwf, of the Banū Naṣr (Hawāzin), commanded Hawāzin against the Muslims at Ḥunayn. After his defeat he converted to Islam and took part in the Muslim conquests. See *E12*, "Mālik b. ʿAwf" (H. Lammens), "Ḥunayn" (H. Lammens & Abd al-Hafez Kamal); *ĠN*, i, 115, ii, 387. The battle is related in numerous sources. Hawāzin included several tribes including Naṣr, Jusham, Thaḳīf, Kilāb ibn Rabīʿah, and Kaʿb ibn Rabīʿah (see e.g. *ĠN*, i, 92, ii, 281).

[§ 91 Durayd ibn al-Šimmaḥ al-Juḥamī⁹²⁴]

Another is Durayd ibn al-Šimmaḥ al-Juḥamī. He was killed at the Battle of Ḥunayn, as an unbeliever.⁹²⁵ Mālik ibn ‘Awf al-Naṣrī had mustered forces to fight the Messenger of God (God bless and preserve him).⁹²⁶ All Thaḳīf, Naṣr ibn Mu‘āwiyah, Juḥam ibn Mu‘āwīya, Sa‘d ibn Bakr, and a small number of the Banū Hilāl ibn ‘Āmir. Ka‘b and Kilāb did not show up. Durayd came with the Banū Juḥam. He was an old man who travelled in a small camel litter.⁹²⁷ He was present only because this was taken as a good omen, and on account of his sound views and knowledge of warfare; he was an experienced old man. Mālik ibn ‘Awf encamped in Awṭās.⁹²⁸ They had brought their women, children, and livestock with them. Durayd arrived in his litter, his camel | being led. “Where have you camped?” he asked. They said, “At Awṭās.” Durayd said,⁹²⁹ “A good place for horses to move around; neither rough, uneven ground nor soft, loose sand. But why is it that I can hear camels grunting, asses braying, children crying, and sheep bleating?” They answered, “Mālik ibn ‘Awf has led with his men their children, wives, and cattle.” “Where is Mālik?”, Durayd asked. “Here is Mālik, he has just come!” Durayd said, “Mālik, you are now the leader of your tribe. This is a day that will have momentous consequences. Why is it that I hear camels grunting, asses braying, children crying, and sheep bleating?” Mālik replied, “I have led with the men their children, their wives, and their livestock.” “But why?”, asked Durayd. “I wanted to put behind each man his family and his livestock, so that he would fight defending them.” Durayd tut-tutted⁹³⁰ and said, “You’re a shepherd, by God! Will anything make a defeated man turn back? If you win the only useful thing is a man with his sword and lance; if you lose it will be a disgrace for you with your family and your livestock!”

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Then he asked, “What have Ka‘b and Kilāb done?” They replied, “Not one of them has shown up.” Durayd said, “Gone are good fortune and force!⁹³¹ If this were a day of high glory, Ka‘b and Kilāb would not have stayed away. I wish you

927 *Šijār*, glossed by Ibn Qutaybah (*Ši‘r*, 749) as “a litter, smaller than a *hawḍaj*, open on top”.

928 Awṭās is said to be a wādī in the territory of Hawāzin (Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, where Durayd’s description is quoted).

929 Durayd speaks in rhymed prose.

930 *Anqaḍa*, cf. *Lisān al-‘Arab* (NQD): *naqīḍ, ay ṣawt khaḳīḳy kamā yunqīḍu l-rajul li-ḥimārihi idhā sāqahū ... wa-fi ḥadīth Hawāzin: fa-anqaḍa bihī Durayd, ay naqara bi-lisānihī fi fihī kamā yuzjaru l-ḥimār, fa‘alahu istijhālan.*

931 *Al-jadd wa-l-ḥadd*. *Sirah* and *Aghānī* have *al-ḥadd wa-l-jidd*, “force and seriousness”.

منكم؟ قالوا: عمرو بن | عامر، وعوف بن عامر: قال: ذَانِكَ الْجَدْعَانِ من عامر لا ينفعان ولا
 ٢٢٥ يَضْرَانِ. يا مالك، إِنَّكَ لم تصنع بتقديم بَيْضَةِ هَوَازِنِ إِلَى نَحْوِ الخَيْلِ شيئاً. ارفَعَهُمْ إِلَى مُمْتَنِعِ
 بلادهم^١ وعُلياء^٢ قومهم، ثمَّ ألقى العِدَا على مُتُونِ الخَيْلِ. فَإِنِ كَانَتْ لَكَ لِحَقِّ بكَ مَن وراءك،
 وَإِنِ كَانَتْ عَلَيْكَ الْفِيءُ^٣ ذلك وقد أَحْرَزْتَ مالَكَ وأهلك. قال: وَاللَّهِ لَا أَفْعَلُ، إِنَّكَ قد كَبِرْتَ
 وَكَبِرَ عِلْمُكَ. وَكَرِهَ أَنْ يَكُونَ لِدْرِيدٍ فِيهَا يَدٌ وَذِكْرٌ ورأى. فقال دريد: هذا يوم لم أشهده ولم أغب
 عنه.

يا لَيْتَنِي فِيهَا جَدْعٌ أَخْبُ فِيهَا وَأَضَعُ
 أَقْوُدُ وَطَفَاءَ الرِّمَعِ كَأَنَّهَا شَاةٌ صَدَعُ

فلَمَّا هَزَمَ اللهُ المَشْرِكِينَ أدرك دريداً ربيعةً بن رُفَيْعٍ، من بني سَمَالِ بن عَوْفٍ من سُليمان، وكان
 يقال له ابن لدغة، فأخذ بِخِطَامِ جَمَلِهِ وهو يَطْنُهُ امرأة، فأناخ به، فإذا شيخٌ كبير، وإذا هو دريد،
 والغلام لا يعرفه. فقال له دريد: ماذا تريد بي؟ قال: أقتلك. قال: ومن أنت؟ قال: ربيعة بن رُفَيْعِ
 ٢٢٦ السُّلَمِيِّ. فضربه الفتي بسيفه فلم تُعْنِ شيئاً. قال: بِئْسَمَا سَلَحْتِكَ أُمَّكَ! | خُذْ سِيفِي من مؤخِّرةِ
 الرِّحْلِ في القِرَابِ فاضرب وارفع عن العِظَامِ، واخفِضْ^٤ عن الدِّمَاغِ؛ فَإِنِّي كنت أضرب الرجال!^٥

١ ك: (إلى ممتجلاتهم).

٢ ه، ك: (عليا).

٣ ك: (ألغي).

٤ ه: (كبير).

٥ ك: (يد تذكر).

٦ ه، ك: (سماك).

٧ ك: (واخنض).

٨ كذا في ه، ك؛ ولعلّ الصحيح (فإني كذلك كنت أضرب الرجال) كما في المصادر الأخرى.

had done the same. Who has shown up on your side?" They said, "Amr ibn |
 'Āmir and 'Awf ibn 'Āmir."⁹³² Durayd said, "Those two lads of 'Āmir, they will
 be useless and harmless. Mālik, you've done wrong to advance all of Hawāzin
en masse to confront the cavalry. Take them to higher, inaccessible ground in
 their lands, to their heights, and then meet the enemy on horseback. If it goes
 well for you, those behind you will join you, and if things go against you, you
 will find that at least you have saved your livestock and your families." But Mālik
 said, "I won't do that, by God! You have grown old and your knowledge has aged
 too!" He did not want Durayd to have any say in the matter. Durayd said, "This
 is a battle-day where I was neither present nor absent.

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Would that I had been a young lad there,
 Ambling there and going at a gentle pace,
 Leading a mare⁹³³ with long hair on the fetlocks,
 Like an antelope, young and strong."

When God had routed the polytheists, Durayd was overtaken by Rabī'ah ibn
 Rufay', of the Banū Sammāl ibn 'Awf, of Sulaym;⁹³⁴ he was also called Ibn
 Ladghah.⁹³⁵ He took the nose-rein of Durayd's camel, thinking that he was a
 woman. When he made the camel kneel he found an old man instead—it was
 Durayd, but the lad did not recognise him. Durayd said, "What do you want to
 do with me?" "I'll kill you." "And who are you?" "Rabī'ah ibn Rufay', of Sulaym."
 The young man struck him with his sword, but to no effect. Durayd said, "Your
 mother has excreted you badly!⁹³⁶ | Take my sword that is in its sheath behind
 the saddle, and strike above the spine and below the brain. That's how I used

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932 Two clans of 'Āmir ibn Rabī'ah (Hawāzin), see ĞN, i, 92, 107, 108.

933 He describes the Arab custom of going to battle riding a camel while leading a horse, to be mounted when engaging in battle.

934 See ĞN, i, 123. Instead of Sammāl 'ASH and SKḤ wrongly have Simāk.

935 Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah* has "he was called Ibn al-Dughunnah, after his mother ... one also says it was Ibn Ladh'ah". Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xiv, 88 has Ibn al-Dughunnah.

936 Guillaume translates "What a poor weapon your mother has given you", reading *sallaḥatka*. But the scatological sense of *salaḥatka ummuka* is confirmed e.g. by al-Hamadhānī, *Maqāmāt*, 257 (*qāla Bishr: thakilatka man salaḥatka, fa-qāla: yā Bishr wa-man salaḥatka*).

فإذا أتيت أمك فأخبرها أنك قتلت دريد بن الصمة، فربب والله يومٍ قد منعت فيه نساءك. وأخبر أمه فقالت: قد والله أعتق لك أمهات ثلاثاً.

[٩٢ §] ومنهم كعب بن الأشرف اليهودي الطائي، وقد كتبناه في المغتالين.

[٩٣ §] ومنهم السليك بن السلكة. وكان خرج في تيم الرباب يتبع الأرياف حتى مر بفخحة، فيما بين أرض بني عقيل وسعد تميم، فلقي رجلاً من خثعم يقال له مالك بن عمير بن أبي وداع بن جشم بن عوف، فأخذه ومعه امرأة له من خفاجة تدعى نوار. فقال له الجثعمي: أنا أفدي نفسي منك. فقال له السليك: ذلك لك على أن لا تخيس بي ولا تطلع علي أحداً من خثعم. فأعطاه ذلك، فرجع إلى قومه، وخلف السليك على امرأته فنكحها، وجعلت تقول له: احذر خثعم فإني أخافهم عليك! فأنشأ يقول:

تُحذرنِي أن أحذرَ العامَ خثعماً وقد علمتُ أنني امرؤٌ غيرُ مُسلمٍ
وما خثعمٌ إلا لثامٌ أدقَّةٌ إلى الذُّلِّ والإسخافِ تُنمى وتُنمى

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فبلغ شبيب بن قِلادة بن عمرو بن سعد وأنس بن مُدرك الخثعميين الخبر فخالفا الخثعمي زوج المرأة، فلم يعلم السليك حتى طردها، فأنشأ يقول:

١ ك: (والإسفاف).

٢ ك: (طره).

937 Al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, xiv, 11 adds: "... on one morning, and he cut off the forelock of your father.' The boy replied, 'I didn't know.'" There and in other sources the boy also says that when he struck the old man he fell and accidentally uncovered himself. His buttocks and the inside of his thighs were like parchment (*qarātīs*, also "papyrus"), a result of frequent horse riding without a saddle.

938 See above, § 22.

939 The second entry on al-Sulayk offers a version that differs somewhat from the preceding (see above, § 88). It follows the account given by al-Sukkarī in al-İşfahānī, *Aghānī*, xx, 385–387.

940 i.e., the tribe of Taym ibn 'Abd Manāf, see *ĠM*, i, 85. Al-Ribāb was an alliance of five tribes (see above, § 34).

to strike men! And then when you go back to your mother, tell her that you have killed Durayd ibn al-Šimmah. By God, on many a day I have protected your women!"

He told his mother, who said, "By God, he has set free three of your female forbears!"⁹³⁷

[§ 92 Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf]

Another is Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf al-Yahūdī al-Tā'ī. We have written about him in *Prominent Murder Victims*.⁹³⁸

[§ 93 al-Sulayk ibn al-Sulakah⁹³⁹]

Another is al-Sulayk ibn al-Sulakah. He had gone out among Taym al-Ribāb⁹⁴⁰ on a raid to cultivated lands when he came past Fakhkhah, between the territories of the Banū 'Uqayl and Sa'd Tamīm. There he met a man of Khath'am called Mālik ibn 'Umayr ibn Abī Wadā'⁹⁴¹ ibn Jusham ibn 'Awf. He took him prisoner and with him his wife, a woman of Khafājah called Nawār. The man of Khath'am said to him, "I'll get you a ransom for myself!" Sulayk said, "You may, on condition that you will not betray me and that you will not tell anybody of Khath'am about me." The man agreed to this and returned to his people. Al-Sulayk remained with the man's wife and had sex with her. "Beware of Khath'am!" she said to him, "For I fear for you on account of them." He said,

She warns me to be wary, this year, of Khath'am,
 though she knows I am not a man to be surrendered.
 Khath'am are nothing but base, insignificant people,
 linked with and traced to lowliness and poverty.⁹⁴²

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When Shubayl ibn Qilādah ibn 'Amr ibn Sa'd⁹⁴³ and Anas ibn Mudrik, both of Khath'am, heard this they took the part of the Khath'amī who was the woman's spouse. Before al-Sulayk knew what happened both men came upon him. Al-Sulayk said,

941 *Aghānī*: Dhirā'.

942 For *askhafa* "to be poor" see e.g. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*. *Iskhāf* could also mean "foolishness".

943 *Aghānī* has Shibl instead of Shubayl. *ĠN*, i, 224 has an 'Amr ibn Sa'd, great-grandfather of Anas ibn Mudrik, which could mean that Anas was a nephew of Shubayl. *Aghānī* has 'Umar instead of 'Amr.

مَنْ مَبْلُغٌ حَرْبًا بَأَنِّي مَقْتُولٌ يَا رَبِّ نَهَبٌ^١ قَدْ حَوَيْتُ عُثْكَوْلُ
 وَرَبِّ خِرْقٍ تَرَكْتُ مَجْدُولُ وَرَبِّ زَوْجٍ قَدْ نَكَحْتُ عُطْبُولُ
 وَرَبِّ عَانٍ قَدْ فَكَّكْتُ مَكْبُولُ وَرَبِّ وَاِدٍ قَدْ قَطَعْتُ مَشْبُولُ

فقال أنس لشبيل: إن شئتَ كفيئتكَ القوم وتكفيني^٢ الرجل. فشدَّ أنس على السليك فقتله، وقتل شبيلٌ وأصحابه من كان معه. فقال عوف وهو ابن عمِّ مالك بن عُمير: والله لأقتلنَّ أنساً في إخفاره^٣ ذمَّة ابن عمِّي:

مَنْ مُبْلِغٌ خْتَعَمًا عَنِّي مَغْلَغَلَةٌ إِنَّ السليكَ لَجَارِي حِينِ يَدْعُونِي

في شعر طويل. ثم إنَّ أنساً وَدَى السليكَ بعد أن كاد يتفاقم الأمرُ بينهم، فقال أنس بن مدرك:

كَمْ مِنْ أَخٍ لِي كَرِيمٍ قَدْ فُجِعْتُ بِهِ ثُمَّ بَقِيْتُ كَأَنِّي بَعْدَهُ حَجْرُ
 لَا أَسْتَكِينُ عَلَى رَيْبِ الزَّمَانِ وَلَا أُغْضِي عَلَى الْأَمْرِ يَأْتِي دُونَهُ الْقَدَرُ
 مِرْدَى حُرُوبٍ أُجِيلُ الْأَمْرَ جَائِلُهُ؛ إِذْ بَعْضُهُمْ لِأُمُورٍ تَعْتَرِي حَذِيرُ
 إِنِّي وَعَقْلِي سَلِيكًا بَعْدَ مَقْتَلِهِ كَالثَّوْرِ يُضْرَبُ لَمَّا عَافَتِ الْبَقْرُ

٢٢٨

١ ك: (نهد).

٢ ك: (وتكفني).

٣ ه، ك: (اختفاره)، والتصحيح من شرح الحماسة للتبريزي.

٤ ك: (أجول ... جائلة).

944 According to al-Tibrīzī (*Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah*, 581) Ḥarb is al-Sulayk's son. Since no son called Ḥarb is known from other sources, this may well be guesswork on al-Tibrīzī's part. *Aghānī*, has *jidhmī*, "my kin".

945 One is tempted to read, with *Aghānī*, *qirn* ("adversary") instead of *khirq* (ʾASH, SKḤ), but *khirq* reappears in a similar context below in a line by al-Shanfarā (§ 97).

Who will inform Ḥarb⁹⁴⁴ that I've been killed!
 Many bunches of plunder have I robbed,
 Many an excellent young man⁹⁴⁵ have I left, struck down,
 Many a man's pretty long-necked wife have I had sex with,
 Many a captive, put in irons, have I redeemed,
 Many a wadi where lion-cubs dwell⁹⁴⁶ have I traversed!

Anas said to Shubayl, "If you wish I'll leave the others to you and you'll leave that man to me!" Then Anas attacked al-Sulayk and killed him while Shubayl and his companions killed the others that had come with al-Sulayk.

ʿAwf, the paternal cousin of Mālik ibn ʿUmayr, said, "By God, I'll kill Anas, for he has not respected the protection of my cousin!"⁹⁴⁷

Who will let Khath'am know a message from me:
 al-Sulayk is my protégé when he calls me ..."

—it is a long poem.⁹⁴⁸ Then Anas paid the blood-price for al-Sulayk, after the matter had come to a head between them. Anas ibn Mudrik said,

I have been bereaved of so many noble brothers,
 and remained as if I were, after their death, a stone.
 I shall not yield to time's uncertainty, nor shall I
 close my eyes to a thing when destiny intervenes.
 A rock in warfare, I make matters go round
 when someone else is wary of things that happen.⁹⁴⁹
 When I paid the blood-price for Sulayk, after killing him, I felt
 like a bull beaten away when the cows are loath to drink.

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946 Thus also in al-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah*. Instead of the unusual *mashbūl* the reading of *Aghānī*, *masbūl* ("well-trodden"), may be preferable.

947 ʿASH assumes *thumma qāla* "then he said" or something similar has been lost.

948 The line and the poem are not in *Aghānī* nor found elsewhere. *Aghānī* has: "Matters came to a head between Anas and ʿAbd al-Malik [ibn Muwaylik al-Khath'amī], because the latter had given protection to al-Sulayk ..." (as is told in a following passage, *Aghānī*, xx, 387).

949 Instead of *ḥadhir* ("wary"), *Aghānī* has *jazar* "slaughtered flesh", as has al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsah*, 155, which quotes ll. 1–3. For the following verses, see above.

غَضِبْتُ لِلْمَرْءِ إِذْ نَيْكَتَ حَلِيلَتُهُ^١ وَإِذْ يُشَدُّ عَلَى وَجَعَائِهَا التَّفَرُّ
أَنْتَى تَنَاسِيَّ هَامَاتٍ بِمَجْزَرَةٍ لَا يَزِدْهِنِي سِوَادُ اللَّيْلِ وَالْجَهْرُ
أَغَشَى الْهَيْجَ وَسِرْبَالِي مِضَاعِفَةً تَغْشَى الْبُنَانَ وَسِيفِي صَارْمٌ ذَكَرٌ

[§ ٩٤] ومنهم الحارث بن ظالم المرِّي. وكان الحارث قتل خالد بن جعفر بن كلاب في جوار الأسود بن المنذر وهرب إلى مكة. ثم إنَّ النعمان بن المنذر كتب للحارث كتابَ أمان، وأشهد عليه شهوداً من مُضَرَّ وربيعة، وكتب إلى الحارث يسأله القدوم عليه، وكفل له الشهود وأن لا يهيجه النعمان لما كان من قتل خالد أخيه^٢ وقتله ابنه، فقدم الحارث حتى أتى النعمان وهو بقصر بني مُقاتل، فقال للحاجب: استأذن لي. وذلك حين رأى الناس اجتمعوا عنده، فاستأذن له الحاجب فقال: ضَعْ سيفك وادخل. فقال: ولمَ أَضَعُهُ؟ قال: ضعه فإنه لا بأس عليك. فلما ألح عليه وضعه ومعه أمانه^٣ الذي كتب له، فدخل فقال: انعم صباحاً أبيت اللعن. فقال: لا أنعم الله صباحك! فقال الحارث: هذا كتابك، وأخرجه. فقال النعمان: والله ما أنكره، أنا كتبتُه لك، وقد غدرت وفتكت مراراً، فلا ضير إن غدرت بك مرة واحدة! ثم نادى: من يقتل هذا؟ فقام ابن الخمس التغلبي، وكان الحارث فتك بأبيه، فقال: أنا أقتله. فقال الحارث: أنت يا ابن [راعي]^٤ ٢٢٩

- ١ أمّا بقيّة الشعر فليست في هـ ولا في ك قال هـ: "الأبيات التي تقدمت قبل" وقال ك: "إلى آخر الأبيات التي تقدمت قبل".
- ٢ الصحيح (جازه).
- ٣ ك: (أمانة).
- ٤ ك: (ضر).
- ٥ ك: (بابنه).
- ٦ في النسختين بياض.

950 For the remainder of the poem, 'ASH and SKḤ refer to the earlier section on al-Sulayk, without quoting them.
951 On him see above, § 14. For his death, see al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xi, 118–120; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, v, 146–150; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, xv, 353–356; also Oller, "Al-Ḥārith ibn Zālim".
952 This murder is told above, § 14.
953 Al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir (reg. AD 580–602) was the last Lakhmid ruler of al-Ḥīrah.

I was angry on behalf of that man when his spouse was fucked⁹⁵⁰
 and when on her behind a crupper was tied.
 How could I forget the skulls in a place of carnage,
 when neither the nights' blackness nor the moon (?) lifted my spirits!
 I join the fray with a double coat of mail
 that covers the fingers, and my sword is sharp, of good steel.

[§ 94 al-Ḥārith ibn Zālim al-Murri⁹⁵¹]

Another is al-Ḥārith ibn Zālim al-Murri. He had killed Khālid ibn Ja'far ibn Kilāb when the latter was a guest of al-Aswad ibn al-Mundhir,⁹⁵² and he had fled to Mecca. Al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir⁹⁵³ sent him a letter assuring protection, letting witnesses from Muḍar and Rabī'ah testify to it.⁹⁵⁴ He wrote to al-Ḥārith asking him to come to him. The witnesses guaranteed him that al-Nu'mān would not act against him on account of the killing of his brother⁹⁵⁵ Khālid and killing his son.⁹⁵⁶ Al-Ḥārith came and arrived at al-Nu'mān in the castle of the Banū Muqātil.⁹⁵⁷ When he saw that people had gathered with the king, he said to the chamberlain, "Ask permission for me to enter!" The chamberlain let him enter, saying, "Lay down your sword and enter." "And why should I lay it down?" al-Ḥārith asked. "Lay it down, you will be all right", said the man. He insisted, so al-Ḥārith laid it down, holding the letter with the safeguarding, and entered, saying, "A good morning! May you avoid being cursed!"⁹⁵⁸ The king replied, "Not a good morning to you!" Al-Ḥārith said, "But this is your letter!", producing it. "By God," said al-Nu'mān, "I do not deny it, I wrote it to you. But you have been treacherous and you have murdered more than once, so there is nothing wrong if I betray you once." Then he called out, "Who will kill this man?" The son of al-Khims al-Taghlibī stood up—al-Ḥārith had murdered his father⁹⁵⁹—and said, "I'll kill him!" Al-Ḥārith said, | "You, son of a camel-herd,

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954 Muḍar and Rabī'ah together cover almost all of the North Arab tribes. In *Aghānī*, xi, 120, al-Yaman (the South Arabs) are added.

955 As remarked by 'ASH, this is an error for "his guest" (*jārihi*).

956 Al-Ḥārith had killed a young son of al-Nu'mān and composed a boastful poem about it, see *Aghānī*, xi, 102–104.

957 See above, § 36.

958 The somewhat enigmatic expression *Abayta l-la'na*, literally "May you refuse cursing", is the customary greeting of kings in pre-Islamic times. See e.g. Lane, *Lexicon* ('BY), WKAS, *Lām*, 859–860.

959 He had killed al-Khims, a soothsayer (*kāhin*), for divining that he had slaughtered a camel belonging to the king in order to satisfy the craving of one of his wives, see *Aghānī*, xi, 118, *Yqd*, v, 150.

الإبل تقتلني! أما والله ما نفسي من أبيك ولا من أشباهه لؤمه. فقتله ابن الخمس. فقال قيس بن زهير يرثي الحارث بن ظالم:

مَا قَصَرْتُ مِنْ حَاصِنٍ دُونَ سَيْتِهَا أَبْرَّ وَأَوْفَى مِنْكَ حَارِياً بِنِ ظَالِمِ
أَعَزَّ وَأَوْفَى عِنْدَ جَارٍ وَذِمَّةٍ وَأَضْرَبُ فِي كَابٍ مِنَ النَّقْعِ قَاتِمِ

فقال رجل من بني ضرس من جرهم، وممن كان يقوم على رأس النعمان حين رأى الحارث مقتولاً:

يَا حَارِ حَنِياً لَمْ تَكُ تَرَعِيّاً فِي الْبَيْتِ ضِجْعِيّاً

[95 §] ومنهم عبد الله بن رواحة الأنصاري ثم الخزرجي. وكان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وجه جيشاً إلى مؤتة وأمر عليهم مولاة زيد بن حارثة الكلبي وقال: إن أصيب زيداً فالأمير

١ كذ: (حارث).

٢ كذ: (قائم).

960 The sense of *mā nafsi min abika wa-ashbāhihi lu'muhu* is not quite clear to me and the translation uncertain. In *Aghānī*, al-Ḥārith calls the son of al-Khims *ibn sharr al-azmā*, "son of the worst of thirsts" (*khims* denoting the drinking of camels on the fifth day, not having drunk for four days), upon which the other, dying with a pun, calls al-Ḥārith *ibn sharr al-asmā* ("son of the worst of names"), referring to al-Ḥārith's father, for *zālim* means "wrongdoer".

961 On Qays ibn Zuhayr ibn Jadhīmah al-'Absī see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 216, *ĉN*, i, 132. He played a leading role in the troubles known as the war of Dāḥis and al-Ghabrā'. According to *Aghānī* and *Iqd* the sequence of killings continued. Ibn al-Khims had picked up al-Ḥārith's sword and offered it for sale at the market of 'Ukāz, advertising it as al-Ḥārith's. Qays ibn Zuhayr asked to see it, and with it killed Ibn al-Khims, even though this was during the sacred months in which killing was taboo.

962 A common shortening of Ḥārith, used in addressing.

963 Instead of this repetition, *Aghānī* and *Iqd* have *ahmā* ("a better defender").

964 Not found elsewhere, nor are the Banū Ḍarī (thus *Aghānī* and *Iqd*). Jurhum (or Jurham) is a legendary tribe that once had settled in Mecca; see *EI2*, "Djurhum" (W. Montgomery Watt).

965 *Aghānī*, xi, 119 adds three more lines. See Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie*, 13 (without translation).

are you going to kill me? By God, I have nothing to do with your father and those like him in baseness!"⁹⁶⁰ Then Ibn al-Khims killed him.

Qays ibn Zuhayr elegised al-Ḥārith ibn Zālim:⁹⁶¹

No chaste woman ever lowered her curtain
to someone more devoted and more loyal than you, Ḥāri⁹⁶² son of
Zālim,
Dearer and more loyal⁹⁶³ to a protected guest,
or striking better in a rising dark cloud of dust.

A man of the Banū Ḍaras,⁹⁶⁴ of Jurhum, one of the attendants of al-Nu'mān, said upon seeing al-Ḥārith slain:⁹⁶⁵

O Ḥāri, of the Ḥinn,⁹⁶⁶
You were no common camel-herd,⁹⁶⁷
Always lying down at home.

[§ 95 'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī⁹⁶⁸]

Another is 'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah al-Anṣārī, of al-Khazraj. The Messenger of God sent an army to Mu'tah,⁹⁶⁹ appointing his freedman Zayd ibn Ḥārithah al-Kalbī⁹⁷⁰ as commander. "If Zayd is struck down," he said, "then Ja'far ibn Abī

966 Possibly referring to the *ḥinn*, said to be a kind of jinnees. Ullmann has *ḡinniyā*.

967 An editorial note in *Aghāni* explains that camel-herding was a lowly job.

968 'Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah belonged to al-Khazraj, one of the two tribes in Medina most of whose members supported the Prophet Muḥammad and were therefore called *Anṣār*, "Supporters". In addition to fighting actively for Islam he was a poet who composed poems in support of the Prophet, who esteemed him highly. He was killed in 8/629 during the expedition to Mu'tah. See on him *ĠN*, i, 188; *E12*, "'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥah" (A. Schaade); *E13*, "'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa" (Sarah Mirza); Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 292–293. On his death, see e.g. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ii, 373–379 (tr. Guillaume, 532–535); al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 66–67, tr. *The Works*, 667; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1610–1616, tr. *The History*, viii, 152–158.

969 The aim of the expedition to Mu'tah, not far south of the Dead Sea, was apparently to secure the route to the North. It brought the Muslims in contact with the Byzantines for the first time and the former were defeated by combined Byzantine and Arab forces. See e.g. *E12*, "Mu'ta" (F. Buhl); Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ii, 373–389 (tr. Guillaume, 531–540).

970 Zayd ibn Ḥārithah was a freedman (*mawlā*) of the Prophet, who adopted him as a son. He is mentioned in the Qur'an (al-Aḥzāb 33:37), in connection with Muḥammad's marriage to Zaynab, who had earlier been married to Zayd. See *E12*, "Zayd b. Ḥāritha" (M. Lecker).

جعفر بن أبي طالب، وإن أصيب جعفر بن أبي طالب فالأمير عبد الله بن رواحة. فأُصيبوا ثلاثتهم رحمهم الله وأخذ خالد بن الوليد الراية من غير تأمير من رسول الله صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فقتل ابن زافلة^١ وَيَلْقَيْنِ الْمُشْرِكِينَ، وهزمهم الله تعالى به.

- ٢٣٠ [٩٦§] **ومنهم** جزء بن الحارث الأزديّ ثمّ الشَّعْبِيّ. وكان التقى ناساً من بني خُنَيْسٍ وناس من بني كِنَانَةَ لَيْلاً ولا يعرف بعضهم بعضاً، فرمى رجلٌ من بني كِنَانَةَ فأصاب جزءاً، فقال جزء: حَسَّ حَسَّ! وصاح رجل من بني كِنَانَةَ: يا آلَ واهب، لِيُرَاعُوا مَنْ هُمْ! وهم من خُنَيْسٍ. وقال رجل من بني خُنَيْسٍ: ارجعي يا مَيْدَعَانُ فَإِنِّي أَجِدُ رِيحَ الْقَارَةِ. فرجعوا عليهم فقتلوهم غير رجلين. ومات جزءٌ من السَّهْمِ الَّذِي أَصَابَهُ. فقال عمرو بن أبي عُمَارَةَ:

١ في النسختين: (داقلة)، وفي هـ، كـ (راقلة).

٢ كـ: (حَسَنٌ حَسَنٌ).

- 971 Older brother of 'Alī and cousin of Muḥammad; see *EI2*, "Dja'far b. Abī Ṭālib" (L. Veccia Vaglieri).
- 972 The verb *aṣāba* normally means "to strike down, hit, injure", but here it means that all three were killed.
- 973 Khālīd ibn al-Walīd (d. 21/642) was to become one of the great commanders of the early Muslim conquests, earning the honorific *Sayf al-Islām* (Sword of Islam). See *EI2*, "Khālīd b. al-Walīd" (P. Crone).
- 974 'ASH and SKḤ have Ibn Rāqīlah, a form that has not been found elsewhere and has not been adopted. The name appears as Ibn Rāfilah and Ibn Zāfilah. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ii, 381 (tr. Guillaume, 536) says that Mālik ibn Zāfilah ibn al-Ṭraṣh was killed by Quṭbah ibn Qatādah al-'Udhri, commander of the right wing, whose boasting epigram is quoted; a variant form Mālik ibn Rāfilah is also given (*Sīrah*, ii, 382, tr. Guillaume, 772). He is called Ibn Zāfilah al-Balawī in Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 123, where Khālīd is mentioned as the one who killed him.

Ṭālib⁹⁷¹ is to be commander, and if Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib is struck down, then ‘Abd Allāh ibn Rawāḥah is to be commander.” All three were struck down⁹⁷²— God have mercy on their souls. Khālid ibn al-Walīd⁹⁷³ took the banner, without having been appointed commander by the Messenger of God (God bless and preserve him). He killed the polytheists Ibn Zāfilah⁹⁷⁴ and Bal-Qayn,⁹⁷⁵ and God the Exalted routed them by means of him.

[§ 96 Jaz’ ibn al-Ḥārith al-Azdī⁹⁷⁶]

Another is Jaz’ ibn al-Ḥārith al-Azdī al-Shaʿbī.⁹⁷⁷ One evening some men from the Banū Khunays⁹⁷⁸ and others from Kinānah⁹⁷⁹ met in battle.⁹⁸⁰ They did not know one another. A man of the Banū Kinānah shot an arrow and hit Jaz’, who cried out, “Ouch!”⁹⁸¹ A man of the Banū Kinānah said, “Men of Wāhib!”⁹⁸² Let them find out who they are!” They themselves were of Khath’am. A man of the Banū Khunays said, “Come back, Maydaʿān,⁹⁸³ for I think I can smell al-Qārah!”⁹⁸⁴ So they returned and killed them all, except for two men. Jaz’ died of the arrow wound. ‘Amr ibn Abī ‘Umārah said.⁹⁸⁵

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975 The text may be corrupt. It suggests that this is a person, but Balqayn, or Bal-Qayn, short for Banū l-Qayn (al-Qayn ibn Jasn), is in fact a tribe in the region of Muṭah; see *ĠN*, i, 310, ii, 455, *ETZ*, “al-Ḳayn” (W. Montgomery Watt).

976 No parallels of this report have been found.

977 Listed as a poet, he must have been a very obscure one and the only verse by him known to me is the one quoted below, in the section on al-Shanfarā (§ 97), a line attributed to another poet in *Aghānī*. He has not been found elsewhere and even his name is uncertain; the MSS have J.r.w (Jurw?) instead of Jaz’, as in ‘ASH and SKḤ. There are two persons called Jaz’ ibn al-Ḥārith in *ĠN* (i, 132, 270, ii, 261) but neither belongs to al-Azd.

978 Khunays (Mālik) ibn Zahrān, a branch of al-Azd; *ĠN*, i, 210, ii, 349.

979 This is apparently not the important tribe of Kinānah ibn Khuzaymah (see above, § 6), but Kinānah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Aklub, a branch of Khath’am (who are mentioned below), see *ĠN*, i, 224, ii, 371.

980 The following suggest that *iltaqā* “to meet” here means “to meet in battle”, as it often does.

981 In Arabic: *ḥass ḥass!* In SKḤ it is *ḥasan ḥasan* (“Good, good!”), clearly mistakenly.

982 Probably Wāhib ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Aklub, of Khath’am, is meant (*ĠN*, i, 224).

983 Maydaʿān ibn Mālik ibn Naṣr, a branch of al-Azd (*ĠN*, i, 210).

984 Translation of *fa-innī aḡidu riḥ al-qārah* uncertain. *Qārah* can mean “basalt plain”, but al-Qārah is also the name of a tribe consisting of a few branches of al-Hawn ibn Khuzaymah (*ĠN*, i, 49, ii, 465); they were famous archers (al-Mufaḍḍal, *Amthāl*, 54: *al-Qārah fīmā yadhkurūna armā ḥayy fi l-ʿArab*) and are possibly meant in this context about a shooting.

985 Al-Marzubānī, *Muʿjam*, 55 mentions ‘Amr ibn Abī ‘Umārah al-Khunaysī al-Azdī as a poet in the pre-Islamic era and quotes line 2 of the poem. The other lines have not been found in other sources.

دَعَوْا وَاهْبَاءً مَسْرًا عَشِيًّا وَكُنَّا رَأَى وَاهِبًا رَأَى الْخَلِيلِ الْمُوَاصِلِ
 وَأَدْعَوْ فَنَاعَتْ^٢ مِنْ حُنَيْسٍ عِصَابَةٌ إِلَى الصَّرْبِ مَشِيَّي الْمَحْنَقَاتِ الرِّوَابِلِ
 فَأَيْتِكَ بِالْمَعْرَاءِ حِينَ تَقَسَّمُوا فَتَنْظُرُ بِلَعَا^٣ مِنْ قَتِيلٍ وَقَاتِلِ
 وَلَيْتِكَ حَيًّا حِينَ سُلِّكَ فَرُّهُمْ فُغْيَةً حَرْبِ كَالسَّهَامِ النُّوَاصِلِ
 فَتَعْلَمَ أَنَا لَمْ نَدْعُهُمْ بَعْمَرْنَا وَأَنْ لَمْ يُؤَبِّ مَنَ آبَ مِنْهُمْ بِطَائِلِ

[٩٧§] وَمِنْهُمْ الشَّنْفَرِيُّ الْأَزْدِيُّ، مِنَ الْأَوَّاسِ بْنِ الْحَجَّرِ بْنِ الْهَنْوِ بْنِ الْأَزْدِ وَغَيْرِهَا. وَإِنَّهُ قَتَلَ مِنْ ٢٣١
 بَنِي سَلَامَانَ بْنِ مُفْرِجٍ تِسْعَةَ وَتِسْعِينَ رَجُلًا فِي غَارَاتِهِ عَلَيْهِمْ، وَإِنَّ بَنِي سَلَامَانَ أَفْعَدَتْ لَهُ رَجَالًا
 مِنْ بَنِي الرَّمْدِ مِنْ غَامِدٍ يَرِضُدُونَهُ، فَجَاءَهُمْ لِلْغَارَةِ فَظَلَبُوهُ فَأَفْلَتَهُمْ، فَأَرْسَلُوا عَلَيْهِ كَلْبًا لَهُمْ يُقَالُ
 لَهُ حُبَيْشٌ فَقَتَلَهُ، وَإِنَّهُ مَرَّ بِرَجُلَيْنِ مِنْ بَنِي سَلَامَانَ فَأَعَجَلَهُ فَرَّاهُ عَنْهُمَا، فَأَقْعَدُوا لَهُ أَسِيدَ بْنَ جَابِرٍ

١ كذا في هـ، كـ، ولعلّ الصحيح (مشرى) أو (مشرى).

٢ كـ: فناعة).

٣ كـ: بلغا).

- 986 I do not understand *m.s.r* 'ashīyyan; perhaps it should be emended to *masrā* ("night journey") or *musrā* (*maṣḍar mūnī* of *asrā*, "to travel by night").
- 987 The imperfect tense is strange; in al-Marzubānī, *Mu'jam* it is *da'awtu*, "I called".
- 988 Al-Marzubānī, *Mu'jam*: *thābat ilā l-ṣawt*, "returned, (responding) to the call".
- 989 Or "fat": the word has two contrasting senses, see Lane, *Lexicon*. Instead of *rawāfil* ("prancing, strutting"), al-Marzubānī has *rawāqil* ("pacing quickly").
- 990 *Al-ma'zā*; perhaps a place name here.
- 991 One word ('ASH: *b.l.*?, SKH: *b.lgh.*?) is unclear and I am unable to think of a suitable emendation.
- 992 Translation tentative; Hārūn calls the line "evidently corrupt". I read ... *hīna sullika far-ruhum* | *fughayyata ḥarbīn*, taking *far* as the plural of *fār* "fugitive", and *fughayyah* as the diminutive of *faghā*, "a dust that comes upon unripe dates, spoiling them" (Lane), "refuse" (Hava). For the image of fearful people as arrows without tip, cf. Abū Dhū'ayb: ... *wa-l-ḍulū'u ka-annahā* | *mina l-khawfi amthālu l-sihāmi l-nawāsili* (al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ ash'ār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, 144).
- 993 I do not understand *bi-'amrinā*.
- 994 Secondary literature about him is extensive, thanks to his colourful life as a brigand-poet and even more because he is the reputed poet of one of the best and most famous poems, called *Lāmīyyat al-'Arab* ("the poem of the Arabs rhyming in L"). The attribution has been questioned and many of the stories about him are of uncertain historicity. Like his friend Ta'abbāṭa Sharrā (above, § 85) and some other brigands he carried out raids on foot and was proverbial as a fast runner. See on him e.g. Michael Cooperson, "al-Shanfara"; Sezgin,

They called Wāhib on a nightly campaign (?).⁹⁸⁶ All of us
 thought of Wāhib as a good and close friend.
 And I call,⁹⁸⁷ and a band of Khunays pounced
 to the fighting,⁹⁸⁸ walking like prancing lean⁹⁸⁹ camels.
 Would that you were at the pebbly ground⁹⁹⁰ when they dispersed
 so that you could see a ...⁹⁹¹ of the slain and the slayer,
 Would that you were alive when those that fled of them were sent on
 their way
 as war's refuse, like arrows without arrowheads.⁹⁹²
 Then you would know that we have not left them ...⁹⁹³
 and that those of them who returned did not return with any gain.

[§ 97 al-Shanfarā⁹⁹⁴]

Another is al-Shanfarā al-Azdī, one of the clan of al-Awās ibn al-Ḥajr ibn al-Hanw ibn al-Azd, and others.⁹⁹⁵ He killed ninety-nine men of the Banū Salāmān ibn Mufrij⁹⁹⁶ on his raids on them. The Banū Salāmān made some men of the Banū l-Ramd, of Ghāmid,⁹⁹⁷ sit on the lookout for him. He came for a raid and they pursued him, but he escaped. Then they sent after him a dog called Ḥubaysh,⁹⁹⁸ but he killed it. He came past two men of Banū Salāmān, but he fled and was too quick for them. Then they set up Usayd⁹⁹⁹ ibn Jābir, of

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Geschichte, ii, 133–137; *E12*, “al-Shanfarā” (A. Arazi); Jones, *Early Arabic Poetry*, 1: Marāthī and Ṣuʿlūk Poems, 139–204; Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak*, 119–157; Webb in al-Maqrīzī, *Luṣūṣ*, 107–110, 238–245 (al-Maqrīzī’s text and translation) and index. The main Arabic source of his life is al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxi, 177–194, where three accounts of his death are given (181–182, 184–185, 192–194); see also al-Anbārī in *al-Mufaḍḍalīyyāt*, 194–207; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, iii, 340–348. For an English translation of *Aghānī*’s second account see Stetkevych, *Mute Immortals*, 128–129.

995 It is not clear what is meant by *wa-ghayrihā*; possibly it is shorthand to say that there are other accounts of his lineage, as indeed there are; see in particular the articles by Arazi and Cooperson mentioned above, and see *ĀN*, i, 209 (which has al-Aws and al-Hinw instead of al-Awās and al-Hanw). It is said that al-Shanfarā was a nickname (“Biglip”) and his proper name was Thābit ibn Jābir, but others give it as Mālik or ‘Amr ibn Mālik.

996 *ĀN*, i, 210. They also belonged to al-Azd. It is said that, having been exchanged, at a young age, for a prisoner and adopted by the Banū Salāmān, he grew up believing himself to be one of them. After a quarrel he learnt the truth and swore he would kill one hundred men of them.

997 On Ghāmid, another branch of al-Azd, see *ĀN*, i, 218.

998 This dog, but not its death, is mentioned in *Aghānī*, xxi, 180.

999 The name is also read as Asīd, see e.g. al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 347, where it is said that al-Shanfarā had killed his brother.

السَّلامانيّ وحازماً البُقَميِّ من البُقوم من حِوَالَةِ بنِ الهَئو بنِ الأزدِ، بالنّاصفِ من أبيدة وهو وادٍ فرصداه، فأقبل في الليل قد نزع إحدى نعلَيْهِ فهو يضربُ برجله. فقال حازم: هذا الضَّبُع! فقال أُسَيْد: بل هو الخبيث. فلمّا دنا توجَّس ثمّ رجع فمكث قليلاً، ثمّ عاد إلى الماء ليشرب فوثبوا عليه فأخذوه وربطوه وأصبحوا به في بني سلامان، فربطوه إلى شجرة فقالوا: قِفْ أنشدنا. | فقال: ٢٣٢
إنّما النشيد على المَسْرَة! فذهبت مثلاً. وجاء غلام قد كان الشنفرى قتل أباه فضرب يده بالشَّفرة فاضطربت فقال:

لا تَبْعدي إمّا هلكتِ شامَهُ فُرْبٌ وادٍ قد قطعْتَ هامَهُ
وربِّ حيٍّ أهلكتِ سَوامَهُ وربِّ خرقي قطعْتَ قَتامَهُ
وربِّ خرقي فصَلتِ عِظامَهُ

ثمّ قالوا: أين نَقْبُك؟ فقال:

- 1000 *Aghānī*, xxi, 181: Khāzīm al-Fahmī.
1001 Al-Nāṣif and Abīdah are places in the territory of the Banū Salāmān (Abū ‘Ubayd, *Mu‘jam*, 102, 1287).
1002 In *Aghānī*, Usayd’s nephew is with them.
1003 *Yadrību bi-rjilih*. Compare *Aghānī*, xxi, 185: “He had taken off one sandal and put (only) one sandal on, in order to conceal his treading. When the two lads heard his footsteps, they said, “That’s a hyena!” but Usayd said, “It’s not a hyena, it is al-Shanfarā!” It is not clear to me how walking on only one sandal could be effective in hiding the sounds of one’s footsteps.
1004 In *Aghānī*, al-Shanfarā sees a dark shape and shoots at it (as was his wont whenever he saw something in the dark), wounding Usayd’s nephew. In the ensuing sword fight he severs two of Ḥāzīm’s fingers, but he is overmastered after a struggle, described in entertaining detail. At one stage, Usayd gets hold of his nephew’s foot and exclaims, “Whose foot is this?”. Al-Shanfarā says, “It’s mine!” But his ploy fails.
1005 Al-‘Askarī, *Jamharah*, ii, 241, but not found in other collections of proverbs. Far more popular is a similar excuse made by another famous poet, ‘Abīd ibn al-‘Abras, about to be executed by king al-Nu‘mān of al-Ḥīrah (cf. above, § 81). Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 444 and numerous other sources.
1006 The hand was severed, as said explicitly in Ibn Durayd, *Jamharah*, 1121; *Aghānī*, xxi, 182, 185, 194; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, iii, 347. The verb for “twitched” in *Aghānī* is *ta’arraḍat*, which is a corruption of *taba’raṣat* (as in Ibn Durayd).

Salāmān, and Ḥāzīm al-Buqūmī,¹⁰⁰⁰ of the Banū l-Buqūm of Ḥawālah ibn al-Hanw ibn al-Azd, in al-Nāṣif, in Abīdah, a wadi,¹⁰⁰¹ to be on the lookout for him.¹⁰⁰² Al-Shanfarā came in the night. He had taken off one of his sandals and stamped the earth with his foot.¹⁰⁰³ “That’s a hyena!” said Ḥāzīm. But Usayd said, “No, it’s that wicked man!” When al-Shanfarā came nearer he listened apprehensively and he retreated. After a short while he returned to the water to drink. Then they sprang upon him and seized him.¹⁰⁰⁴ They tied him up and in the morning took him to the Banū Salāmān. They tied him to a tree and said, “Come on, recite us a poem!” | He replied, “One recites only when cheerful!”, which became a proverb.¹⁰⁰⁵ A young man whose father had been killed by al-Shanfarā came and struck his hand with a blade. The hand twitched.¹⁰⁰⁶ He said,

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Do not go far!¹⁰⁰⁷ Though you are lost, (with) a mole,¹⁰⁰⁸
 Many a wadi have I crossed ...,¹⁰⁰⁹(?)
 Many a tribe’s pasturing camels has it destroyed,¹⁰¹⁰
 On many a path in the desert has it cut through dark dust,
 And of many a noble young man has it severed bones!

They asked him, “Where shall we bury you?” But he replied,¹⁰¹¹

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- 1007 As above, §9 note 114, it is a formula used in elegies. He is addressing his hand. The poem is found with several variants in *Aghānī*, xxi, 182 and 185; Ibn Durayd, *Jamharah*, 1121; al-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ*, 351. For a compound version with 14 lines (but not including l. 2), see al-Shanfarā, *Dīwān*, 75–76.
- 1008 The second account in *Aghānī* (xxi, 185) mentions that there was a black mole on the severed hand. The verb is vowelled in ‘ASH as *halaktu* (1st ps. sing.) but possibly it should be *halakti* (2nd ps. sing. fem.), as in Ibn Durayd, *Jamharah*, 1121, like the variant *dhahabti* (*Aghānī*, xxi, 182, 194, al-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ*, 351). He is addressing the hand, even though in the following the hand is referred to with the 3rd ps. fem. sing. The syntax is somewhat unclear.
- 1009 *Qaṭa’tu* (or *qaṭa’ti*) *hāmah*; the sense of the last word is not clear to me. If instead of *wādin* one reads e.g. *qirmīn*, it would be “Of many an adversary I/you cut off his head.” *Aghānī*, xxi, 182, 194 and Ibn Durayd, *Jamharah*: *fa-rubba wādin naḡḡarat ḥamāmah*, “in many a wadi it (i.e., my hand) has stirred up the pigeons (scil., when I was hunting)”.
- 1010 Instead of “destroyed” (*ahlakat*), *Aghānī*, xxi, 194 has “scattered” (*farraqat*).
- 1011 The lines are often quoted. They are in Abū Tammām’s *Ḥamāsah* (al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ*, 487–491, al-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ*, 349–350); al-Jāḥiẓ, *Burṣān*, 253 and 492; idem, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 450 (there attributed to Ta’abbata Sharrā); Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi’r*, 80; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, i, 101–102 and see vi, 183; al-Qālī, *Dhayl al-Amālī*, 36; *Aghānī*, xxi, 182; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, iii, 347–348; al-Shanfarā, *Dīwān*, 48, etc. For English translations see Nicholson, *Literary History*, 81 (rhymed); Stetkevych, *Mute Immortals*, 129; Webb in al-Maqrīzī, *Luṣūṣ*, 241.

لا تقبروني إنَّ قَبْرِي محَرَّمٌ عليكم ولكنَّ أبشيري أمَّ عامرٍ
 إذا احتملتُ رأسي وفي الرأسِ أكثري وغودِرَ عند الملتقى ثمَّ سائري
 هنالك لا أرجو حياةً تُسرِّي سَمير الليلي مُسلاً بالجرائر

وإنَّ رجلاً من بني سلامان رماه بسهم في عينه فقتله، فقال جَزءُ بن الحارث في قتله:

لَعَمْرُكَ لَلسَّاعِي أُسَيْدُ بن جَابِرٍ أَحَقُّ بِهَا مِنْكُمْ بني عَقِبِ الكَلْبِ

وكان الشنفرى حلف ليقْتلَنَّ مائةً من بني سلامان، فقتل تسعة وتسعين فبقي عليه تمامٌ نذره،
 فمَرَّ رجل من بني سلامان بجُمُجمته فضربها فعقرت رِجلَه فمات، فتمَّ نذره بالرجل بعد موته.

[٩٨ §] ومنهم خالد بن جعفر بن كلاب. وقتله الحارث بن ظالم في جوار الأسود بن المنذر،
 وقد كتبتُ سبب قتله في المغتالين. ٢٣٣

[٩٩ §] ومنهم حارثة بن قيس الكِناني. وكان مدح الحارث بن أبي شَمير العَساني ووفد إليه
 فأحسن جائزته، فلما انصرف سُرق ما معه، فظنَّ أنَّ الحارث دسَّ إليه من يسرقه، فقال يهجوهُ:

١ في النسختين: (جرو)، والتصحيح من شرح المفصَّلِيَّات للأُبباري.

1012 A nickname of the hyena, who will eat his corpse. Webb opts for another interpretation ("I'm only for the Hyena!"), taking the whole sentence, *ibshirī* (or *khāmīrī*, in other versions) *umma ʿAmīrī*, to be a name for the hyena, following commentaries such as Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-laʿālī*, 920 or al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ*, 488–489. This makes for odd syntax, as *lākin* is then not followed by a complete sentence.

1013 *Idhā ḥtamalat*, as in *Aghānī*, xxi, 182; the subject is the tribe but could also be the hyena. Other versions have *idhā ḥtamalū* or *idhā ḥamalū*, "when they pick up", or *idhā ḍarabū* "when they strike".

1014 *Multaqā* could also be "crossroads" or "place of battle".

1015 *Samīra l-layālī*, cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab* (SMR): *lā aʿaluhu samīr al-layālī*, *ay ākhirahā*, with a quotation of this verse. In Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsah* it is *sajīsa l-layālī* (al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ*, 490, al-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ*, 350), with the same sense.

1016 In *Aghānī*, xxi, 186 this line, preceded by two others, is attributed to Zālim al-ʿAmīrī. On Jaz' ibn al-Ḥārith see above, § 96.

Don't bury me! Burying me is forbidden
 to you. But good tidings, Umm ʿĀmir!¹⁰¹²
 When they pick up¹⁰¹³ my head—and in the head is most of me—
 and the rest of me is left there, where people gather:¹⁰¹⁴
 There I shall not expect a life to cheer me,
 through all nights,¹⁰¹⁵ surrendered on account of my crimes.

A man of Salāmān shot an arrow in his eye, killing him. Jaz' ibn al-Ḥārith said about his death:¹⁰¹⁶

Upon my life, Usayd ibn Jābir, who did the work,
 was more entitled to it than you, sons of a dog's heel.¹⁰¹⁷

Al-Shanfarā had sworn an oath that he would kill one hundred men of the Banū Salāmān. He killed ninety-nine of them, so the completion of his vow remained to be fulfilled. A man of the Banū Salāmān came past his skull and kicked it. It wounded his foot and he died of it. Thus his vow was fulfilled after his death.

[§ 98 Khālid ibn Jaʿfar ibn Kilāb]

Another is Khālid ibn Jaʿfar ibn Kilāb, who was killed by al-Ḥārith ibn Zālim 233
 when he was enjoying the protection of al-Aswad ibn al-Mndhir. I have written
 the account of why he was killed in *Prominent Murder Victims*.¹⁰¹⁸

[§ 99 Ḥārithah ibn Qays al-Kinānī¹⁰¹⁹]

Another is Ḥārithah ibn Qays al-Kinānī. He had eulogised al-Ḥārith ibn Abī Shamir al-Ghassānī¹⁰²⁰ and paid a visit to him for which he was rewarded handsomely. When he left, all his possessions were stolen. He suspected that al-Ḥārith had sent someone to rob him, so he lampooned him:

1017 He upbraids al-Azd for having been unable to stop al-Shanfarā's raids. The feminine pronoun in *bihā* "it" possibly refers to *rijl Shanfarā* (thus, without the article), "Shanfarā's foot" in one of the lines that precede in *Aghānī*: "Why did you not reach Shanfarā's foot (i.e., overtake him) though you are nimble, like crows' wings"?

1018 See above, § 14.

1019 Like Jaz' ibn al-Ḥārith (above, § 96), Ḥārithah ibn Qays is listed as a poet but he is not found anywhere else and not one line of his verse is known. Parallels of the present story have not been found.

1020 See above, § 89.

أَدَّ الدنانيرَ إِنَّ العَدْرَ مَنْقَصَةٌ وَإِنَّ جَدَّكَ لَمْ يَغْدِرْ وَلَمْ يُطِيقِ

فبلغ هجاؤه الحارثَ فحلف^١ أن لا يمسَّ رأسه غَسْلٌ حتَّى يقتلَ حارثةَ بهجائه إِيَّاه، وإنَّ الحارثَ بنَ أبي شمر جعل لابنِ عُرْوَةَ الكنانِيَّ جُعلاً على أن يدلَّه على عَوْرَةِ قومه، فدلَّه فغزاهم، وندم ابنُ عروة فقال في الطريق وهو يسير مع الحارث:

بَلِّغْ بني مُدَلِّجٍ عَنِّي مَغْلَعَةً ٢ التُّدْرِ
 أَنَّ الهَمَامَ الَّذِي يَخْشَوْنَ صَوْلَتَهُ بيني وبينكُمْ يَسْرِي وَيَتَكْرَهُ
 فِي مُسْبِطٍ تَهَابَ الطَّيْرُ صَوْلَتَهُ ولا يُحِيطُ به فِي السَّرْبِخِ؛ البَصْرُ
 فِي كُلِّ مَنْزِلَةٍ مِنْهُ وَمَعْتَرِكٍ تَلْقَى سلائِلَ لَمْ يَنْبُتْ لَهَا شَعْرُ

فلم يبلغهم إنذاره،^٢ وأغار عليهم الحارث بمغبط الجُحْفَةِ فقتل حارثةَ بن قيس، وأوقع بيني^٣ ٢٣٤ كنانة،^٤ فقالت ابنة حارثة ولبست السواد وحلفت لا تنزعه حتَّى تثار بأبيها من ابن عمه الذي دلَّ عليه، فقالت:

-
- ١ ك: (فخلف).
 - ٢ بياض في الأصل.
 - ٣ ك: (مُسيطر).
 - ٤ ك: (السَّرْبِخ).
 - ٥ ك: (تبقى).
 - ٦ ك: (نذاره).
 - ٧ هـ: (بينى).
 - ٨ ك: (كنة).

Give up my dinars! Treachery is a bad thing!
Your grandfather was not treacherous, he would not stand it!

His lampoon reached al-Ḥārith, who swore he would not wash his head until he had killed Ḥārithah because of his lampoon. Al-Ḥārith agreed with Ibn ‘Urwah al-Kinānī¹⁰²¹ on a price if he would tell him where the vulnerable spot of Ḥārithah’s people was. Ibn ‘Urwah told him, and al-Ḥārith raided them. Ibn ‘Urwah regretted his deed and when he was on his way together with al-Ḥārith, he said:

Convey to the Banū Mudlij¹⁰²² from me a quick message
..... vows,¹⁰²³
That the hero whose force they fear,
among you and me, is coming by night and early morning,
In a far-stretching army, its force held in awe by the birds,¹⁰²⁴
that the eye cannot encompass on the broad plain.
At every station or battle site on its march
you will find foetuses that have not yet grown any hair.¹⁰²⁵

But his warning did not reach them and al-Ḥārith raided them at Maghbiṭ al-Juḥfah,¹⁰²⁶ where he killed Ḥārithah and attacked the Banū Kinānah. The daughter of Ḥārithah put on a black dress, swearing that she would not take it off until her father’s death had been avenged on his cousin who had betrayed him. She said, 234

1021 Not identified.

1022 Mudlij is a branch of Kinānah ibn Khuzaymah, see *ĠN*, i, 44, ii, 416.

1023 There is a lacuna of a few words in the manuscript.

1024 The verb *hāba* often means “to fear”, which would not fit here, for one would rather expect the birds (i.e., predators and vultures) to rejoice expectantly, in accordance with a common motif found in Arabic and other literatures (cf. Van Gelder, “Birds of Battle”).

1025 Female camels or horses have aborted their foetuses: a result of forced marches. On this motif, found in Dhū l-Rummah and several other poets, see Papoutsakis, *Desert Travel*, 146–147.

1026 Al-Juḥfah is a place between Mecca and Medina. It is not clear whether Maghbiṭ (or Mughbaṭ, the vowel being uncertain) is part of the place name or a noun (perhaps “place with dense herbage”). Alternatively, it is a corruption of *bi-ghabṭin* (see below, note 1028).

جَزَى اللَّهُ ابْنَ عُرْوَةَ حَيْثُ أَمْسَى عُقُوقاً وَالْعُقُوقُ لَهُ أَثَامٌ
 أَيْتَ طَلِيعَةً لِلْقَوْمِ تَسْرِي بَعْطاً لَا يَجَارُ وَلَا يَنَامُ
 فَمَا عَلِمْتُ مَسَاكِنَا بَلِيٍّ وَلَا غَسَانُ تَلِكُ وَلَا جُدَامُ
 بِأَيْدِينَا وَإِنْ لَمْ يَقْتُلُونَا بِذِي الْمَسْرُوحِ أَصْدَاءٌ وَهَامُ
 فَإِنَّ مَدَافِعَ التَّوْفِيقِ مِنْكُمْ إِلَى حَبْنَا وَإِنْ دَفَعْتَ حَرَامُ

[§ 100] **ومنها** عُتَيْبَةُ بن الحارث بن شِهاب أخو بني جعفر بن ثعلبة بن يربوع. غزت بنو نصر بن فُعين، فسمع عُتَيْبَةُ بِمَسِيرِهِمْ فقال: حَلُّوا بَيْنَ بَنِي نَصْرٍ وَبَيْنَ النَّعْمِ. فبلغ ذلك بني نصر، فعبّوا للنَّعْمِ خَيْلاً وَلِلْقِتَالِ خَيْلاً. فَلَمَّا صَبَّحُوهُمْ ذَهَبَتِ الْفِرْقَةُ الَّتِي وَكَلَّوْهَا بِالنَّعْمِ، وَتَأَخَّرَتِ الْآخَرَى، فقاتلت بنو يربوع منهم نفراً، وكانت تحت عتيبة يومئذ فرسٌ فيها مراح واعتراض، فأصاب غلاماً | ٢٣٥ من بني أسد يقال له ذؤاب بن رُبَيْعَةَ أَرْبَعَةَ عَشْرَةَ فَنَزَفَ حَتَّى مَاتَ، فَحَمَلَ رَبِيعُ بن عتيبة على ذؤاب فأخذه سَلَمًا، وقتلوا ثمانية من بني نصر وبني غاضرة، واستنقذوا النَّعْمَ، وساروا بذؤاب إلى منزلهم، فقال رُبَيْعَةُ أَبُو ذؤاب:

١ ك: (أثام).

٢ كذا في هـ، وفي ك: (بعطٍ).

٣ هـ، في تعليقه: كذا وردت «التوفيق» و«حبنا»، وهما موضعان يظهر أنهما محرّفان.

٤ ك: (عادرة).

1027 This line is attributed to Bal'ā' ibn Qays in Abū 'Ubaydah, *Majāz al-Qur'ān*, ii, 81; to Shāfi' al-Laythī in Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-Arab* (*ThM*); anonymously in al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ii, 337.

1028 The word left unpointed in 'ASH is read as *bi-ghayẓin* ("with rage") in SKH. Perhaps it could be read as *bi-ghabṭin*, taking *ghabṭ* as a synonym of *ighbāt*, "constantly being in the saddle", which would fit the context.

1029 On Balī see ĞN, i, 328–329, ii, 223; on Judhām see ĞN, i, 176, 245, ii, 264; on Ghassān see ĞN, i, 193, ii, 273.

1030 Dhū l-Masrūḥ is a place name according to al-Firūzābādī, *Qāmūs* (SRH), probably the same as Masrūḥ, without the article, a place near Mecca (Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān* s.v. Masrūḥ, Abū 'Ubayd, *Muġam*, 1225, quoting a line by Nuṣayb in which it is Dhū l-Masrūḥ).

1031 This is a free rendering of *aṣḍā' wa-hām*. The meanings given to the singular *ṣadā* in Hava's *Dictionary* are "thirst; voice; echo; corpse; brain; owl" and *hāmah* can mean "head, skull" as well as "owl". The words refer to the belief that the spirit of someone

God requite Ibn ‘Urwah, wherever he goes,
 for being disloyal, for disloyalty will be punished!¹⁰²⁷
 You came in the vanguard of the men who came in the evening
 ...,¹⁰²⁸ without deviating or sleeping.
 Balī did not know our abodes,
 nor did Ghassān or Judhām.¹⁰²⁹
 Though they have not killed us, we have,
 in Dhū l-Masrūḥ,¹⁰³⁰ voices crying and thirsting for vengeance!¹⁰³¹
 The water-courses of al-Tawfiq,
 as far as Ḥabnā,¹⁰³² when they are defended (?), are forbidden to you.

[§ 100 ‘Utaybah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Shihāb¹⁰³³]

Another is ‘Utaybah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Shihāb, of the tribe of Ja‘far ibn Tha‘labah ibn Yarbū‘. The Banū Naṣr ibn Qu‘ayn¹⁰³⁴ went on a raid. When ‘Utaybah heard they were marching he said, “Separate the Banū Naṣr from the camels.” The Banū Naṣr were informed of this and they deployed some horse to raid the camels and some horse for the fight. When they attacked them in the morning, the detachment charged with raiding the camels moved but the other detachment was delayed. The Banū Yarbū‘ fought with some of them. That day ‘Utaybah was riding a horse that was fiery and refractory. A young man | of the Banū Asad, called Dhu‘āb ibn Rubayyi‘ah¹⁰³⁵ hit ‘Utaybah’s nose, and he died from the bleeding.¹⁰³⁶ ‘Utaybah’s son Rabī‘ attacked Dhu‘āb, who surrendered to him. They killed eight men of the Banū Naṣr and the Banū Ghāḍīrah,¹⁰³⁷ they saved the camels, and took Dhu‘āb to their abode. Rubayyi‘ah, Dhu‘āb’s father, said,

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whose death is unavenged appears over his grave in the shape of an owl who screeches for a drink; see Homerin, “Echoes of a Thirsty Owl”.

1032 These place-names are apparently corrupt and their reading is uncertain.

1033 ‘Utaybah ibn Ḥārith, here listed as a poet, was more famous as a leader of Tha‘labah ibn Yarbū‘ (see *ĠN*, i, 69, ii, 577), reckoned one of the “Arab horsemen” (*fursān al-‘Arab*), called Ṣayyād al-Fawāris (“Hunter of Horsemen”), see e.g. Abū ‘Ubaydah, *Dībāj*, 15–18; Ibn Qutaybah, *Faḍl al-‘Arab*, 62–63; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, i, 117. For parallels of the story of his death on the battle-day of Khaww, see Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, v, 249–250, al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, xv, 422–423; Abū ‘Ubaydah, *Ayyām*, ii, 486–488 (with wrongly Kharr instead of Khaww).

1034 Naṣr ibn Qu‘ayn was a branch of Asad, see *ĠN*, i, 50, 51.

1035 See *ĠN*, i, 51.

1036 In Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, it is said that ‘Utaybah’s stallion smelled a mare and went for it, ‘Utaybah being unable to see well in the dark and stumbling upon Dhu‘āb, who stabs him in the throat.

1037 Presumably Ghāḍīrah ibn Mālik, a branch of Asad (*ĠN*, i, 55).

إِنْ يَقتلوكَ فَمَدَّ عَروِشَهُمُ بَعْتِيَّةَ بنِ الحارثِ بنِ شهابِ
بَأشدَّهُمُ ضَرًّا عَلى أَعْدائِهِمُ وَأَعزَّهُمُ فَقْدًا عَلى الأَصحابِ

[§ 101] **ومَنهم المنخَّلُ اليَشكُريُّ.** وكانت امرأة النُّعمانِ بنِ المُنذرِ قد شُغِفَت به، فخرج ٢٣٩ يتصيِّد، فعمدت إلى قيِّدٍ فجعلت رَجُلَها في إحدى حَلَقَتَيْهِ، ورجل المنخَّلِ في الأخرى شَغَفًا به، وجاء النُّعمانُ فألفاهما على حالهما، فأمر بالمنخَّلِ فقتل، فضربت به العرب المَثَلُ، فقال أوس بن حَجَرَ:

فَجئتُ بِبيعيٍّ مَولِيًّا لا أزيدُه عَليه بها حَتَّى يَؤوبَ المنخَّلُ

وقال ذو الرُّمَّة:

تَقارِبُ حَتَّى يَطمَعَ النَواوي في الهوى وليست بأدنى من إيابِ المنخَّلِ

١ هـ، ك: (ربيعي)، والتصحيح من ديوان أوس بن حجر رسالة الغفران للمعري.

1038 They did, as is told in the version of *Iqd*. When Rabi' took Dhu'ab captive he was not aware that he had taken his father's killer. A ransom was agreed. Rubayyi'ah brought the required number of camels but Rabi' was delayed and Rubayyi'ah, thinking his son was dead, unwisely recited his poem (five lines including the two given by Ibn Ḥabīb). When 'Utaybah's son heard them he killed Dhu'ab. The poem (five lines) is also in Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsah* (al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ*, 843–846, attributed to "a man of the Banū Naṣr ibn Qu'ayn") and with ten lines in al-Qālī, *Amālī*, ii, 72–73.

1039 The poet al-Munakhkhal ibn 'Ubayd (or Mas'ūd, or 'Amr, or al-Ḥārith, or Khalīl) ibn 'Amir belonged to the tribe of Yashkur (see *ĠN*, i, 162, without mention of al-Munakhkhal) and lived in al-Ḥīrah at the court of al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir (d. AD602). There is some confusion about his genealogy and it is not certain that he is the person who became proverbial as someone who will never return; see *ĠN*, ii, 428; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 183; *E12*, "al-Munakhkhal al-Yashkurī" (Ch. Pellat). There is

They may kill you¹⁰³⁸ but you overthrew their power,
 by killing ‘Utaybah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Shihāb,
 The strongest of them in inflicting harm on their enemies,
 the one most sorely missed by his fellows.

[§ 101 al-Munakhkhal al-Yashkurī¹⁰³⁹]

Another is al-Munakhkhal al-Yashkurī. The wife of al-Nu‘mān ibn al-Mundhir had fallen in love with him. The king went out hunting. She took a pair of shackles and put one of her feet in one of its rings and al-Munakhkhal’s foot in the other, being smitten with him. When al-Nu‘mān returned he found the two in that state. Al-Munakhkhal was killed at his orders.¹⁰⁴⁰ Among the Arabs he became proverbial; Aws ibn Ḥajar said,¹⁰⁴¹

Then I came back with what I’d bought; I’ll give no more
 for it—until al-Munakhkhal comes back!

And Dhū l-Rummah said,¹⁰⁴²

She approaches (with her words), so that one, remote, would hope for
 her love,
 but she is no nearer than al-Munakhkhal’s return.

additional confusion about his death and its cause. Ibn Qutaybah (*Shīr*, 404–405) says he was killed by king ‘Amr ibn Hind (d. c. AD 568) after he had made love poetry on his sister Hind, and also that he was suspected of having an affair with (and two sons by) al-Mutajarridah, the wife of king al-Nu‘mān ibn al-Mundhir; see also al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxi, 1–7 (esp. 4–5 for a parallel with the present text).

1040 In the version of *Aghānī* he was handed over to ‘Ikabb, who was in charge of the prison and who tortured him to death.

1041 Aws ibn Ḥajar died probably shortly before the Hijra. See Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 171–172, EI3, “Aws b. Ḥajar” (Reinhard Weipert). The verse, corrupt in ‘ASH and SKH, is in Aws ibn Ḥajar, *Dīwān*, 98 and al-Ma‘arrī, *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, i, 280–281 (where the words *ḥattā ya’ūba l-Munakhkhalū*, “until al-Munakhkhal comes back”, is Englished as “when pigs will fly”). See also al-‘Askarī, *Jamharah*, i, 292, al-Zamakhsharī, *Mustaqṣā*, ii, 58. The expression is also found in a verse by al-Namir ibn Tawlab (Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaqāt*, 155, al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxi, 1).

1042 On Dhū l-Rummah (d. 117/735), see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 394–397. The verse is in his *Dīwān*, 1473 and *Aghānī*, xxi, 1. The translation follows the commentary in the *Dīwān*.

- ٢٤٠ [١٠٢] **ومنهم عَمَرُو ذُو الْكَلْبِ**، وكان من رجال ^١هُذَيْلٍ، وكان قد عَلِقَ امرأةً من فَهَمٍ يقال لها أُمُّ جُلَيْحَةَ، فَأَحَبَّهَا وَأَحَبَّتْهُ، وقد كان أهلها وجدوا عليهما وطلبوا دمَه إلى أن جاءها عاماً من ذلك، فنذروا به فخرجوا في إثره وخرج هارباً منهم وتبعوه، وكان أهدى الناس بطريق، فتبعوه يومهم ذلك حتى أَمْسَوْا، وهاجت عليهم [ريح شديدة في] ^٢ليلةٍ ظَلَمَاءَ شديدةِ الظُّلْمَةِ، فبينما هو يسير وهو على الطريق إذ رأى ناراً عن يمينه فقال: أخطأتُ واللَّهِ الطريق، وإنَّ النارَ لَعلى الطريق. وحرارٌ وشدَّ فقصد للنار ^٣حتى أتاها وقد كاد يُصْبِحُ، فإذا رجل قد أوقد ناراً وليس معه أحد. فقال عمرو ذُو الْكَلْبِ: من أنت؟ قال: أنا رجل من عَدَوَانٍ. فقال: ما اسم هذا المكان؟ قال: السدِّ. فعرف أن قد هلك وأخطأ، والسدُّ شيء لا يُجَاز. فقال: وَيَحَكْ، لِمَ أوقدت؟ فواللَّهِ ما تَشْوِي ولا تصطلي، ويَلي، حينَ عمرو وأمرٌ لأمر، هل عندك شيء تُطْعِمَنِي؟ قال: نعم. فأخرج له تَمَرَاتٍ فألقاها في يده، فلَمَّا رآها قال: تَمَرَاتٍ، تَتَّبِعُهَا عَبْرَاتٍ، من نسوة خَفِرَاتٍ! ثمَّ قال: اسقِنِي، قال: ماذا؟ لَبْنًا؟ قال: لا ولكن اسقِنِي ماءً | قَرَاخًا، فَإِنِّي مقتول صباحاً. ثمَّ انطلق فأسند؛ في السدِّ، ورأى القوم يطلبون أثره حيث أخطأ، فتبعوه حتى وجدوه قد دخل في غار السدِّ. فلَمَّا

١ ك: (رجل).

٢ التكملة من الأغاني.

٣ ك: (النار).

٤ ك: (فاشند).

1043 On 'Amr ibn al-'Ajlan called Dhū l-Kalb see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 254; Webb, *The Arab Thieves*, 102–106, 178–191 (al-Maqrīzī's text and translation); al-İşfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxii, 351–353; al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ ash'ār al-Hudhalīyyīn*, 565–586 and 854–856; al-'Askarī, *Jamharah*, ii, 53–54; al-Jarīrī, *Jalīs*, i, 545–547. He was called Dhū l-Kalb (“the one with the dog”) because he had a dog that accompanied him on his raids (*Aghānī*, xxii, 251, al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ*, 565). Some called him 'Amr al-Kalb, 'Amr the Dog. There are three accounts of his death. In one, he is killed and eaten by two leopards while on a raid (*Aghānī*, xxii, 251; al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ*, 578). In a bizarre story (found in Kushājim, *Maṣāyid*, 172–173; al-Jarīrī, *Jalīs*, i, 545–547; and al-Maqrīzī, *Luṣūṣ*, 188–191) it is told that he was killed by a snake. The third and longest account is told here, with a close parallel in *Aghānī*, and a less close one in al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ*, 854–856. The confusion may have originated in the famous elegy on him by his sister Janūb (not in Ibn Ḥabīb's text). In this poem (al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ*, 583–586, al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, x, 382–390, translated and discussed in detail by Jones, *Early Arabic Poetry*, i, 37–50), it is said that 'Amr was killed by two leopards (vss. 2–10) but subsequently she mentions the report that he was

[§ 102 ‘Amr Dhū l-Kalb¹⁰⁴³]

Another was ‘Amr Dhū l-Kalb, one of the men of Hudhayl.¹⁰⁴⁴ He had fallen in love with a woman of the tribe of Fahm called Umm Julayḥah. He loved her and she loved him, but her family were against it and sought to kill him. After one year he came to her again, but they found out and went out after him. He fled and they followed his tracks. He was an excellent pathfinder. They followed him all day until the evening. A strong wind began to blow in the very dark night. While ‘Amr was on his way he saw a fire on his right. “I must have missed the path, by God!” he said, “for the fire is surely on the road.” He hesitated, then quickened his pace.¹⁰⁴⁵ He went towards the fire and reached it when it was almost dawn. There he found a man who had lit the fire; he was on his own. ‘Amr Dhū l-Kalb asked him, “Who are you?” The man answered, “I am from the tribe of ‘Adwān.”¹⁰⁴⁶ “What is this place called?” “The Barrier”¹⁰⁴⁷ Then ‘Amr knew that he was lost and had missed the path, for a barrier is something that cannot be passed. “I say, why have you lit a fire?” he asked, “for you are not roasting anything or warming yourself! Poor ‘Amr, he’ll be dead! One thing is by another led.”¹⁰⁴⁸ Have you some food for me?” The man said “Yes, I have”. He produced some dates and handed them to ‘Amr. When he saw them he said, “Dates, followed by tears post haste, shed by women chaste!”¹⁰⁴⁹ Then he said, “Give me something to drink!” The man asked, “What do you want? Milk?” ‘Amr replied, “No, with clear water I’ll be filled, | for this morning I shall be killed.”¹⁰⁵⁰ Then he left. He went up the Barrier and spotted the men who were following him where he had gone the wrong way. They followed him until they found that he had entered a cave in the Barrier. Coming up to the Barrier they were aware

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killed by men of Fahm in a cave (*qatalnāhu fī ghārah*), the killers bringing his arrows in evidence (vs. 11). One could even speculate that *qatalnāhu fī ghārah* means “on a raid” and that the story of the cave, told in our text, was fabricated on the basis of a misinterpretation.

1044 Hudhayl was a tribe living in the neighbourhood of Mecca. See *ĠN*, i, 3, 58, ii, 286; *E12*, “Hudhayl” (G. Rentz); *E13*, “Hudhayl, Banū” (Kirill Dmitriev). Exceptionally, their “tribal *dīwān*” (their collected poetry) has been preserved, see al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ ash‘ār al-Hudalīyyīn*.

1045 *Shadda*; *Aghānī* has *shakka* “had doubts”.

1046 ‘Adwān is a sister tribe of Fahm, see *ĠN*, i, 92, 139, 140.

1047 Al-Sudd. For places of that name see e.g. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldan*.

1048 He uses rhyming prose: *ḥayn ‘Amr, wa-amr li-amr*.

1049 *Tamarāt, tatba‘uhā ‘abarāt, min niswah khafirāt*.

1050 *Isqini mā‘an qarāḥā, fa-innī maqtūl šabāḥā*.

ظهروا السدّ علموا أنه في الغار، فنادَوْه فقالوا: يا عمرو! قال: ما تشاءون؟ قالوا: اخرج! فقال: فلمَ إذاً دخلتُ؟ قالوا: بلى فاجرح. قال: لا، لا أخرج! قالوا: فأنشدنا قولك:

ومَقْعَدِ كُرْبَةٍ قد كنتُ فيها مكانَ الإصبَعَيْنِ من القِبَالِ

فقال: ها هي هذه أنا فيها. وَيَعْنُ له رجلٌ من القومِ فيرميه عمرو فيقتله. قالوا: قتلته يا عدوَّ الله! قال: أَجَلٌ. قد بقيتُ معي أربعةٌ أسهُمَ كأنها أنيابُ أمِّ جُلَيْحَةَ. قالوا: يا أبا بجاد، ادخلْ عليه وأنتُ حُرٌّ! فتهيَّأ أبو بجاد ليدخل فقال له عمرو: وَيَحْكُ، ما ينفعك أن تكون حُرًّا إذا قتلْتُك! فنكص عنه. فلَمَّا رَأَوْا ذلكَ صَعِدُوا فنقبوا عليه، ثمَّ رمَوْه حتَّى قتلوه وأخذوا سَلْبَهُ فرجعوا به. وإذا أمُّ جُلَيْحَةَ تتشوّف، فلَمَّا رَأَوْها قالوا: يا أمِّ جُلَيْحَةَ، ما رأيُك في عمرو؟ قالت: رأيي واللهِ أنكم طلبْتُموه سريعاً،^٢ ولقيتموه منيعاً، وصبّتموه مريعاً. قالوا: واللهِ قتلناه. قالت واللهِ ما أراكم فعلتم، ولن كنتم فعلتم لربِّ نَدِيٍّ | منكم افترشه، وضبَّ منكم احترشه، ونهَّب منهبٍ منكم اخترشه. ٢٤٢ فطرحوا إليها ثيابه وقالوا لها: دونك، خذها. فشمتها فقالت: ريحُ عَطْرٍ، وثوبُ عمرو، أما واللهِ ما وجدتُم حُجْرَتَه جافية، ولا عانته وافية، ولا ضالته كافية. فقالت: أخته رِبْطَةٌ ترثيه:

١ ك: (قال).

٢ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

٣ ك: (تركتموه صريعا).

٤ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

٥ ك: (قالت).

1051 From a poem of thirty lines (al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ*, 565–572). Ibn Qutaybah (*Maʿānī*, 493) explains that the sense is the reverse: he meant “like the sandal-thongs between two toes”, but al-Sukkarī denies this (*Sharḥ*, 571–572), saying that the poet means that he was able to extricate himself just as the sandal is carried by the two toes nearest to the thong.

1052 This is meant to be a compliment (al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ*, 855: “She had the most beautiful teeth”). Umm Julayḥah was ‘Amr’s beloved.

1053 Abū Bijād is a slave, as is clear from the context and is made explicit in *Aghānī*, where his name is given as Abū Nijād (the same in al-Maqrīzī, *Luṣūṣ*, 182–183).

that he was inside the cave. They called him, saying, “Hey ‘Amr!” “What do you want?” “Come outside!” “Why do you think I went in then?” “Yes, but come outside!” “No, I won’t!” “Then recite us you what you said: ‘In many a tight spot I was | like two toes to a sandal-thong!’”¹⁰⁵¹ “That is just where I am now!”

One of the men came within his view. ‘Amr shot an arrow and killed him. They said, “You’ve killed him, you enemy of God!” “Sure! I have four more arrows left, like the eyeteeth of Umm Julayḥah!”¹⁰⁵² They said, “Abū Bijād, go inside and you will be free!”¹⁰⁵³ Abū Bijād got ready to enter but ‘Amr said, “Hey you! It won’t be of much use to you to be free when I kill you!” The man recoiled. When they saw this they climbed up and dug an opening and shot at him until they had killed him. They took his spoils and returned with them. They came upon Umm Julayḥah, who had gone to find out. “Umm Julayḥah!” they said when they saw her, “What do you think of ‘Amr?” “I think, by God, that you pursued him, a fast man; you found him, an unassailable man; you hit him, a noble man!”¹⁰⁵⁴ They said, “We swear by God, we killed him!” She said, “By God, I don’t believe you’ve done that! On many a breast | of your women has he rested; many a lizard of yours has he lured from its hole; many a booty has he taken from you!” They threw down his clothes at her feet. She took them up and smelled them. “A smell of scent, ‘Amr’s robe!”¹⁰⁵⁵ she said, “By God, you have not found his waistband out of place,¹⁰⁵⁶ or his pubes abundant, or his bow and arrows¹⁰⁵⁷ broken!”

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His sister Rayṭah elegised him:¹⁰⁵⁸

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- 1054 Here and in her following utterances she uses rhyming prose. SKḤ reads the first phrase (*ṭalabtumūhu sarīʿā*) as *taraktumūhu ṣarīʿā*, “you left him a slain man”. In *Aghānī* the last phrase is “you laid him low, a slain man (*ṣarīʿā*)”; Webb translates the Maqrīzī version (*waḍaʿtumūhu marīʿā*) as “you left him well”, which would suit the context, as she does not believe at first that ‘Amr is dead. Nevertheless, the wording of the several parallel versions seems to indicate that she believes he has been slain.
- 1055 This (as “Scent, and the smell of ‘Amr”) is given as a proverb in al-ʿAskarī, *Jamharah*, ii, 53–54. It is not found in other collections of proverbs.
- 1056 This and the following phrase apparently indicate his chasteness.
- 1057 *Ḍālah* can mean “weapons” in general, or “bow and arrows”, or “arrows”, made of *ḍāl*, wood of a kind of lotus tree.
- 1058 The sister is called Janūb in al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ*, 582–583 (five lines) and Ibn Abī Ṭayfūr, *Balāghāt al-nisāʾ*, 297 (four lines). Line 2 is ascribed to “a Hudhali” in al-Jāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, i, 388, ii, 72, v, 75. There is some confusion with an elegy with the same metre and rhyme by another Hudhali woman, Rayṭah, on her brother Ibn ʿĀṣiyah (al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ*, 864–866), and the second line is also attributed to Hubayrah ibn Abī Wahb (Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, ii, 131, 132, Guillaume’s translation, 405) and to ‘Amr ibn al-Ahtam (al-Maydānī, *Majmaʿ*, i, 343).

يا لَيْتَ عَمراً وَلَيْتَ ضَلَّةً جَزَعٌ
 وليلةٍ يصطلي بالقرث جازرها
 أطعمت فيها على جُوعٍ ومَسْغَبَةٍ
 لم يَغْزُ فَهَمًا ولم يهبط بواديه
 يختصُّ بالنقرى المثرين داعيها
 لحمَ الجزور إذا ما قام ناعيها

وقالت أيضاً ترثيه:

كلُّ امرئٍ بِمِحَالِ الدَّهْرِ مَكْرُوبٌ
 وكلُّ حيٍّ وإن عَزُّوا وإن سَلِمُوا
 أبلِغْ هُدَيْلاً وَأبلِغْ مَنْ يبلِغُها
 بأنَّ ذا الكلبِ عَمراً خَيْرَهم نَسَباً
 الطاعنِ الطعنةَ النَّجلاءَ يَتَبَعُها
 والتاركِ القِرْنَ مُصَفِّراً أَناملُهُ
 تمشي التُّسُورِ إليه وهي لاهيةٌ
 والمُخْرَجِ العاتقِ العذراءَ مُدْعِنَةً
 وكلُّ مَنْ غالَبَ الأيَّامَ مَغْلُوبٌ
 يوماً طرِيقُهُم في السَّوءِ دُعُوبٌ
 عني رسولاً وبعضُ النَّعيِ تَكْذِيبٌ
 ببطنِ شَريانٍ يَعوِي حَوْلَهُ الدَّيْبُ
 مُتَعَنِّجٌ من نَجِيعِ الجَوْفِ أُسْكَوبُ
 كأنَّهُ من نَجِيعِ الجَوْفِ مَحْضُوبٌ
 مَشِي العَدَارِي عليهنَّ الجَلابِيبُ
 في السَّبِي يَنْفَحُ من أَرْدانِها الطَّيِّبُ

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١ كذا في هـ، ك؛ ولعلَّ الأصح: (من نقيع الوزس) كما في الأغاني.

٢ ك: (بنفح من أردانها).

- 1059 Instead of the somewhat obscure *wa-laytun ḡallatun jaza'un* the other sources have *wa-mā laytun bi-nāfi'atin*, "but 'would that' is of no avail". In the poem by Rayṭah bint 'Āṣiyah it is *wa-laytun ḡallatun safahun* (al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ*, 866, cf. *ibid. wa-lahfun ḡallatun jaza'an* in another poem by this Rayṭah).
- 1060 Other versions (al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ*, al-Maqrīzī, *Luṣūṣ*, 186) have *idhā mā qāma bāghihā*, "whenever someone stood up, desiring it".
- 1061 The poem is also in al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxii, 353; al-Sukkarī, *Sharḥ*, 578–581 (with 13 lines and attributed to 'Amr's sister, Janūb); al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsah*, 319–320 (10 lines, attributed to 'Amrah, 'Amr's sister); al-'Askarī, *Jamharah*, ii, 54 (9 lines, attributed them to Umm Julayḥah); al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, x, 390–391 (8 lines, attributed to Rayṭah, said to be another sister of 'Amr). For a German translation see Borg, *Mit Poesie ver- treibe ich*, 182–183.
- 1062 Al-Sukkarī, followed by Jones, has (al-)Sharyān; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, specifies the reading Shiryān and quotes four lines of the poem.
- 1063 Thus in 'ASH and SKH as well as al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*. The repetition of *min najī'i l-jawfi* is somewhat suspect and clumsy (the corpse is stained with blood, not "as if stained" with it) and perhaps the better reading is that of *Aghānī* and al-Maqrīzī's

O would that ‘Amr—but “would that” is perplexity, anxiousness—¹⁰⁵⁹
 had not raided Fahm or descended in that wadi!
 On many a night on which a man warms his hands with the stomach
 contents of the animal he has slaughtered,
 when a man invites only wealthy people to partake,
 You fed men, in times of hunger and starvation,
 with the flesh of a slaughtered camel when its death was an-
 nounced.¹⁰⁶⁰

She also said, elegising him:¹⁰⁶¹

Every man is afflicted by the cunning power of Fate
 and each man who tries to overcome Time is himself overcome.
 Every tribe, however mighty they are and safe and sound,
 will one day walk a well-trodden path to misfortune.
 Inform Hudhayl and inform those informing them
 for me as a messenger—for some deaths are announced falsely—
 That “He with the Dog”, ‘Amr, the best of them in lineage,
 lies in the valley of al-Shiryān,¹⁰⁶² with the wolves howling round
 him. 243
 He was one who could, stabbing, cause a gaping wound to flow
 unstintingly with a stream of running blood from the body;
 One who left his adversary with pale, yellow fingers,
 as if dyed with running blood from the body,¹⁰⁶³
 While vultures are walking to him, having a good time,
 walking like maidens wearing robes.
 And he would take a young virgin from her home, submissive
 as a captive, with scent wafting from her sleeves.¹⁰⁶⁴

Lusūṣ, 186: *min naqī'i l-warsi makhḍūbū*, “dyed with an infusion of turmeric”. *Wars* is a plant from which a yellow dye is made (Dozy, *Supplément*: “curcuma, safran d’Inde”; Hava, *Farā'id*: “*Memecylon tinctorium*, ... turmeric, Indian saffron”; Schopen & Kahl (eds.), *Natā'iq al-fikar*, 189–190: “falscher Safran, ... *Flemingia macrophylla*, ... liefert einen gelben Farbstoff”).

1064 Webb translates “He was one who freed from capture / Maidens ...”. It may seem strange to a modern reader that a woman would praise her brother for taking women as captives, but it would be a normal “*jāhili*” attitude. The words *mudh'inatan* (“submissive”) and *fī l-saby* (“into captivity”) seem to support this. Poets boast of it, such as Ṭufayl al-Ghanawī: “We slaughtered their nobles openly | and brought back captive women and spoils, || Captive women of Ṭayyī, forcibly taken out, | having their palaces exchanged for mountain roads” (al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xvii, 257–258).

[§ ١٠٣] ومنهم حُمران بن مالك بن عبد ملك الحثعمي. وكان فارساً شاعراً. وكان سبب قتله أن خثعم قتلت الصميلة أختا ذي الجوشن الكلابي، فغزا ذو الجوشن خثعماً، وسأده عيينة بن حصن الفزاري على أن لذي الجوشن الدماء، ولعيينة الغنائم. فغزوا خثعم جميعاً فلقوها بالفزرا جبل، فقتلا وأثخنا وغنما، وإن حُمران توكل في الجبل فجعلوا يأمرونه أن يستأسر فأنشأ يقول وهو يقاتل:

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أقسمتُ لا أُقتلُ إلا حُرّاً إنِّي رأيتُ الموتَ شيئاً مُرّاً
أكره أن أُخدع أو أُغرّاً

فُقتل، فقالت أخته ترثيه:

ويل حُمرانَ أختا مَضِنَّة^١ أوفى على الخير^٢ ولم يمِنَّة
والطاعن النَّجلاء مُرثَعَنَة^٣ عاندها مثلُ وكيفِ الشَّنة

١ ك: (بالفزر[ة]).

٢ كذا في هـ، ك، ولعلّ الصحيح (مَظِنَّة).

٣ ك: (الخبر).

1065 For his lineage see *ĠN*, i, 224. As a poet he is very obscure and not found in the usual sources. No parallels of the account have been found; the event may have occurred shortly before the coming of Islam.

1066 On al-Ṣumayl ibn al-A'war and his brother Shuraḥbīl Dhū l-Jawshan ("He with the cuir-ass", a nickname said to have been given to him because of his protruding chest) of the tribe of Kilāb, see *ĠN*, i, 98; on the latter, see also al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xvi, 131.

[§ 103 Ḥumrān ibn Mālik ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Khath‘amī¹⁰⁶⁵]

Another is Ḥumrān ibn Mālik ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Khath‘amī, who was a knight and a poet. He was killed because Khath‘am had killed al-Ṣumayl, the brother of Dhū l-Jawshan al-Kilābī.¹⁰⁶⁶ Dhū l-Jawshan raided Khath‘am, assisted by ‘Uyaynah ibn Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī,¹⁰⁶⁷ on the understanding that Dhū l-Jawshan should be concerned with the blood feud and that ‘Uyaynah should have the spoils. Together they raided Khath‘am and met them at al-Farz, a mountain.¹⁰⁶⁸ Both fought, inflicting heavy losses and taking spoils. Ḥumrān went up the mountain and they told him to give himself up as a prisoner. Still fighting, he said,¹⁰⁶⁹

I swear I will be killed only as a free man;
I see that death is a bitter thing.
I hate to be cheated or deceived.

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Thereupon he was killed. His sister elegised him:

Woe for Ḥumrān, a man in whom one surmises good qualities,¹⁰⁷⁰
Who was beneficent but did not want to be reminded of it,¹⁰⁷¹
Who could stab making large wounds, gushing like rain,
Bleeding like a leaking old basket.

1067 On ‘Uyaynah (or Ḥudhayfah) ibn Ḥiṣn, a chief of the tribe of Fazārah and a contemporary of the prophet Muḥammad, see *ĠN*, i, 130, *EI2*, “‘Uyayna ibn Ḥiṣn” (M. Lecker). He is also mentioned in the next entry, § 104.

1068 Not found; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, mentions a mountain called al-Farzah and another called al-Fard.

1069 The three lines are in *rajaz* metre. Lines 1–2 are uttered by Muslim ibn ‘Aqil ibn Abī Ṭālib in a similar situation in the year 60/680, see Ibn A‘tham, *Futūḥ*, v, 54; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 262, tr. *The History*, xix, 55; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 254; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 106.

1070 ‘ASH has *akhā maḍinnah*, which is probably an error for *akhā maẓinnah* (cf. Lane, *Lexicon: fulān maẓinnah li-l-khayr*, “Such a one is one in whom good, or goodness is thought [&c.] to be”).

1071 For this interpretation of *manna*, cf. al-Zabīdī, *Tāj* (*MNN*); another interpretation is “and did not cut off (his benefices)”.

[§ ١٠٤] ومنهم مالك بن نُؤيرة بن جَمرة البَيْرُوعِيّ، وهو فارس ذي الخِمار، وقُتِل في الرِّدّة. ذلك أنّ العرب لما ارتدّت وجه أبو بكر خالد بن الوليد بن المُغيرة، فسار في المهاجرين والأنصار حتّى لقي أسدًا وعُظفان بُبْرَاخَةَ، واقتتلوا قتالاً شديداً ففضّ الله المرتدّين، وأُسر عُيَينة بن حصن بن حُذيفة بن بدر بن عمرو الفَزاريّ، فوجّه به مجموعةً يده إلى عنقه إلى أبي بكر فاستحياه، وأُسر قُرّة بن هُبيرة القُشَيْرِيّ فاستحياه أيضاً.

٢٤٥ ثم إنَّ خالدًا سار إلى البُطاح، نيران^١ من بني تَمِيم، فلم يجد بها | جمعاً، فبثَّ السرايا في نواحيها، فأتيَ بمالك بن نُؤيرة في نفر معه من بني حَنْظلة، فاختلف فيهم الناس، وكان في السَّرِيَّة التي أصابتهم أبو قتادة، فقال أبو قتادة: لا سبيل عليه ولا على أصحابه، لأنّا قد أذنا فأذنا، وأقمنا فأقاموا، وصلّينا فصلّوا.

وقد كان من عهد أبي بكر إلى خالد: أيما دارٍ غَشِيْتُمُوهَا فسمِعْتُم أذانَ الصلاة فيها فأمْسِكُوا عن أهلها حتّى تسألهم ما نَقَمُوا وما يَبْتَغُونَ، وأيما دارٍ لم تسمعوا فيها أذاناً فاشْتُوا الغارةَ عليها، فاقتلوا وحرّقوا.

١ كذا في النسختين، ولعلّها (قيزان) جمع فوز، وهو الكتيب الصغير، كما قال هارون. أو لعلّ الصحيح (قيران).

1072 Chief of the Banū Tha'labah (Tamīm), hero and poet, brother of the poet Mutammim ibn Nuwayrah, who composed a celebrated elegy on him ("perhaps the most famous elegy in ancient Arabian verse", thus Charles Lyall in his translation of the *Mufaḍ-ḍaliyyāt*, 205). See *EI2*, "Mālik b. Nuwayra" (Ella Landau-Tasseron); Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 203–204; *ĠN*, i, 69, ii, 393. His death in 13/634, controversially ordered by Khālid ibn al-Walīd who allegedly lusted after Mālik's wife, is told in many sources, including al-Yā'qūbī, *Tārikh*, ii, 148–149 (tr. *The Works*, 754–755); and in detail al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh*, i, 1922–1929, tr. *The History*, x, 98–104; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xv, 298–306.

1073 Dhū l-Khimār ("the one with the veil") was the name of his horse.

1074 At the death of the prophet Muḥammad several tribes in the Arabian Peninsula renounced their (often informal) allegiance to Islam. In a series of campaigns during the caliphate of Abū Bakr (11–13/632–634) these tribes were subdued, as a prelude to the great conquests that followed. This period is known as *al-riddah*, which became the term for religious apostasy.

1075 See above, § 39 note 469 and § 95 note 973.

[§ 104 Mālik ibn Nuwayrah¹⁰⁷²]

Another is Mālik ibn Nuwayrah ibn Jamrah al-Yarbūʿī, called the horseman of Dhū l-Khimār.¹⁰⁷³ He was killed during the “Apostasy”.¹⁰⁷⁴ When the Arabs defected, Abū Bakr sent Khālid ibn al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīrah,¹⁰⁷⁵ who marched with the Emigrants and the Helpers¹⁰⁷⁶ until they met Asad and Ghaṭafān at Buzākhah.¹⁰⁷⁷ A fierce battle ensued and God routed the apostates, ‘Uyaynah ibn Ḥiṣn ibn Ḥudhayfah ibn Badr ibn ‘Amr al-Fazārī¹⁰⁷⁸ was taken prisoner and he was sent, his hand tied at his neck, to Abū Bakr, who spared his life. Qurrah ibn Hubayrah al-Qushayrī¹⁰⁷⁹ was also taken prisoner and his life was spared too.

Then Khālid marched to al-Buṭāḥ,¹⁰⁸⁰ ...¹⁰⁸¹ of the Banū Tamīm. Not finding there | any troops, he sent detachments to the neighbouring regions. They brought to him Mālik ibn Nuwayrah together with some men from the Banū Ḥanzalah.¹⁰⁸² They had different views about what to do with them. Abū Qatādah,¹⁰⁸³ who had been in the detachment that found them, said, “We should not do anything to him or his companions, for we called to prayer and they responded with the same, we performed the salat and prayed, and they performed the salat and prayed.”

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Abū Bakr had enjoined to Khālid, saying, “Whenever you come upon an abode and you hear the call to prayer, you should leave the people alone until you ask them what resentment they have and what they want. But whenever you come upon an abode where you do not hear the call to prayer, you must attack it, killing and burning.”

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- 1076 See above, § 24 note 296.
- 1077 On the battle at Buzākhah (a place in Nejd, the central plateau of the Peninsula, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, s.v., E12, “Buzākha” [C.E. Bosworth]) in 11/632, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1886–1891, tr. *The History*, x, 60–67.
- 1078 See the preceding entry, § 103.
- 1079 On Qurrah ibn Hubayrah see *ĠN*, i, 105, ii, 472.
- 1080 On the battle at al-Buṭāḥ (said to be a well in the territory of Asad, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, or a place in the territory of Tamīm, as here and in Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, 256) in 13/634, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, i, 1921–1929, tr. *The History*, x, 98–104.
- 1081 The text has *nūrān min Banī Tamīm*, “fires, of the Banū Tamīm”, which does not seem to make sense. Hārūn suggests reading *qizān*, “hillocks”; perhaps more likely is *qirān*, “basalt grounds” or “black hillocks”, plural of *qārah*.
- 1082 Ḥanzalah ibn Mālik, a branch of Tamīm (*ĠN*, i, 59, ii, 298) to which Mālik also belonged.
- 1083 Abū Qatādah al-Ḥārith ibn Ribʿī, one of the Helpers, nicknamed Fāris al-Nabī, “the Prophet’s Knight”; see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xi, 241–242. He denounced Khālid’s action to Abū Bakr.

وقال بعض من كان في هذه السريّة: ما سمعناهم أذنوا ولا صلّوا ولا كبروا، فاختلف فيهم الناس، فأمر خالد بمالك وأصحابه فضربت أعناقهم، وتزوج أمّ تميم امرأة مالك، فلمّا سمع ذلك عمرُ بالمدينة تكلم في شأنهم له، فلم يزل عمر واجداً عليه حتى مات.

[§ 105] ومنهم أبو عزة، وهو عمرو بن عبد الله بن عمير بن وهب بن خذافة بن جُمح، وأسره رسولُ الله صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يوم بدر، فشكا إليه بناته وسوء حاله، فرق له وأطلقه وأخذ عليه صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أن لا يهجوّه ولا يكثر عليه، فأعطاه ذلك. ثم إن قريشاً ضمنت له القيام ببنته وكفایتة المؤونة، فلم يزالوا له حتى خرج وأسر يوم أُحد، فأتى به رسولُ الله صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فشكا إليه نحواً ممّا شكوا يوم بدر، فقال صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: المؤمن لا يُلدغ من حجرٍ مرّتين. وضرب صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عنقه.

[§ 106] ومنهم عبد يعوث بن وقاص بن صلاء الحارثي. وكان مدح خالد بن نضلة بن الأشتر ٢٤٦ بن جحوان بن فقّس، فقال: ناهيك فيها إهاب واحد، يا خالد بن نضلة فقط! فرفع خالد يديه فقال: اللهم إن كان كاذباً فاقتله على يدي شرّ حيٍّ من مضر.

١ هـ، ك: (عمر).

- 1084 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb had succeeded Abū Bakr in 13/634.
 1085 For the story of Abū 'Azzah, see e.g. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, i, 660, ii, 104, 128 (tr. Guillaume, 317–318, 370, 403); Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaqāt*, 212–215; and collections of proverbs such as al-Mufaḍḍal, *Fākhīr*, 279–280; al-'Askarī, *Jamharah*, ii, 302–303; al-Maydānī, *Majma'*, ii, 254; al-Zamakhsharī, *Mustaqṣā*, ii, 276.
 1086 'Umar (as in 'ASH and SKḤ following the MS) has been emended to 'Amr, in accordance with all other sources.
 1087 For his lineage see ḡN, i, 24, ii, 167. Jumah is a branch of Quraysh.
 1088 See above, § 22.
 1089 Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, i, 660 adds a poem of five lines by Abū 'Azzah in praise of Muḥammad (three lines in Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaqāt*, 212).
 1090 See above § 27.
 1091 This is found in the collections of proverbs mentioned above. The verb used (*lad-agma*), like that in other versions (*lasa'a*) is normally reserved for the stinging of insects, spiders, or scorpions, or for the biting of snakes.

But another who had been in this detachment said, “We did not hear them call to prayer, they did not pray, they did not say *Allāhu Akbar*.” Thus they had different views about what to do with them. Then Khālid gave orders for Mālik and his companions to be beheaded. He took Mālik’s wife, Umm Tamīm, as his own wife. When ‘Umar¹⁰⁸⁴ heard about this in Medina he talked to him about what he had done to them, and he remained angry with him until he died.

[§ 105 Abū ‘Azzah¹⁰⁸⁵]

Another is Abū ‘Azzah, who is ‘Amr¹⁰⁸⁶ ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Umayr ibn Wahb ibn Ḥudhāfah ibn Jumāh.¹⁰⁸⁷ The Messenger of God (God bless and preserve him) had taken him prisoner at the Battle of Badr.¹⁰⁸⁸ He pleaded with him, mentioning his daughters and his poverty,¹⁰⁸⁹ and the Prophet (God bless and preserve him) took pity on him and released him, making him pledge not to lampoon him nor to slander him. This he promised. Subsequently Quraysh undertook to support his daughters and provide them with sufficient sustenance. They did this until he rebelled and was again taken prisoner, at the Battle of Uḥud.¹⁰⁹⁰ When he was taken to the Messenger of God (God bless and preserve him), he pleaded in the same way he had done at the Battle of Badr. But the Prophet (God bless and preserve him) said, “A believer will not be bitten twice from the same snake-hole”,¹⁰⁹¹ and he cut off his head.

[§ 106 ‘Abd Yaghūth ibn Waqqāš¹⁰⁹²]

Another is ‘Abd Yaghūth ibn Waqqāš ibn Ṣalā’ah al-Ḥārithī. He had eulogised Khālid ibn Naḍlah ibn al-Ashtar ibn Jaḥwān ibn Faq‘as,¹⁰⁹³ and he said, “Only one skin is enough for you,¹⁰⁹⁴ Khālid ibn Naḍlah!” Khālid raised his hands and said, “O God! If he is lying, kill him at the hands of the worst man alive of Muḍar!”¹⁰⁹⁵

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1092 ‘Abd Yaghūth ibn al-Ḥārith was a chief of the Bal-Ḥārith (or Banū l-Ḥārith), a branch of Madhḥij (see *ĠN*, i, 258, ii, 133) and a poet; see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 304. On him and the story of his death see Abū ‘Ubaydah, *Naqā’id*, 149–154; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, v, 224–231; al-Isfahānī, *Aghānī*, xvi, 327–335; and the commentary of his famous poem in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (ed. Lyall), 315–320, tr. Lyall, 111–114. See also al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 195–203.

1093 A chief of Asad; see *ĠN*, i, 50, ii, 342.

1094 The meaning of this sentence, *nāhika fihā ihāb wāḥid* (in prose, not verse, and not found in other sources) is obscure, nor is it clear why Khālid is offended.

1095 For Muḍar see above, § 5 note 75.

فلَمَّا كان يوم الكلاب الثاني قتلْتُ بنو الحارث بن كعب التُّعمانَ بن جِساس صاحبَ راية تميم الرِّباب، وأسرت بنو سعد بن زيد مناة بن تميم عبدَ يغوث، فأتت بني سعد فقالوا لهم: إنَّه لم يُقتلْ لكم فارس، وقد قُتلَ فارسنا ورئيسنا فادفعوا إلينا عبدَ يغوث لنقتله بصاحبنا. فدفعوه إليهم فقال لهم: يا معشر تميم، اللَّبن اللَّبن! فقالوا: الدم أحبُّ إلينا. وأوثقوا لسانه بنِسْعةٍ مَخافةً أن يهجوهم، فقال في شعر له طويل:

أقول وقد شدوا لساني بنِسْعةٍ
أمعشَرَ تميمٍ أطلقوا من لسانيَا
وتضحك مني شيخَةٌ عبْشَمِيَّةٌ
كأن لم يروا قبلي أسيراً يمانيا
وظلَّ نساءُ التَّميمِ حَوْلِي رُكْدًا
تُحاول مني ما تريد نسائيا

فقدّموه فضربت عنقه.

[١٠٧§] ومنهم يزيد بن الطُّشْرِيَّة، وهو يزيد بن الصِّمَّة القُشَيْرِيّ، فُنسب إلى أخواله. وأمُّه ٢٤٧ من بني طُشْر ثم من عَنَز بن وائل. وكان المندلث بن إدريس الحَنْفِيّ في الفتننة، فأتى بني جَعْدَة وبني قُشَيْر وبني عُقَيْل مصدقاً لهم، فعاثَ فيهم، فأرسلُ عبد الله بن جَعْوَنَة القُشَيْرِيّ

١ ك: (نساء تميم)، والمشهور (نساء الحيّ).

- 1096 Al-Kulāb was the site of two famous battle-days, on the second of which the tribes of Sa'd ibn Zayd Manāh and al-Ribāb defeated the Madhḥij, some years after AD 620. See e.g. Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*; Abū 'Ubaydah, *Naqā'id*, index (p. 266); Abū 'Ubaydah, *Ayyām*, ii, 66–94; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, v, 224–233; al-Shimshāṭī, *Anwār*, i, 209–221.
- 1097 A tribe considered part of Madhḥij, see *ĠN*, i, 258, ii, 308.
- 1098 For al-Nu'mān ibn Jisās (properly al-Nu'mān ibn Mālik ibn al-Ḥārith) see *ĠN*, i, 85, ii, 452. On Taym and al-Ribāb see above, § 34, note 434.
- 1099 In another version, he is asked how he prefers to be killed. He asks for wine and is given some; and after they opened a vein he recites, dying, his famous poem (Abū 'Ubaydah, *Naqā'id*, 153, al-Ṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xvi, 333).
- 1100 The text reads as a *non sequitur*; in other versions (e.g. *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 317) he asks for the gag to be removed so that he may reproach his fellow tribesmen and lament his own fate, promising not to lampoon his killers. They let him utter his poem. In the last line of the fragment quoted here he is clearly breaking his pledge; Lyall (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, translation, 114) thinks that the line may be spurious.

On the second battle-day of al-Kulāb¹⁰⁹⁶ the Banū l-Ḥārith ibn Kaʿb¹⁰⁹⁷ killed al-Nuʿmān ibn Jisās, the standard-bearer of Taym al-Ribāb,¹⁰⁹⁸ and the Banū Saʿd ibn Zayd Manāh ibn Taym took ʿAbd Yaghūth prisoner. The Taym went to the Banū Saʿd and said, “No knight of yours has been killed, but our knight and our leader was killed. Now hand over ʿAbd Yaghūth to us so that we may kill him in requital for our chief.” They handed him over. ʿAbd Yaghūth said to them, “Men of Taym! Milk! Milk!” They replied, “We prefer blood!”¹⁰⁹⁹ They gagged him with a thong, fearing that he might lampoon them, but¹¹⁰⁰ he said, in a long poem:¹¹⁰¹

I said, when they gagged my tongue with a thong,
 “Men of Taym, free my tongue!”
 An old woman of ʿAbd Shams¹¹⁰² laughs at me
 as though they¹¹⁰³ had never seen a Yemeni captive.
 The women of Taym were standing around me all the time,
 seeking from me that which my women want!

Then they brought him up and cut off his head.

[§ 107 Yazīd ibn al-Ṭathriyyah¹¹⁰⁴]

Another is Yazīd ibn al-Ṭathriyyah, who is Yazīd ibn al-Ṣimmah al-Qushayrī, but he came to be named after his mother’s family; she belonged to the Banū Ṭathr, a branch of ʿAnz ibn Wāʿil.¹¹⁰⁵

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1101 The poem has 20 lines in *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, lines 8, 12, and 13 are quoted here.

1102 ʿAbd Shams (or ʿAbshams) ibn Saʿd ibn Zayd Manāh, see *ĠN*, i, 78, ii, 136.

1103 This follows the reading of the manuscript, *lam yaraw*. As ʿASH and SKḪ say in their notes, the standard version (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* and many other sources) has *lam taray*, “you have never seen” (with a shift, *iltifāt*, to the 2nd person); *Aghānī* has *lam tarā* (with final *alif* instead of *yā*), which is grammatically irregular, clearly an attempt to avoid *lam tara* (“she has never seen”), which would be a very unusual metrical irregularity. The version adopted here has not been found elsewhere.

1104 On Yazīd, who died in 126/744, see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 336–337. On his death on the battle day of al-Falaj, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ix, 208; *Aghānī*, viii, 180–184; Ibn Athīr, *Kāmil*, iv, 491–492; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi, 372–373.

1105 For his paternal lineage see *ĠN*, i, 105, ii, 538 (mentioning al-Ṣimmah ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Qushayrī but not Yazīd); some sources mention a different father, Salamah ibn Samurah (al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, viii, 155; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, xx, 46; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vi, 367), or al-Muntashir (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ix, 208). For ʿAnz ibn Wāʿil, the tribe of his mother, see *ĠN*, i, 141, 166, ii, 190.

إلى بني عُقيل وبني قُشير فأتاه أبو لطفيفة العُقيليّ في جماعة، وأتاه يزيد بن الطثريّة في بني قُشير، فقتلوا المندلث وهرب أصحابه وقتلوا فيهم وأسروا. وكان بنو قُشير أرادوا أن تنضمّ إلى بني عُقيل وتسير مع أبي [لطفيفة] فقال يزيد بن الطثريّة:

قُلْ للبوادر والأحلافِ ما لَكُمْ أمرٌ إذا كان سُورى أمركم شُعبا
لا تُنْشِبوا في جَناحِ القومِ ريشكمُ فيجعلوكم ذُنابى يُنْبِت الرِّعبا
لا عَيْبَ في لَكُمْ إلا مُعَاتَبتي إذا تَعَتَّبْتُ من أخلاقكم عَتبا

والبوادر: بنو بادرة بنت حارثة بن عَبَس^٢ بن رِفاعَة من بني سُليم، ولدها عبد الله وعامر وقُرْط وحرز^٣ ومعاوية، بنو سلمة بن قُشير. والأحلاف سائر بني سلمة بن قُشير، وهم لِعَلات. | وكانت الرياسة لعبد الله بن جَعونة والراية في يد يزيد بن الطثريّة. فجاء القوم حوله حين لَقوهم، وثبت يزيد بالراية وفرّ عنه أصحابه، وعليه جُبّة خزّ يسحبها، فنشبت في خشبةٍ فَعَثَر، فضر به الحَنَفِيُّونَ حتّى قتلوه، فقال القُحيف بن الحُمَيْر العُقيليّ يرثيه:

- ١ ليست في النسختين.
- ٢ ك: (عدس).
- ٣ ه، ك: (وجوز).
- ٤ ك: (وقرّ).
- ٥ ه، ك: (غمير).

- 1106 Al-Mundalith ibn Idris, of the tribe of Ḥanīfah, was appointed in charge of al-Falaj, a town in al-Yamāmah (eastern Arabia), by al-Nu'mān ibn 'Abd Allāh (al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, ix, 208, Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, iv, 491). He is wrongly called al-Mundalif in *Aghānī*.
- 1107 *Kāna ... fi l-fitnah*; apparently referring to the situation after the violent death of caliph al-Walīd ibn Yazīd in 126/744, when the conflict between the North Arab (Qays) and South Arab (Yaman) confederations flared up again. Alternatively, *al-fitnah* is an error for *al-Falaj*.
- 1108 Ja'dah and 'Uqayl are sister tribes to Qushayr, see *ĉN*, i, 101.
- 1109 He has not been found in other sources. The point of the message is apparently to muster troops to fight al-Mundalith.
- 1110 In *Aghānī*, viii, 181 he is called Abū Laṭīfah ibn Muslim al-'Uqaylī.

Al-Mundalith ibn Idrīs al-Ḥanafī¹¹⁰⁶ was involved in the troubles.¹¹⁰⁷ He went to the Banū Ja‘dah, the Banū Qushayr, and the Banū ‘Uqayl¹¹⁰⁸ to fight them and he wrought havoc among them. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ja‘wanah al-Qushayrī¹¹⁰⁹ sent a message to the Banū ‘Uqayl and the Banū Qushayr. Abū Laṭīfah al-‘Uqaylī¹¹¹⁰ came to him with a company, as did Yazīd ibn al-Ṭathriyyah among the Banū Qushayr. They fought with al-Mundalith, whose followers fled; they killed some and took prisoners. The Banū Qushayr wanted to join the Banū ‘Uqayl and march with Abū Laṭīfah. Yazīd ibn al-Ṭathriyyah said,¹¹¹¹

Say to the Bādirahs¹¹¹² and their allies: “You have no
command, when the counsel of your command is split.
Don’t stick your feathers to the wing of the men,
lest they turn you into a tail that grows downy feathers!
You cannot blame me for anything except my reproach
when I reproach you for a defect in your character.”

The Bādirahs are the Banū Bādirah bint Ḥārithah ibn ‘Abs ibn Rifā‘ah, of the Banū Sulaym; her offspring are ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Āmir, Qurṭ, Ḥazn, and Mu‘āwiyah, the Banū Salamah ibn Qushayr.¹¹¹³ The allies are the other sons of Salamah ibn Qushayr by other wives. | ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ja‘wanah had the command and Yazīd ibn al-Ṭathriyyah held the standard. The men rallied around him when they joined in battle. Yazīd stood his ground with the standard while his companions fled. He was wearing a silk robe, trailing it. It got stuck on a piece of wood and he tripped. The men of Ḥanīfah struck him and killed him. Al-Quḥayf ibn al-Ḥumayyir al-‘Uqaylī¹¹¹⁴ said, elegising him:¹¹¹⁵

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1111 The lines have not been found elsewhere.

1112 The explanation follows.

1113 ‘Abs ibn Rifā‘ah is part of the tribe of Sulaym (ĠN, i, 124). “Her offspring” apparently refers to Bādirah, a woman; they are sons of Salamah (also called Salamat al-Khayr) ibn Qushayr (ĠN, i, 105); seven more sons are listed, here called “the allies”. Instead of Ḥazn, ‘ASH and SKḤ have Jawz (or Jūz), clearly a copyist’s error.

1114 Al-Quḥayf ibn al-Ḥumayyir (d. after 132/750) was a poet, see e.g. Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 337, al-İşfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxiv, 82–90. For his lineage see ĠN, ii, 470 (referring to i, 103, where he is not found). His father’s name is wrongly given as ‘Umayr in ‘ASH and SKḤ; instead of al-Ḥumayyir, ĠN has al-Ḥumaiyir (i.e., al-Khumayyir) and Sezgin has al-Ḥumair (al-Khumayr). If al-Ḥumayyir is correct, he is the brother of Tawbah ibn al-Ḥumayyir (on whom see below, § 109).

1115 The verses (in *rajaz* metre) are also in *Aghānī*, viii, 182 (quoting Ibn Ḥabīb); lines 1–3 in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ix, 208.

إِنْ تَقْتُلُوا مَتًّا شَهِيدًا صَابِرًا فَقَدْ قَتَلْنَا مِنْكُمْ مَجَازِرًا
عِشْرِينَ لَمَّا يَدْخُلُوا الْمَقَابِرَا قَتَلَى أُصَيْبِتْ فُغُصًا نَحَائِرَا
نَعْبَجًا يَرَى أَرْجُلَهَا شَوَاغِرَا

وقال أيضاً الفُحيف:

يَا عَيْنُ بَكِّي هَمَلًا عَلَى هَمَلٍ عَلَى يَزِيدَ وَيَزِيدَ بِنَ حَمَلٍ
قَتَّالِ أَبْطَالٍ وَحَوْلَهُ حُلَلٌ^٣

ويزيد بن حَمَلٍ أيضاً قُشَيْرِيٌّ، قُتِلَ مَعَهُ يَوْمَئِذٍ.

[١٠٨§] وَمِنْهُمْ الْأُقَيْشِرُ، وَهُوَ الْمُغَيَّرَةُ بِنَ [...]؛ [قَيْسُ بِنَ] مُحَمَّدُ بِنَ الْأَشْعَثِ بِنَ قَيْسِ ٢٤٩
الْكِنْدِيِّ، وَكَانَ أَعْمَى، فَمَدَحَهُ فَأَمَرَ لَهُ بِثَلَاثِمِائَةِ دِرْهَمٍ فَقَالَ: ادْفَعُهَا إِلَى قَهْرْمَانِكَ، وَمُرِّهِ
فَلْيُعْطِنِي بِكُلِّ يَوْمٍ دِرْهَمًا لِلْحَمِّ وَدِرْهَمًا لِلْبَقْلِ. فَكَانَ يَشْتَرِي خَمْرًا بِدِرْهَمٍ، وَلِحْمًا بِدَانَقَيْنِ،

- ١ في النسختين: (نفخا) وفي هـ، ك: (نُفَجًا)، وفي الأغاني: (نعجا)، وقال المحقق: «ولعله «نعجي» جمع نعج كزمن وزمني. ونعج الرجل ربا وانتفخ، وذلك ملحوظ في الميت بجلاء.»
- ٢ هـ، ك: (جَمَلٌ).
- ٣ هـ، ك: (جَلَلٌ).
- ٤ سقطت من النسختين بقية نسبه وبعض الكلام الذي يليه.
- ٥ ك: (درهماً)، بدون واو العطف.

1116 *Ansāb* has “five hundred”.

1117 The MSS have *naḥkhan* (“puffed up?”), emended in ‘ASH and SKḤ to *nuffan*, glossed in a note as “raised”. *Aghānī* has *naʿjan*, with a note suggesting that it might be read as *naʿjā*, a plural of *naʿj*, from *naʿija*, “to be bloated”. This has been adopted in the present translation.

1118 *Aghānī*, viii, 182 (adding that Ibn Ḥabīb is the only source quoting these lines).

1119 ‘ASH and SKḤ read Jamal; I have followed *Aghānī*, which has Ḥamal. Neither Yazīd ibn Jamal nor Yazīd ibn Ḥamal is found elsewhere; I have preferred the latter because

Though you have killed a steadfast martyr of ours,
 We butchered many of you:
 Twenty,¹¹¹⁶ not yet buried,
 Killed swiftly, slaughtered,
 Bloated,¹¹¹⁷ their legs in the air.

Al-Quḥayf also said,¹¹¹⁸

Weep, mine eye, stream upon stream,
 For Yazīd and for Yazīd ibn Ḥamal,¹¹¹⁹
 Killer of heroes, with robes¹¹²⁰ around him.

Yazīd ibn Ḥamal, also a Qushayrī, was killed together with him that day.

[§ 108 al-Uqayshir¹¹²¹]

Another is al-Uqayshir, who is al-Mughīrah ibn ...¹¹²² [He went to Qays ibn] 249
 Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Qays al-Kindī, who was blind,¹¹²³ and composed
 a eulogy on him. Qays rewarded him with three hundred dirhams. Al-Uqayshir
 said, "Hand them to your steward and tell him to give me every day one dirham
 for meat and one dirham for vegetables!" But he proceeded to buy wine for

Ḥamal, unlike Jamal, is found as a personal name, and because a leading Qushayrī is called Abū Ḥamal ibn Sabrah (*ĠN*, i, 105, ii, 296).

1120 'ASH and SKḤ read *wa-ḥilal*, with 'ASH explaining this as the plural of *ḥillah*, "sedentary people, in multitude", which seems unlikely. I have read *wa-ḥulal*; cf. the version of *Aghānī*: *wa-jarrāra ḥulal*, "one who trails robes".

1121 Al-Uqayshir is the nickname ("the little peeled one", allegedly because of his red face) of the poet al-Mughīrah ibn 'Abd Allāh, of Asad. He came from Kufa, was famed for his love of wine and invective poetry, and died c. 80/699, apparently at an advanced age because it is said he was born before Islam; see *ĠN*, i, 57, ii. 419; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 326–327; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xi, 251–276; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, iv, 485–492. Yāqūt (*Mu'jam al-udabā'*, xviii, 116) mentions a book by Ibn Ḥabīb entitled *Kitāb shi'r al-Uqayshir*. The story of al-Uqayshir and Qays ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath is told in *Aghānī*, xi, 264–265, but there is nothing about a murder in the bath.

1122 There is a lacuna in the manuscripts.

1123 He has not been found in other sources. For the lineage of his father, Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath, see *ĠN*, i, 236. Qays must have been a brother of 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath, who rebelled against the governor Ibn al-Ḥajjāj in 80–82/699–702, see *EI2*, "Ibn al-Ash'ath" (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

ويكتري بغلاً بأربعة دوانيق، فيمضي إلى الحيرة فيشرب يومه ثم ينصرف مُمسيباً. فأتلف الدراهم، ثم أتاه أيضاً فسأله فأعطاه مثلها فأتلفها. فقيل له: إنما يشتري بها خمرًا يشربه! فلما أتاه قال له: يا هذا، إنه لا يحلّ لي أن أُعطيك ما تشتري به الخمر! ولم يعطه شيئاً. فقال الأقيشر:

ألم تر قيسَ الأكمه ابنَ محمدٍ يقول فلا تلقاه بالقول يفعلُ
رأيتك أعمى القلبِ والعينِ مُمسيكاً وما خيرُ أعمى العينِ والقلبِ يبخلُ^٢
فلو صمّ تمتّ لعنةُ اللهِ كلُّها عليه وما فيه من الشرِّ أفضلُ

فقعد له مواليه حتى إذا انصرف سكراناً، فأنزلوه في الحمامات بظهر الكوفة وتركوا البغل فعاد إلى الكوفة ودخنوا عليه حتى مات، فوجدوه ميتاً هناك حين أصبحوا. | ويقال: كان الذي فعل ٢٥٠ بالأقيشر هذا موالى إسحاق بن طلحة بن عبيد الله، وكان الأقيشر مؤلماً بهجائه.

[١٠٩ §] ومنهم توبة بن الحمير أخو بني خفاجة بن عقيل. وكان سبب قتله أنه كان بينه وبين بني عامر بن عوف^٣ بن عقيل، وهم رهط نصر بن شيبث، لِحاء. ثم إن توبة شهد بني خفاجة

١ ك: (بن).

٢ ه: (والقلب يبخل).

٣ ه، ك: (عوف بن عامر) والتصحیح من الأغاني ومراجع أخرى.

- 1124 A *dānaq* (a Persian word) is one-sixth of a dirham.
1125 In *Aghāni* he takes three dirhams each day, for wine, food, and mule.
1126 In *Aghāni*, Qays (who is approached for the fourth time) says, less piously, "Damn you, it is as if you've made it a regular tax for me!"
1127 For Ishāq ibn Ṭalḥah, of Taym (Quraysh), see *ĠN*, i, 21; son of the more famous Ṭalḥah, companion of the Prophet and "one of the ten" (whom he had promised entry into Paradise). Ishāq was appointed governor of Khorasan by Mu'āwiyah (Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 232).
1128 Tawbah ibn Ḥumayyir, poet and bandit-warrior, was born shortly before the coming of Islam and died probably at some time between 41/661 and 57/677; the date is much disputed. For a detailed discussion especially on the date of Tawbah's death see Shahin, "Reflections on the Lives and Deaths of Two Umayyad Poets: Laylā al-Akhyaliyyah and

one dirham, meat for two *dānaqs*,¹¹²⁴ and to hire a mule for the remaining four *dānaqs*.¹¹²⁵ Then he would go to al-Ḥīrah, drink all day, and return in the evening. When he had squandered all the dirhams he went to Qays again, begging, and was given a like sum. This he squandered again. Qays was told, “He only buys wine with them which he drinks!” When he approached him again, Qays said, “It would not be legal for me to give you money to buy wine”, and he did not give him anything.¹¹²⁶ Then Qays said,

Have you not seen Qays the blind man, son of Muḥammad?
 He says one thing but you will not find him doing it.
 I have seen you, blind of heart and sight, being niggardly.
 What’s the good of someone blind of sight and heart who is stingy?
 If he were deaf as well, God’s curse, all of it, would be
 on him; but the evil that is in him is still more.

Qays’s clients (*mawālī*) sat in ambush for him. When he returned, being drunk, they put him in the baths beyond Kufa, leaving the mule to find its way back to Kufa. They stoked up the fire and smoke until he died. They found his corpse there in the morning. | It is said that those who did this to al-Uqayshir were the clients of Ishāq ibn Ṭalḥah ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh,¹¹²⁷ al-Uqayshir had been fond of lampooning him.

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[§ 109 Tawbah ibn al-Ḥumayyir¹¹²⁸]

Another is Tawbah ibn al-Ḥumayyir, a member of the Banū Khafājah ibn ‘Uqayl. The cause of his death was as follows. There had been altercations between him and the Banū ‘Āmir ibn ‘Awf¹¹²⁹ ibn ‘Uqayl (they are the clan of Naṣr ibn Shabath¹¹³⁰). Tawbah had been involved in a quarrel between the Banū Khafā-

Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir”. Tawbah’s unrequited love for the poet Laylā l-Akhyaliyyah (on her see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 399–400, *E12*, “Laylā al-Akhyaliyya” [F. Gabrieli]) is told in *al-Aghānī* and other sources. See on him *ĠN*, i, 103, ii, 545; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 398–399; *E12*, “Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir” (T. El Achèche). For parallel versions of his death see Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi’r*, 447, al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xi, 210–217 (a close parallel, with Ibn Ḥabīb mentioned as a source) and 217–218 (another version).

1129 ‘ASH and SKḤ: ‘Awf ibn ‘Āmir; corrected here following *Aghānī*, *ĠN*, and other sources.

1130 Naṣr ibn Shabath al-‘Uqaylī rebelled in 206–210/821–825 against the caliph al-Ma’mūn. The parenthesis is not in *Aghānī* and is possibly a later addition.

وبني عوف، وهم تختصمون عند همّام بم مطرّف العقيليّ، وكان مروان بن الحَكَم استعمله على صدقات بني عامر، فضرب نُورُ بن أبي سَمعان بن كعب بن عامر بن عوف بن عامر بن عقيل توبةً بن الحُميرِ بجُرْزٍ وعلى توبة الدرع والبيضة، فجرح أنف البيضة وجهه، وأمر همّام بثور بن أبي سمعان فأقعد بين يدي توبة، فقال: خذ حَقَّك يا توبة. فقال توبة: ما كان هذا الأمر إلا عن أمرك، وما كان ليَجترئُ عليّ عند غيرك يا همّام! وذلك أن أمّ همّام من بني عوف بن عامر بن عُقيل.

فانصرف توبة ولم يقتصّ، فمكثوا غير كثير. ثم إن توبة بلغه أنّ ثوراً خرج في نفر من أصحابه على ماء من مياه قومه يقال له هَوَيّ، يريد ماء لهم | يقال له حَرِيز، وهو موضع بتلث، وبينهما ٢٥١ فلاة من الأرض. فتبعهم توبة في أناس من أصحابه حتّى ذكر له أنّه عند رجل من بني عامر بن عُقيل، يقال له سارية بن عُويمر بن أبي عديّ، وكان صديقاً لتوبة، فقال توبة: والله لا أطرفهم وهم عند سارية الليلة، حتّى يخرجوا من عنده. فأرسل توبة رجلين من أصحابه فقال: ارضدوا القوم حتّى يخرجوا. وكان القوم أرادوا أن يخرجوا حين يُصباحون، فقال سارية: ادّرعوا الليل في الفلاة. وغفل صاحباً توبة، فلما ذهب الليلُ فرّع توبة وقال: لقد اغتررتُ برجلين ما صنعا شيئاً، وإني لأعلم أن لن يُصباحوا بهذه البلدة! فاستضاء لآثارهم، فإذا هو بآثار القوم قد خرجوا، فبعث إلى صاحبيه فأتياه فقال: دُونكما هذا الجمل فأوقراه من الماء ثم اتبعوا أثرِي؛ فإنّه لا يخفى عليكما حتّى تُدركاني، وإني سأوقد لكما إن أمسيتُما دوني.

1131 Hammām ibn al-Muṭarrif ibn ‘Abd Allāh, of Rabī‘ah ibn ‘Uqayl, see *ĠN*, i, 102.

1132 See above, § 45.

1133 The context suggests that this is the clan ‘Āmir ibn ‘Awf ibn ‘Uqayl just mentioned; alternatively, it is the much larger group ‘Āmir ibn Ṣa‘a‘ah (see *ĠN*, i, 93), to which ‘Uqayl belonged.

1134 See *ĠN*, i, 102, ii, 553, with Sam‘ān instead of Sim‘ān, the latter found in ‘ASH and *Aghānī*.

1135 According to the old regulations of retaliation (*qīṣāṣ*), partly adopted in Islam, Tawbah would be entitled to inflict a similar injury on Thawr.

1136 The name of the mother, given in *Aghānī*, is Ṣūbānah (with variant Ṭūbānah) bint Jawn (variant Ḥazn) ibn ‘Āmir ibn ‘Awf ibn ‘Uqayl.

jah and the Banū ‘Awf in the presence of Hammām ibn Muṭarrif al-‘Uqaylī,¹¹³¹ who had been appointed by Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam¹¹³² to raise the alms tax among the Banū ‘Āmir.¹¹³³ Tawbah ibn al-Ḥumayyir was hit with an iron bar by Thawr ibn Abī Sim‘ān ibn Ka‘b ibn ‘Āmir ibn ‘Awf ibn ‘Āmir ibn ‘Uqayl,¹¹³⁴ Tawbah was wearing a coat of mail and a helmet. The nasal of his helmet wounded his face. At the order of Hammām, Thawr was made to sit before Tawbah. Hammām said to him, “Do to him what is your right!”¹¹³⁵ Tawbah said, “This is only your order. He would not have dared to hit me if someone else than you had been here, Hammām!” The point was that Hammām’s mother belonged to the Banū ‘Awf ibn ‘Āmir ibn ‘Uqayl.¹¹³⁶ Tawbah left without having retaliated.

A short time afterwards Tawbah learned that Thawr had gone out with some of his men to a waterhole of his tribe called Hawiyy,¹¹³⁷ intending to go to a waterhole of theirs | called Ḥarīz,¹¹³⁸ which is a place in Tathlīth.¹¹³⁹ Between the two lies a wasteland. Tawbah followed them together with some of his own people. It was reported to him that Thawr was staying with a man of the Banū ‘Āmir ibn ‘Uqayl called Sāriyah ibn ‘Uwaymir ibn Abī ‘Adī,¹¹⁴⁰ who was a friend of Tawbah’s. “By God,” Tawbah said, “I will not attack them tonight, now that they are with Sāriyah, but I’ll wait until they leave”. Tawbah sent two of his men, saying, “Keep an eye on those men until they leave!” The men intended to leave in the morning, but Sāriyah said, “You should go out into the wasteland in the dark, tonight!”

Tawbah’s two men were inattentive and when the night had passed Tawbah said, “I have been deceived by those two men who did nothing! I knew very well that they would not leave in the morning in this terrain.” When it was light he looked for their tracks¹¹⁴¹ and indeed he found the tracks of the men after they had left. He sent for his two companions and when they came he said, “Here is a camel. Load it with water, then follow my tracks. They will be clear to you until you overtake me. I’ll light a fire for you if you have not yet reached

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1137 In *Aghānī* it is Qūbā’ (or Qawbā’).

1138 *Aghānī*: “intending to go to their property (*mālahum* instead of *mā’an lahum*) at a place called Jurayr.”

1139 Tathlīth lies near Mecca (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*).

1140 In *Aghānī* he is Sāriyah ibn ‘Uwaymir ibn Abī ‘Adī; in *ĠN* i, 140, ii, 580 one finds his father as ‘Uwaymir ibn Abī ‘Adī ibn ‘Āmir ibn ‘Uqayl.

1141 It is possible that *fa-staḍā’a li-āthārihim* is a corruption of *fa-qtassa āthārahum* (“he followed their tracks”) as in *Aghānī*.

ثمَّ خرج توبة في إثر القوم مُسرِعاً حتَّى انْتصف النهار وجاوز عِلماً يقال له أفِيح في الغائط، فقال لأصحابه: هل ترون ماءً بين سَمُرَاتٍ إلى جنب | قرون بَقَر، فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ مَقِيلُ القوم ولن يجاوزوه، وليس وراءه ظِلٌّ. فنظر فقال قائل: نرى رجلاً يقود بعيراً كأنه يقوده لصيّد. قال: ذلك ابن الحَبْتَرِيَّة، وذلك أَرْمَى مَن رمى، فمن له أن يختلجه دون القوم فلا يَنْذرون بنا؟ فقال عبد الله بن الحمير: أنا له. قال: فاحذَرُ أَنْ يَعْقر بك، وإن استطعت أن تحول بينه وبين أصحابه فافعل. فحلّى طريق فرسه في عَمَض من الأرض ثمَّ دنا منه فحمل عليه، فرماه ابن الحَبْتَرِيَّة فعقر فرس عبد الله، واختلَّ السهمُ ساقَ عبد الله، وانحدر الرجل حتَّى أتى أصحابه فأنذروهم، فجمعوا الرِّكاب وهي متفرّقة، وعَشِيهم توبة ومن معه، فلمَّا رأوا ذلك صَفُّوا رِحَالهم، وجعلوا السَّمُرَات في نحورهم، ثمَّ أخذوا سلاحهم وزحف إليهم توبة، فارتمى القوم لا يُعني أحدٌ منهم في أحد شيئاً. ثمَّ إنَّ توبة وكان يُتَرَس لأخيه عبد الله قال: يا أخي لا تترس لي؛ فَإِنِّي قد رأيت ثوراً يُكثِر رَفَع الرأس، عسى أن أوافق عند رفعه أناةً منه مَرَمَى فَأَرْمِيه. ففعل فرماه توبة فأصابه على | حَلْمَة ٢٥٣ تَدِيه، وصرعه، وجال القوم وعَشُوهم فوضعوا فيهم السلاح حتَّى تركوهم صَرعى، وهم تسعة نفر.

ثمَّ إنَّ ثوراً قال: انزعوا هذا السهم عني. فقال توبة: ما وضعناه مكانه لننزع! وقال أصحاب توبة لتوبة: انجُ فخذ آثارنا لنلقى^١ راويتنا، فقد متنا عطشاً. فقال توبة: وكيف بأولى القوم الذين لا يُمنعون ولا يمتنعون؟ قالوا: أبعدهم الله. قال: ما أنا بفاعل، وما هم إلاَّ عشيرتكم، ولكن تأتي

١ ك: (نلقى).

1142 Reading uncertain. 'ASH vowels this as Afyah, but it may be that it is either Afih or Ufayh, cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (where some verses are quoted the metre of which does not allow reading Afyah); but Abū 'Ubayd, *Mu'jam*, 177–178 distinguishes between Afih/Ufayh and Afyah, which is said to be a land-mark ('alam) in the territory of the Banū 'Uqayl.

1143 Qurūn Baqar, said by Abū 'Ubayd, *Mu'jam*, 1069, to be a location in the territory of the Banū 'Uqayl, and by Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, a place in the territory of the Banū 'Amir adjacent to the Balhārith ibn Ka'b.

1144 *Fa-nazarā*, possibly an error for *fa-nazarū* ("they looked"), as in *Aghānī*.

1145 *Narā*, possibly an error for *arā* ("I see"), as in *Aghānī*.

1146 He has not been found elsewhere. In *Aghānī* it is added that the Banū l-Ḥabtar belong to Madhḥij "among the Banū 'Uqayl"; which I do not understand. Ibn al-Kalbī mentions Ḥabtar ibn 'Adī, a branch of Khuzā'ah (*ĠN*, i, 198, ii, 290).

me this evening.” Then Tawbah set out, quickly following the tracks. At midday, having come past a road-mark called Afyah¹¹⁴² in some low-lying ground, he said to his companions, “Do you see a waterhole between some acacia trees, next to | Cows’ Horns?¹¹⁴³ For that is where the men will take a rest. They will not have passed it, for there is no shade to be found beyond it.” He looked,¹¹⁴⁴ and someone said, “We see¹¹⁴⁵ a man leading a camel, as if leading it for a hunt.” Tawbah said, “That is Ibn al-Ḥabtariyyah.¹¹⁴⁶ He is the best shot of all those who shoot arrows. Who is willing to take him off but without alerting the men?” ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥumayyir¹¹⁴⁷ said, “I’ll do it!” Tawbah said, “Take care he won’t wound¹¹⁴⁸ your horse! If you can, move between him and his fellows!” ‘Abd Allāh made his horse swerve along a hollow patch and then approached the man and attacked him. But Ibn al-Ḥabtariyyah shot an arrow and wounded ‘Abd Allāh’s horse; the arrow also pierced ‘Abd Allāh’s leg. The man went off to join his fellows and warned them. They assembled their mounts, which had been dispersed. Tawbah and his men attacked them. When they saw that, they aligned their camel saddles in a row, sought shelter behind the acacia trees, and took up their weapons. Tawbah advanced towards them, but when the men threw themselves on their opponents no one was able to achieve anything. Tawbah, who was protecting his brother ‘Abd Allāh with his shield, said, “Brother, don’t shield me, for I see that Thawr¹¹⁴⁹ often raises his head.¹¹⁵⁰ Perhaps when he keeps it raised long enough I have a chance to hit him when I shoot.” His brother complied, Tawbah shot at Thawr and hit him in | the nipple on his chest, 253 felling him. The men swerved and they attacked them with their swords until they left them struck down, nine¹¹⁵¹ men in all.

Thawr said, “Pull that arrow from me!” But Tawbah said, “We did not put it there for it to be pulled out!” Tawbah’s men said to him, “Save yourself, take your revenge and let us join the camel that carries our water, for we are dying of thirst!” Tawbah replied, “What about these men lying exposed, unable to defend themselves?” “May God remove them!”, they answered.¹¹⁵² But Tawbah said, “I will not allow that; they are your kinsmen, after all. But let the camel with the

1147 Tawbah’s brother.

1148 The verb *‘aqara* usually means “to hamstring” or “to hock”, with a sword or knife. The context requires “wounded” or “struck down”.

1149 Thawr ibn Abī Sim‘ān, mentioned above.

1150 *Aghānī*: “his shield” (*al-turs*), which may be a better reading in view of the following.

1151 *Aghānī*: “seven”.

1152 Or, more idiomatically, “May the Devil take them!”

الرواية فَأَضَع لَهُمْ مَاءً، وَأَغْسَلَ دِمَاءَهُمْ وَأَخْيَلَّ عَلَيْهِمْ مِنَ السَّبَاعِ وَالطَّيْرِ لَا تَأْكُلُهُمْ حَتَّى أُوزِنَ بِهِمْ مِنْ بَعْضِ قَوْمِهِمْ.

فَأَقَامَ تَوْبَةَ حَتَّى أَتَتْهُمْ الرِّوَايَةُ قَبْلَ اللَّيْلِ، فَسَقَاهُمْ مِنَ الْمَاءِ وَغَسَلَ عَنْهُمْ الدَّمَاءَ، وَجَعَلَ فِي أَسَاقِيهِمْ مَاءً، ثُمَّ خَيَّلَ عَلَيْهِمْ بِالثِّيَابِ عَلَى الشَّجَرِ، وَمَضَى حَتَّى طَرَقَ مِنَ اللَّيْلِ سَارِيَةً فَقَالَ: إِنَّا قَدْ تَرَكْنَا رَهْطًا مِنْ قَوْمِكُمْ بِالسُّمُرَاتِ مِنْ قُرُونِ بَقَرٍ فَأَدْرِكُوهُمْ، فَمَنْ كَانَ حَيًّا فِدَاؤُهُ، وَمَنْ كَانَ مَيِّتًا فَادْفُونَهُ. ثُمَّ انصرفت ولحق بقومه. فصبح سارية القوم فاحتلمهم، وقد مات ثورٌ ولم يمت غيره.

ولم يزل توبة لهم خائفاً، فكان السليل بن ثور المقتول رامياً كثيراً الشرِّ والبغى، فأخبر بغرة من توبة، وهو بقنة لهم من قبان السرو سرو ثين، | يقال لها قنة ابن الحمير، فركب في نحو من ٢٥٤ ثلاثين فارساً حتى يطرقه فتوقل توبة ورجلٌ من أصحابه في الجبل وأحاطوا بالبيوت، فناداهم توبة: هنا من تبتغون،^١ فاجتنبوا البيوت. فقال بعضهم لبعض: إنكم لن تستطيعوه في الجبل، ولكن خذوا ما استطفت لكم من ماله. فاخذوا أفراساً له وإخوته، ثم انصرفوا. فغزاهم توبة حتى انتهى إلى مكان يقال له حجر الراشدة ظليل، أسفله كالعمود وأعلاه منتشر، فاستظل فيه وأصحابه، حتى إذا كان بالهاجرة مرت به إبل هبيرة بن السمين، أخي بني عامر بن عوف بن عقيل، فأخذها وخلقى طريق راعيها، فلما ورد العبد على مولاه أخبره، فنادى في بني عوف فقال: حتى متى هذا؟ فتعاقد منهم نحو من ثلاثين فارساً فاتبعوه، ونهضت امرأة من حنعم كانت فيهم، وكانت تؤخذ، فقالت: أرؤني أثره، فخرجوا بها وأروها أثره، فأخذت من ترابه وقالت: اطلبوه فإنه محتبس عليكم. فطلبوه فسبقهم، وخرج توبة حتى إذا كان بالمضجع من أرض بني كلاب،

١ كذ: يبتغون).

٢ هـ، كذ: عوف بن عامر) والتصحيح من المراجع، كما سبق.

1153 *Ukhayyilu 'alayhim*, cf. Lane, *Lexicon: khayāl*: "A piece of wood with black garments upon it ... in order that the wolf, seeing it, may think it to be a man".

1154 *Sarw* here means "slope of a mountain"; for *Sarw Lubn* see Abū 'Ubayd, *Mu'jam*, 736.

water come here, then I'll wash their blood away and put a scarecrow¹¹⁵³ over them so that the wild beasts and birds will not eat them, until we have let some of their people know about them."

Tawbah stayed there until the camel came with the water, before nightfall. He gave the wounded men water, washed the blood off, and put water in their water-skins. Then he draped some clothes over the shrubs by way of scarecrows. He left and in the night he arrived at Sāriyah and told him, "We left some of your men at the acacia trees next to Cows' Horns. Go to them and treat those that are wounded and bury the dead." Then he left and joined his people. Sāriyah went to his men and carried them away; Thawr had died but the others had not.

Tawbah remained living in fear. Al-Salīl, the son of Thawr who was killed, was a good shot and prone to much evil and wrongdoing. He was told that Tawbah could be surprised while at a hillock of theirs, Sarw Lubn, one of the Sarw hillocks¹¹⁵⁴ | called "Ibn al-Ḥumayyir's hillock". He rode with some thirty horsemen and reached him at night. Tawbah went up the hill together with one of his men. The others surrounded the tents. Tawbah called out to them, "The one you want is here! Leave the tents alone!" They said to one another, "We won't be able to get at him on the hill, but let's take whatever we can find of his livestock." They took some of the horses belonging to him and his brothers; then they left. Tawbah went after them on a raid, until he came to a place full of shade called Ḥajar al-Rāshidah,¹¹⁵⁵ its lower part like a column and spreading wide at the top. He and his companions sat there in the shade until, at midday, the camels of Hubayrah ibn al-Samīn came past, one of the Banū 'Āmir ibn 'Awf ibn 'Uqayl.¹¹⁵⁶ Tawbah took the camels, letting the camel-herd go free. When the slave reached his master he told him what had happened. Hubayrah called out to the Banū 'Awf, saying, "How much longer will this go on?" Some thirty horsemen of them agreed to go after Tawbah.

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There was a woman of Khath'am with them who practised magic. She stood up and said, "Show me his tracks!" They took her with them and showed her the tracks. She picked up some of the earth and said, "You must seek him, for he will be held up." They went after him but he outstripped them. Tawbah went on until he reached a resting-place in the territory of the Banū Kilāb, which he

1155 Thus Abū 'Ubayd, *Mu'jam*, 626; *Aghānī* has Ḥajr al-Rāshidah, and Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, has Ḥujr al-Rāshidah. Pictures of several toadstool-shaped rocks alleged to be the one mentioned here may be found on the Internet.

1156 As before (note 1129), the text (which has 'Awf ibn 'Āmir ibn 'Uqayl) has been emended.

جعل نذارته^١ ويحبس أصحابه، حتى إذا كان بشعب من هضبة يقال بنت هيدة، | جعل ابن عم له يقال له قابض بن عبد الله على رأس الهضبة، وقال: انظر فإن شخصك شيء فأعلمناه. فقال عبد الله أخو توبة له: يا توب إنك حائن أذكرك الله إلا نجوت، فوالله ما رأيت يوماً أشبه بسمرات بني عوف يوم أدركناهم وساعتهم التي أتيناهم فيها منه، فأنج إن كانت لك^٢ نجاة! ثم إن القوم لحقوهم فحمل أولهم حتى غشوا توبة، وفرع توبة وأخوه فقام إلى فرسه فغلبته أن يلجمها،^٣ فحللى طريقها، وغشيه الرجل فاعتنقه، فصرعه توبة وهو مدهوش قد لبس الدرع على السيف، فانترعه ثم أهوى به ليزيد بن زوية فاتقاه بيديه فقطع منها، وجعل يزيد يناشده الرحم، وغشي القوم توبة من ورائه فضربوه حتى قتلوه، وعلقهم عبد الله بن الحُمير يطعنهم بالرمح حتى انكسر. فلما فرغوا من توبة مالوا على عبد الله أخيه فقطعوا رجله فجعل يقول: هلم! ولم يشعر القوم أنهم قطعوا رجله، وانصرف القوم.

[§ 110] ومنهم زيادة بن زيد بن مالك وهذبة بن خشرم بن كرز بن جحش الغدريان. وكان سبب قتلها أنهما أقبلا من الشام في ناس من قومهما، فقالوا: من يسوق بنا؟ فقال زيادة: أنا أسوق بكم. فنزل فساق بهم ساعة، ثم ارتجز فقال وعرض بأخت هذبة:

١ كذا في الأغاني، وفي هـ، ك: (يُدَارِيهِ).

٢ هـ: (بِكْ)، كما في الأغاني.

٣ كذا في الأغاني، وفي هـ، ك: (يَلْحَقُهَا).

1157 Instead of *ja'ala yudārihi* ('ASH, SKH), of which I cannot make sense, I have adopted the reading of *Aghānī*, xi, 215: *ja'ala nidhāratahū*. An editorial note offers an explanation: "If this is the correct reading, then the sense may be: 'He set up someone to warn him about the enemy', i.e., he set him where he would find out about the enemy if they came, so that he could inform him about them."

1158 Bint Haydah; see Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Muḥjam*, 1358–1359, calling it Haydah and recording the variants *Bint Haydah*, *Bint Haydhah*, and *Bint Hind*. *Aghānī* has *Hind*.

1159 *Aghānī*, xi, 216 adds a passage describing how the men, not finding tracks, force a man of Ghanī to admit that he saw their camels on the hill. They send one of theirs, Yazīd ibn Ruwaybah (see below), to explore.

1160 *Aghānī*: "he went".

1161 Adopting the reading of *Aghānī*, *an yuljimahā*, instead of *an yalhaqahā* ('ASH, SKH).

1162 See on him above, note 1159. In the second account of Tawbah's death in *Aghānī*, xi, 218, he is called a beardless young man (*ghulām amrad*) and identified as Yazīd ibn Ruwaybah ibn Sālim ibn Ka'b ibn 'Awf ibn 'Āmir ibn 'Uqayl.

1163 *Aghānī*, xi, 216 adds that he kept fighting, crouching on his knees.

1164 On Ziyādah, see *ĠN*, i, 330, ii, 608; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 266. On Hudbah, see *ĠN*, i, 330,

made a vantage post¹¹⁵⁷ and where he kept his companions. When he reached a gorge at a hill called “Haydah’s Daughter”¹¹⁵⁸ | he placed a cousin of his called Qābiḍ ibn ‘Abd Allāh on the summit of the hill. “Keep watch,” he said, “and if something appears let us know.” Tawbah’s brother ‘Abd Allāh said to him, “O Tawbah! You’re a goner! I tell you, in God’s name, save yourself! For, by God, it looks today very much like the time of the acacia trees of the Banū ‘Awf, on the day we hit upon them, the moment we went at them! Save yourself, if you can still be saved!”

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Then the men reached them.¹¹⁵⁹ The foremost man of them attacked and they went¹¹⁶⁰ for Tawbah. He and his brother were alarmed and Tawbah ran to his horse, but it resisted him and would not be bridled,¹¹⁶¹ so he let it go. The attacker seized him by the neck and Tawbah struck him down. He was at a loss because he had put on his coat of mail on top of his sword. He extricated it and with it hewed down upon Yazīd ibn Ruwaybah,¹¹⁶² who warded off the blow with his hands; Tawbah cut off one of them. Yazīd cried out for mercy, but some men attacked Tawbah from behind, striking him until they killed him. ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥumayyir joined the fray, stabbing them with his lance until it broke. When they had finished off Tawbah they turned on his brother ‘Abd Allah and cut off his foot. He began to shout, “Come on!” and the men were not even aware that they had cut off his foot; then the men left.¹¹⁶³

[§ 110 Ziyādah ibn Zayd ibn Mālik and Hudbah ibn Khashram¹¹⁶⁴]

Among them are Ziyād ibn Zayd ibn Mālik and Hudbah ibn Khashram ibn Kurz ibn Jaḥsh, both of ‘Udhrah. They were killed because of the following. They came from Syria¹¹⁶⁵ among some men of their tribe. Some said, “Who will urge us on?”¹¹⁶⁶ Ziyādah said, “I will.” He dismounted and urged them on for a while. Then he said, in *rajaz* verse,¹¹⁶⁷ suggestively mentioning Hudbah’s sister,

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ii, 286; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 265–266. The main sources on Hudbah are Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi’r*, 691–695; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii, 277–279; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxi, 253–274; al-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-ḥamāsah*, 334–340; al-Ṣafādī, *Wāfi*, xxvii, 334–337; al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ix, 329–340. A book on the events, which took place over several years during the 50s/670s, by al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār (d. 256/870), *Akhbār Hudbah ibn Khashram wa-akhbār Ziyādah* is mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (ed. Sayyid), i, 342. His poetry has been collected by Yaḥyā al-Jubūrī (Hudbah ibn Khashram, *Shi’r*).

1165 Al-Shām may also be Damascus. The territory of the Banū ‘Udhrah was in the Northern Hijaz.

1166 Referring to driving on the camels with prodding or song.

1167 *Rajaz* was often employed for extemporising and also for urging on camels. Ziyādah’s poem, in different versions, is also found in Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi’r*, 691–692; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxi, 256–257 with twelve verses, as in al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ix, 335.

عُوجِي عَلَيْنَا وَارْبَعِي يَا فَاطِمَا مَا دُونَ أَنْ يُرَى الْبَعِيرُ قَائِمًا
فَعَوَّجَتْ مُطَرِّدًا عُرَاهِمَا رَسَلًا يُبْذُ الْقُلُصَ الرُّوَاسِمَا

في شعر طويل، فغضب هدية ونزل وساق بهم، وعرض بأخت زيادة، فقال في رجز له طويل:

بِاللَّهِ لَا يَشْفِي الْفُؤَادَ الْهَائِمَا تَمْسَاكَ اللَّبَّاتِ وَالْمَاكِمَا
وَلَا اللَّمَامُ دُونَ أَنْ تُفَاعِمَا وَلَا الْفِغَامُ دُونَ أَنْ تُفَاعِمَا
وَتَعْلُو الْقَوَائِمُ الْقَوَائِمَا

٢٥٧

فغضب زيادة فارتجز بأخت هدية فقال:

أَنْعُتْ آيَاتِ لِكَيْمًا تَعْلَمِي بِالْخَالِ بِالْكَشْحِ اللَّطِيفِ الْأَهْضَمِ
وَالشَّامَةِ السُّودَاءِ بِالْمَخْدَمِ أَتَذْكُرِينَ لَيْلَةَ بِيضِ
وَلَيْلَةَ أُخْرَى بِخَبْتِ الْعَلَمِ

فلما سمع هدية هذه الآيات أتى أخته فشهر عليها السيف وقال: من أين علمت هذه العلامات التي وصفك بها؟ فقالت: ويحك، إن النساء أخبرنه عني. فكف عنها. وقال هدية يرجز بأخت زيادة:

١ كلمة (يا) ناقصة في هـ، كـ، ويقتضيها السياق والعروض.

٢ كـ: (من).

٣ كـ: (مطربا).

٤ كـ: (اللَّبَّابِ).

٥ (فغضب ... بخبت العلم): ناقصة في كـ

“Turn to us and be nice, Fāṭimah,
While the camels are not seen to rise yet!”
So she turned, going at a fair pace,
Outstripping fleet camels ...

It was a long poem. Hudbah got angry. He dismounted and drove them. He suggestively mentioned Ziyādah's sister, in a long poem in *rajaz*:¹¹⁶⁸

By God, the enamoured heart will not be cured
By your holding her breasts and hips,
Nor by touching her without kissing her,
Nor by kissing her without screwing her,
With legs on top of legs!

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Then Ziyādah got angry and made *rajaz* verse on Hudbah's sister:¹¹⁶⁹

I'll describe some marks, so that you will know:
A mole on the dainty, slender waist,
And a black birthmark on the shin:
Do you remember that night at Iḍam,
And another night in Khabt al-‘Alam?¹¹⁷⁰

When Hudbah heard these verses he went to his sister with unsheathed sword. “How does he know about those marks he described you with?” he asked. “Shame on you!” she replied, “The women must have told him!”¹¹⁷¹ So he did not do anything to her. Hudbah made the following *rajaz* verses on Ziyādah's sister:¹¹⁷²

1168 Nine verses in Ibn Qutaybah, *Shīr*, thirteen in *Aghānī*, fourteen in *Khizānah*.

1169 Whereas Hudbah's riposte had used the same rhyme as Ziyādah's poem, here Ziyādah uses another rhyme, as is the case in each of the subsequent poems. This poem is not part of the story as told in the sources mentioned earlier, but it is found, with some variants in another story involving the poets al-Najāshī and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥassān, who utters the lines (Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, xiv, 300–301).

1170 Various locations are given for Iḍam in Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakri, *Mu‘jam*, 165–166 and Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*. Khabt al-‘Alam has not been found.

1171 Compare the similar motif in the story of Ibn al-Dumaynah (below, § 116).

1172 The verses have not been found elsewhere.

عُوجِي عَلَيْنَا وَارْبَعِي يَا طَارِفَا مَا دُونَ أَنْ يُرَى الْبَعِيرُ وَاقِفَا
 مَا اهْتَجْتُ حَتَّى هَتَكُوا الْخَوَالِفَا غَدَوْا وَرَدَّوْا جِلَّةً مَقَاذِفَا
 الْأَ تَرَيْنِ الْأَعْيُنِ الذَّوَارِفَا حِدَارَ دَارٍ مِنْكَ أَنْ تَسَاعِفَا

٢٥٨ فغضب زيادة، وكان بين القوم سبائب وشبيهة بالقتال، فحجز بينهم حتى إذا رجعوا إلى أهلهم
 تهاجيا وتفاخرا بأشعار كثيرة، وإن هدبة قال:

نَاطُوا إِلَى قَمَرِ السَّمَاءِ أَنْوَقَهُمْ وَعَنِ التُّرَابِ خَدَوْهُمْ لَا تَرْفَعُ
 وَوَلَدَتْ أُمَيْمَةٌ أَعْبُدًا فَعَدَّتْ بِهِمْ تَجَلًّا إِذَا مَشَتْ الْقَوَائِمُ تَطْلَعُ
 أَبْنِي أُمَيْمَةَ إِنَّ طَالَعَ لَوْمَكُم لَوْ إِذَا وَضَحَ الْمَرَايِسُ أَسْفَعُ

قال: فغضب زيادة وأصحابه، فجاءوا إلى منزل هدبة ليلاً فأخذوه وأباه، فشجوا أباه عشرين، ووقفوا
 هدبة، فقال زيادة:

شَجَجْنَا حَشْرَمًا فِي الرَّأْسِ عَشْرًا وَوَقَّفْنَا هُدَيْبَةَ إِذْ هَجَانَا

فقال هدبة:

إِنَّ الدَّهْرَ مَوْتِنْفٌ طَوِيلٌ وَشَرُّ الْخَيْلِ أَقْصَرُهَا عِينَا
 وَشَرُّ الْقَوْمِ كُلُّ قَتِيٍّ إِذَا مَا مَرَّتْهُ الْحَرْبُ بَعْدَ الْعَضْبِ لَانَا

١ ك: (وشبيهة).

٢ كذا، وفي البيت حرم. وفي الشعر والشعراء لابن قتيبة (فإن الدهر).

1173 The translation of *hidhāra dārin minki an tusā'ifā* is uncertain; for the negative "not" (not in the Arabic) see Wright, *Grammar*, ii, 27, Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 52–53. This line occurs in a poem by Ziyādah in Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 691 and *Khizānah*, ix, 336 as *hidhāra dārin minki an tulā'imā*; and in *Aghāni*, xxi, 256 with *lan tulā'imā*.

1174 The poem is not found elsewhere. At this stage the two revert to metres other than *rajaz*, with one exception.

Turn to us and be nice, Ṭārifah,
 While the camels are not yet seen to stand up!
 I did not stir until they broke up the tent-poles;
 In the morning they drove back the fast-running adult camels.
 Don't you see my tearful eyes?
 Beware of your abode, that it be not accessible!¹¹⁷³

Ziyādah got angry. Insults were exchanged between the men and they almost came to blows but people kept them apart. When they | had returned home they composed many lampoons and vaunting poems. Hudbah said,¹¹⁷⁴ 258

They lifted their noses to the moon in the sky
 But their cheeks are not raised from the dust.
 Umaymah gave birth to slaves; she went about with them
 big-bellied, legs limping.
 Sons of Umaymah, the ascendant of your baseness
 is black in colour when noses are bright.¹¹⁷⁵

Ziyādah and his kin got angry. They went to Hudbah's dwelling at night, took his father and inflicted ten wounds on his head, and they branded Hudbah's arm.¹¹⁷⁶ Ziyādah said,

We gave Khashram's head ten cracks
 and branded Hodaybah,¹¹⁷⁷ since he lampooned us.

Then Hudbah said,¹¹⁷⁸

Fate recommences and lasts long.¹¹⁷⁹
 The worst horse is the one with the shortest rein.
 The worst of people is a man who, after abstention fed
 with the milk of war, has become soft.

1175 Perhaps meaning "when other people's faces are bright".

1176 *Wa-waqqafū Hudbah*, following 'ASH's explanation, taken from Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (WQF), where the following verse is quoted.

1177 He uses the diminutive form, to demean and insult him.

1178 The lines are in Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 692 and the first line in al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsah*, 47 and al-Tibrīzī, *Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsah*, 336.

1179 Instead of *ṭawīl* ("long"), Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r* has *jadīd* ("new").

فمكث هدبة ما شاء الله، حتّى إذا برئ جمّع لهم، فخرج إليهم بأصحابه فوجدوا زيادة ورُفيعاً وأدرع، ولم يجدوا من رجال الحيّ غيرهم، فهرب رُفيع وأدرع لما رأيا ما جمّع القوم، وأخذوا زيادة فجدّعه بسيوفهم حتّى إذا ظنّوا أنّهم قد قتلوه انصرفوا.

وقد كان زيادة ذبّ عن نفسه بالسيف فأصاب هدبة فجدّع أنفه، فلما خلفوا الحيّ وأشرفوا ٢٥٩ على الشنيّة وجد هدبة شفيف الريح في أنفه، فذهب ينظر فإذا أنفه قد جدّع، فقال لأصحابه: انتظروا حتّى آتيكم، فوالله لا أعيش أبداً ورجلٌ قد جدّع أنفي! فرجع إلى زيادة وهو يقول:

أحوسُ في الحيّ وبالرُمحِ خطلٌ ما أحسنَ الموتَ إذا الموتُ نزلُ
فقد علمتُ أنّي إلى الهيجا عجلُ إنّي امرؤٌ لا أقرب الضيمِ بغلُ

فقتله وأدرك أصحابه. ثم إن هدبة أخذ أهله فجعل يؤامر نفسه، إمّا يأتي القوم فيضع يده في أيديهم أو في يد السلطان. فأقبل حتّى وضع يده في يد سعيد بن العاص، وهو عامل معاوية على المدينة، فأطلق من كان سجّنه بسببه وسجّنه هو، فقال في السجن أشعاراً كثيرة. ثم عُزل سعيدٌ ووُلّي مروان بن الحكم مكانه.

وإن بني عمّه قالوا: لو زوّجناه لعلّ الله أن يُبقيّ منه خلفاً فزوّجوه وأدخلوا عليه امرأته في السجن، فلما رأت ما هو فيه هالها، فراودها فأبت عليه. ثم رُدّ سعيد إلى المدينة فبلغه أنّ امرأة هدبة أبت عليه، فأمرها أن تُطّيعه فوقع عليها فحملت فولدت غلاماً سمّته هدبة. ثم إن أصحاب هدبة أعطوا به عشر ديات، وأعطاهم سعيد بن العاص، وكان يومئذ على المدينة، مائة ألف

١ ك: (في سجّنه).

1180 *Aghānī*, xxi, 258–259 lists a number of persons involved in the conflict. Among them is Adra' ibn al-Ghassāniyyah but Rufay' is not mentioned; there is probably a confusion between Naffā', listed in *Aghānī*, and Rufay'.

1181 Hudbah reverts to *rajaz*.

1182 I take the fem. sing. to refer to the tribe.

1183 Interpretation uncertain; perhaps one ought to read *lā aqbalu* "will not accept" instead of *lā aqrabu*.

1184 Sa'īd ibn al-ʿĀṣ ibn Abī Uḥayḥah Sa'īd ibn al-ʿĀṣ ibn Umayyah (d. prob. 59/678–679), prominent member of the Umayyad dynasty, governor of Medina 49–54/669–674. See *ĠN*, i, 9, ii, 500; *E12*, "Sa'īd b. al-ʿĀṣ" (C.E. Bosworth).

It took Hudbah some time to recover. Then he mustered some men and attacked with them his adversaries. They found Ziyādah, Rufay‘, and Adra‘¹¹⁸⁰ but no other members of the tribe. When Rufay‘ and Adra‘ saw the multitude coming they fled. The men cut off Ziyādah’s nose with their swords and they left, thinking they had killed him.

Ziyādāh had defended himself with his sword and had cut off Hudbah’s nose. When the men had left the tribe behind and were about to enter the mountain-pass Hudbah became aware of the wind blowing through his nose. He had a look, and yes! his nose had been cut off. He said to his companions, “By God, I cannot live while there’s a man about who has cut off my nose!” He went back to Ziyādah, saying,¹¹⁸¹

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A bold man in the tribe, quick with the lance—
 How good is death when death descends!
 They¹¹⁸² know I am quick to go into battle.
 I am a man who will not approach a wrong with rancour.¹¹⁸³

He killed him and joined his companions. He gathered his close kin to consult them about his case, either to deliver himself into the hands of Ziyādah’s kinsmen, or to give himself up to the authorities. In the end he went and gave himself up to Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ, who was Mu‘āwiyah’s governor of Medina.¹¹⁸⁴ Sa‘īd imprisoned him and released those he had imprisoned on his account. Hudbah composed many poems in prison.¹¹⁸⁵

Then Sa‘īd was deposed and Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam¹¹⁸⁶ was appointed in his place. Hudbah’s relatives said, “What if we let Hudbah get married! Then God may give him offspring.” They arranged a marriage and brought his bride to the prison. When she saw him in his condition she was horrified. He attempted to entice her, but she refused.

Then Sa‘īd was reinstalled as governor of Medina. When he heard that Hudbah’s wife had rejected his advances he ordered her to obey him. Hudbah had intercourse with her and she bore him a son whom she called Hudbah. Hudbah’s people offered to pay ten *dīyahs*¹¹⁸⁷ and Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ, then governor

1185 For five long poems, four of them composed in prison, see Ibn Maymūn, *Muntahā*, iii, 217–231.

1186 See § 45.

1187 On *dīyah* “blood money”, see above, § 6. It is not clear why it is offered tenfold here; Ibn Qutaybah *Shī‘r*, 693 and *Aghānī*, xxi, 262 mention merely *al-dīyah* “the blood money”.

٢٦٠ درهم، فأبوا وكان سعيد لا يألو ما ردّهم، وإنّه سألهم: هل لزيادة وليّ سوى | اخته؟ فقيل: له ابنٌ صغير لم يُدرِك. قال: فليس لنا أن نقتله حتّى يُدرِك الغلام.

فحبس هدبة حتّى أدرك الغلام، فلمّا أدرك جاءت به أمّه تطلّب قتل هدبة، فدفع إليها وأعطى الغلام ديات كثيرة فطمع، فقالت له أمّه: والله لئن فعلت لأتزوجن رجلاً أهب له نصيبي من الديات ثمّ يقاسمكها! فجسر على قتل هدبة، فأخرج من السجن فأدخل على سعيد، وهو في جُنْبُدَة له مُشرفة، ودخل معه الأخرز عبد الرحمن [بن] زيد أخو زيادة، فقال له سعيد: يا أخرز، قد أعطاك أمير المؤمنين معاوية مائة ألف، وعبد الله بن جعفر مائة ألف، والحسن والحسين مائة ألف، وأنا أعطيك مائة ناقة سود الحدق ليس فيها جداء ولا خداء ولا ذات داء. فقال عبد الرحمن: أصلح الله الأمير، والله لو وهبت لي جُنْبُدَتك هذه ثمّ سكبت فيه الذهب حتّى يخرج من ثقبها ما كنت لأختاره على هذا الخلسي الأسود عبدك! فقال له هدبة: يا أخيرز، أو بالموت تُخوّفني؟ والله لا أبالي أسقط عليّ أم سقطت عليه، فاصنع ما أنت صانع! ثمّ ردّ إلى السجن.

٢٦١ وخرج عبد الرحمن فأتى بكتاب معاوية: أن يُدفع^٢ هدبة إلى أولياء زيادة. فقال سعيد: يوم الجمعة أدفعه إليكم. فلمّا كان يوم الجمعة بعث إليه سعيد | بلوزينة وخُبزة. فلمّا انصرف من

١ كذا في الأصل ولعلّ الصحيح ما يقترحه هـ: (خذواء) وهي المسترخية الأذن.

٢ ك: (ادفع).

1188 He was called al-Miswar as is made clear below (also *Aghānī*, xxi, 264, 272). Hudbah stayed in prison for three years (xxi, 264).

1189 *Junbadhah*, from Persian *jumbad*, "vault, arch, dome".

1190 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 80/699 or some years later), nephew of 'Alī, the fourth caliph.

1191 *Laysa fihā jaddā' wa-lā khaddā' wa-lā dhāt dā'*. The meaning of *khaddā'* is unknown and 'ASH's suggestion, reading *khadhwā'*, has been adopted in the translation. In Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 693 the governor offers "one hundred red she-camels, among them none that is dry-uddered or diseased".

1192 The sense of *al-kh.l.sī* is unknown. I have assumed it to be a variant of *al-khilāsī*; cf. al-Jāhīz, *Bighāl*, 298 on mixed breeds of poultry and dogs: *al-dajjāj al-khilāsī min bayn al-Nabaṭī wa-l-Hindī, wa-idhā kāna mithl dhāka bayn al-baydā' wa-l-Ḥabashī fa-huwa*

of Medina, offered one hundred thousand dirhams, but Ziyādah's kinsmen refused to accept them. Sa'īd spared no efforts in trying to turn them round. He asked them, "Is there someone who can act as Ziyādah's legal executor other than | his sister?" They said, "He has a small son who has not yet reached 260 puberty." Sa'īd said, "Then we cannot let Hudbah be killed until the boy has reached puberty."¹¹⁸⁸

So until that time Hudbah was kept in prison. When the boy had reached puberty his mother took him and demanded that Hudbah be executed. Many *diyahs* were offered to her and the boy. The boy was eager to accept them, but his mother said to him, "I swear by God, if you do that I'll marry a man and give him my share of the *diyahs* and then he will have half your original share!" Then the boy was encouraged to kill Hudbah. He was taken from prison and brought before Sa'īd, who was seated in one of his high, domed pavilions.¹¹⁸⁹ Al-Akhraz 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd, Ziyādah's brother, also went in. Sa'īd said to him, "Akhraz! You are given one hundred thousand dirhams by Mu'āwiyah the Commander of the Believers; and one hundred thousand from 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far,¹¹⁹⁰ and one hundred thousand from al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. Moreover, I will give you one hundred she-camels with black eyes, among them none that is dry-uddered, slack-eared, or diseased."¹¹⁹¹ Al-Akhraz replied, "May God make the emir prosper! I swear by God, if you were to give this pavilion of yours and gold were poured into it until it spilled from its opening, I would not prefer it to this black half-breed,¹¹⁹² your servant!" Hudbah said to him, "Ukhayriz!¹¹⁹³ Are you trying to make me afraid of dying? I swear by God, I don't care whether death befalls me or you. Do what you must do!"

Then he was taken back to prison. 'Abd al-Raḥmān went and came back with a letter from Mu'āwiyah, saying that Hudbah should be given over to Ziyādah's legal executors. Sa'īd said, "On Friday I shall deliver him to you." On Friday Sa'īd sent Hudbah | a piece of pastry with almond filling¹¹⁹⁴ and a piece of bread. 261

khlāsī, fa-idhā kāna bayn al-bayḍā' wa-l-Sindī fa-huwa baysarī, wa-ka-dhālika l-khlāsī min al-kilāb alladhī bayn al-Kurdī wa-bayn al-Salūqī. It seems that al-Akhraz literally refers to the governor's slave and not to Hudbah, for there is no indication that Hudbah was of mixed descent; the name of his mother (also a poet) is given as Ḥayyah bint Abī Bakr ibn Abī Ḥayyah (*Aghānī*, xxi, 254).

1193 I follow Hārūn, who adopted al-Shinqīṭī's emendation of *yā khinzūr* ("You swine!") to *yā Ukhayriz*, with the diminutive form of al-Akhraz, here used in order to demean and insult him.

1194 *Lawzīnah*, more often *lawzīnaj*, a much-loved confection (through its use in medical texts this Arabo-Persian word ended up in English as "lozenge").

الصلاة دفعه إليهم، فخرجوا به يسوقونه فمرّ بقومٍ جلوسٍ تحت حائطٍ فقال: يا هؤلاء قوموا فإنّ هذا الحائط واقعٌ عليكم! فقالوا: ما رأينا مثل هذا، يُساق إلى الموت ويحذر الحائط! فلم يكن إلّا قليلاً حتى سقط الحائط. ومرّ على بَنَاءٍ يَبْنِي حائطاً فقال: ويحك عَوَّجَت حائطك! وكان أبواه وامراته يمشيان على أثره، فنادتُه امرأته: يا هديّة يا هديّة! فالتفت، فقصعت قرناً من قرون شَعْرها، ثمّ نادته ثانية فالتفت، فقصعت قرناً. فناشدوه الله أن لا يلتفت إليها. ثمّ التفت إلى أبويه وهما يبكيان فقال:

أَبْلِيَانِي الْيَوْمَ صَبْرًا مِنْكُمْ إِنَّ حُزْنَاً مِنْكُمْ عَاجِلُ ضَرْ
لَا أَرَى ذَا الْمَوْتِ إِلَّا هَيِّنًا إِنَّ بَعْدَ الْمَوْتِ دَارَ الْمَسْتَقَرِّ
اصْبِرَا الْيَوْمَ فَإِنِّي صَابِرٌ كُلُّ حَيٍّ لِفَنَاءٍ وَقَدَرٌ

ثمّ قال لامراته:

أَقْلَبِي عَلَيَّ اللَّوْمَ يَا أُمَّ بَوَزَعَا وَلَا تَجْزَعِي مِمَّا أَصَابَ فَأَوْجَعَا
وَعَيْشِي حَبِيسًا أَوْ تَفْتَنِي بِمَا جِدِ إِذَا الْقَوْمُ هَشُّوا لِلسَّمَا ح تَبْرُعَا
وَلَا تَنْكِحِي إِنْ فَرَّقَ الدَّهْرُ بَيْنَنَا أَعْمَّ القَفَا والوجه ليس بأنزعا
كَلِيلًا سَوَى مَا كَانَ مِنْ حَدِّ ضِرْسِهِ عَلَى الزَادِ مَبْطَانَ الضُّحَى غَيْرَ أَرُوْعَا

١ ك: (أبوه).

٢ ك: (اصبر).

1195 Thus 'ASH (*abawāhu*); SKḤ has "his father" (*abūhu*), which may be correct in view of the following dual verb form (but in what follows both parents are said to be present).
1196 Lines 1–2 in al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii, 279, all three in *Aghānī*, xxi, 270, al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ix, 339.
1197 Instead of *fanā*, "perdition, extinction", *Aghānī* has *qaḍā* "divine decree".

Having left the Friday prayer he turned him over to them. They took him out and while they were going with him he came past some people sitting under a wall. "Stand up, you people!" he said, "for that wall is about to fall on you!" They said, "We've never seen anyone being marched to his death who is concerned about a wall!" Shortly afterwards the wall fell down. He also came past a builder building a wall. "Hey you!" he said, "You've not made your wall straight!"

His parents¹¹⁹⁵ and his wife were walking behind him. His wife called out to him, "Hudbah! Hudbah!", so he turned to her. She cut off a lock of her hair. Then she called again, Hudbah turned round and she cut off another lock. They implored him not to turn to her again. Then he turned to his parents who were crying, and said,¹¹⁹⁶

Show me your strength today!
 Sorrow is a fleeting harm.
 I find this death only a trifling matter.
 After death is the abode of stability.
 Be strong today, for I shall be strong.
 Every living being is for extinction and destiny.¹¹⁹⁷

Then he said to his wife,¹¹⁹⁸

Lessen your blame of me, Umm Bawza',
 and do not grieve about what befalls and gives pain.¹¹⁹⁹
 Live a secluded life, or else take yourself an illustrious man
 if the tribesmen are well-disposed to grant it.
 But don't get married, if Fate separates us,
 to one with long hair on his neck and face, not keeping them free,
 One who is feeble except with the edge of his molars
 on his food, a glutton in the forenoon, unadmired.¹²⁰⁰

1198 See al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii, 278 (l. 3 with another line); Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 694 (l. 3 with a different line); al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsah*, 152–153 (ll. 2–4 with three more lines); *Agh-ānī*, xxi, 269 (ll. 1, 3–4 with two more lines), the same *Khizānah*, ix, 338.

1199 I take *fa-awja'ā* to be a perfect tense (compare Mutammim ibn Nuwayrah's famous *Mufaḍḍaliyyah* no. 67 where the words *mimmā ašāba fa-awja'ā* occur in lines 1 and 39) but one is tempted to take it here as a subjunctive: "(do not grieve ...) lest I will feel pain".

1200 In the other versions of this line, *arwa'* means "frightened, cowardly", but here, with *ghayr*, it must have a positive sense; cf. Lane, *Lexicon* ("who excites admiration and approval ...").

فلما قَدَّم لِيُقْتَلَ قال:

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إن تقتلوني في الحديد فإنني قتلْتُ أحاكِمَ مُطَلَقاً لم يُقَيِّدْ

فحلُّوا قيوده، فقال: دعوني أصلي ركعتين، فصلَّى ثم التفت إلى عبد الرحمن أخي زيادة فقال: قم يا أخزر إلى جَزْرِكَ فانحرها! فقال عبد الرحمن: بل يقوم إليك من قتلت أباه ظالماً متعدياً عليه [إن] قبل ذلك منك. قم يا مسور! فقام إليه غلام^٢ حين احتلم، وأمسك بعضهم بيده فضربه، فتعلَّق رأسه بجِلْدَةٍ من حلقه، فقال له عمه: يا ابن أخي أجهز عليه، إياك [أن] تدع لهم فضلة! وإن امرأة هدبة أتت جزاراً فأخذت مُدِيَةَ فجذعت أنفها وجاءته مجدوعةً ليعلم أنها لا أرب لها في الرجال بعد الجذع. وذكروا أن هدبة قال: علامة ما بيني وبينكم إن جزعْتُ فإنني إذا قُطِعَتْ رأسي مددتُ رجلي وقبضتُها. وإن أنا بقيتُ ممدودَ الرجلين فإنني لم أجزع. فلما سقط رأسه بقي باسطاً رجلَيْه.

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[§ ١١١] ومنهم سالم بن دارة أخو بني عبد الله بن غطفان. وقد مرَّ حديثه^٢ في المغتالين.

[§ ١١٢] ومنهم عُقَيْبَةُ بن هُبَيْرَةَ الأَسَدِيِّ أخو بني نصر بن قُعين. وكان له بنت أو ربيبة، وكان له ابن عمّ يقال له تميم بن الأخثم، وكانت له بُنَيَّةٌ، فلعبت هي وبنت عُقَيْبَةَ، فكسرت بنتُ تميم

١ هـ: (فحلُّوا).

٢ ك: (الغلام) ولعلها الصواب.

٣ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

1201 See above, § 38 and note 464.

1202 Oddly placed in the narrative, this event takes place before Hudbah's execution, as is also told in other sources. In another version she also cuts off her lips (*Aghānī*, xxi, 270).

1203 Compare the versions of, *Kāmil*, iii, 279 and *Aghānī*, xxi, 271–271. In the latter, Hudbah says, "I have heard that when someone is killed, he remains conscious for a short while after his head is cut off. If I'll be conscious I will bend and stretch my leg three times." And he does.

1204 Above, § 31.

1205 On his lineage see *ĠN*, i, 51. As a poet he is a very minor one; Sezgin has no entry for him and only a few fragments of his poetry are known, but he is at least honoured by the

When he was brought forward to be killed he said,

You may kill me in chains, but I
killed your brother when he was free, unshackled.

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Then they released his chains. He said, "Let me pray two *rak'ahs*!"¹²⁰¹ When he had performed them he turned to 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Ziyādah's brother, and said, "Come, Akhraz, to your camel to be slaughtered and cut its throat!" But 'Abd al-Raḥmān replied, "No, the one whose father you killed wrongly and brutally should do it to you, if he accepts. Come on, Miswar!" A young boy, only just having reached puberty, came forward. Someone took his hand and struck Hudbah, holding it. His head was dangling by the skin of his throat. The boy's uncle said to him, "Nephew, finish him off! Take care not to leave them anything of him!"

Hudbah's wife went to a butcher and took a knife. Then she cut off her nose and went to Hudbah,¹²⁰² mutilated, so that he knew that she would have no interest in men, having her nose cut off.

They say that Hudbah said, "I'll make a sign between you people and me: if I am afraid, then, when my head is cut off I'll stretch my leg and fold it again. But if my legs remain stretched it means that I was not afraid." When his head fell his legs remained stretched.¹²⁰³

[§ 111 Sālim ibn Dārah]

Another is Sālim ibn Dārah, of the Banū 'Abd Allāh ibn Ghaṭafān. His story has been told above, among the murder victims.¹²⁰⁴

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[§ 112 'Uqaybah ibn Hubayrah al-Asadī¹²⁰⁵]

Another is 'Uqaybah ibn Hubayrah al-Asadī, a member of the Banū Naṣr ibn Qu'ayn. He had a daughter or foster-daughter. A paternal cousin of his was called Tamīm ibn al-Aktham, who also had a little daughter. When she and 'Uqaybah's girl were playing together, Tamīm's daughter broke a front tooth of

inclusion of two of his verses in Sibawayh's *Kitāb* (i, 34, also Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi'r*, 98–99, al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 260–263). A short poem by him is quoted in al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xx, 363. The present sorry tale of excessive *talio* (a life for a milk-tooth) is also found in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vii, 28 and (virtually identical with the present version) in Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 218–221, where 'Uqaybah is listed under the *futtāk al-Islām*, "the murderous, reckless ones or hotheads of the Islamic period". A very brief account (without mention of the tooth and reading 'Uqbah instead of 'Uqaybah) has Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *Balāghāt*, 285–286.

ثَيِّبَةَ بِنْتِ عُقَيْبَةَ، فذهب تميم فجمع أشراف بني أسد، فأتى عُقَيْبَةَ لِمَا يَعْلَمُ مِنْ فَتْكِهِ، فَقَالَ لَهُ: يَا ابْنَ عَمٍّ، إِنَّهُ قَدْ كَانَ مَا تَرَى، فَدُونَكَ ابْنَتِي فَاكْسِرْ ثَيِّبَتَهَا، وَإِنْ شِئْتَ فَالْعَفْوُ، وَهِيَ جَارِيَةٌ بَعْدُ لَمْ تُغْفَرْ، وَهِيَ تَنْبُتُ. فَقَالَ الْقَوْمُ: أَنْصَفَكَ الرَّجُلُ. فَقَالَ: وَاللَّهِ لَا أَقْتُلْتَهُ. فَأَعَادُوا عَلَيْهِ، فَأَعَادَ عَلَيْهِمْ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ، فَقَالُوا لِتَمِيمٍ: [قُمْ]¹. وَظَنُّوا أَنَّ عُقَيْبَةَ يَلْعَبُ، وَعَرَفَ تَمِيمٌ أَنَّهُ يَفْعَلُ، لَفْتَكِهِ². فَمَكَثَ تَمِيمٌ سَنَةً يَتَحَرَّزُ مِنْهُ، وَأَمْسَى ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ وَهُوَ صَائِمٌ فَصَلَّى فِي مَسْجِدِ قَوْمِهِ، ثُمَّ دَخَلَ دَارَهُ وَغَفَلَ³ أَنْ يُغْلِقَ الْبَابَ، فَدَخَلَ عَلَيْهِ عُقَيْبَةُ بِالسَيْفِ فَضْرَبَهُ حَتَّى قَتَلَهُ، وَتَصَاحَى النِّسَاءُ، وَأَخَذَ عُقَيْبَةُ فُرُوعًا إِلَى مُضْعَبِ بْنِ الرَّبِيعِ، فَسَأَلَهُ فَلَمْ يَجْحَدْ قَتْلَهُ. وَلْتَمِيمِ ابْنِ يُقَالُ لَهُ عُنْبَسَةٌ، فَتَيَّ شَابٌّ، فَأَعْطَى فِيهِ مَنْصُورٌ⁴ دِيَةً، | وَأَعْطَى مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عُمَيْرٍ دِيَةً، وَأَعْطَى قَوْمُهُ دِيَةً، فَقَالَتْ ابْنَةُ ٢٦٤ لِتَمِيمٍ:

أَعْقَيْبُ لَا ظَهَرْتُ يَدَاكَ أَلَمْ يَكُنْ دَرَكٌ بِحَقِّكَ غَيْرَ قَتْلِ تَمِيمِ
أَعْقَيْبُ لَوْ نَبَّهْتَهُ لَوَجَدْتَهُ كَالسَيْفِ أَهْوَنُ وَقَعِهِ التَّصْمِيمِ
فَلَتَتَّبِعَنَّكَ فِي الْعَشِيرَةِ سُبَّةٌ وَلَتُقْتَلَنَّ بِهِ وَأَنْتَ ذَمِيمٌ

وقال عُقَيْبَةُ حِينَ قَتَلَهُ:

خَرَّ صَرِيحاً فَاغْرَأَ تَمُضُّلُ اسْتُهُ بَحِيثِ التَّقِينَا كَالْحُورِ الْمَخْزُوقِ

١ هذ التكملة من المحبّر.

٢ كذ (لفتكه [وخبثه]) والتكملة من المحبّر.

٣ كذ (وأغفل).

٤ لعلّ الصواب (منظور) كما في المحبّر.

1206 Al-Balādhuri's version drastically shortens the action: when the girl's tooth was broken, "she went to her father, crying. He attacked Tamim in his home and killed him."

1207 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām (d. 72/691), son of a famous companion of the Prophet and brother of the "anti-caliph" 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr who resisted the Umayyads. Muṣ'ab was governor of Iraq in the 60s/680s.

1208 Unidentified. In *Muḥabbar* it is Manzūr, equally unknown. Hārūn thinks he may be Manzūr ibn Zabbān ibn Sayyār, a prominent chief of Fazārah, father-in-law to 'Abd

‘Uqaybah’s daughter. Tamīm went and gathered the prominent men of Asad; then he went to ‘Uqaybah, well aware of his hotheadedness (*fatk*). “Cousin,” he said, “You know what happened. Here is my daughter: break her front tooth! Or if you prefer, my front tooth! Or if you wish, forget about the matter. Your daughter is a young girl who has not yet had her permanent teeth. It will grow again.” Those present said, “He is giving you a fair deal!” But ‘Uqaybah said, “I swear by God, I’ll kill him!” They repeated what they had said, but so did he. They said to Tamīm, “Off you go!” They thought ‘Uqaybah was jesting, but Tamīm, aware of his hotheadedness, knew that he would do as he had said.

A year long Tamīm remained on his guard against him. One evening when he was fasting he went to his tribe’s mosque to perform the ritual prayer. Then he went home but he forgot to lock the door. ‘Uqaybah burst in and struck him with his sword, killing him.¹²⁰⁶ The women started to scream and ‘Uqaybah was apprehended and taken to Muṣ‘ab ibn al-Zubayr.¹²⁰⁷ When he was interrogated he did not deny the killing. Tamīm had a son called ‘Anbasah, a manly youth. Maṣūr¹²⁰⁸ offered to give the blood-money, | as did Muḥammad ibn ‘Umayr.¹²⁰⁹ ‘Uqaybah’s kinsmen offered blood-money, too. But a daughter of Tamīm said,¹²¹⁰

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‘Uqaybah! May you be a loser!¹²¹¹ Wasn’t there
 a way to get your right without killing Tamīm?
 ‘Uqaybah, if you had given him warning you would have found him
 like a sword, the least of its blows piercing you!
 Yes, dishonour will follow you among the tribe!
 Yes, you’ll be killed in retaliation for him, and you’ll be despised!

When he was about to be killed ‘Uqaybah said,

He fell, mouth wide open, his arse dripping
 where we met, like a defecating camel-calf!

Allāh ibn al-Zubayr. Or he could be Manzūr ibn Qays ibn Nawfal, of Mālik ibn Naṣr ibn Qu‘ayn—Asad, like ‘Uqaybah (*ĠN*, i, 51).

1209 Muḥammad ibn ‘Umayr ibn ‘Uṭārid, of Tamīm (*ĠN*, i, 60 ii, 424), held leading positions in various places including Kufa.

1210 The lines are found also in *Muḥabbar* and Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *Balāghāt*, 256. The rhyme of the opening line (*-īmī*) differs from that of the other lines (*-īmū*), a defect called *iqwā’*.

1211 Literally, “May your hands be unsuccessful!”

وأعطى أبو سَمَّالٍ مائة ألف درهم، فطَمَع عَنبَسَةُ فِي أَخْذِ الدِّيةِ، فَخَرَجَتْ ابْنَةُ لَتَمِيمٍ حَاسِرًا، وَهِيَ تَقُولُ:

إِنْ يُقْتَلْ عُقْبِيَّةُ يَا لَقَوْمٍ نَسَرَّ مَعَاشِرًا وَنَسَلَّ^٢ دَاءَ
وَأِنْ يَسَلِّمْ عُقْبِيَّةُ يَا لَقَوْمٍ نَكُنْ خَدَمًا لِعُقْبَةَ^٣ أَوْ إِمَاءَ
لِحَى اللّٰهِ الَّذِي يَجْتَابُ مِنَّا وَعُقْبَةُ سَالِمٌ أَبَدًا رِدَاءَ

فلَمَّا سَمِعَ القَوْمَ مَقَالَهَا وَقَد كَانُوا رَكَنُوا إِلَى الصُّلْحِ أَحْفَظَهُمْ قَوْلَهَا، وَرَجَعُوا عَنِ الصُّلْحِ، فَدَفَعَهُ إِلَيْهِمْ، وَجَلَسَ مُصْعَبٌ يَوْمئِذٍ فِي المَسْجِدِ وَاجْتَمَعَ النَّاسُ، فَقَالَ عُقْبِيَّةُ لَابْنَةِ تَمِيمٍ حِينَ أَيْقَنَ بِالْقَتْلِ: أَمَا وَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ ضَرَبْتُ أَبَاكَ ضَرْبَةً نَظَرْتُ إِلَى الثَّرِيَّاءِ فِي سَلْحِهِ! فَقَالَتْ: أَمَا وَاللَّهِ لَتُضْرَبَنَّ ضَرْبَةً أَنْظُرُ إِلَى بَنَاتِ نَعْعَشٍ | فِي سَلْحِكَ! ثَمَّ التَفَتْ عُقْبِيَّةُ إِلَى النَّاسِ فَقَالَتْ: يَا مَعَاشِرَةَ النَّاسِ! ٢٦٥
فَجَلَسَ القَائِمُ وَأَسْرَعَ المَاشِي، فَلَمَّا اجْتَمَعُوا قَالَ: اسْكُتُوا، فَوَاللَّهِ مَا قَتَلْتُ ابْنَ عَمِّي حِينَ قَتَلْتَهُ
أَلَّا يَكُونَ قَدْ أَعْطَانِي التَّصَفَّ وَزَادَنِي، وَلَكِنْ نَظَرْتُ إِلَى أَمِيرِ المُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيِّ، رِضْوَانُ اللّٰهِ عَلَيْهِ،
فِي هَذَا المَكَانِ الَّذِي فِيهِ الأَمِيرُ وَعَنْ لَه تَمِيمٌ مِنْ نَاحِيَةِ المَسْجِدِ وَنَظَرَ إِلَيْهِ عَلِيٌّ فَقَالَ: مَنْ سَرَّهُ
أَنْ يَنْظُرَ إِلَى جِذَلٍ مِنْ أَجْدَالِ جَهَنَّمَ فَلْيَنْظُرْ إِلَى هَذَا، وَأَشَارَ إِلَيْهِ، فَرَحِمَ اللّٰهُ قَاتِلَهُ! فَقَتَلْتَهُ. فَقَالَ
النَّاسُ: رَحِمَكَ اللّٰهُ! وَقَتَلَ.

١ هـ، ك: (سِمَاك)، والتصحيح من المحرِّب وجمهرة النسب لابن الكلبي.

٢ ك: (شَرَّ مَعَاشِرًا وَسَلَّ).

٣ ك: (لِعُقْبِيَّة).

٤ ك: (لابنه).

٥ ك: (معشر).

1212 'ASH, SKḤ: Abū Simāk; *Muḥabbar*: Abū Sammāl. He is clearly Abū Sammāl Sim'an ibn Hubayrah ibn Musāḥiq, of Qu'ayn—Asad (*ĠN*, i, 51).

1213 The text ("a daughter") suggests this is another daughter; in *Balāghāt*, where this poem precedes the other, it is the same woman.

1214 She uses 'Uqbah in this and the following line as a variant of 'Uqaybah, for the sake of the metre.

Abū Sammāl¹²¹² offered to pay one hundred thousand dirhams and ‘Anbasah was tempted to accept the blood-money. Then another daughter¹²¹³ of Tamīm stepped forward, unveiled, and said,

If ‘Uqaybah is killed—O kinsmen, help me!—
 we shall gladden people and rid ourselves of a disease!
 But if ‘Uqaybah lives—O kinsmen, help me!—
 we shall be servants and slave-women to ‘Uqbah.¹²¹⁴
 May God revile those who tear their clothes¹²¹⁵
 while ‘Uqbah’s robe is whole!

The people had been inclined towards reconciliation, but when they heard her words their resentment was stirred and they abandoned thoughts of reconciliation. Muṣ‘ab delivered him to them. That day he was seated in the mosque and people were gathered there. When ‘Uqaybah was certain he would be killed, he said to Tamīm’s daughter, “I swear by God, I struck your father and saw his shit rise to the Pleiades!” She replied, “I swear by God, when you are struck I’ll see your shit rise | to the Pole Star!”¹²¹⁶ Then ‘Uqaybah turned to the people and said, “You people!” Those who were standing sat down, those going along hurried to be present. When all were gathered he said, “Be quiet! I swear by God, I did not kill my cousin when I killed him because he did not offer me fair compensation and more. But I saw ‘Alī, the Commander of the Believers (*r*), in this very place where the governor is sitting. Then Tamīm appeared to him near the mosque. ‘Alī looked at him and said, ‘Whoever would like to look at a tree-trunk of the tree-trunks of Hell, let him look at that one!’—he pointed at Tamīm—‘May God have mercy on the one who kills him!’ So I killed him.”¹²¹⁷ The people said, “May God have mercy on you!” And he was killed.

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1215 A reference to lamenting women rending their clothes. The feminine forms in *Muḥabbar* (*allati tajābu*) may be a better reading than the masculine forms (*alladhī yajtabu*) in the present text.

1216 *Banāt naʿsh* may refer to both Ursa Major and Ursa Minor (to which the Pole Star belongs).

1217 It is wholly unclear why the obscure Tamīm ibn al-Aktham should have been singled out as an evil man by ‘Alī in ‘Uqaybah’s very unreliable account. ‘Alī died in 40/661, some decades earlier, so ‘Uqaybah apparently claims to have seen him in a vision. Lichtenstädter’s edition of *Muḥabbar* has a note (p. 221) with a comment by the Indian scholar Muhammad Hamidullah (1908–2002): “Look at ‘Uqaybah’s cheating, how he murdered Tamīm and then, despairing of his life, he accused him of unbelief! «God’s curse be on those who lie!»” (quoting Q Āl ‘Imrān 3:1).

[١١٣ §] **ومَنهم أَعشى هَمْدان وهو عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن الحارث بن نظام.** وكان خرج مع عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث بن قيس، وكان له مداحاً، وقد كان قال في بعض ما يمدحه به:

بَيْنَ الْأَشْجِّ وَبَيْنَ قَيْسٍ بَاذِخْ
بَخْ بَخْ لَوْلَدِهِ وَلِلْمَوْلُودِ

وقال يهجو الحجاج:

شَطَّطَتْ نَوَى مَن دَارُهُ بِالْإِيوَانَ
إِيوَانَ كِسْرَى ذِي الْقُوَى وَالرَّيْحَانَ
مِنَ عَاشِقٍ^٢ أَمَسَى بِزَائِلِسْتَانَ
وَالْبَيْتَدَنْجِيْنَ إِلَى طَبْرِسْتَانَ
إِنَّ تَقِيْفًا مِنْهُمْ الْكَذَّابَانَ
كَذَّابُهَا الْمَاضِي وَكَذَّابُ ثَانَ

١ هـ، ك: (عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن) كما في الأصل، وهو واضح الغلط.

٢ هـ، ك: (مَنْ عاش)، والتصحيح من أنساب البلاذري وتاريخ الطبري وديوان أعشى همدان.

- 1218 Al-Āmidī, *Mu'talif*, 12–21 lists 17 poets nicknamed al-A'shā ("the night-blind"). The most famous of them is the pre-Islamic Maymūn ibn Qays. Among the others the most prominent poet is without question 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh of the tribe Hamdān, who is therefore usually called "the al-A'shā of Hamdān". He was born in Kufa. For his lineage see ČN, i, 228 and al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, vi, 33. On him, see *Aghānī*, vi, 32–62; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 345–346; *EAL*, 108 (G.J.H. van Gelder); *EI2*, "A'shā Hamdān" (A.J. Wensinck—G.E. von Grunebaum); *EI3*, "A'shā Hamdān" (Tilman Seidensticker). On his execution, which took place in 82/701 or the following year, see also al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 113–118 (year 81), tr. *The History*, xxiii 59–63; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 362–363; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, vi, 58–62.
- 1219 'ASH and SKH, following the MS: 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, which is clearly an error.
- 1220 He rebelled against the Umayyad governor Ibn al-Ḥajjāj in 80–82/699–702, see *EI2*, "Ibn al-Ash'ath" (L. Veccia Vaglieri).
- 1221 A'shā Hamdān, *Dīwān*, 113 (in a poem of twelve lines); al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 118; *Aghānī*, vi, 46, 61; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 362.
- 1222 Al-Ashajj ("Scarface") is the nickname of al-Ash'ath (itself a nickname, "Rumple-hair") Ma'dikarib ibn Qays, a famous chief of Kindah. See *EI2*, "al-Ash'ath" (H. Reckendorf); *EI3*, "al-Ash'ath b. Qays" (Khalid Yahya Blankinship). The sense of "between" (*bayna*) is not entirely clear to me. Conceivably the word *bādhikhun* ("lofty peak") is a delayed predicate ("is lofty") of the word *al-majdu* ("glory") in the line that precedes.

[§ 113 A'shā Hamdān¹²¹⁸]

Another is A'shā Hamdān, who is 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh¹²¹⁹ ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Niẓām. He had taken part in the rebellion of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath ibn Qays,¹²²⁰ on whom he had composed panegyric poems. In one of these he said on him:¹²²¹

Between al-Ashajj¹²²² and Qays is a lofty peak:
Bravo to the father and the son!

Lamponing al-Ḥajjāj, he said,¹²²³

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Far away is he whose dwelling is the Arch,
The Arch of Kistrā,¹²²⁴ man of force¹²²⁵ and fragrant herbs,
Far from a lover who is now in Zābulistān,
And al-Bandanījayn as far as Ṭabaristān.¹²²⁶
To Thaḳīf belong two liars:¹²²⁷
The past liar and the second.

1223 *Dīwān*, 163–164 (in a poem of twenty *rajaz* lines); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vii, 315; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 1056–1057, tr. *The History*, xxiii, 7; *Aghānī*, vi, 59; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, iii, 362–363. The poem opens with a short *nasīb*, about an absent beloved.

1224 Īwān Kistrā, also called (in Persian) Ṭāq-i Kistrā, the Arch of Khosraw, the famous reception hall of the Sasanid palace at Ctesiphon in Iraq, partially still standing. Kistrā is the Arabic form of Persian Khusraw (Greek Chosroes), name of several Sasanid emperors and in Arabic serving as a generic name of Sasanid rulers.

1225 Instead of *quwā* other versions have *qurā* (“towns, villages”).

1226 Zābulistān is a region in what is now eastern Afghanistan. It had been the ruler of Zābulistān that al-Ḥajjāj had ordered Ibn al-Ash'ath to fight, but the latter turned against al-Ḥajjāj on account of his excessive demands in a serious rebellion that was suppressed only with difficulty. Al-Bandanījayn is a place in Iraq north-east of Baghdad (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*); Ṭabaristān is the region south of the Caspian Sea (the metre requires reading it here as Ṭabarsitān). Instead, al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* has Ṭ.rāzāstān, which is not only unmetrical but not found anywhere; the editor identifies it as Ṭīrāz, somewhere in the land of the Turks (see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*). The *Dīwān* has Ṭardistān, not found elsewhere.

1227 Thaḳīf is the tribe of al-Ḥajjāj. They were staunch opponents of the prophet Muḥammad until forced to submit; see *EI2*, “Thaḳīf” (M. Lecker). The “second liar” is clearly al-Ḥajjāj; the earlier one may be another feared Umayyad governor, Ziyād ibn Abīhi. Alternatively, he is the poet Umayyah ibn Abī l-Ṣalt, who seems to have considered himself a rival of the Prophet.

إِنَّا سَمَوْنَا لِلْكَفُورِ الْفِتَّانُ حين طغى في الكُفْر بعد الإيمان
 بِالسَّيِّدِ الْعَطْرِيْفِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ سارَ بجمعِ كالدِّبَا من قَحْطَانُ
 وَمَنْ مَعَدُّ قَدِ اتَى ابْنَ عَدْنَانَ بِجَحْفَلٍ جَمْعِ شَدِيدِ الْأَرْكَانُ
 فَقُلْ لِحِجَّاجٍ وَلِيِّ الشَّيْطَانِ يَثْبُتُ لجمعِ مَذْحِجٍ وَهَمْدَانُ
 فَهُمْ مُسَاقُوهُ بِكَأْسِ الدَّيْفَانِ أَوْ مُلْحَقُوهُ بِقُرَى ابْنِ مَرْوَانَ

فأسره: الحججاج، وقد كان مدحه، فأنشده مديحه إيّاه، فقال: ألسنت القائل لعدو الرحمن:

بَيْنَ الْأَشْجِّ وَبَيْنَ قَيْسِ بَاذِخٍ بَخِ بَخٍ لوالده وللمولودِ

لا والله لا تُبَخِّجُ بعدها أبداً! وضربت عنقه. وقد كان ممّا مدح به الحججاج فأنشده إيّاه قوله:

سَيُغْلَبُ قَوْمٌ غَالَبُوا اللَّهَ جَهْرَةً وإن كایدوه كان أقوى وأكيداً
 كَذَاكَ يُضِلُّ اللَّهَ مَنْ كَانَ قَلْبُهُ مريضاً ومَن والى النِّفَاقَ وَالْحَدَا
 فَقَدْ تَرَكَوا الْأَهْلِيْنَ وَالْمَالَ خَلْفَهُمْ وبيضاً عليهنّ الجلاليبُ خُرْدَا
 يناديَنَّهُمْ مستعبراتٍ إليهم وقد دُفِنَ دَمْعاً في الخدودِ وإثمدَا
 فَإِلَّا تَدَارَكْهُنَّ مِنْكَ بِرَحْمَةٍ يَكُنُّ سَبَايَا وَالْبُعُولَةُ أَعْبُدَا
 أَنْكَأَتْهُ وَعِصْيَانًا وَجُبْنًا وَذُلَّةً أَهَانَ إِلَهِي مَنْ أَهَانَ وَأَبْعُدَا

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١ ك: (الدَّيْفَانِ).

٢ ك: (فأسرع).

٣ ك: (وحصناً).

٤ ك: (أنكأَتْ).

1228 *Fattān* means “tempter” but is here taken to refer to *fitnah*, not only “temptation” but also “sedition, riot, dissent, civil war”.

1229 *Qaḥṭān* stands for the South Arab tribes, to which A’shā Hamdān and Ibn al-Ash’ath belonged, as does the tribe of Madhḥij mentioned below.

1230 ‘Adnān, like Ma’add, stands for the North Arab tribes. The syntax is odd, for the “son of ‘Adnān” is in fact Ma’add.

We went up to the unbelieving dissenter¹²²⁸
 When he behaved like a tyrant in unbelief, after being a believer,
 With the illustrious chief ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.
 He marched with a host, like a swarm of locusts, of Qaḥṭān,¹²²⁹
 And of Ma‘add, Ibn ‘Adnān had come¹²³⁰
 With a large host, strongly composed.
 Say to Ḥajjāj, Satan’s ally:
 Let him stand fast for the host of Madhḥij and Hamdān,
 For they will give him to drink a cup of lethal poison
 Or drive him back to Ibn Marwān’s villages.¹²³¹

Al-Ḥajjāj took him prisoner. A‘shā Hamdān had made panegyric poetry on him and recited his eulogy to him, but al-Ḥajjāj said, “Aren’t you the one who said to the Merciful God’s enemy: ‘Between al-Ashajj and Qays is a lofty peak: Bravo to the father and the son!’? I swear by God, you will never do any more braving!”¹²³² And al-A‘shā was beheaded. The poem with which he had eulogised al-Ḥajjāj and which he recited to him was the following:¹²³³

People who try to overcome God openly will be overcome:
 though they scheme against Him, He is stronger and a better
 schemer.¹²³⁴
 Thus God leads astray those whose hearts
 are sick, who ally themselves to hypocrisy and become heretics.
 They have left family and possessions behind them
 and white-skinned virgin women wearing robes,
 Who call out to them, shedding tears,
 having mingled tears on their cheeks with kohl.
 If you do not extend your mercy to them
 they will be captives and their spouses slaves.
 Disloyalty, disobedience, cowardice, baseness?
 May my God humble and take away those who humbled!

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1231 Ibn Marwān is the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik.

1232 He makes a verb (*tubakhbikhū*) of the interjection *bakh bakh* (“bravo!”).

1233 In the *Dīwān*, 101–104 the poem has 38 verses, of which AM quotes ll. 29–34, 37–38, 10, 12, 15–16, 22. Thirty-six lines are in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 113–118, twenty-four lines in *Aghānī*, vi, 60–61, three in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, iii, 362.

1234 Compare Q al-A‘rāf 7:183, where God says *inna kaydī matīn* («my scheming is strong»). Exegetes take pains to explain it as a trope.

لقد شَأَمَ الْمِصْرَيْنِ فَرَّخَ مُحَمَّدٍ بحقٍّ وما لاقى من الطَّيرِ أَسْعَدَا
 كما شَأَمَ اللهُ التَّجِيرَ وَأَهْلَهُ بَجْدًا لَهُ قَدْ كَانَ أَشْقَى وَأَنْكَدَا
 وَلَمَّا زَحَفْنَا لِابْنِ يَوْسُفَ غُدُوَّةً وَأَبْرَقَ مِنَّا الْعَارِضَانِ وَأَرْعَدَا
 فَكَافَحْنَا الْحِجَابُجَ دُونَ صَفُوفِنَا كِفَاحًا وَلَمْ يَضْرِبْ لَذَلِكَ مَوْعِدَا
 فَمَا لَبِثَ الْحِجَابُجُ أَنْ سَلَ سَيْفُهُ عَلَيْنَا فَوَلَّى جَمْعُنَا وَتَبَدَّدَا
 وَمَا زَحَفَ الْحِجَابُجُ إِلَّا رَأَيْتَهُ مُعَافَى مُلْقَى لِلْحَتُوفِ مَعُودَا
 إِذَا قَالَ شَدُّوا شَدَّةً حَمَلُوا مَعًا فَأَنْهَلَ خُرْصَانَ الرَّمَاحِ وَأُورِدَا

فلم ينفعه ذلك عنده حتى قتله.

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[§ 114] وَمِنْهُمْ عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْحُرِّ الْجُعْفِيِّ. وَكَانَتْ قَيْسٌ.....٢

فأتى عبد الملك فضمن له العراق وقتل مُصْعَبَ، فأمر له عبد الملك بجائزة، وقال له: أوجه معك جيشاً كثيفاً. فقال: أصحابي يكفوني. وقد كان هجاً قيساً فقال:

١ ك: (أشأم).

٢ بياض في النسختين.

1235 Ibn al-Ash'ath.

1236 Kufa and Basra.

1237 At al-Nujayr, a fortress in Hadramawt, rebels under al-Ash'ath ibn Qays (Ibn al-Ash'ath's grandfather) were defeated by forces sent by caliph Abū Bakr in 11/633. Al-Ash'ath got a safe-conduct but many of his followers were killed. See *E12*, "al-Nudjajr" (G.R. Smith), *E13*, "al-Ash'ath b. Qays" (Khalid Yahya Blankinship).

1238 Al-Ḥajjāj.

1239 The syntax of the Arabic looks faulty (*fa-kāfahanā* should not begin with the conjunction), but in the longer versions another verse is the proper apodosis (*qaṭa'nā ilayhi l-khandaqayni* ..., "we crossed the two trenches towards him ...").

1240 Following *AM* (*mu'āfan*); *Aghānī* has *ḥusāman* ("as a cutting sword"), al-Ṭabarī and *Dīwān* have *mu'ānan* ("supported").

1241 Translation uncertain. Instead of *li-l-ḥutūfi*, *Aghānī* has *li-l-ḥurūbi* ("for battles"), al-Ṭabarī and *Dīwān* have *li-l-futūhi* ("for victories").

1242 The beginning of the entry is missing. On him see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 230–232 (chapter of *futtāk al-Islām*); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, vii, 29–39; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 765–781, tr. *The History*, xxi, 134–151; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 355–356; *ĠN*, i, 269; and in detail

Muḥammad's stripling¹²³⁵ brought an ill fortune to the two cities¹²³⁶
 in truth, and he did not find an auspicious augur,
 Just as God brought ill fortune to al-Nujayr¹²³⁷ and its people
 through a grandfather of his, who was wretched and miserable.
 When we marched to Ibn Yūsuf¹²³⁸ in the morning
 and our faces were full of lightning and thunder,
 Al-Ḥajjāj fought us,¹²³⁹ confronting our ranks,
 a hard battle, without making an appointment for it!
 Al-Ḥajjāj lost no time in drawing his sword
 against us, and our host fled and scattered.
 Wherever al-Ḥajjāj marches, you see him
 kept safe,¹²⁴⁰ well-tried in dealing out death,¹²⁴¹ accustomed to it.
 When he says, "Hard at it now!" they attack together
 and the tips of the lances drink a first draught of blood and a second.

But it did not avail with al-Ḥajjāj, who had him killed in the end.

[§ 114 ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr al-Ju‘fi¹²⁴²]

... and Qays ... He went to ‘Abd al-Malik and guaranteed that he would secure 268
 Iraq for him and kill Muṣ‘ab.¹²⁴³ ‘Abd al-Malik gave orders for provisions to
 be given to him and said, "I will send a large army with you." But Ibn al-Ḥurr
 replied, "My own men will suffice me."¹²⁴⁴ He had lampooned Qays:¹²⁴⁵

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- Kanazi, "‘Ubaydullāh Ibn al-Ḥurr al-Ju‘fi: His Life and Poetry", see pp. 62–63 on the two versions of his death and how Ibn Ḥabīb reconciled them. He counts as a keen warrior and a poet and is sometimes called a "brigand" (*ṣuṭūk*), which according to Kanazi is unfounded. Kanazi's collection does not contain all the poems by Ibn al-Ḥurr in Ibn Maymūn, *Muntahā l-ṭalab*, i, 257–261. Above (§ 44) it is told that he killed Ibn Abī ‘Aqib.
- 1243 Ibn al-Ḥurr supported Mu‘āwiyah against ‘Alī but later allied himself for some time with Muṣ‘ab ibn al-Zubayr who fought the Umayyads, the brother of ‘Abd Allāh al-Zubayr, the "anti-caliph". After falling out with Muṣ‘ab, who controlled Iraq, Ibn al-Ḥurr offered his services to the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik.
- 1244 He had a band of like-minded fighters (whom he calls *aṣḥābī*, "my associates"), perhaps as many as seven hundred (Kanazi, "‘Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr", 63).
- 1245 Qays (or Qays ibn ‘Aylān) stands for the federation of North Arab tribes, as opposed to Yaman (the "South Arabs"); they supported Ibn al-Zubayr. For the lines see Kanazi, "‘Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥurr", 122 (with six more lines). In Ibn Maymūn, *Muntahā l-ṭalab*, i, 260–261 the complete poem, of 21 lines, is said to have been composed in prison, but the second line is not found there or in other sources.

ألم تر قيساً قيسَ عيلانَ برقعَتَ لحاها وباعت نبلها بالمغازلِ
ولا قوا رجالاً يكسد النبلُ عندهم إذا خَطَرَتْ أيمانُهُم بالمناصِلِ

فلم يدعه عبد الملك حتى بعث معه جيشاً من أهل الشام، فجعل بعضهم يتخلف عن بعض في كل مرتحل حتى رق من معه، فعرض له عبید الله بن العباس السلمي ثم الرعلي فقاتله، ففر فتبعه حتى ركب معبرة بالفرات، فنادى عبید الله بن العباس الملاح صاحب المعبر: لئن عبرت به لأقتلنك! فكرر به راجعاً فعانقه ابن الحر. وكان الملاح شديد البطش، فغرقا جميعاً. فاستخرجت قيس عبید الله بن الحر، فنصبوه وجعلوا يرمونه ويقولون: أمغازلاً تجدها! حتى قتلوه.

[١١٥§] ومنهم عبد الله بن بشار بن أبي عقرب وقد كتبنا حديثه في المغتالين، وقتله عبید الله الجعفي.^١

[١١٦§] [ومنهم مزاحم بن عمرو السلولي، وابن الدمينة الخثعمي]^٢ وكان رجل من بني

١ ه، ك: (الخثعمي) وهو واضح الغلط.

٢ التكملة من ه، ك؛ قال ه: والكلام قبلها متصل بما بعدها في النسختين، وليس بينهما صلة.

- 1246 Not found in other sources. Ri'l is a branch of the tribe of Sulaym (*ĠN*, i, 123).
- 1247 Some sources say that Ibn al-Ḥurr drowned (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 777). The ambiguity of *ghariqa*, which can also mean “to become submerged”, allows Ibn Ḥabīb to have him rescued, to be killed afterwards.
- 1248 cf. al-Jāhiz, *Ḥayawān*, i, 134, where Ibn al-Ḥurr's verse about spindles is wrongly attributed to 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith.
- 1249 § 44.
- 1250 'ASH and SKḤ have “al-Khath'amī”, which is clearly an error.
- 1251 The poet Ibn al-Dumaynah ('Abd Allāh ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Amr, called—like Ibn Ḥabīb—after his mother, al-Dumaynah bint Ḥudhayfah al-Salūliyyah), of Khath'am (see *ĠN*, i, 226, ii, 119), famous mostly for his love poetry, probably lived in the south-

Have you not seen how Qays ‘Aylān have put women’s veils
 over their beards and sold their arrows for spindles?
 They met some men with whom arrows are unsaleable
 when their right hands brandished swords.

But ‘Abd al-Malik did not let him go until he sent with him an army of Syrians. Gradually, en route, some of them lagged behind the rest until few were left with him. ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn al-‘Abbās al-Sulamī al-Ri‘lī¹²⁴⁶ barred his way and gave battle. Ibn al-Ḥurr fled, followed by his opponent. He boarded a ferry on the Euphrates. ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn al-‘Abbās called out to the ferryman: “If you take him to the other side I’ll kill you!” The man turned back, but Ibn al-Ḥurr wrestled with him. The ferryman was a strong fellow. Both fell into the river.¹²⁴⁷ The Qaysites got Ibn al-Ḥurr out, stood him up, and shot at him, saying, “Are they spindles, do you think?” until they killed him.¹²⁴⁸

[§ 115 ‘Abd Allāh ibn Bashshār ibn Abī ‘Aqib]

Another is ‘Abd Allāh ibn Bashshār ibn Abī ‘Aqib. We have already written his story above, among the murder victims.¹²⁴⁹ He was killed by ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Ju‘fī.¹²⁵⁰ 269

[§ 116 Muzāḥim ibn ‘Amr al-Salūlī and Ibn al-Dumaynah al-Khatḥ‘amī¹²⁵¹]

[Among them are Muzāḥim ibn ‘Amr al-Salūlī and Ibn al-Dumaynah al-Khatḥ‘amī.]¹²⁵² A man of the Banū Salūl called Muzāḥim ibn ‘Amr was suspected of

ern Hijaz; others mention al-Yamāmah and Medina. His dates, too, are uncertain; he lived during the Umayyad period but may have died in early Abbasid times. See Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 445–446; *EI2*, “Ibn al-Dumayna” (J.W. Fück); *EAL*, “Ibn al-Dumaynah” (Tilman Seidensticker); and the introduction to his *Dīwān* by the editor, Aḥmad Rātib al-Naffākh. Part of this *Dīwān* is preserved in the redaction of Ibn Ḥabīb. The main sources on him are Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi‘r*, 731–732 (no mention of the tragic events); al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, xvii, 92–106, whose account is copied in al-‘Abbāsī, *Ma‘āhid*, i, 59–61. The story is also in Ibn al-Dumaynah’s *Dīwān*, 6–12. As for Muzāḥim ibn ‘Amr al-Salūlī, he is not known as a poet, apart from the verses in the present story, and he is not found in other contexts. For his tribe, Salūl, see *ĠN*, i, 92, 114, ii, 509.

1252 This sentence, required by the context, is missing in the original, where the following comes immediately, without a break, after the preceding sentence about ‘Abd Allāh ibn Bashshār.

سَلُولُ يُقَالُ لَهُ مُزَاحِمٌ بِنِ عَمْرٍو يُرْمَى بِامْرَأَةِ ابْنِ الدُّمَيْنَةِ ... عَا ... عَلَيْهَا، فَقَالَ مُزَاحِمٌ يَذْكُرُ امْرَأَةَ ابْنِ الدُّمَيْنَةِ:

يا ابنَ الدُّمَيْنَةِ^٢ والأخبارُ يرفعُها وَخُدُّ النَّجَائِبِ والمحفورُ يَنمِيها
يا ابنَ الدُّمَيْنَةِ إنَّ تغصَّبَ لِمَا فعلتُ حَمَّادُ بالخزِي أو تغصَّبَ مَوَالِيها
أو تُبغِضُونِي فكم من طعنةٍ نَفَذِ [يغذُو خِلالَ اختلاجِ الجَوْفِ غاذِيها]°
جاهدتُ فيكم بها إنِّي لكم أبدأ أَبغِي مخارِيتكم عَمداً فَاتِيها
لا بُرءَ عِندي لكم حتَّى تُعَيِّبَنِي عَبْرَاءُ مُظْلِمَةٌ هارٍ نَوَاحِيها
أبغِي نساءَ بني تَيْمٍ إذا هجعتُ عَنِّي العيونُ ولا أَبغِي مَقَارِيها
وكاعبٍ من بني تَيْمٍ قعدتُ لها أو عانسٍ حينَ ذاقَ النومَ حَامِيها

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١ هـ، ك: (يرمي امرأة)، والتصحيح من الأغاني.

٢ بياض في الأصل، وفي الأغاني: قال الزُّبَيْرُ: حدثني موهوب بن رُشَيْد الكلابي، وإبراهيم بن سعد السُّلَمي، وعُمَر بن إبراهيم السعدي، عن میناس بن عبد الصمد، عن مصعب بن عمرو السُّلُولي، أخي مُزَاحِم بن عمرو، قالوا جميعاً: إنَّ رجلاً من سلُول يُقال له مُزَاحِم بن عمرو كان يُرْمَى بِامْرَأَةِ ابْنِ الدُّمَيْنَةِ، وكان اسمها حَمَاء، قال السُّكْرِي: كان اسمها حَمَّادَة، فكان يأتيها ويتحدَّث إليها حتى اشتهر ذلك، فمنعه ابن الدُّمَيْنَةِ من إتيانها، واشتدَّ عليها، فقال مُزَاحِم يَذْكُرُ ذلك—وهذا من رواية ابن حبيب، وهي أتم وأصحُّ—: يابنُ الدُّمَيْنَةِ والأخبارُ يرفعُها ... (الأبيات).

٣ ك: (إن الدُّمَيْنَةَ).

٤ ك: (وخذ).

٥ كذا في هـ، والتكملة من الأغاني. والبيت كلّه ناقص في ك

1253 'ASH and SKḤ have *yarmī imra'at Ibn al-Dumaynah* ("accused the wife of Ibn al-Dumaynah") but the context requires *yurmā bī-mra'at Ibn al-Dumaynah*, as in *Aghānī*, xvii, 94.

1254 There is a lacuna in the original text. See *Aghānī*, xvii, 93–94: "Al-Zubayr said: I was told by Mawhūb ibn Rushayd al-Kilābī, by Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd al-Sulamī, and by 'Umar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Sa'dī, on the authority of Mīnās (or Mī'nās) ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad, on the authority of Muṣ'ab ibn 'Amr al-Salūlī, the brother of Muzāḥim

having an affair with the wife of Ibn al-Dumaynah.¹²⁵³ [...] ¹²⁵⁴ with her. Then Muzāḥim said, mentioning Ibn al-Dumaynah's wife:¹²⁵⁵

Ibn al-Dumaynah! The reports are carried
 by noble camels making long strides. A despicable man will tell
 them.¹²⁵⁶
 Ibn al-Dumaynah! If you are angry because of what Ḥammādah did,
 shamefully, or if her close kin are angry,
 Or if you are angry with me: Well, many a penetrating stab,
 [making a seeping wound in the quivering belly (?)¹²⁵⁷]
 I made an effort to perform with her among you. I always
 am keen to shame you, on purpose, and visit her!
 I have no cure for you, until I am concealed by
 dark dust-coloured earth, its sides collapsing.¹²⁵⁸
 I seek¹²⁵⁹ the women of the Banū Taym¹²⁶⁰ when eyes
 are slumbering, not seeing me. I do not seek their hospitality with
 food!
 Many a full-breasted woman of the Banū Taym I lay with,
 or an unmarried woman, when her protector tasted sleep,

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ibn 'Amr—they all said: A man of Salūl called Muzāḥim ibn 'Amr was suspected of having an affair with the wife of Ibn al-Dumaynah. Her name was Ḥammā' (al-Sukkarī said: her name was Ḥammādah). He used to visit her and talk to her. When this became well-known, Ibn al-Dumaynah told him not to visit her and he was severe with her. Then Muzāḥim said, mentioning this—this is the text transmitted by Ibn Ḥabīb, which is the most complete and most correct one—..."

1255 *Aghānī*, xvii, 94–95 and al-'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid*, i, 59–60 (17 lines, of which AM has lines 1–8, 10, 9, 11). Seven lines, with many differences, are quoted in Ibn al-Dumaynah, *Dīwān*, 6–7.

1256 Translation of *wa-l-maḥqūru yanmihā* uncertain. *Aghānī* has *yukhfihā*, "will hide them".

1257 Translation uncertain. The hemistich is missing in the original and has been supplied by 'ASH and SKH from *Aghānī*. I suspect that instead of *ikhhtilāji l-jawfi* ("the quivering of the belly") one ought to read *ikhhtilāji l-ḥūqi* ("the quivering of the penis's rim"), see the version of the hemistich in the *Dīwān*, 6: *ya'wī ntizā'a khilāfi l-ḥūqi 'āwihā*.

1258 He means, until I am dead and buried. I have taken *hārⁱⁿ* (HRY) to have the sense of *inhāra* or *munhār^{un}* (HWR).

1259 Instead of *abghī*, all other versions have *aghshā*, "I visit" or (plausibly here) "I have sex with".

1260 i.e., Taym Allāh ibn Mubashshir ibn Aklub (ĜN, i, 224), a branch of Khath'am to which Ibn al-Dumaynah belonged.

كَقَعْدَةِ الْأَعْسَرِ الْعُلْفُوقِ مُنْتَحِيًّا يَمِينَهُ مِنْ مَتُونِ التَّرِكِ يُنْحِيهَا
 أَمَارَةً كَيْتَةً مَا بَيْنَ عَانَتَيْهَا وَبَيْنَ سُرَّتَيْهَا لَا سَلَّ كَاوِيهَا
 وَشَهْقَةً عِنْدَ حِسِّ الْمَاءِ تَشَهَّقُهَا وَقَوْلُ رُكْبَتَيْهَا قِضْ حِينَ تَشْبِيهَا
 وَتَعْدِلُ الْأَيْرَ إِنْ زَالَتْ قَبِيْعَتُهُ حَتَّى تَقِيْمَ بِرَفْقٍ صَدْرُهُ فِيهَا^١

فلما سمع ابن الدُّمَيْنَةَ قولَ مزاحم أتى امرأته فقال: إنَّ مزاحماً قد قال فيك ما قال. قالت: واللَّهِ ما رأى مِنِّي ذلكَ الموضعَ قطّ. قال: فما علّمه بالعلامات التي وصف؟ قالت: النساءَ أخبرنّه. فلم يصدّقها وقال: ابعثني إلى مزاحم يأتيتك في موضع كذا وكذا.

فأرسلت إلى مزاحم: إنك قد سمعت بي، وأنا أحبُّ أن تأتيني. وواعدته موضعاً، فقعد ابن الدُّمَيْنَةَ وصاحبٌ له، وأقبل مزاحم وهو يظنُّ أنّها في الموضع الذي واعدته. فخرج عليه ابنُ الدُّمَيْنَةَ وصاحبه، فأوثقاه وصراً صُرةً رملياً فضرباه بها حتّى مات، وأتى امرأته فقتلها، وقتل ابنةً له منها، وطلبه السُّلُوبِيُّونَ فلم يجدوه.

فقالَت أمّ مزاحم، وهي أمّ أبان، خثعميّة، ترثي ابنها مزاحماً، وتُحُضُّ مُصْعَباً وَجَنَاحاً أَخَوَيْهِ:

١ كذا في هـ، ك، ولعلّ الصحيح ما في الأغاني: (مُنْتَحِيًّا مَتِينَةً مِنْ مَتُونِ النَّبْلِ يُنْحِيهَا).

٢ البيت محذوف في ك، وقال المحقق: "تركته لشدة قبحة فعففت قلبي عن ذكره."

1261 It is not clear to me why he describes himself thus.

1262 I do not understand most of this verse, but I suspect the sense is obscene. AM has *mun-taḥīyan | yamīnahū min mutūni l-turki yunḥīhā*; Aghānī has *muntahīyan | matīnatan min mutūni l-nabli yunḥīhā*.

1263 Al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-Arūs* (QDP): "Qid is the sound made by a knee" (quoting this hemistich in evidence).

Lying like a heavy, rough left-hander,¹²⁶¹ applying himself
 to a firm one, one of the ..., striking with it. (?)¹²⁶²
 She has a brand-mark between her pubes
 and her navel (may the brander's hand never wither!).
 She gasps when she feels the "water";
 her knees say "knock!" when she bends them.¹²⁶³
 She adjusts my prick when it slips and pursues it
 until she puts its forepart gently into herself.¹²⁶⁴

When Ibn al-Dumaynah heard Muzāḥim's words he went to his wife and said, "Muzāḥim has said these things about you!" She replied, "I swear by God, he has never seen those parts of me!" "But how did he know about the marks he described?" "The women must have told him!"¹²⁶⁵ But he did not believe her. "Send a message to Muzāḥim," he said, "and tell him to come to such-and-such a place!"

She sent a message to Muzāḥim, saying, "You have made me notorious! I want you to come to me!" She arranged a place to meet. Ibn al-Dumaynah and a friend of his lay in waiting. Muzāḥim arrived, thinking she would be at the place she had promised to meet him. Then Ibn al-Dumaynah and his friend attacked him, they bound him, filled a sack with sand and pummelled him with it until he died.¹²⁶⁶ Then he went to his wife and killed her.¹²⁶⁷ He also killed a daughter she had by him.¹²⁶⁸ The men of Salūl sought him but they could not find him.

Muzāḥim's mother, who was called Umm Abān, a woman of Khath'am, lamented her son Muzāḥim, inciting his two brothers, Muṣ'ab and Janāḥ:¹²⁶⁹

1264 SKḤ replaces this line with a row of dots and explains in a note: "I have omitted a line that is so ugly that my pen shrinks from quoting it. The book contains several similar expressions that I have let pass, as long as the sense is not obvious to the general public, but I have expurgated what was explicit and have replaced it with something alluding to it."

1265 For the same motif see above, in the story of Ziyādah and Hudbah (§110).

1266 *Aghānī*: "He put pebbles in a cloth and struck his liver until he had killed him."

1267 *Aghānī*: "He went to his wife, threw a velvet cloth on her face and sat on it until he had killed her."

1268 Apparently meaning "by Muzāḥim". In *Aghānī* he kills the girl by hitting her against the earth, saying "Never adopt a bad whelp of a dog!" For a nearly identical saying see al-'Askarī, *Jamharah*, ii, 298, al-Maydānī, *Majma'*, ii, 266.

1269 See *Aghānī*, xvii, 97; al-'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid*, i, 60; Ibn al-Dumaynah, *Dīwān*, 8; ll. 1-2 in al-Marzubānī, *Ash'ār al-nisā'*, 81, where she is called Umm Sa'd al-Salūliyyah.

بأهلي ومالي ثمَّ جُلِّ عَشِيرَتِي قَتِيلُ بَنِي تَيْمٍ بَغِيرِ سِلَاحِ
 فَهَلَّا قَتَلْتُمْ بِالسَّلَاحِ ابْنَ أُخْتِكُمْ فَيُصْبِحُ فِيهِ لِلشُّهُودِ جِرَاحُ
 فَلَا تَطْمَعُوا فِي الصُّلْحِ مَا دَمْتُ حَيَّةً وَمَا دَامَ حَيًّا مُصْعَبٌ وَجَنَاحُ
 أَلَمْ تَعْلَمُوا أَنَّ الدَّوَائِرَ بَيْنَنَا تَدُورُ وَأَنَّ الطَّالِبِينَ شِحَاخُ

٢٧١ فخرج مُصْعَبُ فِي طَلَبِ ابْنِ الدُّمَيْنَةِ، فَأَتَى الْعَبْلَاءَ فَإِذَا بِنَجِيبٍ وَقَفَ بِرَحْلِهِ فِي السُّوقِ، وَإِذَا قَوْمٌ
 مَجْتَمِعُونَ وَابْنِ الدُّمَيْنَةِ يُنْشِدُهُمْ. فَجَاءَ إِلَى حَانُوتِ قَصَابٍ فَوَضَعَ عِنْدَهُ رَهْنًا وَأَخَذَ مِنْهُ سِكِّينًا،
 ثُمَّ أَتَاهُ، فَلَمَّا رَأَى ابْنَ الدُّمَيْنَةِ وَلَّى، وَاتَّبَعَهُ فُوجَاءَ بِهَا وَجَاتَيْنِ، وَأَخَذَ مُصْعَبُ وَابْنَ الدُّمَيْنَةِ وَهُوَ
 جَرِيحٌ فَخُبْسًا، وَأَقْبَلَ جَنَاحُ بْنُ عَمْرٍو فِي نَاسٍ مِنْ بَنِي سَلُولٍ إِلَى السِّجْنِ، وَلَبِثَ ابْنُ الدُّمَيْنَةِ
 مَحْبُوسًا، وَنَظَرَ السُّلْطَانُ فِي أَمْرِهِ فَلَمْ يَثْبُتْ لِلْسَلُولِيِّ عَلَيْهِ حَقٌّ فَأَطْلَقَهُ. فَبَيْنَا ابْنَ الدُّمَيْنَةِ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ
 بِسُوقِ الْعَبْلَاءِ رَأَى مُصْعَبُ أَخُو مَزَاحِمٍ، فَشَدَّ عَلَيْهِ فَقَتَلَهُ.
 فَهَذَا مَقْتَلُ مَزَاحِمِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو السَّلُولِيِّ، وَمَقْتَلُ ابْنِ الدُّمَيْنَةِ الْخَثْعَمِيِّ.

[١١٧§] وَمِنْهُمْ سُدَيْفُ بْنُ مَيْمُونٍ مَوْلَى آلِ أَبِي لَهَبٍ، وَكَانَ مَدَّاحًا لِأَبِي الْعَبَّاسِ أَمِيرِ
 الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، وَهُوَ الَّذِي حَضَّ عَلَى سُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ هِشَامٍ بِعَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ وَعَلَى ابْنَيْهِ أَبَا الْعَبَّاسِ السَّفَّاحِ

1270 Apparently being beaten to death with a sandbag is ignominious.

1271 A place in the territory of Khath'am (Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, 918, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*).

1272 *Aghānī*, xvii, 97–99 has more details and several versions. Ibn al-Dumaynah either died on the spot after the first attack, or the following morning. Ibn al-Dumaynah's friends are said to have tried to break into the prison to get at Muṣ'ab and kill him, but the latter's friends came first, broke into the prison and freed him.

1273 The last sentence, which looks superfluous, is perhaps what should have come at the beginning of the section.

1274 On Sudayf ibn Maymūn, a poet and orator born in Mecca, see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 449–450; *EI2*, "Sudayf b. Maymūn" (Taieb El Acheche). The main sources on him are

With my kin, my wealth, with the main part of my clan
 would I ransom the one killed by the Banū Taym without weap-
 ons!¹²⁷⁰

Why don't you kill the son of your sister
 so that his wounds will be visible to witnesses!

Do not seek reconciliation as long as I am alive
 and as long as Muṣ'ab and Janāḥ are alive!

Don't you know that calamities happen among us
 and that revenge-seekers are niggardly!

Then Muṣ'ab went out to seek Ibn al-Dumaynah. When he arrived at al-‘Ablā¹²⁷¹ he saw a noble camel standing, carrying its saddle, at the market. Some people were gathered and Ibn al-Dumaynah was reciting poetry to them. Muṣ'ab went to a butcher's shop and gave him a deposit in exchange for a knife. Then he went for Ibn al-Dumaynah. When the latter saw him he fled but Muṣ'ab followed him and stabbed him twice. Both Muṣ'ab and Ibn al-Dumaynah, wounded, were apprehended and detained. Janāḥ ibn ‘Amr came to the prison together with some men of Salūl. Ibn al-Dumaynah remained in custody, but when the authorities looked into his case it was decided that the Salūlī had no case against him and he was released.

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When, some time later, Ibn al-Dumaynah was at the market of al-‘Ablā’, Muzāḥim’s brother Muṣ'ab saw him. He attacked him and killed him.¹²⁷² This is how Muzāḥim ibn ‘Amr al-Salūlī and Ibn al-Dumaynah al-Khath‘amī were killed.¹²⁷³

[§ 117 Sudayf ibn Maymūn¹²⁷⁴]

Another is Sudayf ibn Maymūn, the *mawlā* of the clan of Abū Lahab.¹²⁷⁵ He was a panegyrist of the the caliph Abū l-‘Abbās.¹²⁷⁶ He was the one who incited Abū l-‘Abbās al-Saffāḥ against Sulaymān ibn Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik and

al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv, 212–213, 297–298; al-Ya‘qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 421–422, 430–431 (tr. *The Works*, 1078–1079, 1087–1088); Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi‘r*, 761–762; Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, *Ṭabaqāt*, 37–42; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, iv, 485–487, v, 88–89; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, iv, 344–346. He was killed in 147/764.

1275 He is called a *mawlā* (client) of the Abbasids (Banū l-‘Abbās) by Ibn Qutaybah, and by Ibn al-Mu‘tazz “a *mawlā* of a woman of (the tribe of) Khuzā‘ah, who had a husband belonging to the Lahabīs”, i.e., the descendants of Abū Lahab, an uncle of the Prophet.

1276 Abū l-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh al-Saffāḥ, the first Abbasid caliph (reg. 132–136/750–754).

٢٧٢ حتّى قتلهم. وإته خرج مع محمّد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن بن أبي طالب | فمدح محمّداً وهجا أبا جعفر، وقُتل محمّد بن عبد الله، ووُلِّي عبد الصمد بن عليّ مَكَّة، فكان عبد الصمد الذي وُلِّي قتله.

[١١٨§] ومنهم عبد بني الحسحاس، واسمه سُحَيْم، وكان صاحب تغزُّل، فاتَّهمه مولاه بابنته، فجلس له في مكان إذا رعى سُحَيْمٌ قال فيه، فلَمَّا اضطجع تنفَّس الصُّعداءِ ثمَّ قال:

يا ذِكرَةً ما لك في الحاضرِ تذكُّرُها وأنت في الصادرِ
من كلِّ بيضاءٍ لها كَعْتَبٌ مثلُ سنامِ الرُّبعِ المائرِ

١ هـ: (اضطجعاً)، وأظنَّها غلطاً.

- 1277 Sulayman was a son of the Umayyad caliph Hishām (reg. 105–125/724–743). He had resisted Marwān ibn Muḥammad, the last Umayyad caliph (killed 132/750) and had been defeated by him and then pardoned. Sudayf’s incendiary poems, not quoted by Ibn Ḥabīb, are found in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv, 212–213; al-Ya’qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, 430–431 (tr. *The Works*, 1087–1088); al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii, 208–209; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shīr*, 761; Ibn al-Mu’tazz, *Ṭabaqāt*, 39–40; *Aghānī*, iv, 345; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, iv, 486–487; Ibn Rashīq, *Umdah*, i, 62–63. One of these poems (rhyming in *-āsī*) is also attributed to Shibl ibn ‘Abd Allāh (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, iii, 208). That the poems led to the killing of the Umayyad princes (who were clubbed to death according to the accounts of al-Mubarrad, Ibn al-Mu’tazz, *Aghānī*, and others), is confirmed by the sources, *pace* El Acheche in his *E12* entry, who says that Sudayf “approached the caliph al-Saffāh and tried without success to persuade him to slaughter certain remaining Umayyads.” Ibn Ḥabīb briefly mentioned the killing of Sulaymān after Sudayf’s incitement in his *Muḥabbar*, 486.
- 1278 He is known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah (“the Pure Soul”). He led an ‘Alid revolt in Medina and was killed in 145/762–763; see also above § 62.
- 1279 Al-Saffāh’s successor, the caliph al-Manṣūr.
- 1280 ‘Abd al-Ṣamad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was an uncle of al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr; see Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, iii, 195–196 (who says he died in 175/791) and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii, 449–450 (who mentions 185/801 as the year of his death, as does al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, iii, 650).

his two sons, so that he had them killed.¹²⁷⁷ Sudayf joined the rebellion of Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.¹²⁷⁸ He made eulogies on Muḥammad and lampooned Abū Ja‘fār.¹²⁷⁹ Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh was killed and ‘Abd al-Ṣamad ibn ‘Alī¹²⁸⁰ was appointed governor of Mecca. It was ‘Abd al-Ṣamad who was charged with Sudayf’s execution.¹²⁸¹

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[§ 118 ‘Abd Banī l-Ḥashās¹²⁸²]

Another is ‘Abd Banī l-Ḥashās (“the slave of the Banū l-Ḥashās”), who was called Suḥaym, a poet of love poetry. His master suspected him of having an affair with his daughter, so he lay in wait for him at the place where Suḥaym, while herding the camels, would have a midday nap. When he¹²⁸³ lay down, Suḥaym sighed and said,¹²⁸⁴

Ah, memory! Why is it now, in the present,
that you think of her, while you are leaving?
Leaving every white woman with pudenda
like the hump of a sprightly young camel.

1281 The text has “his execution” (*qatlahū*), which would seem to suggest the ‘Alid rebel Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh, but “his” must refer to Sudayf, whose execution took place in 147/764. According to Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih, *‘Iqd*, v, 89 he was buried alive; Ibn al-Mu‘tazz (*Ṭabaqāt*, 42) says that he was either buried alive or had his hands and feet and then his head cut off.

1282 Suḥaym, called “the slave of the Banū l-Ḥashās” (a branch of Asad), lived in Medina and was famous for his sensual love poetry, some of which led to his death (around 40/660). He was Nubian (*Aghānī*, xxii, 303) or Abyssinian (Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi‘r*, 408)—Suḥaym could be translated as “Blacky”—and his Arabic pronunciation was foreign (*ahshantu* for *aḥsantu*, “I did well!”; according to *Aghānī*, xxii, 303; in Ibn Qutaybah it is *aḥsanku*, which points at Ethiopic influence). See Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 288–289; *ET2*, “Suḥaym” (A. Arazi). The main sources are Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaqāt*, 143, 156–157; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi‘r*, 408–409; al-Isfahānī, *Aghānī*, xxii, 302–311; ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah*, ii, 104–105; and his *Dīwān*, which has been published.

1283 ‘ASH has a dual (*idṭaja‘ā*), “when the two lay down”, seemingly meaning the lovers; in view of his master’s reaction this is implausible. It is a singular in other sources (Suḥaym ‘Abd Banī l-Ḥashās, *Dīwān*, 34, *Aghānī*, xxii, 308, *Khizānah*, ii, 105), as in SKḤ, and in another version (*Aghānī*, xxii, 309) he is resting in the shade of a tree.

1284 The verses are in Suḥaym, *Dīwān*, 34; *Aghānī*, xxii, 308 and (with different second line) 310.

فقال له سيّده، وظهر من موضعه الذي كمن فيه: ما لك؟ فتدلجج في منطوقه. فلما رجع أجمع على قتله. وخرجت إليه صاحبتُه فحدّثته وأخبرته بما يُراد به، فقام ينفُض بُرْدَه ويعفّي أثره. فلما انطلق به ليُقتل صَحِحَتِ امرأةٌ كان بينها وبينه هوى، شَماتَةً، فقال:

إِنْ تضحكي مني فيا ربّ ليلةٍ تركتُكِ فيها كالقَباءِ المفرجِ

فلما قدّم ليُقتل قال:

شُدُّوا وثاقَ العبدِ لا^١ يُفْلِتْكُمْ إنّ الحياة من المماتِ قريبٌ
فلقد تحدّر^٢ من جبينِ فتاتكم عرّق على ظهْرِ الفِراشِ وطيب^٣

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فقتل.

[١١٩§] ومنهم وضاح اليمّين، وهو وضاح بن إسماعيل بن عبد كلال، أحد أبناء الفُرس الذين قدموا مع هُزُرِ الفارسيّ، فقتلوا الحبشة وأقاموا بصنعاء. وكان شاعراً ظريفاً غزلاً جميلاً،

١ الكلمة ناقصة في ك

٢ ك: (تحدّر).

٣ ه، ك: (رطيب)، والتصحيح من الديوان وطبقات ابن سلام والأغاني وغيرها.

٤ ك: (وسكنوا).

1285 At this stage, according to the *Dīwān* (34–36) and *Aghānī* (xxii, 308–309), Suḥaym recites a poem, mentioning his conversation with the girl and the obliterating of the tracks, which apparently did not prevent him from being apprehended.

1286 The line is in *Dīwān*, 59; Ibn Abī ‘Awn, *Tashbīhāt*, 242; *Aghānī*, xxii, 309; and many later sources.

1287 *Dīwān*, 60; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaqāt*, 157 (l. 2); Ibn Qutaybah, *Shi‘r*, 409 (l. 2); *Aghānī*, xxii, 309.

1288 AM has ‘*araqun ... raṭībū* (“moist sweat”), a reading that is possible but pleonastic, and I have preferred the reading found in most other sources, *wa-ṭībū* (“and perfume”).

1289 Some reports (*Dīwān*, 64, *Aghānī*, xxii, 309) say that he was thrown into a trench, covered with firewood, and burnt.

His master, having come out of his hiding place, said to him, “What is the matter with you?” Suḥaym stammered, at a loss for words. When his master returned he resolved to kill him. His girlfriend went to him, she talked to him and told him what they intended to do to him. He got up and shook his robe, effacing his traces.¹²⁸⁵

When he was taken out to be killed, a woman, with whom he had had a love affair, laughed, gloating. He said,¹²⁸⁶

You may laugh at me. But on many a night
I left you like a rent gown!

When he was brought forward to be killed he said,¹²⁸⁷

Tightly bind your slave lest he escape!
Life is close to death.
From the forehead of your girl dripped
sweat on the bed, and perfume!¹²⁸⁸

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Then he was killed.¹²⁸⁹

[§ 119 Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman¹²⁹⁰]

Another is Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman; he is Waḍḍāḥ ibn Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Abd Kulāl, one of the descendants of the Persians who came with Wahriz the Persian and who killed the Abyssinians and stayed in Sanaa.¹²⁹¹ He was a fine poet, amorous,

1290 Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (or ‘Abd Allāh) ibn Ismā‘īl (d. c. 93/712), was a poet famous for his *ghazal*, see Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 433, *E12*, “Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman” (A.A. Arazi). Many of the reports about him seem legendary rather than historical. For parallel texts see al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, vi, 225–226 (said to go back to Ibn al-Kalbī via Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, viii, 89–90; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, 45–46; Ibn Shakir, *Fawāt*, ii, 274–275; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirah*, ix, 232–233; al-Jarīrī, *Jalīs*, i, 581–582 (mentions Yazīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik instead of al-Walīd); al-Sarrāj, *Maṣ-āri‘*, ii, 192–193 (the same); al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfi*, xviii, 118–120 (quoting from *al-Aghānī*). Al-Ṣafadī expresses his doubt about the story: the daughter of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān could only have been chaste. See also Souissi, “Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman, le personnage et sa légende”, esp. pp. 285–303. For a yet more romanticised and fictionalised version in some redactions of *Mī‘at laylah wa-laylah*, the *Hundred-and-One Nights*, see ed. Ṭarshūnah, 398–405. This is not found in the edition and translation by Bruce Fudge in the LAL series (2016).

1291 On the Persian general Wahriz and his expedition to Yemen in c. AD 570, see e.g. *E12*, “Wahriz” (C.E. Bosworth).

فَعَشِقَتْهُ أُمُّ الْبَنِينِ بِنْتُ عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ بْنِ مَرْوَانَ، وَكَانَتْ تَحْتَ الْوَلِيدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ، وَلَهَا مِنْهُ عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ بْنِ الْوَلِيدِ.

وكان يكون عندها في صندوق محبوباً. وإنَّ الوليد بعث إليها مع خادم له بجوهر، فأتاه وهي غافلة ووضّاح عندها، فلمّا دخل الخادم وأحسّت به أدخلت ووضّاحاً في صندوق، فرآه الخادم وأخبر به الوليد، فأتاه فجلس على الصندوق الذي وصفه له الخادم فقال لها: يا أمّ البنين، لي إليك حاجة. قالت: وما هي يا أمير المؤمنين؟ قال: تهبّين لي بعض صناديقك. قالت: كلّها لك. قال: لا أريد إلاّ الصندوق الذي تحتي. فقالت: هو لك. فبعث إلى حفّارين فحفروا بئراً، ثمّ أدلّوه فيها وقال: يا هذا، قد بلغنا عنك شيء، فإن كان حقّاً أو باطلاً فسنتقطع أثرك. وألقِي ترابها وانصرف. فلم تتبيّن في وجه الوليد إلى أن مات شيئاً يُذكر.

[§ ١٢٠] ومنهم قيس بن الخطيم، وكان سيّداً شاعراً. فلمّا هدأت حرب الأنصار تذاكرت الخزرج قيس بن الخطيم ونكايته، فتدامروا وتواعدوا قتله. فخرج عشيةً في ملاءتين مورستين يريد مالاً له بالشوط، حتّى مرّ بأطم بني حارثة، فرمى من الأطم بثلاثة أسهم فسقط أحدها في صدره فصاح صيحةً أسمعها رهطه، فجاءوه فحملوه إلى منزله. فلم يروا له كفؤاً إلاّ أبا صعصعة بن زيد بن عوف بن مبدول النجاري،^١ فاندس إليه رجل حتّى اغتاله في منزله

١ ك: (رهطة).

٢ ك: (البخاري).

1292 Al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik reigned 86–96/105–115.

1293 *Aghānī* explains that Waḍḍāḥ used to visit her and that she hid him in a chest whenever she feared anyone might enter her boudoir.

1294 In *Aghānī*, the servant tries to blackmail her, but she refuses and insults him. When the servant tells the caliph, he refuses to believe it. He does not want to find out the truth and possibly cause a scandal, but neither does he want to leave it at that.

1295 According to *Aghānī* the hole was dug in his sitting-room; a carpet was spread over it.

1296 *Aghānī* adds that no trace of Waḍḍāḥ was ever seen again.

1297 Qays ibn al-Khaṭīm, of the tribe al-Aws (ĠN, i, 181), was a poet. He died in AD 620, a couple of years before the Hijrah. See on him Sezgin, *Geschichte*, ii, 285–276, E12, "Qays b. al-Khaṭīm" (T. Kowalski); al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, iii, 1–26 (see 10–11 for a close parallel text on his murder, a version said to go back to al-Mufaḍḍal via Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb).

and handsome. Umm al-Banīn, the daughter of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān fell in love with him. She was the wife of al-Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik and he had a son by her, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn al-Walīd.¹²⁹²

Waḍḍāḥ would hide in a chest when he was with her.¹²⁹³ Al-Walīd once sent a servant of his to her with a jewel. He entered upon her unawares, when Waḍḍāḥ was with her. When she noticed the servant was entering she made Waḍḍāḥ go inside a chest. However, the servant saw him and informed al-Walīd,¹²⁹⁴ who went over to her and sat down on the chest that the servant had described to him. “Umm al-Banīn,” he said, “I would like to ask you for something.” “What it is, Commander of the Believers?” she asked. He replied, “Will you give me one of your chests?” “They are all yours!” “I only want the chest I’m sitting on.” “It is yours.”

He sent for some men who dug a hole and they let the chest down into it.¹²⁹⁵ Then he said, “You there! We have heard something about you. Now whether it is true or false, we shall cut off any trace of you.” The earth was thrown back and he left. She never saw anything about the affair in al-Walīd’s face until his death.¹²⁹⁶

[§ 120 Qays ibn al-Khaṭīm¹²⁹⁷]

Another is Qays ibn al-Khaṭīm. He was chief and a poet. When the war between the Anṣār abated somewhat,¹²⁹⁸ the tribe of al-Khazraj were discussing Qays ibn al-Khaṭīm and the grievance he was causing.¹²⁹⁹ They uttered complaints and agreed they would kill him. One evening, when Qays was going out, wearing two robes dyed yellow with *wars*,¹³⁰⁰ on his way to some property of his in al-Shawṭ,¹³⁰¹ he came past a stronghold of the Banū Ḥārithah.¹³⁰² Three arrows were shot from the stronghold, one of which hit his chest. He uttered a cry that was heard by his kinsmen. They came and carried him home. They thought nobody would be his equal in standing except Abū Ṣa’ṣa’ah ibn Zayd ibn ‘Awf

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1298 The two major tribes in Medina (then called Yathrib), al-Aws and al-Khazraj, had been warring and feuding for many years. The prophet Muḥammad was invited to make peace and migrated from Mecca to Medina in AD 622 (the Hijrah and the beginning of the Muslim calendar). The two tribes are here called, anachronistically, the Anṣār or “Helpers”, because they supported the Prophet.

1299 Qays was involved in poetical polemics, especially with Ḥassān ibn Thābit (destined to become the first major poet supporting the Prophet). He had avenged the death of his father and grandfather, who had been murdered.

1300 *Wars* is a yellow dye from a plant variously identified. See e.g. *ET2*, Index, 574.

1301 Al-Shawṭ was a garden or orchard in Medina (Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*).

1302 The Banū Ḥārithah belonged to al-Khazraj (*ĠN*, i, 179, 180).

فَضْرِبْ عُنُقَهُ، وَاشْتَمَلْ عَلَى رَأْسِهِ وَأْتِي بِهِ قَيْسًا وَهُوَ بَآخِرِ رَمَقٍ، فَأَلْقَاهُ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ وَقَالَ: يَا قَيْسُ لَقَدْ أَدْرَكْتَ ثَأْرَكَ. فَقَالَ: عَضِضْتَ بِأَيْرِ أَيْبِكَ إِنْ كَانَ غَيْرَ أَبِي صَعْصَعَةَ! فَقَالَ: هُوَ أَبُو صَعْصَعَةَ. وَأَرَاهُ الرَّأْسَ فَلَمْ يَلْبَثْ قَيْسُ أَنْ مَاتَ.

[§ ۱۲۱] وَمِنْهُمْ غَضُوبٌ، إِحْدَى بَنِي رَبِيعَةَ بْنِ مَالِكِ بْنِ زَيْدِ مَنَاةَ بْنِ تَمِيمٍ، وَكَانَتْ شَاعِرَةً، وَكَانَتْ نَاكِحًا فِي بَنِي طَهْيَةَ ثُمَّ فِي بَنِي سُبَيْعٍ، فَكَانَتْ مَعَ زَوْجِهَا زَمَانًا ثُمَّ تَزَوَّجَ عَلَيْهَا امْرَأَةً مِنْهُمْ، فَأَوْلَعَتْ بِهِمْ تَهْجُوهُمْ، فَقَالَتْ:

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بَنُو سُبَيْعٍ زَمَعُ الْكِلَابِ لَيْسُوا إِلَى سَعْدٍ وَلَا الرِّيَابِ
وَلَا إِلَى الْقِبَائِلِ الرَّغَابِ كَمْ فِيهِمْ مِنْ طَفْلَةٍ كَعَابِ
وَكَعَاءَ ذَاتِ رَكَبٍ قَبْقَابِ خَبِيثَةَ الْمُشْتَعْرِ فِي الثِّيَابِ
تَتَّبِعُ كُلَّ عَزَبٍ وَثَابِ

فَأَوْعَدَهَا رَجَالًا، مِنْهُمْ مَرْبَعٌ وَبَنُو وَقْدَانَ، وَبَنُو سَيَّارٍ وَبَنُو مَجْمَعٍ، فَقَالَتْ:

- 1303 See *ĠN*, i, 185; Taym Allāh al-Najjār is a branch of al-Khazraj.
- 1304 On this expression compare the saying attributed in the Hadith to the Prophet Muḥammad: "Whoever practises the pre-Islamic way of asserting one's tribal connections (*ta'azzā bi-'azzā' al-jāhiliyyah*), let him bite his father's 'thing' (*han*), but do not use the euphemism!"; quoted e.g. in Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyūn*, i, *lām-mīm*, Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* ('*zw*, '*ḍḍ*, *KNY*, *HNW/Y*).
- 1305 Ghaḍūb is the only woman among the listed victims in the book. For a parallel text see al-Sukkārī, *Naqā'id*, 1097–1098 and al-Baghdādī, *Sharḥ Abyāt Mughnī l-labīb*, i, 145–146. Apart from this virtually nothing is known about her. She is mentioned briefly in al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, viii, 520 (cf. al-Zabidī, *Tāj al-'arūs* [*ḍB'*]). Marba', whom she lampooned, was a contemporary of al-Farazdaq and Jarīr, see al-Sukkārī, *Naqā'id*, 974–975. Jarīr condemned her killers in a poem (*Naqā'id*, 1098, Jarīr, *Dīwān*, 458–459).
- 1306 See *ĠN*, i, 59.
- 1307 Ṭuhayyah, a branch of Tamīm named after their female ancestor Ṭuhayyah bint 'Abshams ibn Sa'd ibn Zayd Manāh (*ĠN*, i, 78 ii, 558). It is not clear who the Banū Subay' are. It would appear that they are a subdivision of the Banū Ṭuhayyah, but cf. *Naqā'id*, 415 (*min Banī Subay' thumma min Banī Ṭuhayyah*, see also *Naqā'id*, index, 123).

ibn Mabdhūl al-Najjārī.¹³⁰³ So a man was sent who murdered him in his house and cut off his head. He picked up the head and took it to Qays, who was about to breathe his last. He threw it down before him. “Qays,” he said, “You have your vengeance!” Qays replied, “May you bite your father’s prick¹³⁰⁴ if it isn’t Abū Ṣa‘ṣa‘ah’s!” The man said, “It is Abū Ṣa‘ṣa‘ah’s”, showing him the head. Soon after that Qays died.

[§ 121 Ghaḍūb¹³⁰⁵]

Another is Ghaḍūb, one of the Banū Rabī‘ah ibn Mālik ibn Zayd Manāh ibn Tamīm.¹³⁰⁶ She was a poet and had married in the Banū Ṭuhayyah, specifically the Banū Subay‘.¹³⁰⁷ She lived with her husband for a time. Then he married, in addition, a second wife of her tribe. She became incensed¹³⁰⁸ and lampooned them, saying,

The Banū Subay‘ are the lowest of dogs,¹³⁰⁹
 They don’t belong to Sa‘d or al-Ribāb¹³¹⁰
 Or to the larger tribes.
 Many a full-breasted soft-bodied girl is there among them,
 Silly,¹³¹¹ with a pudendum that makes a plopping sound,¹³¹²
 Nasty and hairy under her clothes;
 She pursues every dashing unmarried man.

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Several men warned her, among them Marba‘,¹³¹³ the Banū Waqdān, the Banū Sayyār, and the Banū Mujammi‘,¹³¹⁴ but she said, in a lampoon,

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- 1308 Understandably, but also true to her name (*ghaḍūb* means “irascible”).
- 1309 *Zama‘u l-kilāb*. If Marba‘, mentioned below, belonged to the tribe Kilāb, it is possible that they are meant, although Kilāb is usually without the definite article.
- 1310 On al-Ribāb see above, § 34. It is unclear who are meant by Sa‘d.
- 1311 According to the lexicographers *wak‘ā’*, fem. of *awka‘*, can mean “foolish, stupid” (*hamqā’*) and also “with crooked toes”, see the technical description in e.g. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab* (wκ’), where it is said that this condition “is most common among slave women from hard labour”. But this does not go well with “soft-bodied” here.
- 1312 *Rakab qabqāb*; see *Lisān al-‘Arab* (QBB): a Bedouin calls a girl *dhāt al-ḥir al-qabqāb*; when asked about the meaning of *qabqāb*, he clarifies: “wide and full of water; penetrated by a man’s penis, it says *qabqab*, making a sound.”
- 1313 ‘ASH and SKḤ read *Mirba’*, also in Jarīr, *Dīwān*, 459; I follow ČN, i, 95, ii, 399 where he appears as Marba‘ ibn Wa‘wa‘ah, and *Naqā‘ūd*, 975, where it is said that Marba‘ is his nickname and his own name Wa‘wa‘ah. This Marba‘ belongs to Kilāb, not Tamīm. It seems there is some confusion.
- 1314 I am unable to identify these groups.

يا مَرَبَعاً يا مَرَبَعَ الضَّلالِ يا فاحر مستقبل الشَّمالِ
على بعيرٍ غيرِ ذي جِلالِ يا مَرَبَعاً هل حان من إقبالِ

في هجاءٍ لها. فلمَّا سمعوا ذلك مشوا إليها فضربها مَرَبَعٌ والفتية الآخرون فقتلت. فقال مَرَبَعُ:

شَفِيتُ الغليلَ من غَضوبٍ فأصبحتُ لها إرْمٌ في رأسِ علياءٍ عاقلِ
سَأْنَقِمُ منها جَهْلَها وسَفاهَها وإيضاعها في كلِّ حقٍّ وباطلِ
ألا لا تُراعوا إنَّما هي لِصَّةٌ تَسارَعُ فيها فِتيةٌ بمناصلِ

Marba‘, you Marba‘ who has lost his way,
 You who ... (?)¹³¹⁵ facing the north wind,
 On a camel without ... (?)¹³¹⁶
 Marba‘, is it time to advance?

When they heard this they went to her. Marba‘ and the other men beat her and she was killed. Then Marba‘ said,

I have cured my rancour about Ghaḍūb. Now
 she has a gravestone on top of a high hill.
 I shall take¹³¹⁷ vengeance for her brutality, her foolishness,
 and her plain speaking (?)¹³¹⁸ in everything true or false.
 Ah, don’t think much of it. She is a thief;¹³¹⁹
 the men dealt quickly with her with their blades.

1315 ‘ASH and SKḤ have *fāḥir*, which is not found in any dictionary. Possibly one should read either *fājir*, “profligate, shameless”, as in the MS and in *Naqā’id*, 1097, or else *fāghir*, “opening his mouth” (here to the North to cool oneself?).

1316 ‘ASH and SKḤ read *jilāl*, which means “roof (of a ship)” or “baskets for dates”. Perhaps one should read *jalāl*, “splendour”.

1317 The future tense looks incongruous.

1318 ‘ASH and SKḤ: *wa-īdā’ahā* (*awḍa’a*, “to drive a beast at a gentle pace”). Better may be *wa-inṣā’ahā*, as in *Naqā’id* (*anṣa’a: aḥhara mā fī nafsihi*).

1319 It is not clear why she is called a “thief” (*liṣṣah*).

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أسماء الشعراء الغير المذكورين في النصّ مكتوبة بين قوسين []

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				ع
١١٢	ابنة تميم بن الأختم	٣	وافر	دَاء
				ع
٨٧	أبو مارد	١	كامل	الهيّجاء
				ب
٨٠	عَنْتَرَة بن معاوية العبسيّ	٣	رجز	الأثْلَب
				ب
١٠٧	يزيد بن الطُّثْرِيَّة	٣	بسيط	شُعْبَا
٨٣	بِشْر بن أبي خازم الأَسْدِيّ	١	وافر	لُعَابَا
٢١	حَرْمَلَة بن عَسَلَة الشَّيْبَانِيّ	٣ (٦)	متقارب	كَسْوِيَا
				ب
٨٦	صَخْر بن الشَّرِيد السُّلَمِيّ	٤	طويل	تُصَيَّب
١١٨	سُحَيْم عبد بني الحَسْحَاس	٢	كامل	قَرِيْب
١٠٢	رَيْطَة (أو جَنُوب) أخت عَمْرُو ذِي الكَلْب	٨	بسيط	مَغْلُوب
٨١	عَبِيد بن الأَبْرَص	مصراع	بسيط	مَلْحُوب
				ب
٩٧	جَزْء بن الحَارِث	١	طويل	الكَلْب
٣	-	٤	رجز	فَارْكِي
٣	الأَسُود بن عَفَار	٤	بسيط	العَجَب
٩	عبد العاص بن ثعلبة التَّنُوخِيّ	٤	طويل	حَارِب
٩	ثعلبة الفاتك	٣	طويل	فَحَارِب

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١٢١	غُضُوب	٧	رجز	الكِلَابِ
١١٨	شَحِيمُ عَبْدِ بَنِي الْحَسْحَاسِ	٨	طويل	ج المفْرَجِ
١١٦	أُمُّ مُزَاجِمِ بْنِ عَمْرِو السَّلُولِيِّ	٤	طويل	ح سِلَاحِ
١٣	-	٢	طويل	ذ الصَّمَدُ
١١٣	أَعَشَى هَمْدَانَ	١٣	طويل	د وَأَكْبَادَا
٣٠	-	٢	طويل	د العَهْدُ
٣٨	-	٣	رجز	يزيدُ
٥٣	حُرَيْثُ بْنُ أَسْوَدِ بْنِ شَرِيكَ	٢	طويل	د مَرْنَدِ
١١٠	هُدْبَةُ بْنُ خَشْرَمٍ	١	طويل	يُقَيِّدِ
٣٢	عَاتِكَةُ بِنْتُ زَيْدِ بْنِ عَمْرِو	٣	كامل	مَعْرَدِ
٨٢	الْمُتَلَمَّسِ	١	كامل	بِمَهْنَدِ
٣٤	عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبِ (؟)	٢	رجز	المُجَاهِدِ
٧٩	عَمْرَةَ بِنْتُ شَدَّادِ	٧	بسيط	بَادِ
١١٣	أَعَشَى هَمْدَانَ	١	كامل	وللمولودِ
٢	حُلَيْدِ عَيْنِ بْنِ الْعَبْدِيِّ	٢	كامل مجزوء	الشَّهِيدِ

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				ز
١١٠	هُدْبَةُ بنِ حَشْرَمٍ	٣	رمل	صَرُّ
٣٤	عليّ بن أبي طالب	٢	رجز	أَفْرُ
٤٢	سوّار بن حَيّان المِنْقَرِيّ	١٠	رجز	غَيْرَ
				ر
١٠٣	حُمْران بن مالك بن عبد ملك الحَشْتَعَمِيّ	٣	رجز	حُرّاً
٩	عبد العاص بن ثعلبة التَّنُوخِيّ	٦	رجز	أَشْعَرَةَ
٨٩	حَوَلِيّ بن سَهْلَةَ الطَّائِيّ	٧	بسيط	والشَّعْرَةَ
١٠	أم ناشرة بن أغواث	١	طويل	آشِرَةَ
٦	وهلال بن أميّة الخُزَاعِيّ	٢	كامل	مُرَارَةَ
٩	حُدّاد بن ظالم بن ذهل بن عجل العَبْدِيّ	٣	طويل	وياسرا
١٠٧	القُحَيْف بن الحُمَيْر العُقَيْلِيّ	٥	رجز	صابرا
٢٨	عمرو بن معد يكرب	١	وافر	الذُّمَارَا
٥٨	سليمان بن المُهاجر البَجَلِيّ	١		وزيرا
				رُ
٨٨	أنس بن مُدْرِك	٤	بسيط	التَّفَرُّ
٩٣	أنس بن مُدْرِك الخثعميّ	٧	بسيط	حَجْرُ
٤١	الفرزدق	٣	طويل	الأخاضرُ
٨٢	طرفة بن العبد	٧	وافر	تَخَوْرُ
				ر
٩٩	ابن عُرْوَةَ الكِنَانِيّ	٤	طويل	التُّدْرِ
٣٦	شاعر من بني سدوس	١	طويل	تَوَهَّرَ
٩٧	الشَّنْفَرِيّ الأزديّ	٣	طويل	عامرِ
١١٨	شُحَيْم عبد بني الحَسْحاس	٢	سريع	الصادِرِ

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٣١	سالم بن دارة	٢	بسيط	دينارِ
٤	أسامة بن لؤيّ	٢	رجز	مَنْ يُنْسَى
٨٩	عبد عمرو بن عمّار الطائيّ	١	طويل	مَنْ تُحْسَحَسُ
٨٩	عبد عمرو بن عمّار الطائيّ	٦	بسيط	سِ الدَّيْسِ
٣	الشّمس عُفيرة	٣	رجز مزدوج	جديسِ
٨٩	المُليّك	١	متقارب	شِ الحَشِيّ
٥	-	٢	متقارب	عُ الضَّبَعِ
٩١	دُرَيْد بن الصَّمّة الجُشميّ	٤	رجز	جَدَعِ
١١٠	هُدْبة بن حَشْرَم	٤	طويل	عُ فَأَوْجَعَا
٣١	الكميّت بن ثعلبة	١	طويل	أَجْمَعَا
٩	عبد العاص بن ثعلبة التّوخيّ	٨	رجز	أَمْرَعَة
٤٢	نافع بن الأزرق	٦	طويل	نافعا
١١٠	هُدْبة بن حَشْرَم	٣	كامل	عُ تُرْفَعُ

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				ف
١١٠	هُذْبَةُ بنِ حَشْرَمٍ	٦	رجز	طارفا
				ق
١١٢	عُقَيْبَةُ بنِ هُبَيْرَةَ الأَسَدِيِّ	١	طويل	المخزق
٩٩	حارثة بن قيس الكِنَانِيِّ	١	بسيط	يُطِقُ
٧٨	مهلهل بن ربيعة	٣	خفيف	للتراقي
				ك
٣٤	علي بن أبي طالب (؟)	٢	رجز	ظَنَّا
٣٤	علي بن أبي طالب	٢	هزج	آتِيكَ
				ل
١٠٧	القُحَيْفِ بنِ الحُمَيْرِ العُقَيْلِيِّ	٣	رجز	هَمَلُ
١١٠	هُذْبَةُ بنِ حَشْرَمٍ	٤	رجز	خَطِلُ
٩٣	السُّلَيْكِ بنِ السُّلُكَةِ	٤	رجز	مَقْتُولُ
				ل
٣٤	-	٢	رجز	أَهْلَهُ
٥٢١هـ	شهاب بن العيِّف	٥	رجز	جَبَلَةٌ
				ل
١٠١	أوس بن حَجَرٍ	١	طويل	المنخَلُ
١٠٨	لأُقَيْشِرٍ	٣	طويل	يفعلُ
١٧	-	٣	طويل	باطلُهُ

(cont.)

الفصل	الشاعر	عدد الأبيات	البحر	القافية
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٣	الشَّمسُ عُفِيرَةٌ	٧	وافر	النَّمْلُ
٨٢	المتلمّس	٢	طويل	مضللٌ
٩	زُهَيْرُ بْنُ جَنَابٍ	١	كامل	الأوّلُ
١٠١	ذو الرُّمَّةِ	١	طويل	المنخَلُ
٩٦	عمرو بن أبي عُمارة	٥	طويل	المواصلُ
١١٤	عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْحَرِّ الْجُعْفِيِّ	٢	طويل	بالمعازلِ
١٢١	مَرَّعٌ	٣	طويل	عاقِلُ
١٠٢	عَمْرُو ذُو الْكَلْبِ	١	وافر	القبائلِ
١٢١	غَضُوبٌ	٤	رجز	الصَّلالِ
٦٤	الْكُمَيْتُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ	مصراع	وافر	المُحِيلِ
				مَ
٤٠	الفرزدق	٢	طويل	مُقَدِّمًا
٨٢	طَرْفَةُ بْنُ الْعَبْدِ	١	طويل	أهضما
٣	هُزَيْلَةُ	٣	طويل	ظالما
١١٠	زيادة بن زيد بن مالك	٤	رجز	فاطما
١١٠	هُذْبَةُ بْنُ حَشْرَمٍ	٥	رجز	الهائما
٩٧	الشَّنْفَرِيُّ الْأَزْدِيُّ	٥	رجز	شامَةٌ
				مُ
٨٧	طَرِيفُ بْنُ تَمِيمِ الْعَنْبَرِيِّ	٥	كامل	يتوسَّمُ
٩٩	ابنة حارثة بن قَيْسٍ	٥	وافر	أَنَامُ
٧٥	الْقَتَالُ الْكِلَابِيُّ	٣	طويل	وَأَرُومُ
				جُم
٢١هـ	حَرْمَلَةُ بْنُ عَسَلَةَ الشَّيْبَانِيِّ	٣	كامل	جَلِمُ
٣١	سالم بن دارة (؟)	٢	طويل	يَلْمَلُمُ

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الفصل	الشاعر	عدد الأبيات	البحر	القافية
٩٣	السُّلَيْكُ بن السُّلَيْكَةِ	٢	طويل	مُسَلِّمٍ
٣٤	[ابن أبي مِيَّاس المُرَادِي]	٣	طويل	وَأَعْجَمٍ
١١٠	زيادة بن زيد بن مالك	٥	رجز	الأَهْضَمِ
٨٠	عَنْتَرَةُ بن معاوية العَبْسِيّ	٢	طويل	ولا دَمِي
٢٩	[عبد الله بن حَدَف]	١	بسيط	الحُطَمِ
٩٤	قيس بن زُهَيْر بن جَدِيمة العَبْسِيّ	٢	طويل	ظالمٍ
١١٢	ابنة تَمِيم بن الأَخْثَمِ	٣	كامل	تَمِيمٍ
نُ				
١١٣	أعشى هَمْدان	١٦	رجز	بالإيوانِ
	رَيْطَةُ أخت تَأْبَطُ شَرًّا [أو أمه]	٣	رجز	بِرْخَمَانِ
نَ				
١١٠	زيادة بن زيد بن مالك	١	وافر	هَجَانَا
١١٠	هُدْبَةُ بن حَشْرَمٍ	٢	وافر	عِنَانَا
٢٩	عبد الله بن حَدَف العامريّ	٤	وافر	أَجْمَعِينَا
١٠٣	أخت حُمران بن مالك	٤	رجز	مَضِنَّةَ
نِ				
٢	ذو رُعيْن	٢	وافر	عَيْنِ
٨٦	صَخْرُ بن الشَّرِيد السُّلَمِيّ	٤	طويل	ومَكَانِي
٥٥	-	٣	خفيف	بالإِحْسَانِ
٩٣	عَوْف (ابن عمّ مالك بن عمير)	١	بسيط	يُدْعُونِي
هَـ				
٣٩	كعب بن جُعَيْل التَّغْلِبِيّ	٤	وافر	فَتَاهَا
١٠٢	رَيْطَةُ (أو جَنُوب) أخت عَمْرُو ذِي الكَلْبِ	٣	بسيط	بِوَادِيهَا
١١٦	مُزَاحِمُ بن عمرو السُّلُولِيّ	١١	بسيط	يَنْوِيهَا

(cont.)

الفصل	الشاعر	عدد الأبيات	البحر	القافية
٩٤	رجل من بني ضَرَس من جُرْهُم	٣	رجز	ي جَنِّيًا
١٠٦	عبد يَعْوُث بن وقاص بن صلاءة الحارثي	٣	طويل	لِسَانِيَا