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MARTIAL POETRY IN MECCA AND MEDINA IN THE  
LATE PRE-ISLAMIC AND EARLY ISLAMIC PERIODS.

Presented By

'Abd Allāh Sulaymān al-Jarbū'

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ABSTRACT

In the first and second part of the first chapter an attempt is made to indicate to the reader the weakness and the scantiness of the Meccan pre-Islamic poetry. In the first pages of the thesis the most authentic collections of Arabic poetry compiled during the 'Abbāsīd period are reviewed, and it is noted that Meccan poetry is almost absent from these.

The second part is a close examination of some of Ibn Sallām's remarks on the Meccan poetry and its poets. The third section deals with the poems said to describe the incidents of the Elephant and the wars of al-Fijār, two historical events in which the Meccan people were involved. A brief historical summary of the wars of al-Fijār is given together with references to the main works which contain a vast amount of information on the subject. In addition we have analysed the poems and discussed their authenticity. The last section of the first chapter is a summary and a critical study of the lives and the poetry of two Meccan poets whose poetry and actions played a vital role during the early period of Islam.

The second chapter is divided into four sections and each section is itself subdivided. The first section is concerned with the inhabitants of Yathrib. Here we have tried to shed some light on the original home of both the Arabs and the Jews and their position

in Yathrib before the rise of Islam. The second section discusses the lives of those Medinan poets included by Ibn Sallām whom he considered the master of their art. A summary of their lives and a critical study of their poetry has been appended. In the third section we have reviewed the tribal feuds of Yathrib, discussed the causes of these feuds, critically examined some of the historical accounts describing the warfare between al-Aws and al-Khazraj. The fourth section is a translation of an account included in the Kitāb al-Aghānī, concerning the battle of Bu'āth with the intention of giving a historical background of that battle and further to show the historical value of that poetry by comparing these two sources. The last two parts in this section are an investigation of the Medinan pre-Islamic poetry describing war, battle-scenes and the instruments of war used in the fighting between al-Aws and al-Khazraj. There is a separate discussion of verses describing war, swords, spears, coats of mail, helmets, javelins, armies, squadrons, striking, stabbing, retreat and poetic exaggeration. In addition we have noted the vivid expressions and the images used by the poets. At the end of the last part we have attempted to examine the poetic expressions and how they were related to the poets and how the poets derived them from their environment. We have also attempted to determine the extent to which war had influenced the poetic talents

of the Awsite and the Khazrajite poets who apparently too have direct experience of fighting. We have analysed four of their poems all of which refer to the battle of Bu'āth.

The last chapter is devoted to a consideration of the development of martial poetry in Mecca and Medina after the rise of Islam. Before dealing with the poetry describing the battle of Badr and Uḥud we have given an outline of the momentous events which took place in both Mecca and Medina. Here we have demonstrated how the events of this earliest stage of Islam might have encouraged others, years later, to fabricate such poetry.

At the end of this last chapter we have indicated the extent of the influence of Islam on the poetic talents of Ka'b b. Mālik, a pre-Islamic poet who a few years later became an ardent Muslim.

Finally at the end of this thesis we append lists containing the total of the extant verses ascribed to 'Abd Allāh b. az-Ziba'rā, Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa and Abū Qays b. al-Aslat. None of the poetry of these poets has been collected into a Dīwān and is still only to be found scattered in various sources.<sup>1</sup> In addition we give the name of the main sources where these ascribed verses are found, together with the occasion on which the verses were recited.

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1) Recently Ḥasan M. ba-Jaouda has published a book containing considerable number of poems or fragment of verses attributed to Abū Qays b. al-Aslat.

TRANSLITERATION

The system of transliteration used in this thesis is that recommended by the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies of the University of Edinburgh.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT.

<u>Abbreviations</u>	<u>The references</u> <sup>1</sup>
Adab	= <u>Adab al-Kātib</u> , by Ibn Qutayba.
Aghānī	= <u>Kitāb al-Aghānī</u> , by Abū'l-Faraj.
M., Amālī	= <u>Amālī'l-Murtaḍī</u> .
Q., Amālī	= <u>Kitāb al-Amālī</u> , by al-Qālī.
May., Amthāl	= <u>Majma' al-Amthāl</u> , by al-Maydānī.
B., Ansāb	= <u>Ansāb al-Ashrāf</u> , by al-Balādhurī.
al-Ashbāh	= <u>al-Ashbāh wa'n-Naḡā'ir Min Ash'ār al-Mutaqaddimīn</u> , by al-Khālidiyyān.
Aṣma'īyyāt	= <u>al-Aṣma'īyyāt</u> , by al-Aṣma'ī.
'Aynī	= <u>al-Maqāṣid an-Naḡwiyya Fī Sharḥ Shawāhid Shurūḥ al-Alfiyya</u> , by al-'Aynī.
Azraqī	= <u>Akhbār Makka</u> , by al-Azraqī.
Bayān	= <u>al-Bayān wa't-Tabyīn</u> , by al-Jāḥiẓ.
Bidāya	= <u>al-Bidāya wa'n-Nihāya</u> , by Ibn Kathīr.
BSOAS	= <u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</u> .
Buldān	= <u>Mu'jam al-Buldān</u> , by Yaḡūt al-Ḥamawī'r-Rūmī.
Dhayl	= <u>Dhayl al-Amālī wa'n-Nawādir</u> , by al-Qālī.
EI	= <u>Encyclopedia of Islam</u> .

1) References.

Except where otherwise stated, references are taken from the editions mentioned in the bibliography.

AbbreviationsThe references

- Fihrist = al-Fihrist, by Ibn an-Nadīm.
- Ḥadhf = Kitāb Ḥadhf Min Nasab Quraysh,  
by as-Sadūsī.
- B., Ḥamāsa = al-Ḥamāsa, by al-Buḥturī.
- Sha., Ḥamāsa = Kitāb al-Ḥamāsa, by Ibn ash-Shajarī.
- T., Ḥamāsa = Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa, by Abū Tammām.
- Ḥayawān = Kitāb al-Ḥayawān, by al-Jāḥiẓ
- IC = Islamic Culture.
- IH = as-Sīra an-Nabawiyya, by Ibn Hishām.
- IS = Kitāb aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīra, by  
Ibn Sa'd.
- Iṣāba = al-Iṣāba Fī Tamyīz aṣ-Ṣaḥāba,  
by Ibn Ḥajar.
- Ishtiqāq = al-Ishtiqāq, by Ibn Durayd.
- Istī'āb = al-Istī'āb Fī Ma'rifat al-Aṣḥāb,  
by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr.
- Istibṣār = al-Istibṣār Fī Ansāb al-Anṣār,  
by Ibn Qudāma.
- IQ = Islamic Quarterly.
- 'Iqd = al-'Iqd al-Farīd, by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih.
- IB., Jamhara = Jamharat Nasab Quraysh wa-Akḥbārihā,  
by Ibn Bakkār.
- IH., Jamhara = Jamharat Ansāb al-'Arab, by Ibn Ḥazm
- Q., Jamhara = Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab, by al-Qurashī
- JESHO = Journal of the Economic and Social  
History of the Orient.

AbbreviationsThe references

- Ath., Kāmil = al-Kāmil Fī't-Tārīkh,  
by Ibn al-Athīr.
- Khizāna = Khizānat al-Adab, by al-Baghdādī.
- Lisān = Lisān al-'Arab, by Ibn Manẓūr.
- Maghāzī = Kitāb al-Maghāzī, by al-Wāqidī.
- 'Ask., Ma'ānī = Dīwān al-Ma'ānī, by Abū-Hilāl  
al-'Askarī.
- IQ., Ma'ānī = Kitāb al-Ma'ānī 'l-Kabīr,  
by Ibn Qutayba.
- Ma'ārif = Kitāb al-Ma'ārif, by Ibn Qutayba.
- MUF = al-Mufaḍḍaliyāt, by al-Mufaḍḍal.
- Muḥabbar = Kitāb al-Muḥabbar, by Ibn Ḥabīb.
- Munammaq = al-Munammaq Fī Akhbār Quraysh,  
by Ibn Ḥabīb.
- B., Mu'jam = Mu'jam Mā 'st'jam, by al-Bakrī.
- M., Mu'jam = Mu'jam ash-Shu'arā',  
by al-Marzubānī.
- Murūj = Murūj adh-Dhahab, by al-Mas'ūdī.
- Mu'talif = al-Mu'talif wa'l-Mukhtalif Fī  
Asmā' ash-Shu'arā' wa-Kunāhum  
wa-Alqābihim wa-Ansābihim wa-Ba'd  
Shi'rihim, by al-Āmidī.
- Nahj = Nahj al-Balāgha, by Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd.
- Nasab = Kitāb Nasab Quraysh, by al-Muṣ'ab  
az-Zubayrī.

AbbreviationsThe references

- Naqā'id = The Naqā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaq,  
by Abū 'Ubayda.
- Rawḍ = ar-Rawḍ al-Unuf, by as-Suhaylī
- Samhūdī = Wafā' al-Wafā' Bi Akhbār Dār  
al-Muṣṭafā, by as-Samhūdī.
- Shāfiya = Sharḥ Shawāhid ash-Shāfiya,  
by al-Baghdādī.
- Khushanī., Sharḥ = Sharḥ as-Sīra an-Nabawiyya,  
by al-Khushanī.
- Suyūṭī., Sharḥ = Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughnī,  
by as-Suyūṭī.
- IQ., Shi'r = ash-Shi'r wa-sh-Shu'arā',  
by Ibn Qutayba.
- Ṣiḥāḥ = Tāj al-Lughā wa-Ṣiḥāḥ al-'Arabiyya,  
by al-Jawharī.
- Ṭabarī = Tārīkh ar-Rusul wa 'l-Mulūk,  
by aṭ-Ṭabarī.
- Ṭabarī., =Tafsīr = Jāmi' al-Bayān Fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān,  
by aṭ-Ṭabarī.
- Ṭabaqāt = Ṭabaqāt Fuḥūl ash-Shu'arā',  
by Ibn Sallām.
- Tāj = Tāj al-'Arūs Min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs,  
by az-Zabīdī.
- Tanbīh = Kitāb at-Tanbīh 'Ālā Awhām Abī  
'Alī Fī Amālīh, by al-Bakrī.
- Kh, B., Tārīkh = Tārīkh Baghdād, by al-Khaṭīb  
al-Baghdādī.

AbbreviationsThe references.

- Ṭayfūr = Kitāb Baghdād, by Abī'l-Faḍl  
Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir, known by Ibn Ṭayfūr.
- 'Umda = al-'Umda Fī Maḥāsin ash-Shi'r wa-  
Ādābih wa-Naqdih, by Ibn Rashīq.
- Usd = Usd al-Ghāba Fī Ma'rifat aṣ-Ṣaḥāba  
by Ibn al-Athīr.
- 'Uyūn = 'Uyūn al-Athar Fī Funūn al-Maghāzī  
wa-sh-Shamā'il wa's-Siyar,  
by Ibn Sayyid an-Nās.
- IQ., 'Uyūn = 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, by Ibn Qutayba.
- Ya'qūbī = Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī.
- Zahr = Zahr al-Ādāb wa-Thamar al-Albāb,  
by al-Ḥuṣrī.
- Zarqānī = Sharḥ 'Alā 'l-Mawāhib al-Laduniyya  
by az-Zarqānī.

INTRODUCTION:

During the century preceding the rise of Islam the nomadic Arabs and some of the settled people of Arabia were constantly feuding with one another. Wars which were waged in various parts of the Arabian peninsula inspired the poets and gave them free scope to display their poetic talents. This can be seen in the surviving verses describing war, battle-scenes and the instruments of war used in fighting-subjects which form the greater part of pre-Islamic Arabic literature. But, in spite of the large number of extant verses and the great variety of Arabian pre-Islamic martial poetry, there has been little serious study of this poetry. As far as we know only one thesis has been written on the subject by Dr. 'A. El-Gindī.

He starts his work by indicating the effect of the desert environment in inciting men to war upon each other. Then he briefly defines the phrase Ayyām al-'Arab and notes how the Arabs called battles by the name of the places in which they took place. Furthermore, he gives the name of references containing information about the Ayyām and points out the customs of the Arabs during fighting and during the preparation for raids.

The first chapter is a statistical and analytical approach to the subject in its widest sense. Therefore, he not only includes "poems referring to the Ayyām al-'Arab, but also those praising some warrior without

reference to a particular battle and even those which depict an imaginary fight." He claims to have consulted 5,080 lines of poetry supposed to have been composed by 150 poets, few of whom lived as late as the rise of Islam. Furthermore, El-Gindī paid much attention to explaining why so much of the extant poetry is restricted to such a small range of subjects, such as boasting of the deeds of a tribe, or an individual, or lampooning an enemy, or rebuking the poet's rival who belonged to the same tribe, or justifying defeat or flight from a battlefield, or to threatening their opponents, or lamenting kinsmen killed in battles, or praising the courage of warriors and their achievements in battle, or stirring up feelings against some action the tribe was taking such as the acceptance of blood money. The last chapter is an analytical study of the manner of thought, emotion, imagination and the diction used by the poets which he concludes with general remarks on martial poetry.

It is an exhaustive study and certainly it is useful for those who aim to study the development of martial poetry. But it must be understood that we need more detailed studies of pre-Islamic martial poetry in order to fill the gap found as a result of the lack of study on the subject.

For instance, a comprehensive investigation of the development of the martial poetry of individual tribes with close examination of the evolution of its poetry

during different periods of time has yet to be produced. Many of the inter-tribal feuds are supposed to have been waged over a long period. We assume, therefore, that their martial poetry must have developed considerably during such feuds as the war of al-Basūs, even if it only lasted half the historian's estimation of forty years. Other long-lasting feuds such as the War of Dāḥis and al-Ghabrā' produced a considerable number of verses including those recited by the great poet 'Antara b. Shaddād of 'Abs. Perhaps we could most usefully base our study of this subject by investigating the development of the martial poetry of two rival tribes to show to what extent their poetry evolved. Here we suggest that a study of all the martial poetry of pre-Islamic Arabs such as Dr. El-Gindī has attempted tends to be a close examination of individual verses which should be in our opinion related as far as possible to the recorded historical events of the time. In his conclusion Dr. El-Gindī shows that he considers the martial poetry of the pre-Islamic Arabs to be excellent documentary evidence of their social life. Although this may be true, in most or many cases, it cannot serve as a basis for further studies on the subject since the author himself admits in the introduction to his thesis that he has not discussed the authenticity of the poetry he has included. We believe therefore, that a critical study of the history and the poetry recording these events must be given priority since Ibn Sallām, the

most prominent of the 'Abbāsīd critics has stressed this point and declares that "Members of various tribes fabricated poetry which they ascribed to their earliest poets, in order to boast of the past glorious deeds of their tribes."<sup>1</sup>

In attempt to make our study on the martial poetry of Mecca and Medina before and after Islam as comprehensive as possible, we have consulted a large number of references, referring to the events under consideration. It is interesting to note that most of the poets whose verses were examined are said to have taken part in the events they have described. Accordingly we can draw more confidently on the information they have transmitted than on that of the historians who wrote their books centuries after the events occurred. We frequently discuss the authenticity of poems basing our approach on an analysis of the historical information, the subject matter and stylistic peculiarity of the poet concerned. Occasionally we question the authenticity of some Meccan pre-Islamic verses, but we have not discussed the authenticity of the pre-Islamic martial poetry of Yathrib because no doubt has ever been expressed about its authenticity. It is also of very high quality and it was transmitted by scholars whose integrity has never been questioned. Furthermore, this poetry was compiled into Dīwāns already in the earliest

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 40 .

days of the 'Abbāsīd period and poems and fragments of it often appear in the most authentic collections of Arabic poetry.

We have also paid much attention to the poetic expressions and images of each poem which we have been listing separately according to type and we have attempted to relate the images and expressions to the events described in the poems.

Concerning the Islamic period we have reviewed the events which took place in both Mecca and Medina, in order to demonstrate how those events could be responsible for the fabrication of poetry by later generations. We have also consulted most of the available works which have critically examined the Sīra poetry.

On the other hand the extent of the Islamic influence on the poetry apparently recited by Ka'b b. Mālik during the Prophet's life has been examined.

## Chapter One

### (1) MECCAN POETRY DURING PRE-ISLAMIC TIMES.

During pre-Islamic times Meccan poetry was very weak. One can easily establish this fact when one studies the references in Arabic sources to the people of Mecca and their poets.

Most of the early works written during the 'Abbāsid period dealing with poetry did not contain or even mention a single poem by any poet of Mecca, and this is a useful starting point for our investigation of the poetry of Mecca before and after Islam.

Al-Mufaḍḍal (d 178/794 A.D.) and al-Aṣma'ī (d 216/831 A.D.) were experts on poetry but when they composed their collections of poetry both neglected the poets of Mecca. The reason for this is not clear; probably they thought that these poets were not firmly rooted in poetry and that their poetic ability was insufficient, unlike those whose names were included. We observe that neither al-Mufaḍḍal nor al-Aṣma'ī restricted themselves to one period only, but included many poems of different poets before and after Islam. Ibn Qutayba (d 276/889 A.D.) includes in his Kitāb ash-Shi'r wa'sh-Shu'arā' two hundred and six poets from the Jāhiliyya period until his own time, but does not refer to even one poet of Mecca. This omission increases our doubts about the value of the poetry of Mecca as a whole and at the same time gives rise to many questions which must be taken into consideration in our study of the

poetry of Mecca, especially when we consider what he says in his introduction to the book;

"My main concern was with the famous poets with whom most men of literature are acquainted, and who are recognised as reliable sources in the study of Lexicography, Syntax, Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān and Tradition. As for the poets whose names are obscure, who are rarely mentioned and whose poetry is not in demand and known only to a few select individuals I have mentioned very few of them because I only know a few of them and I have no information about that few and I knew that you have no need for me to mention to you names for which I cannot give you information, date, genealogy, anecdote or a verse which is regarded as excellent or unusual."<sup>1</sup>

Abū Tammām (d 231/845 A.D.) formed his book al-Ḥamāsa of ten different sections of poetry, each one including many short poems complete in themselves, or excerpts from longer ones. Most of the poets whose names are mentioned were living during Jāhiliyya times or in the early Islamic period. Al-Buḥturī (d 284/897 A.D.) composed his Ḥamāsa following Abū Tammām's method and his book contains one hundred and seventy four small sections including many short poems by a great number of poets, starting from pre-Islamic times until the early 'Abbāsīd period. Both Abū Tammām and

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1) 1Q., Shi'r, I, 3-4.

al-Buḥturī likewise disregard the poets of Mecca and do not include their names among the many poets quoted, except for four lines which Abū Tamīm attributes to al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, dealing with his escape from the battlefield of Badr, and two short poems attributed by al-Buḥturī to Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb one of which is supposed to have been composed before Islam, while the other is reported to have been recited concerning the siege of Medina (5/626). More details about these two poems are given by Abū'l-Faraj.<sup>1</sup> Al-Buḥturī also attributes another short poem to al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (47) dealing with the dispute which took place between Quraysh and Banū Hāshim and Banū 'l-Muṭṭalib over their protection of the prophet. This neglect on the part of distinguished poets must be regarded as another evidence of the weakness of the poetry of Mecca. Also Abū Zayd Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Qurashī (d 170/786) in his book Jamharat Ash'ār al-'Arab does the same. His book includes forty-nine odes, every one attributed to a different poet, but he does not mention even one poet from Mecca while he mentions seven of the Medinan poets.

Here we would like to quote some lines from what he says in his introduction to the book simply to show that his omission was intentional.

"The book deals with the Arabic poetry during the Jāhiliyya period and Islam. It includes those poets

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1) Aghānī, VII,28 and XVII,109 .

in whose spoken language the Qur'ān descended and from whose words the Arab language itself is derived. From their poems evidences were given to explain the meaning of the Qur'ān and the obscure traditions of the Prophet. To these poets wisdom and eloquence in literature were attributed."

Abū 'l-Faraj<sup>1</sup> (d 356/966) and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr<sup>2</sup> (d 463/1070) include in their works some names of the poets of Mecca, and give more details about their lives, including a few poems, but most of the poetry included was Islamic, transmitted from the Sīra.

Ibn Sallām (d 231/845) refers to the following names as the most skilled poets of Mecca.

- 1) 'Abd Allāh b. az-Ziba'rā b. Qays b. 'Adiyy b. Sa'd b. Sahm.
- 2) Abū Ṭālib b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.
- 3) Az-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.
- 4) Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith.
- 5) Musāfir b. Abī 'Amr b. Umayya.
- 6) Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb (al-Fihri)
- 7) Abū 'Azza al-Jumaḥiyy ('Amr b. 'Abd Allāh).
- 8) 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa as-Sahmī (al-Mumazzaq)
- 9) Hubayra b. Abī Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm.<sup>3</sup>

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- 1) Aghānī, XIV, 11., VI, 154., I, 30., XIV, 130., XIX, 80.
  - 2) Istī'āb, I, 115., 355., II, 549., 687., 782.
  - 3) Ṭabaqāt, 195.

The poems as a whole that Ibn Sallām quotes and attributes to the poets of Mecca are very limited. He does not indicate more than a few lines of most of them and deals also with the events which took place after the appearance of Islam.

Even then he is satisfied in two cases by mentioning their names only (according to Cairo printed edition); for the events that happened before Islam, he adduces one poem. He claims that this poem was composed by 'Abd Allāh b. az-Ziba'rā on the occasion of the battle which took place between Kināna and Thaqīf before Islam. I will give more details about the authenticity of this poem later.

Also Ibn Sallām<sup>1</sup> attributes the following lines to the poet Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The lines are as follows:-

May God reward Umm Ghaylān and her women well,  
for their coming, not wearing their ornaments,  
with dishevelled hair.  
They warded death off, when it was near at hand.  
And when I was vulnerable to their revenge.  
I unsheathed my sword and wielded its blade,  
what could I protect, if I cannot protect myself. (1)

Ibn Sallām claims these lines were said by Ḍirār

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 210.

(1) The numbers in brackets in the margin after each translation of a poem or a verse of poetry indicate the appropriate section of the Arabic text at the end of this thesis.

during the Jāhiliyya. Here there is an arguable meaning for the word Jāhiliyya. I would take it to mean that ʿDirār composed these lines before he became Muslim, because the whole story of Abū Uzayhir which Ibn Sallām has referred to, was included by Ibn Hishām amongst the events which took place after Islam.<sup>1</sup> However Ibn Hishām adds two lines to the version given by Ibn Sallām.

Daws called (for war) and its ravines flowed with  
honour,

The streams (of people) flocking from every side  
flowed into it.

And 'Amr, may God bestow his blessing on him.

He was not slack, but he did his best untiringly. (2)

Ibn Hishām rightly says that this happened after the battle of Badr. Our evidence for this is that five apparently genuine lines attributed to Ḥassān Ibn Thābit, who tried to take advantage of this event, show that Abū Uzayhir's killing took place after the battle of Badr.

The story of Abū Uzayhir was included in the Dīwān of Ḥassān.<sup>2</sup> However the attempt at vengeance made by Daws against the poet ʿDirār and his companions must have taken place afterwards.

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1) 1H, I, 410.

2) H. Hirschfeld, Dīwān Ḥassān, pp. 107-109.

Ibn Sallām himself states that Ǧirār and his companions went through the land of Daws and engaged with them, and the reason given is the killing of Abū Uzayhir by Hishām b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra.<sup>1</sup>

When Ḥassān knew that Abū Uzayhir was slain while he was staying at Dhū 'l-Majāz, one of the Arab Markets, he addressed two poems, one to the tribe of Daws and the other to Abū Sufyān,<sup>2</sup> simply to inflame the people's anger and to bring shame on Abū Sufyān, for the murder of his father-in-law and for his surrender and mistrust. Ḥassān is attempting only to cause a quarrel between the clans of Quraysh.

Here is what Ḥassān says to Abū Sufyān:-

The people on both sides of Dhū'l-Majāz awoke one morning,

But Ibn Ḥarb's neighbour in al-Mughammas did not.

Hishām b. al-Walīd has covered you with his garments,  
wear them out, new ones will come to you later.

He has fulfilled his desire and he became great,

But you were utterly of no avail.

If the shaykhs at Badr had been present,

their sandals would have been moistened with  
blood newly shed.

The humiliated donkey did not protect his sacred  
possession, also Hind did not ward off her  
father's shame.

(3)

1) Ṭabaqāt, 209.

2) Dīwān, ed.H, 82,85., Munammaq, 238, 243.

(2) IBN SALLĀM AND THE POETRY OF MECCA.

According to Ibn Sallām, during pre-Islamic times Mecca was not one of the famous centres in poetry among the Arab villages in the peninsula of Arabia. The reason as he puts it is as follows:-

"The main thing which increased poetry was the war which took place among the tribes, such as the war between the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj.

Moreover it was recited during the military assault between two groups. The main reason which decreased the poetry of Quraysh was the non-existence of such circumstances."<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Sallām is right to say so and in my opinion, anyone who goes through the history of Mecca can easily support his idea.

Now let us rapidly review the position of the society of Mecca only from the time of the abortive attack on Mecca by Abraha (570) until the appearance of Islam. In the time when all Arabs of the desert and also some Arab towns were fighting each other, the people of Mecca were living in peace without any fear.

The reason behind this was that for the Arabs themselves who lived near or far from Mecca the Ka'ba was a sacred place and it was impossible for it to be violated by them. They were even ready to face any

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 217 .

power which tried to harm or cause any kind of violence to Mecca.

When Abraha prepared an expedition against Mecca his main object was to destroy the Ka'ba and make the Arabs go to his new temple in the south for pilgrimage instead of Mecca, but this had agitated the feeling of the Arabs and inflamed their rage against him.

Ibn Ishāq mentions that when the Arabs heard that Abraha was going to demolish their holy place, they decided that it was their duty to fight him and protect the Ka'ba from any violation. A noble of one of the ruling families in the Yemen called Dhū Nafr summoned his tribe and asked help from other tribes who would like to follow him to fight Abraha and stop him from attacking the Ka'ba. When the battle took place Dhū Nafr and his followers were defeated and he himself was taken prisoner, but this was not the last attempt to prevent Abraha. When he reached the land of Khath'am he was opposed by Nufayl b. Ḥabīb al-Khath'amī, and his tribes Shahrān and Nāhis engaged in battle with Abraha, but he too was defeated and imprisoned.<sup>1</sup>

The expedition ended in failure and the army was destroyed by a flock of birds as referred to in the Qur'ān.<sup>2</sup> From this event we understand that the Arabs were not ready during that time to commit any injury

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1) 1H, I, 45.

2) Sura, CV, al-Filor The Elephant.

or violation against Mecca and also they did not like any other power to do so.

The situation in Mecca seems to be different from that of the rest of Arabia. The people there were engaged in the life of commerce and paid no attention to any fighting or outbreak of hostility. Also they realized that Mecca's resources were very poor and they should act vigorously to solve this problem by establishing the atmosphere of peace which alone could establish a guarantee of prosperity.

The best example of this is the Hilf al-Fuḍūl (Confederation of the virtuous) which was formed after the war of the Fijār (transgression). Ibn Ishāq refers to the main object of this confederation. He says "Some clans called for a pact in the house of 'Abd Allāh b. Jud'ān and they entered into an agreement. Their purpose (in this convention) was to help unjustly treated people of Mecca or those who entered it. They would stand against any iniquitous person who tried to commit any iniquity."<sup>1</sup>

As-Suhaylī attributes the following lines to az-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib dealing with this confederation:-

We have taken an oath to join in alliance with them,  
though we are members of one family.

We shall call it al-Fuḍūl, if we join it,  
through it the stranger will gain all respect from  
his neighbours.

1) 1H, I,133.

All those around Mecca know that we are people who  
never tolerate injustice,  
but protect whoever seeks our protection.<sup>1</sup> (4)

Quraysh also took another step towards ensuring their caravans' safety. W.M. Watt mentions that Quraysh surmounted this problem by using a large number of nomads in the service of their caravans as guides, escorts and so on. Also he mentions that Quraysh were ready to pay any chief for their caravans' security through his territory and other supplies, even that they gave some tribal chiefs an allocation of shares in the caravans of Mecca.<sup>2</sup>

Another factor which may deserve to be stressed is that according to al-Muṣ'ab az-Zubayrī "Quraysh strengthened the peaceful state in their society when nobles of some clans built their relationship with the others by marriage from different tribes."<sup>3</sup>

From all the above we may conclude that Mecca during these years was not a land of antagonisms or quarrels, and this fact certainly influenced its poetry to weakness.

Now if we consider the situation during pre-Islamic times, we absolutely agree that poetry was kept close to the sword. In every military assault or battle

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1) Rawḍ, II, 73., Munammaq, 219 .

2) Muhammad at Mecca, pp 10-11.

3) Nasab, pp 14-16, 18, 98-99, 123, 126, 229, 302 .  
JÉSHO, art, Mecca and Tamīm, VIII, 1965 .

poets were boasting of themselves, their ancestors and the tribes as a whole. Also they pictured their men's courage, their firmness when they faced their enemies and what they had previously achieved. If their tribes obtained victory over their enemy their description usually is about how many chiefs were slain or captured in the battlefield, but if their opponents overcame them they try to account for their defeat. Also they weep for their men who were killed in the battle, promise full revenge for them and threaten another battle. For the tribal poet was in fact, as remarked by Lyall, "a defence to the honour of them all, a weapon to ward off insult from their good name and a means of perpetuating their glorious deeds and of establishing their fame for ever."<sup>1</sup>

If we study the poetry attributed to pre-Islamic times or even the early period of Islam, any poem dealing with a quarrel or antagonism is mixed with boasting, satire, elegy and after that comes the main purpose, the description of the war.

During that time Arab poets were the spokes men of their tribes and the tribe itself gave their poets a vital role in peace or war. It was believed among all the Arab tribes that the effectiveness and the power of poetry was not less than that of the sword. At the same time it was in fact war which agitated the feeling of the poets and nourished their talents with

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1) Translation of Ancient Arabian Poetry, XVll .

many poems and any one who goes carefully through the pre-Islamic poetry can observe this fact; the examples in the history of Arabic literature are very numerous.

Ibn Sallām himself when he speaks about the poet al-Muhalhil says, "His calamity in his brother Kulayb made him compose long verses and he was the first poet to mention battle in poetry."<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Rashīq also said that he was the first poet to make poems long.<sup>2</sup> As far as we know the motive for that was the war which took place between Bakr and Taghlib after the murder of his brother Kulayb by Jassās b. Murra and all the poems found now attributed to him deal with the events of this war.

Also 'Antara b. Shaddād al-'Absī and several other poets have pictured the events of the war which broke out between 'Abs and Dhubyān. 'Antara's famous poem belongs to the final stages of the war. He was depicting stirring battle scenes, promising more attacks upon his enemies and boasting of his courage in what he had done in this war, while Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā 'l-Muzanī in his Mu'allāqa took another point of view. He celebrated the action of the day of al-Ghadīr when two nobles of Dhubyān brought the conclusion of peace for this war which lasted for forty years according to later authorities.<sup>3</sup> If we consider the Jāhiliyya

1) Ṭabaqāt, 33.

2) 'Umda, I, 87.

3) Naqā'id, II, 83-108.

poetry which has reached us we realize that most of it deals with battles which took place among the Arab tribes. Some of the Mu'allaqāt deal also with wars in which the poet's tribe took part.<sup>1</sup> Indeed it is very true that poetry during this time was inseparable from the wars and the poets themselves found the battlefield a congenial atmosphere.

From the above we may understand that poetry increased by war, and it was war which inspired the poet's muse with many poems. The best illustration of this is the example of Medina and Mecca. In Medina poetry was thriving and many poets became famous and well known not only among their own people but among other Arabs, and most of the poems attributed to them were dealing with quarrels and hostilities that broke out between Aws and Khazraj. The poetry itself took advantages of this and the wars inspired the poets with many verses picturing these events, in the light of which we can imagine now what was going on at that time, when Uḥayḥa b. Julāḥ, Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, Qays b. al-Khaṭīm and others were sustaining their tribe al-Aws with their tongues and swords and propagating their point of view, while Mālik b. 'Ajlān, Ḥassān b. Thābit, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, Ka'b b. Mālik and others were supporting their tribe al-Khazraj.

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1) See Mu'allaqā, 'Amr b. Kulthūm and al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza.

The society of Mecca itself provides an example, for when it lost its unity after the appearance of Islam and its people divided among themselves, the poetry exploited this position, and Quraysh considered poetry as one of their arms which could be used against the Prophet and his companions.

Among the early Arab critics Ibn Sallām is the first to give details of Meccan poetry. Unfortunately in his investigation he makes some assertions about Meccan poets which are not supported by any examples and his details are often confused and ambiguous.

In general Ibn Sallām offers proof of the weakness of Meccan poetry. At the same time he regards most of the names included as well known in poetry during the Jāhiliyya period. Here is what he says regarding Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith:-

"Abū Sufyān composed poetry in the Jāhiliyya period, but most of it has gone and that which has reached us is little. We do not regard as poetry the poetry related by Ibn Ishāq as being by him and others. It would be better for them not to have written any poetry than that this poetry should be by them."<sup>1</sup>

As far as we know the above statement seems to be completely unfounded. When we return to the authoritative references which mention poems attributed to the poets of Mecca, we observe in general that the

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 206.

poetry ascribed to Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith, or that which is imputed to him is very limited. Furthermore none of these works include a single poem supposed to have been said by Abū Sufyān before Islam.

It seems hard to imagine that all the poetry allegedly written by him during pre-Islamic times has been lost, while we discover a few verses by his contemporary poets.<sup>1</sup> Among the early authors who quote the poetry of Mecca, Ibn Hishām is the most copious source, including most of the poems ascribed to the poets of Mecca. He adduces three poems only by Abū Sufyān<sup>2</sup> composed furthermore after the appearance of Islam. It is a fact, however, that most of the poetry included by Ibn Hishām is Islamic, but he sometimes relates some lines of poetry composed before Islam. For example, he quotes one line from a poem attributed to the poet Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb on the day of 'Ukāz, in his explanation of the word Allāt. He mentions that this line is extracted from lines said by Ḍirār.<sup>3</sup>

In any case, I would suggest that Ibn Sallām's statement, "Abū Sufyān composed poetry in the period of

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1) For example see the following books, Munammaq, 44, 231, 248, 427, 429, 430., Ḥadhf, 37, 53, 66, 88, 94., Nasab, 264, 300, 317, 386, 408, 433., Ṭabaqāt, pp 196-198., Aghānī, VI, 154., VII, 28., XIX, 80., Bayān, I, 102., B., Ḥamāsa, 29., Rawḍ, II, 73, 87., Sha., Ḥamāsa, 16., 41.

2) 1H, II, 212, 272, 401.

3) 1H, I, 47.

Jāhiliyya", could have another possible meaning, namely "before he became a Muslim", since in the beginning of Islam and for nearly eight years, Abū Sufyān was known for his enmity and hostility to the Muslims. He participated in the battle of Badr, sustained Quraysh in its struggle against the Prophet and his followers and he satirized him, and all that kind of poetry did not come to us but is omitted by the Muslim authorities who state only the poetry which did not defame the Prophet personally. We know this only from the lines attributed to Ḥassān in reply to Abū Sufyān.<sup>1</sup>

All that we can be certain about is that Muslim authors have dropped some of his poetry, but this need only consist of poetry defaming the Prophet personally, since these authors have quoted poems composed by the Qurayshite poets who encouraged their people with poetry, took part in battles against the adherents of the Islamic faith and who did not believe in Islam before the conquest of Mecca. Of course there is no need to suspect the authenticity of all these verses.

In cases like that of the poet Hubayra b. Abī Wahb, we can probably say that Muslim authorities ignored his poetry because of his attitude of hostility or simply because he died an unbeliever, but it is impossible to say this of a person who not only became a good Muslim,

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1) Dīwān, ed.H, 2, 85, 91.

but was regarded later as one of the favourite people of the Prophet. His loyalty on becoming a real Muslim was admitted without question from his earliest days of accepting Islam. The best example of this is his steadfastness in the battle of Hunayn.

Finally the last point which I would like to deal with is this: Those who might think that the compilations of pre-Islamic Meccan poetry have been lost or who might exaggerate what Ibn Sallām says about certain poets having composed much poetry, have simply not considered the question in the light of the earliest poems of Mecca which have survived. Even if it is argued that the years of quarrels and fighting which certainly passed in the peninsula of Arabia had brought great damage to poetry as a whole, by causing the death of many poets and those who had memorized their verse, this can hardly apply to Mecca. As we have mentioned before, Mecca was a land of peace, and nearly all Qurayshite poets included by Ibn Sallām were born during these years of peace. In that atmosphere it is difficult to say that Meccan pre-Islamic poetry would have been lost. However, we agree in general that most of the Jāhiliyya poetry and even some of the early poetry of Islam had not survived as the result of wars and also because poetry was submitted to memory, transmitted from generation to generation by oral tradition until it was recorded in written form during the 'Abbāsīd period. Certainly all this

did not help all poetry to survive. Otherwise it is a fact that Mecca lost its unity after Islam and the outbreak of fighting which took place after the emigration of the Prophet to Medina, but most poets of Quraysh became Muslim with the exception of Abū 'Azzaḍl-Jumahlīyy who was slain by the order of the Prophet, and Hubayra b. Abī Wahb who died an infidel.

Furthermore, most of the poets concerned lived for years after the death of the Prophet, took part in battles against the people of ar-Ridda (apostasy) and participated in the early battles of the Furūḥ (conquests). If those poets really had composed poems before Islam, the Muslim authorities would have included some of their poems amongst their collections of poetry of the Jāhiliyya and early Islam.

The conclusion which I have to reach is as follows:- It is beyond any doubt that most of the poets whose names are included by Ibn Sallām became generally known during the events which followed subsequently to the appearance of Islam, when the dispute flared up between Mecca and Medina. All poems claimed as having been said by the poets of Mecca, and having been obliterated under the elements of oblivion and dissipation are merely a few and this cannot affect the fact of the weakness of Meccan poetry at this period.

(3) POETRY DEALING WITH EVENTS WHICH TOOK  
PLACE IN MECCA BEFORE ISLAM.

Before we start our investigation of the poetry attributed to the event of the Elephant, and the wars of al-Fijār, I would like to make this remark. Most of the poetry included by Ibn Ishāq and others concerning events which took place in the society of Mecca during Jāhiliyya times did not rest on any fact, and most of it was added later by the narrators or the forgers who supplied them. Without any prejudice it is very difficult indeed to imagine that shallow phrases like these were composed during pre-Islamic times, when the poetry was very rich not only in language, but also in similes and metaphors which the poets usually rely on to show their skills, Also the verses which are alleged to have been said seem to be inconsistent with the value of the genuine poetry as a whole and the eloquence known during that time.<sup>1</sup>

I shall not go too deeply into this question, but I shall consider only those poets who took part in the battles which took place between Mecca and Medina after the appearance of Islam, and those whom Ibn Sallām included among the famous poets of Mecca.

(a) The abortive attack by Abraha on Mecca.

In his account of the abortive attack by Abraha, Ibn Ishāq quotes a short poem which he attributes to

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1) For example see, 1H, I, 126- 28.

'Abd Allāh b. az-Ziba'rā. It is only five lines but it is not difficult to judge its authenticity, because Ibn az-Ziba'rā was a great figure among Meccan poets and he was as Ibn Sallām<sup>1</sup> and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr<sup>2</sup> mention the greatest one among Quraysh and there is no one to equal him in poetry.

The poem goes like this:-

Withdraw from the Vale of Mecca,

From times immemorial, its sanctuary has not  
been violated.

It was sanctified even before "Sirius" had been  
created, no mighty man has ever attacked it.

Ask the commander of the (Abyssinian) army what  
he had seen in it.

And those who knew what happened will tell those  
who are ignorant.

Sixty thousand did not return home.

And their sick did not recover after the return.

'Ād and Jurhum were there before them,

and Allāh above his servants always maintained it?<sup>3</sup> (5)

In the poem as a whole we find that the poet seems to be in pressing need of poetic license and to include Islamic references, and this seems to be work of one of the narrators or the forgers whose knowledge of poetry is very poor.

1) Ṭabaqāt, 196 .

2) Istī'āb, I, 355.

3) 1H, I, 57 .

For example we need only to consider this line:-  
Sixty thousand did not return home,  
And their sick did not recover after the return.

- 1) The expression Sittūna Alfān is trite and the kind of expression which could not possibly be the work of a famed poet like Ibn az-Ziba'rā. Also when we look at the event itself, we do not find one historian mentioning the number of Abraha's army.
- 2) He uses arḍa-hum instead of ilā arḍi-him. This irregularity is not the work of any reliable poet.
- 3) In the second hemistich, in the phrase of Walam Ya'ish we see another anomaly; he uses Mafā'ilun instead of Mutafā'ilun. Some authors observed this irregularity and tried to cover it by dropping the letter W and adding instead Bal<sup>1</sup> but we cannot imagine that a distinguished poet like Ibn az-Ziba'rā could make use of irregular words in clumsy phrases like this.

Ibn Ishāq attributes the two following lines to Ṭālib b. Abī Ṭālib dealing as he claims with the event of the Elephant, but Ibn Hishām denies this attribution and he mentions the whole poem among the poems which are supposed to have been said at Badr. Also Ibn Hishām assumes that Ṭālib composed this poem to praise the Prophet and also to weep <sup>for</sup> the dead of Quraysh at Badr.

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- 1) Bidāya, II, 175.

Know you not what happened in the war of Dāḥis,  
And Abū Yaksūm's army when it filled the pass.  
But for the help of Allāh and nothing else,  
You would have been unable to save yourselves. (6)

(b) Poems attributed to the wars of al-Fijār  
(Transgression).

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi<sup>1</sup> refers to this war but Ibn Ḥabīb<sup>2</sup>  
and Abū 'l-Faraj<sup>3</sup> give more details. They all mention  
that this war took place 26 years before the appearance  
of Islam.

The instigator of this war was an ally of Ḥarb b.  
Umayya named al-Barrād b. Qays b. Rāfi' from the clan  
of Banū Ḍamra b. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kināna. He  
attacked a caravan and slew its guide 'Urwa ar-Raḥḥāl  
b. 'Utba b. Ja'far b. Kilāb.

This event led to the days of al-Fijār, so called  
because the outbreak of fighting took place in the  
holy months during which fighting was prohibited, which  
were fought between Quraysh and their allies Kināna on  
one side and Hawāzin on the other.

According to Muslim authorities this war lasted  
for four years and in the beginning Quraysh made the  
utmost efforts within their ability to reach a

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1) 'Iqd, VI, 103 (III, 368)

2) Munammaq, pp 185-217., Muḥabbar, pp 169-171.

3) Aghānī, XIX, 73.

For further information about this war see IH, I, 184  
B., Ansāb, 100., EI, artḡ, FIDJĀR and HAWAZIN.

compromise to settle this crisis with Hawāzin, to bring peace and prevent war.

Quraysh told Hawāzin that they were ready to lay down al-Barrād for them to kill him for his sin but Hawāzin refused to accept this offer.

Our study will consider the poetry attributed to the days of Shamṭa and 'Ukāz only, because the fighting was more serious on these days.

Our main purpose is to study Meccan poets and their poetry but unfortunately all books which contain an account of this war do not quote more than two Meccan poems, both of them dealing with the day of 'Ukāz, when Quraysh obtained a decisive victory over Hawāzin. One is attributed to Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb and the other to 'Abd Allāh b. az-Ziba'rā.

"THE DAY OF SHAMṬA"

The first real clash between Quraysh, Kināna and Hawāzin was on this day. According to Muslim authorities, on the day of Shamṭa the victory in the beginning was shared by turns among the belligerents, but at the end of the day Hawāzin obtained their victory over Kināna. Now probably we can get an idea about what was going on when we consider the poem of Khidāsh b. Zuhayr, which pictured the scene of the battle on that day.<sup>1</sup> In the beginning we must say that there is no doubt at all about the authenticity of this poem. The style of the phrases is strong and rich

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 121., Aghānī, XIX, 78.

in the similes of Jāhiliyya poetry and we may also emphasize that the whole manner of expressions which the poet has chosen is suitable for the main purpose, even that he speaks with frank and true feeling, touched with a deep emotion which we can accept from a good poet. He does not describe his enemy as being cowardly but the poet narrates what has happened in truly poetic language. He relates their standing in the battlefield and their courage.

Consider for example his saying:-

We fought the brave ones and they fought us,  
It was as if leopards were fighting lions.

This is the kind of poetry that should attract the feeling of others and obtain their admiration.

When we look at his vocabulary we absolutely appreciate his well-chosen words, because there is no weakness or irregular phrase, and also every word seems to be related to the subject and fitted in the correct context.

Khidāsh himself was a great poet. Ibn Sallām puts him in the fifth category among the pre-Islamic poets and he mentions that Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' is reported to have said that Khidāsh was a poet of intuition and that his poetic essence was deeper than that of Labīd, but people refused to accept this and they acknowledged Labīd as more advanced.<sup>1</sup>

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 119.

Ibn Qutayba quotes this saying of Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' but he adds also that Labīd was a man of qualities.<sup>1</sup>

Now let us analyze some lines from this poem.

We urged on against them, horses preoccupied,  
Frowning, enveloped in dust, finding their way  
easily. (7)

Among the Arab tribes the horses were one of the most important tools in any battle and the poet describes the response of their horses and their submission of that day (consider his expression Qūdā)

Also Khidāsh makes us imagine the condition in the battle when he points out that even their horses suffered that day (consider the phrase Sāhimatanīlayhim)

After that he shows us the preparation of the two sides and gave us an imaginative picture of what they had done during the night before the battle.

We spent the night making emblems and so did they.  
And we said "Let us attack the people over there in  
the morning."

They came like a cloud raining (spears) and so did  
we (so fast that) it was as though some one had  
kindled tinder in a forest. (8)

The brave men of the two parties were spending their night, putting on distinguishing marks in order that their enemies might know them (consider the word as-Sīmā)

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1) lQ., Shi'r, II, 627.

In the second line consider his effective simile comparing the armies to heavy rain-clouds and also his use of the word Baridan (rainy) to imply the numerousness of their <sup>spears</sup> arrows. When we look at the second hemistich we <sup>appreciate</sup> respect his saying that the violence in the battle was like a burning forest.

In the following lines:-

They said "By your life do not run away",  
and we said, "We are not running away, and nobody  
can resist us."

We fought the brave ones and they fought us,  
it was as if leopards were fighting lions." (9)

The poet speaks in true Arabic style when he describes the insistence of the two sides on fighting and indicates their determination on death or victory.

Consider in the last line his interesting simile - the men of Kināna were like leopards, and the men of Hawāzin like tigers. But what does he mean? Certainly he means all of them were courageous and so were their enemies.

Finally the poet boasts of his people and celebrates their victory when they finally overcome Quraysh and Kināna.

He also mentions that many people have been killed like she-goats and that the rest of them escaped.

They retreated and we struck their heads  
For they violated peace in the holy months.  
From above we left the vale of Shamṭa,

with its streams looking like goats gushing blood.  
I have not seen any people like them in their defeat  
and dispersal,  
Or groups of kinsmen who defend themselves as we do.(10)

THE DAY OF 'UKĀZ

The defeat of Quraysh and Kināna on the day of Shamṭa and al-'Abīā' did not drive them into despair, but redoubled their determination to obtain victory and to wash away the disgrace which had come upon them. According to a statement said to be derived from Abū 'Ubayda, on the day of 'Ukāz Quraysh supplied its own men and their allies from Banū Kināna - with plenty of arms. Furthermore, he points out that Quraysh's preparation on that day was consolidated by their resolution to triumph over their enemies. In the account given by Abū'l-Faraj dealing with the battle of 'Ukāz he attributes one poem to Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās al-Fihri, one of the famous Meccan poets. It goes like this:-

Have you ever asked others about us,  
nobody will confirm the news but those who know well.  
The eve of 'Ukāz when Hawāzin was armed to the teeth.  
When Sulaym came brandishing their spears,  
on every lean horse.

We went to meet them on lean horses,  
with a numerous army which made a raging clamour.  
When we met, we gave them a taste of tawny spears  
that showered upon them from every direction.

Sulaym did not stand it and flew away,

Banū 'Āmir ran away and dispersed.

Thaqīf sought refuge in their Lāt (idol).

Returning disappointed and defeated.

Al-'Ans fought part of the day,

then withdrew in defeat like cattle,

only Dūhmān kept their ground,

Even when calamity overtook them.<sup>1</sup>

(11)

According to Ibn Sallām Ḍirār took part on that day and he was a chief of his clan Banū Muḥārib.<sup>2</sup>

In general the poem seems to be genuine and there is no reason to make us suspect its authenticity. The poet draws a picture in poetry of how his people took vengeance upon their enemies. This triumph impressed his feeling and the poet sings the happiness of his people who had suffered defeat twice before. In the poem as a whole the poet expresses his delight with realistic poetic language, and does not exaggerate in his description of what Quraysh and Kināna had achieved, like some others when they have acquired a decisive victory over their enemy.

Also he does not extol his people with heroisms and glorifications of legends but he pictures their standing in the battlefield and describes how they faced death when they fought desperately until they

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1) Aghānī, XI, 80 .

2) Ṭabaqāt, 212 .

ended the battle triumphantly. Even when the poet speaks about his enemies he does not belittle their condition but he describes even their standard of combat.

For example in the following lines consider his remarks about the attitude of his enemies from Banū Naṣr and Banū Dūhmān when they challenged Quraysh and Kināna and fought them bravely.

Al-'Ans fought part of the day,  
Then withdrew in defeat like cattle.  
Only Dūhmān kept their ground,  
even when calamity overtook them.

According to Abū 'l-Faraj, when Quraysh and Kināna attacked Qays from every side, Qays escaped leaving Banū Naṣr and Banū Dūhmān, and those two clans did not fly from the beginning like the others but they faced them with courage until Quraysh and Kināna beat them.

The poet himself indicates this point when he says:-  
When we met, we gave them a taste,  
of tawny spears that showered upon them from every  
direction.

Sulaym did not stand it and flew away,  
Banū 'Āmir ran away and dispersed.  
Thaqīf sought refuge in their Lāt  
Returning disappointed and defeated.

One final example needed to demonstrate the genuine poetic style is this metaphor Tawallat ma'aṣ-Ṣādirī

It is good not only because the poet draws it from the life of their society but also because he describes his enemies in a true Jāhiliyya style, meaning that Quraysh had driven the clan of al-ʿAns from the battlefield like a herd of cattle.

Ibn Sallām attributes the following lines to ʿAbd Allāh b. az-Zibaʿrā. He claims that Ibn az-Zibaʿrā composed these verses in praise of Banū ʿAl-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Makhzūmiyyīn, for their standing the test of the war of al-Fijār.

Praised be those whom the sister of Banū Sahn gave birth to.

Hishām and Abū ʿAbd Manāf who is the vanquisher of his adversary.

And the warrior of the two spears, who combined both strength and firmness.

These two protect and this one attacks from close quarters.

If I swear by God's House (the Kaʿba), I never swear falsely.

There are no men in the passes of Syria and ar-Radm. More righteous than Banū Rayṭa or more judicious in forbearance.

It is they who on the day of ʿUkāz prevented the people from being defeated.

(12)

In the beginning we need to point out that there are slight differences between the versions of this

poem given by Ibn Sallām, Abū'l-Faraj and al-Qālī. The versions given by Abū'l-Faraj and al-Qālī are closer to one another than to that of Ibn Sallām.

Abū'l-Faraj adds two lines to the version given by Ibn Sallām, while al-Qālī adds an extra two verses to Abū'l-Faraj.

Lines added by Abū'l-Faraj:-

Unrivalled lions that will never tolerate an  
injustice.

They have grown up since they were born, of noble  
descent. (13)

Lines added by al-Qālī:-

He speaks little in conference, but speaks wisely.  
With a body of men dark (with arms),  
With helmets splendid like Sirius. (14)

In general pre-Islamic poets did not concern themselves too much with praise of individuals, because the responsibility the poet was to deal with the tribe as a whole or sometimes with his clan only, but not with special persons even if those persons had attained considerable achievements.

This practice became familiar after the appearance of Islam for some reason especially among those tribes who had treasured traditions from the past or those who were known in the beginning by their enmity to Islam.

We must therefore take every precaution when

dealing with any poem alleged to have been composed in order to boast of ancestors only or also to glorify the history of the tribe. Moreover we need a careful study for all these poems concerning personalities, because most of the events were embellished later by some fabricated verses.

Abū'l-Faraj makes this point when he quotes the following report.<sup>1</sup>

"Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Nahshal mentioned that his father said: when I went to see Abū Bakr 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām asking him a favour, he said to me, "O my uncle, I will offer you four thousand dirhams if you claim that you have heard Ḥassān reciting to the Prophet these four lines of poetry." I said, "May God preserve me, that I should tell lies concerning the Prophet of Allāh: but if you wish I could say that I heard 'Ā'isha reciting them."

Abū Bakr refused to accept that and he insisted that I should say, "I heard Ḥassān reciting them in the presence of the Prophet." Then neither of us met the demand of the other and we did not speak to each other for some times. Afterwards Abū Bakr sent for me and said "Compose some lines in praise of Hishām b. al-Mughīra and the sons of Umayya. I asked him the names that he would like

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1) Aghānī, I,30.

to praise and he did so. Then he asked me to attribute the lines to my father. Also he told me that I should make them dealing with the day of 'Ukāz. When I composed the lines:-

Praised be those whom the sister of Banū Sahl  
gave birth to.

Hishām and Abū 'Abd Manāf who is the vanquisher  
of his adversary.

And the warrior of the two spears who combined  
both strength and firmness.

I came to him and I said, "These were composed by my father." Abū Bakr said, "No, say that they were composed by Ibn az-Ziba'rā." The outcome of that is that the lines are still found in the author's book attributed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā.

This attempt is probably being made by Abū Bakr to recover the reputation of his ancestors which was completely lost at Badr, when his grandfather al-Hārith b. Hishām escaped from the battlefield leaving his brother Abū Jahl behind him dead. Abū Bakr realized that this event disfigured the history of his clan as a whole, and his hope was to rescue it and to expunge what he regarded as a stigma on his ancestors' history. This hypothesis only makes us believe Abu'l-Faraj's story the more, and also reminds us of the need for a careful study of all poems of this kind for whose creation there is a historical motive. On going

through this poetry one notices that the forgers concentrate almost exclusively on Ibn az-Ziba'rā. In my opinion this is not only because Ibn az-Ziba'rā was the greatest poet of Mecca before and after Islam, but also because his attitude towards Banū Quṣayy was known before Islam and the forgers were attempting to take advantage of this. Ibn Sallām refers to what is supposed to be the cause of the differences between Ibn az-Ziba'rā and Banū Quṣayy. He says that Ibn az-Ziba'rā was accused of saying the following lines in slander of Banū Quṣayy which were found written on the door of the Dār-an-Nadwa.<sup>1</sup>

Banū Quṣayy were kept away from glory by legends  
of the past,

And seeking commissions like brokers.

And eating meat without mixing it with anything else,  
and saying, "Camels are going for trade, Camels are

coming from the trade. (15)

Moreover Ibn Sallām states that Quraysh did not allow any clan to satirize others and also that they punished anyone trying to do so. When the people's opinion agreed upon Ibn az-Ziba'rā as the culprit and they disapproved what had been said, Banū Quṣayy asked Banū Sahm to give them Ibn az-Ziba'rā to punish him in their own way. When Banū Sahm questioned Banū Quṣayy

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1) Ṭabaqāt, pp 196-98., Munammaq, pp 426-31.

about their decisions they answered that his tongue must be cut out. Banū Sahn reminded them that they would do the same to anyone of Banū Quṣayy who slandered them. During that time the poet az-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was absent in Yemen and Banū Quṣayy were afraid that the same fate might befall him. Then they decided to release him, and some people tried to instigate Ibn az-Ziba'rā against his clan because of this incident. They said to him your people did not protect you when they were able to do so. His answer was:-

Truly my people have not committed a sin,

And if they have become reconciled with their

brothers, I do not blame them.

Those who disseminate hate among people would

like us to hold swords, in our hands unsheathed

never to put them back in the scabbard. (16)

These lines attributed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā seem to be genuine and there is no reason to reject them, but the forgers exploited this event for their own purposes and Ibn az-Ziba'rā became one of their victims. Ibn Rashīq refers to the story of Ibn az-Ziba'rā and Banū Quṣayy but with some misconstruction in his narrative. This in itself is not very important, but the point which draws our attention is that two lines more are added to Ibn Sallām's narrative. The lines which Ibn Rashīq attributed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā go like this.<sup>1</sup>

1) 'Umda, I, 65.

Truly my people have not committed a sin,  
And if they have become reconciled with their  
brothers, I do not blame them.

Those who disseminate hate among people would like  
us to hold swords.

In our hands unsheathed never to put them back in  
the scabbard.

Qusayy are people of honour and glory,  
They are people of great deeds that no one could  
achieve previously.

On the days of 'Ukāz they protected our women,  
In the same way as the noble protect the base  
and humble.

(17)

It is more likely that the lines were not composed by one hand and the gap between the two lines does not need any exertion to realize. In the first two lines the style is quite different. The vocabulary is poetic and every word sounds genuine; moreover we fully appreciate the poet's true sentiment. But the expressions in the other two lines is not only banal, but also we miss the poetic gift which characterises the first two lines with their chasteness of phrase and poetical wording. Consider for example the phrase Wa-Ahlu Fā'ālin Lā Yurāmū Qadīmuḥā and how the forger seeks to emphasise of the past history of the clan. There is no doubt that he is trying to harmonize his fabricated lines with what the story teller said about Qusayy and his sons. In the last line the words

are paltry and even the meaning of the lines is artificial and tasteless. Finally one example which we need to mention here only to show how much propaganda the narrators had weaved about the history of Banū Quṣayy. Aṭ-Ṭabarī relates that a drought year befell Quraysh, and then Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy went to Palestine and bought some flour. When he returned to Mecca, he ordered the flour to be made into bread. Then he slaughtered a Camel and soaked the bread with it, and after that he fed his people.<sup>1</sup> This artificial story which is included only to glorify the ancestors of the Prophet among Quraysh and the Arabs is also illustrated by as-Suhaylī with some lines attributed to 'Abd Allāh b. az-Ziba'rā in praise of Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy.<sup>2</sup>

Quraysh was like an egg that was split open.

The best part of the yolk belongs to 'Abd Manāf.

Whose poor share with their rich.

And who are most hospitable to guests,

Ready to give when others are not,

who say welcome to guests.

'Amr glory be to him used to sop bread for his people,  
the people of Mecca, in the year of drought. (18)

These verses are being made to suit the narrative,

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1) Ṭabarī, 1-3, 1088.

2) Rawḍ, II, 84.

but they are absolutely false, not only because their style is completely vulgar and typical of an unskilled hand, but also because there are some reasons which not only make us reject their attribution to 'Abd Allāh b. az-Ziba'rā but also their authenticity in general.

- 1) Ibn Hishām includes the last line, but he does not indicate that it was composed by Ibn az-Ziba'rā. He attributes to one of the poets of Quraysh, or one of the Arabs.<sup>1</sup> On the otherhand Mu'arrij as-Sadūsī ascribes the line to one of Khuzā'a.<sup>2</sup>
- 2) Furthermore a number of authors indicate that these lines were composed by Maṭrūd b. Ka'b al-Khuzā'ī in lament for 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.<sup>3</sup>
- 3) al-Qālī refers to these lines, but uses them to illustrate another fabricated story concerning the Prophet and Abū Bakr and this story redoubles our doubts.<sup>4</sup> Further al-'Adawī mentions different narrative to that included by al-Qālī concerning the Prophet and a group of Quraysh.<sup>5</sup>
- 4) This poem which is attributed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā has the same opening line as another one ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit.<sup>6</sup>

1) IH, I, 136.

2) Ḥadhf, 3.

3) B. Ansāb, 63., M., Amālī, 1V, 178., Ṭabarī, 1-3, 1088.

4) Q., Amālī, I, 246.

5) Ms of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit, 163.

6) Dīwān, ed. 'Arafāt, poem no. 143.

Finally, comparing these fabricated lines with another poem ascribed to 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba (Arabic text no.19) one of the pre-Islamic Medinan poets, we may suggest that the forger who imputed these lines to Ibn az-Ziba'rā would have seen Ibn al-Iṭnāba's poem. Accordingly we may think that the forger tried unsuccessfully to imitate Ibn al-Iṭnāba's verses, but that his attempt failed because of his incapability of composing poetry.

(4) THE POETS OF MECCA; SUMMARY OF THE LIFE  
AND CRITICAL STUDY OF THE POETRY OF

- (a) 'Abd Allāh b. az-Ziba'rā b. Qays b. 'Adīyy  
b. Sa'd b. Sahn.

Unfortunately, we have no certain information about his early life. The earliest event which has been recorded is his quarrel with Banū Quṣayy. Both Ibn Sallām<sup>1</sup> and Ibn Ḥabīb<sup>2</sup> relate this story, but Ibn Ḥabīb includes more poetry than Ibn Sallām.

As-Suhaylī retells the same story briefly. He mentions that Ibn az-Ziba'rā had composed much poetry on this occasion which is included by Ibn Ishāq in the Sīra on the authority of Yūnus.<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Hishām incorporates much of Ibn Ishāq's Sīra in his own work, but does not mention the poetry which is supposed to have been recited by Ibn az-Ziba'rā, probably because Ibn Hishām thought it was suspect and accordingly did not include it in his Sīra.

After the appearance of Islam, Ibn az-Ziba'rā was one of the most active persons in attacking Islam and its adherents in words and actions. His attitude angered the Muslim poets. Both Ḥassān b. Thābit<sup>4</sup> and Ka'b b. Mālik<sup>5</sup> satirized him in reply to his hostility.

1) Ṭabaqāt, 196-98.

2) Munammaq, 426-31.

3) Rawḍ, II, 86-7.

4) Dīwān, ed. 'Arafāt, poem no.5 lines 15-17.,180, lines9-11.

5) IH, II, 161; Dīwān, 277.

In the early period of Islam it was reported that 'Abd Allāh had an argument with the Prophet. Some Qur'ānic verses were sent down answering Ibn az-Ziba'rā's arguments.<sup>1</sup> However, al-Wāqidī points out that before the battle of Uḥud, the Quraysh sent four of their poets to the Arabs around Mecca, asking them to stand against the Prophet.<sup>2</sup> 'Abd Allāh was one of these poets, and we shall give details later, under the battle of Uḥud, of one of the poems ascribed to him regarding the victory achieved by the Quraysh on that occasion. According to the information given by al-Wāqidī, Ibn az-Ziba'rā took part in the battle of Uḥud. Among the Muslims killed during the battle, al-Wāqidī gives the name of an Anṣārī killed by Ibn az-Ziba'rā ('Abd Allāh b. Salama b. Mālik).<sup>3</sup>

If we consider the poem ascribed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā concerning the Muslims who were killed in the battle of Uḥud, (IH, II, 141) there is a passage supporting al-Wāqidī's statement, but the authenticity of this poem in particular has been questioned by the authorities of Ibn Hishām. The line containing this possible reference is as follows:-

So leave this on one side; but has the story of

my people,

and it is a well-known story, reached the mother

of Mālik.

(20)

1) IH, I, 359, al-Kashshāf, II, 53.

2) Maghāzī, I, 201.

3) Maghāzī, I, 302. See also Ibn Sa'd, III (part 2), 37.

When the Quraysh accepted Islam after the conquest of Mecca (8/629), Ibn az-Ziba'rā escaped to Najrān with another poet, Hubayra b. Abī Wahb. According to Sa'īd b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit, Ḥassān addressed one single line to Ibn az-Ziba'rā, urging him to come back and place his trust in the Prophet.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to this, we may suppose that Ibn az-Ziba'rā was in fact an enemy of Islam and that his critical attitude made him first flee to Najrān instead of becoming a Muslim with the rest of the Quraysh.

Let us now consider some lines which are supposed to have been said by Ibn az-Ziba'rā after accepting Islam; in these, he expressed his regret to the Prophet and apologized for what he had done before. Here let us listen only to the opening line of one of his poems which seems to be genuine (IH, II, 419).

O apostle of God, my tongue is mending  
The mischief I did when I was futile. (21)

However, after he had accepted Islam, Ibn az-Ziba'rā's life was obscure. There is no certain information about his activities, his death, etc. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr<sup>1</sup> includes the statement that Ibn az-Ziba'rā took part in some of the battles which occurred after the conquest of Mecca, but neither Ibn 'Abd al-Barr nor anyone else who recorded Islamic history gives

- 1) IH, II, 418. In the Dīwān of Ḥassān and many other works it is found with two more verses scolding Ibn az-Ziba'rā, poem no. 140 (ed 'A), CXL11 (ed H).
- 2) Istī'āb, I, 355.

any other information about Ibn az-Ziba'rā except for the fact that he came to Medina during the Caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.<sup>1</sup>

### His Poetry

It has been stated by many authorities that Ibn az-Ziba'rā was the poet of the Quraysh.<sup>2</sup>

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr says that az-Zubayr (b. Bakkār) does not support this opinion. Az-Zubayr (continues Ibn 'Abd al-Barr) said, "According to Qurayshī narrators Ibn az-Ziba'rā was the best poet among the Quraysh during the time of Jāhiliyya, but in comparing his poetry which has reached us with that of Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Ḍirār for me shows greater ability in composing poetry, and he also made fewer errors than Ibn az-Ziba'ra."<sup>3</sup>

Therefore it is more acceptable to assume that Ibn az-Ziba'rā was well-known as a poet in the period before Islam. But in comparing the poetical ability of 'Abd Allāh and Ḍirār, it is rather difficult to give any further details.

At the present time, all we have are a few short poems or fragments of verses by each one of them. Furthermore, all the verses regarded as being composed by 'Abd Allāh before the rise of Islam which have not

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 203,

2) Ḥadhf., 84. Nasab, 402. Ṭabaqāt, 195. Aghānī, XV, 179 .

3) Istī'āb, I, 355.

been questioned deal only with his quarrel with Banū Quṣayy. So all these verses supposed to have been said by Ibn az-Ziba'rā are praise poems.

Because of the restricted nature of the material, we are not able to make any decision or to investigate further. Regarding the authenticity of the existing poetry which is claimed to have been spoken by Ibn az-Ziba'rā before the rise of Islam, we have discussed previously how far his quarrel with Banū Quṣayy was exploited by the narrators or the forgers who added some verses to those of Ibn az-Ziba'rā, but among these poems there are some verses which seem to be genuine. These verses which we think might have been composed by Ibn az-Ziba'rā are included by Islamic critics such as Ibn Sallām or persons regarded as learned men of poetry. There is no real cause for doubt concerning these verses included by the authors mentioned below.

Ibn Ḥabīb has related the story of Ibn az-Ziba'rā's quarrel with Banū Quṣayy. He picked out two lines which caused the quarrel, and also two poems ascribed to 'Abd Allāh. One is in praise of al-'Aṣī b. Wā'il b. Hāshim b. Su'ayd b. Sahn and the clan of Banū Sahn. The other is in praise of Banū Quṣayy.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, al-Muṣ'ab az-Zubayrī attributes<sup>2</sup> another poem to Ibn

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1) Munammaq, 427, 429, 430.

2) Nasab, 408.

az-Ziba'rā in praise of al-'Asī b. Wā'il.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb ascribes a further two lines to 'Abd Allāh which are supposed to have been composed during the quarrel of Banū 'Abd Manāf<sup>2</sup> (al-Muṭayyibūn, al-Aḥlāf).

Finally, on various occasions we have seen one line of poetry ascribed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā, and we may assume that these lines were recited in the period of Jāhiliyya and formed a part of longer poems.<sup>3</sup>

In the early period of Islam, the Quraysh vigorously refused to adopt the new religion, and accordingly they quarrelled among themselves. The Prophet's emigration to Medina (622) was the starting-point of a new struggle, and the end of the state of peace between him and his opponents from the polytheists of the Quraysh. The victory achieved by the Prophet on the battlefield of Badr was peremptory; the Quraysh, on the other side, were humiliated and lost the tremendous respect they had built up before. At that crucial time in their history, poetry became an urgent need for their cause, and therefore the Quraysh encouraged every one of its non-experienced poets to contribute.

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- 1) He was a noble man among the Quraysh, and it was reported that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, "He protected me from the anger of the people of Quraysh on my first visit to the Ka'ba after accepting Islam" (Ḥadhīf, 87, Nasab, 409, and Ishtiqaq, 126).
  - 2) Munammaq, 44.
  - 3) See the list of verses ascribed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā.



Ibn az-Ziba'rā was one of these poets, but we have no doubt that most of the poetry spoken by him during that period has been lost. Our evidence is based on the following arguments.

At the time of the rise of Islam, Ibn az-Ziba'rā and Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb were the best-known poets in Mecca. They resisted Islam until the last battle which put an end to the resistance of the Quraysh. Both of them not only challenged Islam, but were hostile to each Muslim convert. Before the conquest of Mecca, Ibn az-Ziba'rā composed four lines of poetry especially to castigate Khālid b. al-Walīd and 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abī Ṭalḥa who accepted Islam.<sup>1</sup>

Muslim authors, moreover, mention that Ibn az-Ziba'rā was very aggressive to the Prophet and his followers in words and actions.<sup>2</sup> As we have already remarked, we may assume that Muslim narrators would not have included that kind of poetry.

A good example of this occurs when Ibn Hishām comments on a poem attributed to al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib, who laments his three sons killed on the battlefield of Badr. He says, "This poem is one of the most famous of the Quraysh poems and we have omitted from Ibn Ishāq's recital some which are even more famous than this poem."<sup>3</sup>

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1) IH, II, 278.ṽ Munammaq, 335.ṽ Nasab, 251.

2) IS, II (Part 1), 102.ṽ Maghāzī, II, 848.ṽ  
Istī'āb, I, 355.ṽ Aghānī, XIV, 12., Mu'talif, 132.

3) IH, I, 648.

This provides some evidence that Muslim authors deliberately omitted most of the Meccan poetry which attacked personally the Prophet and his followers or that which showed any kind of sympathy with the Quraysh during their quarrel with Medina. For example, on the battle of Uḥud, which the Quraysh won, there are only three poems ascribed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā, and, further, the authenticity of one of these poems has not been confirmed by the authorities of Ibn Hishām.

Therefore, how can one imagine that one of the ardent and most experienced poets of Mecca who, with his people, had suffered defeat at Badr, composed only two poems to celebrate the triumph achieved by his people?

However, there is another possibility which might explain why Meccan poetry in general was very scanty. In fact, most of the famed poets of Mecca converted, in the end, to Islam. Therefore, it is sensible to imagine that the poets themselves tried to obliterate their critical past, including poetry which remained in the memories of a large number of people. Abū'l-Faraj mentions that when Ibn az-Ziba'rā and Ḍirār went to Medina, they met Ḥassān b. Thābit. Ibn az-Ziba'rā said to him, "Your poetry is acceptable to Islam, but ours is not, and we would like to listen to yours and let you listen to us."<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps this statement is of great interest because

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1) Aghānī, IV, 5., Ṭabaqāt, 203.

it emphasized that Ibn az-Ziba'rā had composed poetry during the outbreak of fighting between Mecca and Medina, and that he felt hesitant to recite it later simply because it was against Islam. Accordingly, we may suppose that it was natural for the narrators to exclude this poetry.

On the other hand, one may ask about the poetry which Ibn az-Ziba'rā composed during the fighting between the Prophet and the Quraysh, and which has been transmitted even though it is hostile towards Islam and certain Muslim people.

This is very rare indeed, however; Ibn Hishām, for example, includes ten poems and two single lines. This is nearly all the poetry which is claimed to have been composed by Ibn az-Ziba'rā during that period. Nevertheless, the authenticity of four of these poems had been questioned by the authorities of Ibn Hishām.

In spite of what has been said, we find in different works some scattered information which also makes us believe that a great deal of Ibn az-Ziba'rā's poetry in general has been lost for ever. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr includes three poems ascribed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā. He says that, when 'Abd Allāh accepted Islam, he composed much poetry (Ash'ār Kathīra) in praise of the Prophet in an attempt to make up for what he had done before accepting Islam.<sup>1</sup> This poetry which is

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1) Istī'āb, I, 355-6.

supposed to have been composed by Ibn az-Ziba'rā has not been recorded.

Ibn Sallām, Ibn Hishām and Ibn al-Athīr<sup>1</sup> included two poems, only from those which were mentioned by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, but one of these poems included by all the authors has been suspected by the authorities of Ibn Hishām.

Ibn Hishām, moreover, attributes the following line to Ibn az-Ziba'rā:-

Very generous in feeding the guest, great fighters  
in the battle, powerful protectors and great in  
forbearance. (22)

He says this line forms part of a poem by Ibn az-Ziba'rā.<sup>2</sup>

To return to the reference works which contain the poetry ascribed to the poets of Quraysh in general or those concerned only with news of the people of Quraysh,<sup>3</sup> we have not seen these lines which are reported to have been said by Ibn az-Ziba'rā. Thus we must assume that they have not survived.

Ibn Ḥabīb, however, in his account of the story of Abū Uzayhir, attributes one line to Ibn az-Ziba'rā

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 202; Sīra, II, 419; Uṣd, III, 160.

2) Sīra, I, 312.

3) These are the names of the books:- Ḥadhīf,  
Nasab, IB, Jamhara, and Munammaq.

directed to Bīsr b. Sufyān al-Ḥamīrī. He says, "This is one of his poems."<sup>1</sup> (Wahiya Qaṣīdatun Fī Shi'rihī) But, up to now, this is the only line of this poem known to us.

The Authenticity of his Poetry during the Islamic Period.

Most of Ibn az-Ziba'rā's Islamic poetry is to be found in Ibn Hishām's Sīra. Among ten poems ascribed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā in the Sīra, Ibn Hishām and his authorities have already doubted four (I, 593., II, 15, 141, 419).

Looking at the first poem suspected by Ibn Hishām, we find that it is not difficult to observe that it shows signs of forgery in both its subject-matter and its expressions. The poem is claimed to have been composed in answer to a poem imputed to Abū Bakr.

As far as we know, the first to impute this poem to Abū Bakr was Ibn Ishāq, but Ibn Ishāq has stated frankly that his knowledge of poetry was very poor. Ibn Sallām declares that Ibn Ishāq was one of those who had corrupted poetry and that he used to excuse himself by saying, "I know nothing about poetry. It is brought to me and I transmit it."<sup>2</sup> As-Suhaylī confirms Ibn Hishām's doubts, and adds that, according to the authority of 'Urwa, 'Ā'isha is reported to have said, "He is a liar who told you that Abū Bakr has

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1) Munammaq, 231.

2) Ṭabaqāt, 9.

composed a single line of poetry in Islamic times."<sup>1</sup>

The second poem is imputed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā by Ibn Ishāq. Ibn Hishām says that this attribution is wrongly made. He ascribes these lines to al-A'shā b. Zurāra b. an-Nabbāsh, but he seems not to be certain of this. According to the information given by Mu'arrij b. 'Amr as-Sadūsī, this poem was composed by Abū 'Azza al-Jumāhiyy, one of the Meccan poets.<sup>2</sup>

Considering what has been said, it is more reasonable to suppose that this poem was spoken by Abū 'Azza. This is a possibility, because Abū 'Azza had taken part in the battle of Badr. So it is normal that one of the poets of the polytheist of Quraysh would bewail the chiefs of Mecca. There is also the fact that Abū 'Azza was one of the Quraysh prisoners after the defeat of Badr. Furthermore, he asked the Prophet to spare him because he was a poor man with a large family. In return, Abū 'Azza would never stand against the Prophet. There is nothing in this poem to disprove this attribution. In it the poet mourns the noble men of Quraysh who were killed on the battlefield, yet does not ask for revenge or make any attack against the Prophet or his followers. Later, however, Abū 'Azza broke his word. Before the battle of Uḥud he went out to Banū Kināna, calling them to fight the

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1) Rawḍ, V, 71.

2) Ḥadhf, 85.

Prophet. He was later captured and put to death.

Elsewhere, al-Muṣ'ab az-Zubayrī attributes different lines to al-A'shā concerning the same occasion.<sup>1</sup>

Taking the third poem, we cannot suppose that Ibn az-Ziba'rā, who is regarded by Ibn Sallām as the best Meccan poet, recited this poem, simply because of the artificial style and weakness of phraseology which distinguish most of its lines.

Finally, considering the last poem which Ibn Hishām's authorities find suspect: two versions of this poem are extant, one by Ibn Sallām, who includes eight lines only,<sup>2</sup> and the second by Ibn Hishām, who adds an extra six lines.<sup>3</sup>

To take Ibn Sallām's version, if Ibn Hishām had cast no suspicion upon the authenticity of this poem, it would have been extremely difficult to have any doubt about these eight lines.

In general, any reader of these lines will note the following points.

The construction of this poem is excellent. If we consider the phrasing of these eight lines, none of its expression can be adequately replaced by another. Further, there is no discord between the recorded words, but all of them support each other. It shows

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- 1) Nasab, 403, see also Dīwān al-A'shā Maymūn (Part 2), 272, and Mu'talif, 21.
- 2) Ṭabaqāt, 202.
- 3) Sīra, II, 419.

the experience that we may expect of a poet. Otherwise, it has a familiar metre (Kāmil) which had been used by the early poets in pre-Islamic times and the early period of Islam. Nevertheless, we must admit that some of Ibn az-Ziba'rā's poems about which we have doubts have exactly the same metre. It could be taken as evidence that most of the poems imputed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā have been composed by the same hand.

Considering the extra verses added to the version given by Ibn Hishām, we find them particularly interesting because it is extremely difficult to imagine that a man such as Ibn az-Ziba'rā, who was known for his hostility to Islam, could ever have written these verses (which are full of Islamic expressions) immediately after conversion to Islam. In fact this poem, as is noted by P. Minganti, has little in common with the ideas and emotions usually found in Ibn az-Ziba'rā's poetry.<sup>1</sup>

Let us consider next that part of his poetry which has not been questioned by Ibn Hishām's authorities, taking, in particular, one poem ascribed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā on the siege of Medina. However one goes through the lines of this poem, it must be admitted that many of Ibn Hishām's decisions as to the authenticity of the poetry included in his Sīra were rather arbitrary. This poem <sup>quite obviously</sup> shows the characteristics

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1) Rivista Degli Studi Orientali, art., 38, 1963, p. 323.

of the forger which ~~do not need any exertion to realize~~. The forger not only used Islamic phrases (such as al-Aḥzāb for the attacking army, or al-Medīna instead of Yathrib): he also composed poems similar to this which he imputed to Ḥassān b. Thābit. Walīd ḤArafāt, in his thesis, has discussed these two poems.<sup>1</sup> He gives more varied evidence to show how it is most likely that these two poems which are imputed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā and Ḥassān, were in fact composed by one author.

Among the rest of his poems there are four short poems, each consisting of four lines. Because of their shortness, it is rather difficult to judge them or to make any further investigations. But, in fact, there is no reason to suspect the authenticity of any of these four poems.<sup>2</sup>

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- 1) An introduction to the study of the authenticity of the poems ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit, and on the same subject see an article by the same author in the BSOAS, XXV111, 3, 1965, p. 477.
- 2) IH, II, 166, 278, 325, 419.

(b) Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fihri

Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās, from the clan of Banū Muḥārib b. Fihri, was the chief of his clan during the Fijār war.<sup>1</sup>

As-Suhaylī, however, states that his father was in fact the chief of Banū Muḥārib during the event of al-Fijār.<sup>2</sup>

In one poem which was composed by Ḍirār, he himself indicates that he had participated in the battle of 'Ukāz. However, more details about this poem are given under the battle of al-Fijār.

On the other hand, there is another event which took place before the rise of Islam, and in which Ḍirār is reported to have been involved. Abū 'l-Faraj gives details about this event.<sup>3</sup> He attributes two short poems to Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb, one poem being directed to Khālīd b. 'Ubayd Allāh from the clan of Banū 'l-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Manāt.<sup>4</sup>

The other is directed to Banū Lu'ayy, stirring them up to take revenge and to refuse to take blood money. The latter poem is included in al-Buḥturī's Ḥamāsa. He adds two extra lines to the version given by Abū 'l-Faraj. The lines which al-Buḥturī includes are as follows:-<sup>5</sup>

1) Ṭabaqāt, 212., Munammaq, 200., Muḥabbar, 170.  
Istī'āb, II, 748.

2) Rawḍ, IV, 30.

3) Aghānī, VII, 28.

4) For further information, see al Munammaq, pp.246-48.

5) B., Ḥamāsa, 29.

See that the two sons of Lu'ayy are on the point  
of making peace,  
And their sons are (prepared to) take any path  
(to a solution).

O two sons of Lu'ayy, people of honour and renown,  
and adherence, (to honour) refuse disgrace.

The misery of oppression is what you have gathered,  
And those who protect their people (by requiting  
evil) with evil are left alone.

If you do not take vengeance for your brother,  
You will be utterly crushed. (Exact meaning of  
this hemistich unclear.)

Is not the neighbour always (protected) among you,  
So that you are angry when his honour or wealth  
is attacked. (23)

Ḍirār was regarded as one of the knights of the  
tribe of Quraysh.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Sallām mentions that Ḍirār  
generally used to live out of Mecca. He had chosen  
a group of people, from the allies of Quraysh and the  
deserters of Kināna, to raid others and to plunder  
their properties.<sup>2</sup>

However, after the appearance of Islam, Ḍirār

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- 1) Munammaq, 529., Istī'ab, II, 748., Ishtiqaq, 103.,  
IH., Jamhara, I, 179.
- 2) Ṭabaqāt, 209.

concentrated his activity on attacking Islam and its followers. Vigorously, he played a great part during the quarrel between Mecca and Medina. ʔirār and Ibn az-Ziba'rā were in fact the most enthusiastic and consistent defenders of the cause of Quraysh. During the years of the quarrel with Medina, both of them were involved in polemics with almost all the poets of Medina. Because of the poet's reaction and the arrogant mood which was expressed by all Meccan poets, the Qur'ān attacked them and singled out the Meccan poets by saying "The misguided follow the poets."<sup>1</sup> In the battle in which ʔirār had taken part against the adherents of Islam, his heroism is likely to be certain. Two examples, however, are available to be taken into consideration.

One is at the battle of Uḥud, when ʔirār is reported to have said "I had killed eleven of the Anṣār on the battlefield of Uḥud."<sup>2</sup> This number might be exaggerated, but al-Wāqidī and al-Balādhurī mention five names of the Anṣār killed by ʔirār.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, al-Wāqidī says he asked Ibn Jarīr (aṭ-Ṭabarī) about the statement in which it is supposed that ʔirār had killed ten of the Anṣār. In his answer, Ibn Jarīr gave

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- 1) Sūra (ash-shu'arā'), verses 224-27. The majority of commentators explain these verses as referring to these poets. 'Umda, I, 31.; 'Iqd, VI, 145.; Ṭabarī (Tafsīr), XIX, 72-3, Zamakhsharī al-Kashshāf, II, 135.
  - 2) Istī'āb, II, 749.; Maghāzī, I, 282-3.; Iṣāba, II, 533.
  - 3) Maghāzī, I, 281.; B., Ansāb, I, 328-30.

an account of three persons killed by ʿDirār.<sup>1</sup> If we consider the apparently genuine lines which Ibn Ḥabīb attributed to ʿDirār at the battle of Uḥud,<sup>2</sup> we may support the authenticity of the statement which is given by both al-Wāqidī and al-Balādhurī which indicates that ʿDirār had killed a number of the enemy. The lines containing this possible reference are as follows:-

Aṣ-Saḥāb (the name of his sword) was not blunt when

I saw Ghassān in the heat of the battle of Uḥud.  
I left them at the side of the valley, a great  
number of slain men thrown down, killed, though  
they did not compensate (for our dead)

O Mayya.

If you had seen them, with our horsemen preventing  
them and the swords taking them by twos and ones,  
You would be sure that Banū Fihr and their brothers  
were (true) knights at the valley on the day of  
fear. (24)

The second example is that, during the siege of Medina (8/629), ʿDirār with other heroes of Quraysh, leaped into the trench asking for single combat.<sup>3</sup> Muslim authors, however, indicate that ʿDirār was

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1) Maghāzī, I, 282.

2) Munammaq, 521-22.

3) IH., II, 224.; Maghāzī, II, 471.; Munammaq, 521-22.

extremely fanatical (Muta'aṣṣib) in his support of Quraysh. This account seems to be adorned with all sorts of fictitious details.

For example, it was supposed that Ḍirār had composed a poem after the defeat of Quraysh at the battle of Badr. In this poem, Ḍirār claimed to have attributed the Muslim victory to the minority of Quraysh on the Muslim side who took part in the battle.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, it was reported that Ḍirār vowed never to kill a Qurashī at any confrontation with Muslims.<sup>2</sup>

During the combat of Uḥud, Ḍirār is stated to have hit 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb with his sword and to have said to him "Flee, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb."<sup>3</sup> This account might also be doubted because it absolutely contradicts the reaction of the Quraysh before and after the battle.

Al-Wāqidī, however, includes a similar statement supposed to have been made later by Khālīd b. al-Walīd, who had settled in Syria. He says "I saw 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb escaping from the battlefield of Uḥud, but I ignored him."<sup>4</sup>

Ḍirār was converted after the conquest of Mecca. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr attributes one poem to Ḍirār on this occasion. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, the motive which aroused Ḍirār and made him compose this poem was

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1) IH., II, 13-14.

2) Ṭabaqāt, 211.

3) Ṭabaqāt, 211.; IH., I, 415.; Maghāzī, I, 282.

4) Maghāzī, I, 237.

a statement supposed to have been made by Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, who was one of the Prophet's commanders at the battle. When Sa'd passed Abū Sufyān (Ibn Ḥarḇ.), he said:-

To-day is a day of slaughter,  
To-day what was prohibited is lawful,  
To-day God has humbled Quraysh.

When the Prophet passed Abū Sufyān, Abū Sufyān told him what he had heard from Sa'd. 'Uthmān (Ibn 'Affān) and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf said to the Prophet that it was to be feared that Sa'd would resort to violence. The Prophet ordered one of his followers to go and take the banner from Sa'd and to give it to his son Qays.

Dirār is stated to have immediately recited his poem after hearing Sa'd's statement. The poem goes like this:-

O Prophet of guidance, the tribe of Quraysh has  
taken refuge in you, and you are the best refuge.  
When the wide earth became narrow for them, and  
the God of Heaven became their enemy,  
And the ring of the saddle-cloth is thrown over  
(i.e. when the critical moment comes) for the  
people and matters come to a pitch,  
Sa'd wishes to snap the people of al-Ḥujūn and  
al-Baḥḥā,  
A Khazrajite who, if he could, would from anger

afflict us with the vulture and the dog

(i.e. they would eat our dead bodies).

With a rancorous breast, not interested in anything

except shedding blood and enslaving women,

Blazing with zeal against the valleys, with Hind

causing to perform evil actions,

When he calls for the humiliation of the tribe of

Quraysh and Ibn Ḥarb with that for a witness,

If he plunges the banner into battle and cries,

O defenders of the banner, people of the banner,

Let Quraysh be in the valleys, low-quality truffles

of the valley-bottom (a traditional expression

for something humiliated) in the hands of women,

So prevent him, he is the lion of lions in the

forest lapping up blood,

He is determined, wishing for us an (evil) matter,

in silence like the deadly snake.<sup>1</sup> (25)

Let us begin by considering this account, which is first included by al-Wāqidī and later by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr on the authority of Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Umawī.

At the beginning one must admit that all the information given about Sa'd b. 'Ubāda in particular is rather confused. Because of his attitude towards the Khilāfa, one may assume that Muslim authors in general give brief and muddled descriptions of Sa'd. Under

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1) Istī'āb, II, 748, 592.

these circumstances, one cannot, perhaps, find anything more precise about Sa'd's life and activities.

However, the general view among Muslim authors who have considered this event is as follows. Sa'd had taken part in that battle, and he was, moreover, one of the Prophet's commanders. The doubt among the authorities is about the statement which is ascribed to Sa'd. Ibn Ishāq is perhaps the first and the only one who expresses his doubts about Sa'd's statement when he says (IH, II, 406) that, "...some traditionists allege that when Sa'd started off he said:-

'al-Yawm Yawm al-Malḥama,  
al-Yawm Tustaḥall al-Ḥurma.'"

If we leave this account and consider the poem which is ascribed to Ḍirār, the implication of Ibn Ishāq that this account is false is fully justified.

The poem contains a number of proverbs,<sup>1</sup> and these are particularly interesting because their use makes it seem likely that a good poet like Ḍirār, whose poetical gifts appear to have been esteemed by many authors,<sup>2</sup> would not have composed this poem which has shown its own proof of the incapability of its author.

It is quite clear that Ḍirār and the rest of the Quraysh were suddenly thrown off their balance by the takeover of Mecca by the Prophet, and accordingly one

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1) See lines 3 and 11.

2) Nasab, 448.; IS, VII, 336.; Istī'āb, II, 748.; Ishtiqāq, 103.; Rawd, IV, 30.; Kh. B., Tārīkh, I, 200.; IH., Jamhira, I, 179.; Iṣāba, II, 533.

might anticipate a very simple style, but the thing which cannot be accepted is that someone like ʿDirār, who had composed poetry before the appearance of Islam, should make his poem consist of a simple narrative and, further, include imitative elements at a very crucial time. We may infer more than this if we consider the sentiments expressed in the first two lines, because they go against the reactions of ʿDirār who was regarded, before the conquest of Mecca, as one of the most active enemies of Islam and its followers in his poetry and actions. Otherwise, if these two lines were composed by ʿDirār a considerable time after his conversion to Islam, one might imagine this to be possible, but it is more likely that ʿDirār composed the lines immediately after the Prophet's order to his army to enter Mecca. At that time the reaction of the Quraysh was, in fact, rather hostile, because some of them waged war against the Prophet's army while others refused to accept Islam in the beginning, or fled out of Mecca.

On the other hand, the Islamic expression in the second line is quite clear. Moreover, another proof appears in the second hemistich of the seventh line. The existence in this line of criticism of Hind, however, emphasizes that it was only later generations, in the first century of Islam, who probably introduced these ideas, following the civil war which flared up between 'Alī and Mu'āwīya.

The expression of this poem, furthermore, clearly

shows that the intention of the author was not to seek to dispose the Prophet favourably towards the Quraysh. Indeed, he was attacking Sa'd personally, and further, he was defaming the reputation of his tribe al-Khazraj in general.

The fact which must be admitted is that phrases like "blood-shedding" and "murderous" would never have pleased the Prophet when applied to any of his followers.

Nevertheless, when we turn to one of Ibn Hishām's statements, we find that when Ka'b b. Zuhayr recited his famous poem (Bānat Su'ād) in praise of the Prophet and the Muhājirūn of Quraysh, the Prophet asked him also to praise the Anṣār. How, accordingly, can one reconcile such attitudes as these, which are supposed to have occurred within a period of a few months?

Finally, Ibn Kathīr attributes this poem to a woman on the authority of al-Ḥāfiẓ b. 'Asākir.<sup>1</sup>

Dirār's activities during the time of the first Khalīfa and during part of the reign of the second.

In one article in the EI, the writer says, "It is not known if Dirār perished in the battle of Yamāma (12-633) or whether he survived and went to settle in Syria."

We may presume that this statement is due to a

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1) Bidāya, IV, 295.

confused remark made by Ibn Sa'd, who first indicated that Ǧirār was killed in the battle of al-Yamāma.<sup>1</sup> In another statement, however, Ibn Sa'd mentions that Ǧirār had taken part in battles in Syria and died there.<sup>2</sup>

Let us consider whether Ǧirār was killed at the battle of al-Yamāma. According to reliable information given by a number of authors,<sup>3</sup> Ǧirār had taken part in a number of battles in both Iraq and Syria. In fact, we may presume two probabilities as regards the person who was killed at the battle of al-Yamāma. The first one is Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the brother of the second Khalīfa 'Umar, or Ǧirār b. al-Azwar b. Mirdās who is also reported to have been killed at the same battle,<sup>4</sup> but it is quite certain that Ǧirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb had participated in certain battles which took place years after the battle of al-Yamāma. Aṭ-Ṭabarī, however, mentions that Ǧirār was one of Khālīd b. al-Wālīd's commanders during the siege of al-Ḥīra.<sup>5</sup> After the siege of al-Ḥīra, aṭ-Ṭabarī points out that Ǧirār was one of Khālīd's emirs who were responsible for the protection of the harbours.<sup>6</sup>

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1) IS, V, 336.

2) IS, VII, 128.

3) Ṭabaqāt, 211., IH, I, 415., Kh.B., Tārīkh, I, 200.

4) Istī'āb, I, 326.

5) Tārīkh, I-IV, 2039 (III, 360).

6) Tārīkh, I-IV, 2052 (III, 369).

Ḍirār, however, was in Khālīd's army when it moved from Iraq to Syria. According to aṭ-Ṭabarī, 'Utayba b. an-Nahās replaced Ḍirār in the ports.<sup>1</sup>

It seems that the main battle in which Ḍirār took part in Syria was the battle of al-Yarmūk (13/634). Ibn al-Athīr, however, seems to be mistaken. He indicates that Ḍirār was killed at the battle of al-Yarmūk,<sup>2</sup> but according to Ibn al-Athīr himself and aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ḍirār had returned to Iraq when the second Khalīfa ordered the army which had gone to Syria to return to Iraq. At that time, Ḍirār was reported to have taken part in the last day of the battle of al-Qādisiyya (14/635).<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, it was stated that Ḍirār had seized the distinguished flag of the Furs at that battle (Dirafsh Kābiyān). Accordingly, he was given thirty thousand in return.<sup>4</sup>

Ḍirār, however, took part in the siege of al-Madā'in in the year 16/637,<sup>5</sup> but the most important activity in which he played a part that year was the conquest of Masabdhān, when 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ordered his commander in Iraq (Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ) to send an army to occupy Masabdhān under the leadership of Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb.<sup>6</sup> At the beginning of the year 17/638,

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1) Tārīkh, I-IV, 2116 (III, 411).

2) Ath., Kāmil, II, 374.

3) Ṭabarī, I-V, 2332 (III, 561).

4) Ṭabarī, I-V, 2337 (III, 564)., Ath., Kāmil, II, 395.

5) Ṭabarī, I-V, 2431 (IV, 8)., Ath., Kāmil, II, 409.

6) Ṭabarī, I-V, 2478 (IV, 37)., Ath., Kāmil, II, 412.

Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ left al-Madā'in for the new settlement of al-Kūfa. Sa'd, however, asked Ẹirār, who had been appointed as the emir of Masabdhān, to come to settle in al-Kūfa.

Ẹirār accepted, and that is probably the last indication we have about Ẹirār's activities in Iraq.

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī further states that Ẹirār was present at the conquest of al-Madā'in, and went after that to settle in Syria.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Ḥabīb and Ibn al-Athīr both indicated that, at the beginning of the year 18/639, Ẹirār was one of a number of people accused of taking wine in Syria, and that is perhaps the last indication we have about Ẹirār and his life.<sup>2</sup>

#### His Poetry

As we mentioned above, many of the early Arab writers extolled the poetical ability of Ẹirār, but it is not true to say that his recorded poems are on a level with those of any of his contemporaries in Medina.

Looking at a few recorded verses which may have been composed by Ẹirār in the pre-Islamic period or in the early days of Islam, we see that all these are written in a simple style common among the poets of Mecca.

So far as we know, neither Ibn az-Ziba'rā nor Ẹirār, who were considered the best poets of Mecca,

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1) Kh.B., Tārīkh, I, 200.

2) Munammaq, 498., Ath., Kāmil, II, 434.

produced the standard of poetry which would place them in the same category with other poets of their own period.

Al-Muṣ'ab az-Zubayrī, however, includes a statement which is not yet supported by any satisfactory example.

He says "It is told on the authority of Rabāḥ b. al-Muḡhtarif b. Ḥajwān b. 'Amr, who said that they were travelling, and while he was chanting a group of people, among them 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Awf and 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭab, passed 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, and asked him what was going on. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān answered, 'We want to pass the time and to shorten the journey.' 'Umar said, 'Then recite the poetry of Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb.'"<sup>1</sup>

The last line of this statement not only supposes that Ḍirār was a well-known poet, but also gives an impression that he had composed a lot of poetry which was held in high esteem by his contemporaries. Moreover, this assumption implies that 'Umar asked 'Abd

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- 1) Nasab, 448. Al-Yazīdī, in his book al-Amālī (100-101), includes the same statement, but he says that 'Umar asked 'Abd ar-Raḥmān to recite the poem of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm:-

Do you know the traces of 'Umra (my beloved which are pale on the sand like the gold lines in the skin,

Deserted and uninhabited now, the place is unfit for a rider to halt at.

(Dīwān poem No. 4).

ar-Raḥmān to recite poetry which is supposed to have been composed by Ḍirār before the rise of Islam, for it is impossible to imagine that 'Umar meant the poetry composed by Ḍirār during the outbreak of fighting between Mecca and Medina.

Obviously, without an account of Ḍirār's poetry, one cannot claim that his views are definitely accurate, since all the arguments that we may put forward are, in fact, based on personal deduction or on scattered fragments which are included by some of the early authors.

For example, many of the reliable sources confirm that Ḍirār took part in the battle of 'Ukāz. On this occasion, one poem only is ascribed to Ḍirār, and, we have already said, we have no doubt about the authenticity of this poem.

We may, moreover, presume that Ḍirār, who was capable of composing poetry at that time, might have composed others about the same occasion, but these lines have not survived.

However, among the surviving verses which are attributed to Ḍirār, al-Buḥturī includes one of these verses in which Ḍirār shows his ability to write poetry in the pre-Islamic period. This does not mean that we are supporting the previous account, but simply that we wish to make it clear that Ḍirār composed lines or verses of poetry, as did many of the Arabs in the past.

Ibn Sallām, however, gives another example,<sup>1</sup> which implies that, in his early life, ʿDirār lived in the manner of those who are called, in the history of Arabic literature, Ṣa‘ālīk al-‘Arab - they were brigands and outlaws, but excellent poets.

However, up to the present time, none of the references which we have attributes a single poem to ʿDirār on the subject of this way of life, which may show how far this account is veritable or, at least, shed light on the lost poetry which, it is claimed, was composed by ʿDirār.

The conclusion which may be reached is as follows: There has been much exaggeration about the poets of Mecca and their status before the appearance of Islam. It must be understood that Meccan poets generally became known after the events which took place following the rise of Islam. At that time, the Quraysh were involved in wars, and their cause had an urgent need for poetry. The Quraysh accordingly encouraged those who had been able to recite verses in the past, and there is no doubt that some of these poets experienced years of warfare.

If we examine the poetry which is supposed to have been composed by ʿDirār during the Islamic period, there is no doubt that most of these verses are forgeries, because of the subject-matter and the style, and the manner in which they seem to have come into use years after the events described.

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 209.

At the same time, it must be admitted that most of the poetry composed by Dirār during the outbreak of fighting between Mecca and Medina has not been recorded, simply because these verses vigorously attacked Islam and challenged its followers, and Muslim authors intentionally ignored that kind of poetry.<sup>1</sup>

However, the greatest number of verses ascribed to Dirār are to be found in Ibn Hishām's Sīra, which includes nine poems or fragments of poetry and a single line.<sup>2</sup>

The authenticity of three of these poems has been questioned by scholars of poetry. When we look at the verses which have not been questioned by Ibn Hishām's authorities, it is clear that some of these have been forged.

We have already discussed one of these verses and we shall examine the one dealing with Badr during our study on the poetical talent of Ka'b b. Mālik. But it should be pointed out that our views are casting suspicion on the poem ascribed to the day of Badr. (IH, II, 13) and expressing confidence in the one which was directed to Umm-Ghaylān (IH, I, 414).

Among the rest, however, there are three verses which appear to be genuine (IH, I, 450; II, 144 and 145). The style in these verses is very strong,

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1) IH, I, 648; II, 32., Rawḍ, V, 73-4

2) IH, I, 47, 414, 450-51; II, 13, 27, 139, 144, 145, 163 and 254.

unlike many Meccan verses which employ hackneyed phrases. The first one consists of two lines only. In it ʿDirār rejoices, in fluent language, at his capture of one of the Anṣār, and expresses regret for the escape of the other. These lines are as follows:-

I captured Sa'd and took him by force,  
It would have satisfied my desire, if I had  
    captured Mundhir.  
If I had caught him, his blood would have been  
    shed unavenged,  
For he was worthy to be insulted and killed  
    with impunity. (26)

The other verses are ascribed to the day of Uḥud. In them, ʿDirār throws light on the battle. However, more details will be given when we come to deal with the combat of Uḥud.

The last one is attributed to the siege of Medina, but it seems to have been forged, by reason of the weakness of its phrases, which are completely different from the other verses mentioned above.

Finally, before we conclude our remarks on the poetry of ʿDirār, it would be advisable to point out a fact which has been admitted by two prominent scholars in the field of poetry, who give their opinion on the style which characterizes Meccan poetry and on how the style caused great difficulty among the early

critics.

Ibn Sallām frankly states that extra lines were added to the poem ascribed to Abū Ṭālib b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, which he composed when he feared that the populace of the Arabs would overpower him and his family for their protection of the Prophet.

Ibn Sallām, however, says that neither he nor al-Aṣma'ī knew the lines which were composed by Abū Ṭālib, or those which were added later.

The reason which Ibn Sallām gives is that "The poetry of the Quraysh is feeble and rather obscure."<sup>1</sup>

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 204.

Chapter Two.

(1) THE INHABITANTS OF YATHRIB.

(a) The Arabs.

According to the sources, the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj immigrated to Yathrib from South Arabia, and the reason for their emigration from their homes is given as the bursting of the dam of Ma'rib.<sup>1</sup>

The Qur'ān mentions the bursting of the dam, but no date is given.<sup>2</sup> P.K. Hittī refers to the final catastrophe alluded to in the Qur'ān; he says, "It must have taken place after 542 and before 570."<sup>3</sup> Hittī's approximate date is based on Yāqūt's information. He mentions this event and puts it approximately in the period of Abyssinian rule (525-575).<sup>4</sup>

According to an inscription discovered by Glaser, one breach took place during the rule of Abraha, but this was repaired. Glaser also indicates that another cleft appeared in the dam, and, once more, reparation work averted the disaster, but the final calamity must have taken place not long afterwards.<sup>5</sup>

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1) IH, I, 13., Aghānī, XIX, 94. EI arts,  
al-Aws and al-Khazraj, Ath., Kāmil, I, 491.  
Dīwān, Ḥassān (MS), 4.

2) Sūra 34, verses 15-16.

3) History of the Arabs, 64.

4) Buldān, Ma'rib.

5) EI, art., Ma'rib.

When the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj came to Yathrib, they found a number of Jewish tribes settled there. The most powerful of these were Banū Qurayza, an-Nadīr and Qaynuqā'. Both al-Aws and al-Khazraj established a new home in Yathrib. However, in the beginning their position was weaker than that of the Jews, who were holding the power rather than a few Arab clans who had settled there before but who seem to have been in a subordinate position.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to be definite about the relationship between the Arabs of this earlier period and the Jews, because the information which is given by some authors is somewhat confused.

The dominant position later passed from the Jews to the Arabs. According to Muslim authorities, this happened in the time of Mālik b. al'Ajlān who became independent with outside help, either from the Ghassānids in Syria or from the Yemenites. Again it is hard to estimate the kind of help which was supposed to have been received, because there are clashes of view among the historians concerning this event. Al-Ya'qūbī, for example, mentions that Mālik went to Yemen after he had slain Fiṭyawn, the prince of the Jewish family, and then he received help from one of the Yemen kings;<sup>1</sup> while Abū'l-Faraj and some others state that Mālik went to the Ghassānids in Syria and

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1) Ya'qūbī, I, 231.

was assisted by Abū Jubayla, who came to Yathrib and killed many of the Jews, thus placing the Khazraj in a good position so that they became the real authority in the region.<sup>1</sup>

Irrespective of what has been said, it is possible that Mālik received help from kinsmen either in Yemen or in Syria which enabled him to assert his power, because both the Ghassānids in Syria and the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj had immigrated from Yemen. Moreover, it is obvious that during pre-Islamic times tribalism (‘aṣabiyya) always kept the members of each tribe close to each other, and their tradition was to support kinsmen who asked for help. So there is no conclusive evidence to make us reject the idea that Mālik received outside support, but what are unlikely to be true are these artificial stories which the narrators included concerning Mālik's success. The story of Mālik and Fiṭyawn, which is recorded as the main cause of the out-break of hostilities between the Khazraj and the Jews, is absolutely false. Fiṭyawn is alleged to have been killed by Mālik only because he wanted to avoid his sister having to spend her first night as a bride with Fiṭyawn, who used to force every girl to do so.

In the legendary history of Ṭasm and Jadīs we find

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1) Aghānī, XIX, 96., Ath., Kāmil, I, 493.

Dīwān, Ḥassān (ed. 'A), 14. Samhūdī, 178.

the same story. The king of Ṭasm, to whom the name 'Amlīq is attributed, also used to force every woman from Jadīs to spend her first night as a bride with him, and for this he was also slain by the brother of one bride in a fashion similar to the story told against the Jews of Yathrib.<sup>1</sup>

F. Krenkow says that the fact "...that Fiṭyawn's name is fictitious is apparent; it is nothing but the Greek word ΚΟΙΤΩΝ". He maintains that the Khazraj were able to assert their domination not only by outside help, but also by increasing their numbers, while they became masters of certain Āṭām (strongholds) which strengthened their position.<sup>2</sup>

W.M. Watt supports the theory that it was Mālik who secured the independence of his people, but says, "... it is difficult, however, to estimate accurately the extent of his success. All that we can be certain about is that some of the Khazraj became independent. It is probable, however, that nearly all the Khazraj and many of the Aws became independent and doubtless acquired strongholds"<sup>3</sup>

The poetry dealing with this subject is, however, very scanty. There is one poem and one fragment, but they provide us with little information. Ḥassān Ibn

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- 1) Dīwān al-A' Shā, 74-82. Buldān, Jadīs, Ṭabarī, II, 371. Murūj, II, 114. Samhūdī, I, 183, Khizāna, II, 225.
- 2) EI, art., al-Khazraj.
- 3) Muhammad at Medina, 193.

Thābit, in the first place,<sup>1</sup> does not support the conclusion reached by the historians. He declares in one of his poems that his people had replaced the Jewish domination in Medina by defeating them when their warriors made an unexpected attack upon the Jews near the mountain of Şirār. These are the words of Ḥassān:-

We came to them with our equipment  
On our white war-loving camels;  
Beside them we led war-horses  
Covered with thick leather.  
When we halted on the sides of Şirār  
And made fast the saddles with twisted ropes  
They were scared by the speed of the horses  
And the sudden attack from the rear.  
They fled swiftly in terror  
As we came on them like lions of the jungle  
On our long, carefully tended mares  
Which were not out of condition from long stabling.  
Dark bays, spirited,  
Strongly jointed like arrows,  
Carrying horsemen accustomed to fighting warriors  
And to smiting down brave foes;

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- 1) H. Hirschfeld, in his edition of the Dīwān of Ḥassān, says this poem was ascribed to the poet's son 'Abd ar-Raḥmān (27), but he does not give any further details. Ibn Hishām, on the other hand, confirms the authenticity of this poem (II, 557) and attributes a different one to Ḥassān's son (II, 554).

Kings when (others) behaved as tyrants in the land,  
Never retreating but always advancing.

We came back with their leading men  
And their women and children also were divided  
among the victors.

We inherited their houses when they had gone  
And remained there as owners.<sup>1</sup> (27)

Abū'l-Faraj, on the other hand, attributes to the  
Jewish poetess Sāra al-Quraḏiyya the following lines,  
which are claimed to have been said as a lament for  
the Jews of Banū Qurayḏa who were slain by Abū Jubayla.<sup>2</sup>  
They go like this:-

Woe to me from a people in the Vale of Ḥuruḏ, who  
were of no use to themselves, who were wiped  
out by the wind.

Old men from Qurayḏa destroyed by the swords and  
spears of the Khazrajites.

We have been overtaken by a calamity, a calamity  
of a heavy burden,

That would make pure water taste bitter.

If they had thought things carefully,

They would have been protected by a dark heavily  
armed (force). (28)

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- 1) Translated by A. Guillaume, Sīra, 626.  
Dīwān, 12 (ed.H), 374 (B), 57('A).
- 2) Aghānī, XIX, 96.

Whatever we may say or suggest on the basis of these lines, it is not possible to discover a definite indication of the occasion, or even the motive, which led to them. The poem is very short, and we believe that some of it is missing, no matter whether it was composed by the poetess herself or somebody else. The important thing is, perhaps, that both the previous poem and this fragment show that the Jews were suddenly attacked, but not in the way which is related by the narrators. Whatever light these verses may shed, it must be admitted that sometimes we cannot be decisively sure about the verses quoted by the narrators. Even if these verses are forgeries, they are early forgeries and thus might have given us some useful information, but they often seem rather confusing and indeterminate.

In cases like this, it is impossible to say with any certainty whether they are true or false. Furthermore, some of the informants who quote the poems are also very muddled. For example, Yāqūt mentions three of these lines, and makes a comment saying that Ḥuruḍ is a valley in Medina at Uḥud. But he says that Abū Jubayla was one of the Yemenī kings who came to Yathrib and killed many of the Jews of Yathrib at Ḥuruḍ, and gives, as the reason for that, the story of Fiṭṭayn's oppressive treatment of the women of Yathrib.<sup>1</sup>

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1) Buldān, II, 242.

(b) The Jews.

There has been much contradiction in the accounts recorded by the Muslim scholars concerning the original home of the Jews of Yathrib. The majority of the early Arabs had believed that Banū 'n-Naḍīr, Qurayḍa and Bahdal were settled in Yathrib since the time of the Jewish wars against the Romans.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, a few of them reported that Banū 'n-Naḍīr and Banū Qurayḍa were mainly two sections of the Arab tribe of Judhām who were converted to the Jewish faith and settled on two mountains, one called an-Naḍīr and the other Qurayḍa.<sup>2</sup> Up to the present time we have no definite evidence which may support one view against the other. All we can say with certainty is that there were many Arabs who embraced Judaism among those who lived in Yathrib, and many sources mention cases of intermarriage or conversion of individual Arabs to Judaism, but these numbers cannot have been so large as of those who were originally Jews.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Bakrī, for example, says that Banū Ḥishna b. 'Ukārīma b. 'Awf b. Jusham b. Wadm b. Humaym b. Dhuhl b. Haniyy b. Baliyy had converted to Judaism. The reason

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- 1) Dīwān, Ḥassān, ed. H. Hirschfeld, 28., Maghāzī, I, 365; II, 501-2, 504 and 518., Samhūdī, I, 159-65., Ṭabarī, 1-2, 647., Aghānī, XIX, 94.
  - 2) Ya'qūbī, II, p.40, 42.
  - 3) IH, I, pp. 514-16; II, p.333., Maghāzī, I, 376., Ṭabaqāt, 238, 244 and 247., M., Mu'jam, 231., B., Ansāb, 283-6, 374., Ishtiqaq, 436, 445, 447, 461, 467.

given is that Banū Ḥishna killed some men of Banū ʿr-Raba', one clan of the tribe of Bāliyy. So they went to Taymā', but the Jews there prevented them from entering their stronghold unless they adopted the Jewish faith.<sup>1</sup> In spite of this, however, there are credible reasons for believing that there were in fact immigrants of Jewish origin in the oases of the Ḥijāz and over a considerable period these immigrants were strengthened by Arab clans or families who converted to Judaism.

- (1) There are so many passages in the Qur'ān which compare the actions of the Jews of Yathrib unfavourably with the part played by Jews in the past that we are necessarily led to believe that a racial connection between these Jews and the Jews of Yathrib is implied.

Indeed it is difficult to imagine that all these Qur'ānic verses were spoken to people who only shared their predecessors' faith and were not intimately connected with them by race. Moreover, if those people were only Arabs who had adopted Judaism, why did the Qur'ān call them Banū Isrā'īl, while they were truly Arabs?<sup>2</sup>

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- 1) B., Mu'jam, I, 29.
- 2) Among the large number of Qur'ānic passages, regarding the Jews of Yathrib, only consider the following verses: Sūra II, verses 65, 75, and 91; Sūra III, 181; Sūra IV, 47.

Furthermore, if there had been no Jewish stock among the Judaised Arabs, it would be very difficult to explain the origin of the considerable Jewish proselytism among the Arabs of the Ḥijāz.

Looking at the names of the Jews of Yathrib, it might be true that they employed Arabic names. But in spite of this there are also some Jewish names like Banū Za'ūrā, or persons whose names, or those of their fathers, can be traced back to old Jewish names.<sup>1</sup>

In any case, it cannot be denied that, even if Jewish by race, they might have adopted non-Jewish names, calling themselves after the places in which they settled.<sup>2</sup>

In respect to their own customs, it does seem certain that the Jewish tribes of Yathrib had many customs which were characteristic of the pagan Arabs, but it must not be forgotten, as F. M. Buhl has rightly pointed out, that the Jews in Arabia were very much influenced by their surroundings and had assumed a character of their own.

Finally, F. M. Buhl quotes a convincing argument first adduced by Wellhausen, who says that the Arabian Jews, by their language, their knowledge of the Scriptures, their manner of life, their fondness for malicious mockery, secret arts, poison, magic

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1) III, I, pp. 514-16.

2) I. Wolfensohn, Tārīkh al-Yahūd Fī Bilād al-'Arab, 15.

and cursing, and their fear of death, make an unusual impression which cannot be explained simply by the Judaizing of pure Arabs.<sup>1</sup>

- (2) Looking at the poetry of that period, there is unfortunately no conclusive evidence, but at least there are a few lines which may be quoted to indicate that there was Hebrew stock among the Jews of Yathrib. Al-'Abbās b. Mirdās certainly believes that Banū ʿn-Naḍīr were not Hebraised Arabs as al-Ya'qūbī says, but mainly Jews.

Here from one of his poems we quote the following two lines:-<sup>2</sup>

You have written satiric poems against the Kāhinān  
tribes of pure origin,

Though they have all the time been kind to you.

Regret what befell Banū Hārūn and remember their  
deeds,

And how they helped you in time of starvation and  
drought. (29)

Furthermore, the most famous poets of Medina, Ḥassān b. Thābit and Qays b. al-Khaṭīm,<sup>3</sup> confirm the

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- 1) EI, art., al-Madīna.
- 2) IH, II, 202. Dīwān, 40.
- 3) Dīwān, Ḥassān, ed. H. Hirschfeld, 89. Dīwān, Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, ed. Asad, 62, 83, 182 and 206. As-Samhūdī, on the other hand, ascribes two lines to Qays (I, 178), on which they also go against al-Ya'qūbī's statement.

statement of Abū'l-Faraj<sup>1</sup> that Banū 'n-Naḍīr and Banū Qurayḍa were called Kāhinān ("two priests").<sup>2</sup>

(3) A. The Arab genealogists point out the Arab tribes who had adopted the Jewish religion in Yemen, or those who were Christianised in Syria, but they do not mention the Jews of Yathrib as Hebraised Arabs.<sup>3</sup>

B. During the outbreak of fighting which took place between the Prophet Muḥammad and the Jews of Medina, no tribe among the Arabs supported them; and that should be taken as another piece of evidence, because if Banū 'n-Naḍīr and Banū Qurayḍa were two sections of the Arabs of Judhām, why did their tribe and their allies not stand with them when they were exposed to danger? Further, there was no existence of tribal links, such as were familiar among the tribes, between Yathrib's Jews and the tribes of Arabia. So when the Prophet forced them to leave Medina we observe that Banu Qaynuqā' went to Wādī'l-Qurā and afterwards to Adhra'āt in Syria,<sup>4</sup> while Banū 'n-Naḍīr went to Khaybar and Syria.<sup>5</sup> So we cannot imagine, if they

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- 1) Aghānī, XIX, 94., XXI, 92.
  - 2) Josef Horowitz says that Kāhin in this case is the Arabic rendering of the Hebrew "kohen", which means "priest". IC., Vol.III, No.2, Apr. 1929.
  - 3) IH I, 27, 31-36., Iqd. III, 308., Aghānī, XIII, 123., Ath., Kāmil, I, 295, 300 and 309., Ma'ārif, 299.
  - 4) Maghāzī, I, 180., B., Ansāb, 309.
  - 5) IH, II, 191.

were truly Arabs, that they would not seek or receive their kinsfolk's protection. All these points make us more inclined to regard many of Yathrib's Jews as being of Hebrew stock.

Finally, the majority opinion among modern scholars commonly suggests a Jewish origin for these people.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, we are not able to pinpoint accurately the time when the division broke out between Yathrib's Jews.

None of the early Arab studies has dealt with this subject. The only information which has been recorded concerns the Quarrel which flared up between the Jews of Yathrib and the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj. Furthermore, this information is based merely on personal suppositions and deductions.

One fact which cannot be questioned is included by Ḥs-Samhūdī. He points out that the Jewish tribes of Yathrib had fifty-nine āṭām (strongholds).<sup>2</sup> These

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1) EI, arts, Al-Madīna, Taymā, an-Naḍīr, Ḳainūḳā' and Banū Ḳurayza., IC., art., "Judeo-Arabic Relations in pre-Islamic Times", III, No.2 Apr. 1929.

W.M. Watt, Muhammad at Medina, 192

Abba Eban, History of the Jews, 131.

D.S. Margoliouth, The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam, London 1924.

2) Samhūdī, I, 165.

āṭām raise some confusing questions. For example, why were these large numbers built? Were they for protection? If that is admitted, there is no doubt that this implies they were threatened. On the other hand, we are not able to estimate precisely what kind of security was needed. Were they for protection against internal hostility or an external threat? If they were meant for both, why were these fortresses formed only in Yathrib or places settled by the Jews? These āṭām were not known in the other towns of Ḥijāz, or in the peninsula of Arabia as a whole.

This suggests that these features might have been due to cultural influence from Palestine.

However, their position at the beginning of Islam is obviously different. According to the sources, the day of Bu'āth marked the end of the fighting between al-Aws and al-Khazraj, and that day provides an example of the Jewish division.

The two Jewish tribes an-Nadīr and Qurayza, who were allied with al-Aws, took part in the fighting against al-Khazraj who was also assisted by the Jewish tribe of Banū Qaynūqā'.<sup>1</sup>

This point focuses our attention on the fact that possibly warfare between Yathrib's Jews took place before the quarrel of al-Aws and al-Khazraj. So it seems obvious that their position had largely broken

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1) Aghānī, II, 169., Maghāzī, I, 369, 375; II, 506, 510-15., Ath., Kāmil, I, 509-11.

down, since they were not able to take advantage of the opportunity which could have given them a dominant position or at least enabled them to stand aside instead of being involved in that war. Concerning this issue, our information is based on the poetry and the Qur'ān. In the poem attributed to the Jewish poet ar-Rabī' b. Abī'l-Ḥuqayq, he strongly condemned his people for what he regarded as their injudicious and indiscreet action and for disregarding the opinions of their judicious people, which brought great damage to their community.

Abū'l-Faraj reported that, during the fighting between al-Aws and al-Khazraj, Banū 'n-Naḍīr and Banū Qurayḡa were harsher in their treatment of Banū Qaynuqā' than the Arabs.<sup>1</sup>

He said that that was the motive which inspired ar-Rabī' when he composed the following lines:-

I have grown sick and bed-ridden  
Because of the liability and offence of my people.  
By foolish judgment after discretion,  
Wisdom was trifled with and not understood.  
If my people had followed the wise,  
They would not have been the victims of aggression  
and would not have been wronged.  
But my people followed those who were misled,  
So that those who had shed blood were in difficulties.  
The unwise prevailed over the opinion of the wise,  
Things fell apart and nothing could be decided. (30)

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1) Aghānī, XXI, 92.

In these lines the poet spoke with deep emotion, not only about his disgust but also about what had happened to his people who followed the advice of the unwise. In poetical language, he reprimanded those who did not lead their people in the right direction. Furthermore, he felt ashamed, not only because his people were involved in wars against each other but also because those who committed the errors could not put them right.

If these lines of poetry do not give a sufficiently clear picture of the circumstances of Yathrib's Jews who fought and slew each other, we may quote two Qur'ānic verses included in Sūra 2, which relate what was regarded among the commentators on the Qur'ān as a comment on the part played by Banū Isrā'īl, including Yathrib's Jews who were mentioned in the last verse. As seen from the explanation of these verses, the commentators also supported the information recorded by Abū'l-Faraj and others about the Jews of Yathrib at the beginning of Islam.

According to aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ibn 'Abbās said that these verses were sent down to condemn Banū Qurayẓa, an-Naḍīr and Qaynūqā', who were involved in wars among themselves during the outbreak of fighting between al-Aws and al-Khazraj.

More detail concerning the following verses may be found in the commentary of aṭ-Ṭabarī.<sup>1</sup>

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1) Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, II, pp. 299-316.

Sūra II, No. 84-85.

And remember we took your covenant (to this effect), shed no blood among you, nor turn out your own people from your homes; and this ye solemnly ratified, and to this ye can bear witness.

After this it is ye, the same people, who slay among yourselves and banish a part of you from their homes, assist (their enemies) against them, in guilt and rancour; and if they come to you as captives, ye ransom them though it was not lawful for you to banish them. Then it is only a part of the Book that ye believe in, and do you reject the rest?

But what is the reward for those among you who behave like this, but disgrace in this life? And on the day of Judgment they shall be consigned to the most grievous penalty, for God is not unmindful of what ye do.<sup>1</sup>

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1) 'Abd Allāh Yūsuf 'Alī, The Holy Qur'ān,  
English translation.

(2) THE POETS OF MEDINA:

SUMMARY OF THEIR LIVES AND CRITICAL  
STUDY OF THEIR POETRY.

Without question, Meccan pre-Islamic poetry is rather feeble and of poor quality. It is a different matter with the poetry of Medina.

We do not know any Meccan poets whose names are worthy of record on grounds of poetic merit, unlike those who are included by Ibn Sallām as the famous poets of Medina. There are more Meccan poets mentioned by him than Medinan poets, but, as seen from the surviving poetry, none of the Meccan poets recorded a single poem that would equal any composed by Medinan poets.

At the beginning of Islam, poetry thrived in Medina, and it was, as Ibn Sallām has stated, the best-known urban centre of poetry.<sup>1</sup>

We believe that the warfare which flared up among the inhabitants of Medina produced this rich harvest of poetry. Most of Medina's pre-Islamic poetry has recorded these events, and nearly all poems discovered have dealt with that subject.

If we can succeed in proving the authenticity of this poetry, we shall be able to fill some of the gaps found in the history of Medina. What we need is a

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 179.

careful study, examining closely the recorded poems in order to distinguish between those written by the authentic poets of the time and those which are spurious, composed and added later.

Regarding this issue, it is obvious that any study of the authenticity of the early poetry will be based on historical grounds which cannot be denied or questioned by any reliable sources. If the history does not give any definite indication about the event, then it would be useful to examine the language and style used by ancient poets in order to see whether it existed during that period.

However, our study will be restricted to the poems dealing with the fighting in the days of Ḥāṭib and Bu'āth, because the events relating to these poems and the poets who wrote them are familiar to most of the early writers who included the poems in their books.

Another reason for concentrating on these days is that the wars of Ḥāṭib took place not long before Islam, while the fighting of Bu'āth took place only five years before the Prophet's immigration to Medina.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, most of the poets had actually participated in those days, and most of them accepted Islam. So this might give us confidence in the information included concerning them.

However, before we commence with our study of

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1). IS, IV, Part 2, 95., Samhūdī, I, 218.

Medinan war poems, we think it will be beneficial if we give a summary of the known and accepted facts about the poets of Medina.

Our investigation will be based on Ibn Sallām's information, and that of others who laid the first foundations of criticism of early Arab poetry. Concerning this matter, we have observed that some of Ibn Sallām's critical remarks about the poets of Medina are comprehensive and realistic. But before starting our study of the poets of Medina, it should be noted that during the Jāhiliyya period the practice of poetical criticism had been extremely simple. It was restricted to certain elements of style, such as rhyme, rhythm, alliteration, simile, metaphor, or power of expression.

The people of Medina were noted for this kind of literary criticism. This may be illustrated by the occasion at which they advised one of the earliest great poets to correct the rhyme of a Qasīda.

According to Ibn Sallām, ٱٱ-Nābigha of Banū Dhubyān had composed a defective rhyme sequence. When he came to Medina he was told about this error, but did not pay any attention to what he was told until he had heard one of their girl singers sing the following lines composed by him:-

عَجْلَانِ ذَانِرٍ وَغَيْرِ مَزُودٍ  
وَبِذَلِكَ حَبْرْنَا الْغَدَاةُ الْاَسْوَدُ

أَمِنَ آلَ مَيْةٍ رَاحٍ أَوْ مَعْتَدِي  
نَرَعَمُ الْبَوَاحِ أَنْ يَرْحَلْنَا عَدَا

where muzawwadī does not rhyme with aswadu, and his

lines:-  
فَتَنَاوَلْتَهُ وَاتَّقْتَنَا بِالْيَدِ

سَقَطَ النَّصِيفُ وَلَمْ تَرَوْا سَقَاطَهُ

عَمَّ يَكَادُ مِنَ اللِّطَافَةِ يُعْقَدُ

اِخْتِصَابِ رِخْصٍ كَانَتْ بِنَانَهُ

where bi 'l-yadi is made to rhyme with yuq'adu.

After hearing the girl singer, however, an-Nābigha realized his mistake, and later said of this: "When I came to Hijāz, my poetry was in a state of immaturity, but when I left it (Medina) I was a more skilful poet."<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Sallām states that Medina had five master poets. These were Ḥassān b. Thābit, Ka'b b. Mālik, and 'Abd Allāh Ibn Rawāḥa, belonging to the Khazraj tribe, and Qays b. al-Khaṭīm and Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, belonging to the Aws tribe.

Here it would be profitable if we analysed briefly some remarks made by Ibn Sallām. He says, regarding Ḥassān b. Thābit, "He was the greatest poet, and we know of no poet in Medina who can equal him. He has written much good poetry, but more verses were imputed to him than to anybody else; when the Quraysh quarrelled among themselves and abused each other,

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 55. This defect is called al-iqwā' or ikfā' - that is, two rhyming words do not fully rhyme together. In the above lines, we see that the rhyme in the first line is vowelled in the kasra, while the second is vowelled in the damma.

they attributed to him a great deal of poetry which it is impossible to sift."<sup>1</sup>

The accuracy of Ibn Sallām's statement is proved if one goes carefully through Ḥassān's Dīwān; one will not only appreciate Ibn Sallām's position, but one will start questioning the authenticity of many of the recorded poems.

According to Hirschfeld's edition of the Dīwān, the Dīwān contains 229 pieces. We may deduce that less than forty poems seem to be pre-Islamic, while the rest are Islamic. All reliable sources have stated that Ḥassān actually lived sixty years before Islam and about another sixty after the appearance of Islam.<sup>2</sup> How, then, can we explain the disproportion between the output of the two periods? It cannot be supposed that Ḥassān's poetical gift grew during the period of Islam because it is certain that he was also a well-known poet before Islam. Furthermore, we cannot imagine that Ḥassān, who actually lived through the furious years during the outbreak of fighting between al-Aws and al-Khazraj, did not sustain his tribe al-Khazraj with many poems.

Among the verses included in the Dīwān, only

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- 1) Ṭabaqāt, 179 .
  - 2) W. 'Arafāt considers this point by saying, "The only likely conclusion that may be reached from the scanty material which is available is that Ḥassān probably was about 50 years of age when the Prophet arrived in Medina", Dīwān, 3.

eight poems seem to deal with those long wars.<sup>1</sup> Even out of these eight poems, one is also ascribed by Ibn al-Kalbī to the poet 'Urwa b. al-Ward.<sup>2</sup>

Ḥassān seems to have been the most ardent poet in defending Islam in his poetry, and it is presumably for this reason that he has suffered most at the hands of forgers.

In demonstration of this fact, we may consider one example. Among the poems which described the battle of Uḥud, Ibn Ishāq has attributed six poems to Ḥassān: but Ibn Hishām, who is the commentator on Ibn Ishāq's Sīra, regarded only three of them as authentic, while the authenticity of two of them is denied by the learned men of poetry. The last poem is also attributed by Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī to the poet Ka'b b. Mālīk

I shall not go deeply into this question, as many works have been written on Ḥassān, but up to date there is no exhaustive study concerned with any of the other poets of Medina.

The best in depth study on the poetry of Ḥassān is written by Dr. W. 'Arafāt. In his criticism of the poems of Ḥassān, he has given much evidence to indicate to the reader that Ḥassān was undoubtedly the poet

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- 1) Dīwān, pp. 2-3, 45, 51, 52, 53, 88.
- 2) Dīwān, p. 53, No. CXVIII.

who suffered most from forgers trying to exploit his enthusiasm for the cause of Islam for their own purposes.<sup>1</sup>

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- 1) W. 'Arafāt, An Introduction to the Study of the Authenticity of the Poem ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit: Ph.D., London University, 1953.

EI art., Ḥassān b. Thābit.

BSOAS art., Vol. XXI, Part 3, 1958, pp. 453-463.

BSOAS arts., Vol. XVII, Part 2, 1955, pp. 197-205,

XVII, Part 3, 1955, pp. 416-425,

XXI, 1958, pp. 15-30. XXIX, I,

1966, pp. 1-11.

XXIX, 2, 1966, pp.221-32,

XXVIII, 3, 1965, pp. 477-82,

XXX, 3, 1967 and XXXIII, 2, 1970.

IQ., art., Vol. XIII, Part 13, 1969, pp. 70-8.

Dīwān, 23-31. JRAS, April, 1767, pp. 15-21.

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(a) Ka'b b. Mālik Al-Anṣārī.

It is expressly stated that Ka'b was a well-known poet before the rise of Islam.<sup>1</sup> Ka'b himself related a story about the second pledge of al-'Aqaba. This was when al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib mentioned his name to the Prophet, the Prophet said, "Ka'b b. Mālik ash-Shā'ir (the poet).<sup>2</sup>

This account is a useful starting point. As will be seen below, of the poetry by Ka'b which has been preserved, there is only a single poem which could have been recited before Islam. Besides this fact we may notice that his name was never mentioned during the years of the quarrel between al-Aws and his tribe of al-Khazraj. Furthermore Abū Zayd al-Qurashī singled out seven of the poems of the poets of al-Aws and al-Khazraj calling them Mudhahhabāt al-<sup>6</sup>Arab. All these were composed before Islam, and are concerned with the warfare between al-Aws and al-Khazraj. He does not include Ka'b's name among these poets. All that we have is some limited information which demonstrates some of his Islamic attitudes.<sup>3</sup>

1) Khizāna III, 22.

2) IH, I, 440.

3) On his activities after his conversion to Islam see Ṭabaqāt, 185.

Aghānī, IV, 26., Maghāzī, I, 235, 249, 260, 293, 335, 389., II, 447, 646, 802., III, 973, 996, 1049, 1075., IH, I, 435, 440, 443, 445, 462, II, 83, 333, 531. 'B. Ansāb 248, 271, 288, 531., IS, I (part 2) 44., II, (p.1) 32, 115, 119, 120., IV, (p.2) 45.

Concerning his poetical gifts Abū'l-Faraj gives a general statement. He says, "Ka'b has deep roots and a long history of composing poetry."<sup>1</sup>

He means that Ka'b's family had a poetic tradition. Regardless of what has been said by Abū'l-Faraj, our aim is to estimate his poetical talents in the light of what has survived and is authentic of his Islamic poetry. Of Ka'b's Islamic poetry, three poems could be taken as good examples. If we wish to examine the genuineness of his poetic gifts and his style these poems are likely to show the real standard.

It is clear that these poems have qualities which inspire such confidence, that any reader would agree that only a great poet could have written these verses. The poems are well built and they have the spirit of the desert which is characteristic of the style of the famous poets. The language is poetic and quite natural. The similies and metaphors are derived from early Arab society as we may expect from a good poet. Besides all this the poet gives ample evidence of an innate poetical ability. These three interesting specimens of Ka'b's poetry were written in response to three different occasions. The first, which will be discussed later, was composed after the battle of Uḥud (2 A.H.) and its opening line is:-

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1) Agānī, IV, 27.

By the life of your noble father, if you ask  
who is seeking our help.<sup>1</sup> (31)

The second is ascribed to the siege of Medina (5 A.H.).  
The opening line is:-

Inform Quraysh that Sal' and what lies between  
al-'Urayḍ up to aṣ-Ṣimād.<sup>2</sup> (32)

The last one deals with the siege of at-Ṭā'if (8 A.H.)  
and the opening line is:-

We attained every object from Tihāma and Khaybar  
and then we sheathed our swords.<sup>3</sup> (33)

These three poems prove that Ka'b is exceptionally  
capable of defending Islam in his poetry. Ka'b's fame  
is generally admitted and he is held in high esteem as  
one of the greatest poets that the early Islamic period  
has produced. What we are seeking to find is his  
status as a poet before Islam.

Obviously it is impossible to form a clear picture  
of Ka'b's ability before Islam, without an account of  
his poetry, or at least some considerable information  
about his life in his early years. So a positive  
decision cannot be reached, nor can a full attempt be  
made. But even so we think it is useful to compare the

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- 1) IH, II, 158.
- 2) IH, II, 263.
- 3) IH, II, 479.

general structure of one of his earliest poems with the poetry composed during pre-Islamic times, if only to show whether he was able to follow the common practices employed by other poets of this period. For that reason I would prefer to take the first poem as an example, for this poem was composed after the battle of Uḥud only two years after the Prophet's migration to Medina and seven years after the battle of Bu'ath.

So it is quite possible that an early poem like this may help to meet the urgent need of reaching a better insight into quality of Ka'b in his early composition. Moreover, the poem contains 29 lines and that gives us an opportunity to examine at length the poet's style. In this poem Ka'b also gives free range to his poetical gift in order to speak without restraint. However, we shall only give a general outline of the construction of this poem here and more details will be given later under the battle of Uḥud.

The language of this poem conforms to the standard phraseology of the early period. Among its vocabulary there is not a single word which is not completely apt. The poet does not record the events of the battle of Uḥud, but sings the glories of his people, speaking in glowing terms of their generosity in general (1-8). Next, with 13 imaginative lines, Ka'b describes wars, regiments of men and the armaments which his people used during battle. What arrests one's attention is

his phrase which describes wars as ḍarūs (savaging)

‘Aḍūd (biting) and Ḥajūn (mauling).

The poet deliberately includes these strong words which emphasize the concept of violence, presumably because he wanted to account for the Muslims' defeat at Uḥud (9-21).

In a few lines the poet boasts of the refinements of his ancestors who taught them how to level a weapon and how to give generously. Ka'b does not exaggerate but he says this in deference to the pagan tradition of the Arabs (22-25).

Finally the poet ends his poem in a lampoon on Ibn az-Ziba'rā. He reproached him for being humble, ignominious and ill-disposed towards the Prophet, again according to the pre-Islamic tradition (26-29). Considering the style, the technical mastery and the early date of this and other genuine Islamic poetry composed by Ka'b, it seems certain that he must have composed poetry before the rise of Islam. The poems of Ka'b are seldom discussed. Fr. Buhl said about Ka'b's poems, "His poems have a somewhat nobler tone than those of Ḥassān and show a real enthusiasm for the religion of Muḥammad besides a strong local patriotism."<sup>1</sup>

Taking the first part of this statement it is difficult to say that Ka'b's tone is more noble than

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1) EI , art. Ka'b b. Mālik.

that of Ḥassān. As we mentioned before it is obvious that many unedifying verses have been attributed to Ḥassān but these cannot be taken as an evidence of Ḥassān's tone, simply because most of these poems are apocryphal.

It is certainly true that some of Ka'b's phraseology is noble, but in general we cannot acknowledge that it was more so than that of Ḥassān. Further, if we review the actions of each one of the Khazrajite poets, Ḥassān, Ka'b and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, it is not possible to say that Ka'b showed a greater enthusiasm for Islam than Ibn Rawāḥa, who took part in every battle and who lost his life in the battlefield of Mū'ta (8 A.H.), while Ka'b however did not participate in the battle of Badr, nor did he take part in the expedition of Tabūk (9 A.H.) which caused the Prophet after his return to order his companion not to speak to Ka'b and another two persons. They were ostracized until a Qur'ānic verse came down stressing forgiveness.<sup>1</sup>

Obviously Ka'b's ardour for Islam is admitted in general. His constancy on the battlefield of Uḥud is one of many examples. So it is not equitable to put him in the same category with Ḥassān, who in some occasions showed weakness in his loyalty as he did when he was accused among those who gossiped scandal

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1) Sura IX No. 118 at-Tauba (Repentance),

about the Prophet's wife 'Ā'isha or when he composed a poem attacking certain Muslim groups among those who settled in Medina.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning his local patriotism, this is a certainty, but he was not fanatical about this, or not to the extent which we find in Ḥassān

Unfortunately, there is no Dīwān of Ka'b's poetry that has been handed down to us. His poems have recently been collected and compiled in the form of a Dīwān by Sāmī M. al-'Ānī. The largest amount of Ka'b's poems are to be found in Ibn Hishām. There are also a number of books containing some fragments of his biography and some of his verses.<sup>2</sup>

As regards to these recorded poems, it is clear that some of these verses are entirely worthy and matchless, but many others are quite vulgar, while the rest are worthless. Without exaggeration we may suppose that the succession of sudden events did not enable poets to refine their style. So it might be a fact that among these commonplace verses there are a few compiled by Ka'b when circumstances did not give him the opportunity for improvement.

Otherwise, we fully agree that some of the recorded poems which are supposed to have been composed by Ka'b are completely spurious. However, it is

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- 1) IH, II, 304., Dīwān, CXL, p.62.
- 2) For example see Ṭabāqāt, pp 183-85., M, Mu'jam, 229., Sha, Ḥamāsa, 43., Aghānī, IV, pp. 26-30., B, Ḥamāsa, 37, 94, 114, 244.

certain that Ka'b was among those who stood up for the faith, and his poetry not only depicts the events, but also contains ideas introduced by Islam. So Ka'b's frequent references to the early battles of Islam give us some valuable information.

His poems like those of other poets of Medina are full of historical facts which are important for the study of the early days of Islam. The genuine ones among these poems really shed some light upon the events which took place from the Prophet's arrival at Medina until his death. If we make a comprehensive study we shall gather some worthwhile information.

Let us first consider the work published by Sāmī M. al-'Ānī, who worked on this subject for an M.A. at Cairo University. This work, so far the only one of its kind, contains nearly all the poems attributed to Ka'b. No doubt the author did his best to collect the verses which were scattered in different books. We appreciate also his large collection of references to valuable sources.

Unfortunately the work has certain deficiencies. Regrettably, the objections we have are as follows:- The author does not discuss the authenticity of the poems included in his edition. He does quote fragments of Ibn Sallām and Ibn an-Nadīm's statements about the poetry included in Ibn Ishāq's Sīra, and comments that he cannot deny the validity of these opinions; but he adds that we need not exaggerate, or believe that all

the poetry included in the Sīra is counterfeited, because Ka'b and his fellow-poets expressed through their poetry the ideas of Islam and the feelings of Muslim people. It is not surprising, he says, to find among the poems an elegy for a great man like Ḥamza or some others recording Badr, Uḥud and the rest of the battles of Islam.

We would agree with him if he confined himself to these comments, but he goes on that there is no reason for doubting the validity of any of Ka'b's poetry. In other words, he maintains that not even a single poem among those included in his book is doubtful.

Taking the first curious argument that our author has put forward, he says that Ka'b's poetry was not against Quraysh and for that reason he has not seen any justification for suspicion. Are we then to suppose that only poetry attacking Quraysh is characteristic of the forgers? This was in fact only one of several indications of forgery. At this point we would like to remind the author that before the conquest of Mecca, Ka'b's attitude towards Quraysh was rather hostile and this could have led to tampering with Ka'b's poetry by some Qurayshite people to suit their own purposes.

We would have preferred it if Mr. Al-'Ānī had carefully examined many of the poems before including them as the work of Ka'b. It would be useful if he for example considered some of those poems which were recited as dirges on the occasion of the murder of the

third Caliph 'Uthmān, or those which blamed the Anṣār and maintained that they should stand against the Egyptian army.

Most of these poems appear in one book written in the seventh century of the Hijra.<sup>1</sup> We may remark here that these events caused great damage not only to the unity of Muslim people, but also to Islamic poetry as a whole. In respect of these poems attributed to Ka'b we should remember that Ka'b was among those who tried to protect the Caliph and it was reported that he did not acknowledge 'Alī as Caliph. It was also related that he and Ḥassān went to Damascus and they were met by Mu'āwiyā who gave each of them one thousand Dīnārs.<sup>2</sup> It seems likely that the forgers sought to exploit these known historical facts.

Besides that, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr has stated that the Banū Umayyā and their adherents added more lines to Ḥassān's elegies on 'Uthmān.<sup>3</sup> So how can we accept the authenticity of Ka'b's elegies on 'Uthmān before we study separately the inspiration for each single poem? It is after all possible that Ka'b's support of 'Uthmān was also exploited by those who took advantage from every opportunity. However, we would not have to argue about this if Mr. al-'Ānī had made a critical study of his sources, or if he at least discussed the

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- 1) at-Tamhīd Wa'l-Bayān Fī Maqtal ash-Shahīd 'Uthmān.
- 2) Aghānī, IV, 30.
- 3) Istī'āb, II, 479.

historical background of these poems.

The second argument included by the author is that Ibn Sallām in his Ṭabaqāt does not question the legitimacy of Ka'b's poetry, although he mentions that some poetry attributed to Islamic poets could be doubtful. Our reply to this is a simple one. No-one before Mr. al-'Ānī said that Ibn Sallām had covered all the assumed poetry. In fact Ibn Sallām was only the first one who looked at this poetry critically and declared that such and such verses were fabricated.

But we cannot expect that he had treated critically every single one of the poems attributed to the large number of poets included in his Ṭabaqāt, while he himself quoted a few lines only of each poet. In other words it is not necessary that Ibn Sallām had read or heard all the poems ascribed to that large number of poets, even if he included the name of the poets among those included in his book. Whether Ibn Sallām made such an assumption about Ka'b's poetry or not, we cannot express a firm opinion unless we make an exhaustive investigation, examining the style of the poet and the background of his poetry. Supposing that Ibn Sallām assured us that certain of Ka'b's poems are authentic; even so we cannot say that Ibn Sallām proves the authenticity of each single poem ascribed to Ka'b.

The last argument brought forward by Mr. al-'Ānī

is that Ka'b was a well-known poet among the early poets of Islam, and that of all the poetry attributed to Ka'b by Ibn Hishām in the Sīra, Ibn Hishām makes no observation as to its authenticity with the exception of one only. It is true that Ibn Hishām implicitly affirms the authenticity of all poems attributed to Ka'b except one, but he also states that four poems among those included were ascribed by Ibn Ishāq to Ḥassān or 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, but that Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī indicated to Ibn Hishām, that these verses were composed by Ka'b. So our author has not contested what has been said. He is satisfied with Abū Zayd's assertion as regards No. 21 (p.206) and No.71 (P. 292). All these are ascribed to Ḥassān by Ibn Ishāq and were included in the Dīwān of Ḥassān (No. CXLIV P.63 and No. LXI P.36). However, in this case, it is clearly known that no conclusive evidence can be adduced. But whether in fact these poems were composed by Ka'b or by Ḥassān, the author should not depend on the view of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī only. For Ibn Ḥabīb who included these verses among Ḥassān's poems was the first one who collected the poetry of Ḥassān, and probably had seen the work of both Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Hishām.

No.48 (P.252) and No.70 (P.291) are attributed by Ibn Ishāq to 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. Mr. al-'Ānī does not give any circumstantial evidence, but he says that Abū Zayd also ascribed them to Ka'b. Furthermore, he adds that a few lines of each of these poems were

attributed by some author to Ka'b and that this could be taken as a proof.

Let us look again at his argument that Ibn Hishām did not question any of Ka'b's poems, on the basis of which he assumes that none of the poems included in his book are doubtful. In fact, Ibn Hishām implicitly expresses some doubt when he makes a comment after one poem attributed to Abū Usāma Mu'āwiya b. Zuhayr concerning the battle of Badr. He says, "This is the most authentic of the poems said by the people of Badr."

If Ibn Hishām was utterly sure about the authenticity of all the included poems concerning the battle of Badr which he or his authorities confirmed, he would not have suggested such a comment. Indeed, we would like to take into consideration the first two of these poems confirmed by Ibn Hishām, merely to show that not every poem validated by Ibn Hishām is correct.

The first is claimed to be by Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The opening line is:-

I wondered of the boasting of Aws when destruction  
was hovering over them on the morrow, and fate  
contains experience.<sup>1</sup> (34)

At once anyone going through the lines of this poem would be confident that it is utterly fabricated,

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1) IH, II, 13.

not only because the sentiments expressed go against natural human reaction, but also because we have historical facts which conflict with the background of this poem.

Looking at the life history of Ḍirār, no one can imagine that Ḍirār, who was until the conquest of Mecca one of the most prominent figures to persist in enmity towards Islam and the Muslims, would compose a poem in praise of the Prophet and his adherents among Quraysh, especially in these gloomy days in the history of Quraysh, who had not only suffered defeat at the battle of Badr, but whose nobles had been killed by the people praised in this poem.

In Ibn Ishāq's list of Qurayshites said to have been killed on the occasion of Badr, there are 16 names of men supposed to have been killed either by Ḥamza or 'Alī. This estimated number may have been exaggerated, but since both the above mentioned had played a vital role at Badr, it seems impossible that a Qurashī poet would have extolled his opponents who took part in the fighting and shared the responsibility for the rout of Quraysh.

Again, when we look at the same list of the dead of Quraysh we find that most of the dead were killed by the hands of the migrants of Quraysh, who had fought during the battle of Badr. It is hardly credible to suppose that Ḍirār who had declared war against Islam and attacked Muslims in his poetry would

justify their defeat by extolling his enemies.

Another historical fact established by reliable information in the Sīra books, supported also by the Qur'ān, shows that animosity existed not only between Quraysh and the Anṣār (helpers), but between the Quraysh on one side and the Prophet and his followers in general on the other side. The reaction of the women of Quraysh against the Muslims slain at the battle of Uḥud provides one of many examples of this.

The second poem is imputed to Ka'b as his reply to Dirār's poem. The opening line is:-

I wondered of the power of God, and God is able  
to do what He wills, no one can overcome God.<sup>1</sup> (35)

This line <sup>suggests</sup> ~~only proves~~ that it is impossible that these weak phrases were written by the same hand which wrote the three poems mentioned above. But it provides an indication that it was written by the same hand which wrote the last one. Furthermore, as seen from the whole body of Ka'b's Islamic poems which cannot be questioned, Ka'b never mentioned the word al-Aws or al-Khazraj. Supposing that these words appeared in this poem only, yet it cannot be thought that he would laud the Aws tribe as a whole by mentioning it while he singled out one clan only of his tribe of al-Khazraj for mention (lines 5-6). If Ka'b also belongs to the same clan, one may presume that he wanted to extol his clan only. Finally, most of the lines of this poem give the

reader the impression that Ka'b was among those who took part in the battle described. However, he, in fact, did not participate at Badr. Moreover the last four lines in particular, have shown the artificiality of the forger who attempted to insert Qur'anic verses. Let us next consider Nos. 6, 53, 56 and 64. Mr. al-'Ānī states that none of these poems are ascribed to Ka'b only. In spite of all this he has declared that all these included poems are Ka'b's verses. Taking the first one, this is only mentioned by Ibn Hishām who himself said, "This poem belongs to Ka'b or Ibn Rawāḥa" (IH, II, 202). But it appeared to al-'Ānī that it was most likely said by Ka'b. His evidence is, that the poem is characteristic of Ka'b's literary manner. He means by this that it reproached Yathrib's Jews and recorded what happened to their men. This seems to be based upon a statement by Abū'l-Faraj, that Ka'b and Ḥassān always condemned Quraysh for their defective deeds while Ibn Rawāḥa attacked them for their infidelity.<sup>1</sup> But we cannot take that as a general criterion before we make a reliable study, distinguishing accurately the literary tendency of each one of the poets of Medina. How can we accept what the author says without explanation or close examination of the relationship between the literary production of Ka'b and Ibn Rawāḥa? For example among the Sīra poetry there are large numbers of poems imputed to Ka'b and

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1) Aghānī, IV, 29.

Ḥassān, but only few poems by Ibn Rawāḥa. So any work which has not taken into consideration these facts, cannot be reliable. Of course we should congratulate the author if he had made his decision after exhaustive investigations proving that the included poems were in fact compiled by Ka'b. Looking at No.53: As can be seen from the author's references, the poem is attributed to Ka'b by later sources. Ibn 'Abd Al-Barr does not confirm its authorship by Ka'b, and his comment admits his doubt about the authenticity of the poem in general.<sup>1</sup> If the author had given convincing reasons for his trust in some and his rejection of others, we would have accepted this, but no-one can justify what the author has done except himself, in wishing to impute a large number of poems to Ka'b. Concerning No. 56: Mr. al-Ānī says that the construction of the poem gives no indication as to whether it was said by Ka'b or Ḥassān. It is attributed to Ka'b by al-Balādhurī. But as far as we know Ka'b in his reliable poetry has never used such phrases as Wabinā aqām<sup>a</sup> da'ā<sup>ī</sup>m<sup>a</sup> 'l-Islām<sup>i</sup>, or Wabinā a'azz<sup>a</sup> nabiyyah<sup>ū</sup> wawaliyyah<sup>ū</sup> or Naḥn<sup>u</sup> 'l-Khiyār<sup>u</sup> min al-bariyyat<sup>i</sup> Kullihā, in praise of his people al-Anṣār. In fact these kind of expressions became common only among the later generation of the Anṣār.

Looking at line 6, it is impossible to imagine

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1) Istī'āb, II, 480.

that Ka'b, who never before mentioned the warfare between al-Aws and al-Khazraj, which also was terminated by Islam, would have spoken about the past in order to boast of his tribe al-Khazraj for what they had achieved against al-Aws.

These features, which are alien to Ka'b's previous poetry, would in themselves arouse suspicion about the authenticity of the poem in general. However, in the Dīwān of Ḥassān there are nine lines extra to the version given by al-Balādhurī.<sup>1</sup>

Finally the last poem is No.64. The statement made by the author concerning the source of the poem is in contradiction with what he said before. On page 166 the author states that this verse is included in the Dīwān of Ḥassān, but is ascribed to Ka'b by all the sources which have spoken about 'Uthmān. In page 311, he says it only appeared in the book of Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib. As for its attribution to Ḥassān, it is not included in the Dīwān of Ḥassān which has been edited by H. Hirshfield, or the new edition made by W. 'Arafāt.

The poem is of four lines only. But we doubt that Ka'b would compose an elegy on the death of the Prophet with paltriness of sense and weakness of phrases.

The style of these artificial lines is extremely unpoetical, indeed absolutely prosaic. Consider for

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1) Dīwān, (ed 'Arafāt) poem no. 164.

example the first line:-

O bewail the Prophet to the worlds, all of them,  
especially the Muslim.

Obviously this line is not Ka'b who was utterly capable of writing poetry, but is in fact a typical Shī'ite one.

(b) 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa b. Tha'laba was a distinguished member of the clan of Banū 'l-Ḥārith, an important branch of the tribe of Khazraj.

According to Ibn Sa'd, he was one of the few Arabs during the pre-Islamic period who could write.<sup>1</sup> We have no record of the early life of Ibn Rawāḥa in the earliest major sources for the biographies of the early poets, and neither Ibn Qutayba nor Abū'l-Faraj gives an account of Ibn Rawāḥa.

Indeed, it is a matter of regret that we are unable to give any real details about the poet's early life. Ibn Sallām unfortunately records very little about it. He mentions that he and Qays b. al-Khaṭīm engaged in a battle of words during the war between their tribes and, in Ibn Sallām's opinion, 'Abd Allāh had no rival among the poets of Medina.<sup>2</sup>

The poet himself expressed the same opinion of his abilities in one of his surviving poems.<sup>3</sup>

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1) IS, III, Part 2, 70.

2) Ṭabaqāt, 186.

3) Dīwān Ḥassān (ed. 'Arafāt), I, 238. Q., Jamhara, 223.

Fortunately, a few of his pre-Islamic poems have been preserved. This gives us an insight into his early activities and shows how Ibn Rawāḥa was able to compose poetry in that period in defence of his tribe and in reply to the challenge of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm. There exist two poems and one fragment which are supposed to have been spoken by 'Abd Allāh in reply to Qays.

This surviving poetry probably belongs to the final stages of the warfare of Ḥāṭib and to the decisive battle of Bu'āth, but it is not improbable that it constitutes the whole of the poetry referred to by Ibn Sallām.

In this respect we may assume that most of the poetry which Ibn Rawāḥa composed during the years of tribal feuds has been lost. Our evidence is based on a number of single lines which appear to have been extracted from longer poems. For example, in the Dīwān of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm there is a single line attributed to 'Abd Allāh in reply to Qays's poem No.14.<sup>1</sup> It seems that this is the opening line of a poem which is otherwise unknown.

There is another single line ascribed to 'Abd Allāh on the subject of the battle of al-Ḥadīqa, in which he refers to the wound which Qays received on that day.<sup>2</sup> The line, however, has the same rhyme and

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1) Dīwān, (ed. Kowalski ) 34. (Asad) 187; in this edition the poem is no. 15.

2) Ath., Kāmil, I, 507.

metre as the poem ascribed to the battle of Bu'āth. Part of the poem, concerning the fighting known as the war of the first Fijār, is probably still missing.

Ibn al-Athīr attributes two lines to 'Abd Allāh which are supposed to have been composed in reply to a poem ascribed to 'Ubayd b. Nāfidh al-Awsī in celebration of the victory won by his tribe on the day of al-Baqī'.<sup>1</sup> These two lines which Ibn al-Athīr ascribed to 'Abd Allāh are among four lines elsewhere attributed to Ḥassān which are also said to be directed to 'Ubayd b. Nāfidh.<sup>2</sup>

Information regarding his activities after the rise of Islam will be found in the Islamic sources.<sup>3</sup>

'Abd Allāh embraced Islam before the Prophet's emigration to Medina. On the occasion of the swearing of the second pledge at al-'Aqaba, in approximately

1) Ath., Kāmil, 505.

2) Dīwān, I, ('A) 206; Barqūqī 343; (H) 35.

3) IH, I, 443, 458, 495, 587, 625, 642, 655, 691; II, 51, 188, 218, 221, 269, 272, 305, 354, 356, 373, 375, 379, 380, 384, 387, 388, 618, 621. IS, II (Part 1), 12, 42, 66, 88, 93, 94; III (Part 1), 32, (Part 2) 22, 79, 80, 83, 142. Muḥabbar, 119, 121, 123, 269, 271, 279, 287, 420-21. B., Ansāb, 244, 252, 340, 378, 380, 473. Ṭabarī, 1-3, 1317, 1334, 1356, 1368, 1460, 1472, 1527, 1589-90, 1595, 1610-16; 1-4, 1759-60, 1764. Maghāzī, I, 5, 8, 67, 68, 114, 165, 317, 384; II, 439-40, 459, 476, 566-67, 639, 690-91, 718, 735-6, 756-60, 762-4, 769, EI, art, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.

March 622, seventy-three men and two women gathered there. These all belonged to the tribes of Khazraj and Aws, and had already been converted to Islam. They were met by the Prophet, who asked them to choose twelve men to be the nuqabā' (leaders) of their people. Ibn Rawāḥa was among these twelve trustworthy men.

'Abd Allāh was entirely sincere in his support of Islam. For eight years he engaged in considerable activity in both war and peace. It may be remarked here that not only did he take part in every battle and many of the expeditions of the early period of Islam, but during the initial confrontation at the battle of Badr (2/623), he was one of the Prophet's three companions who first rose to meet the challenge of 'Utba b. Rabī'a when he began the battle in the traditional manner. 'Utba stepped forward between his brother Shayba and his son al-Walīd, asking for single combat. After the battle, the Prophet sent 'Abd Allāh, together with Zayd b. Ḥārithā, to Medina to bring the tidings of victory. During the Prophet's absence from Medina in the so-called Badr al-Maw'id, 4/625, 'Abd Allāh remained behind as his deputy. During the siege of Medina, 5/626, the Banū Qurayza were suspected of breaking their bonds of fealty, and the Prophet accordingly sent 'Abd Allāh, together with three influential men of Medina, to find out whether the report was true or not. In Ramaḍān 6/627, the Prophet sent Ibn Rawāḥa, together with three others, to Khaybar

to find out whether there was any foundation to the report that Usayr b. Zārim was preparing to attack Medina. 'Abd Allāh returned, and in Shawwāl of the same year the Prophet sent an expedition of thirty men, under the leadership of Ibn Rawāḥa, who succeeded in killing Usayr b. Zārim. In the year 7/628 Khaybar was conquered, and the Prophet appointed Ibn Rawāḥa to assess its crop yield.

The Mu'ta expedition, 8/629, in which Ibn Rawāḥa lost his life gives us a fine picture of his enthusiasm for the Islamic faith and shows, moreover, how highly the Prophet regarded him. He nominated him third in rank to the commander of the army, and when the first two commanders fell 'Abd Allāh courageously fought on until he was killed on the field of battle.

We may, perhaps, understand Ibn Rawāḥa's self-sacrifice for his religion when we consider the following lines which he recited on the occasion of Mu'ta.

Let us first listen to the words which he spoke in reply to those of his fellow-Muslims who remained behind in Medina and who expressed their wishes for the army's safety.

But I ask the Merciful for forgiveness,  
And a wide open wound ejecting foaming blood.  
Or a deadly lance-stab from a bloodthirsty warrior,  
With a javelin that will pierce bowels and liver.

So that others will say when they pass my grave  
May Allāh guide him, a warrior in the service of God,  
For he was rightly guided. (37)

On his way to the battlefield, 'Abd Allāh seems to have determined to die as a martyr for the faith.

Zayd b. Arqam, who was an orphan in the protection of Ibn Rawāḥa, is reported to have said, "When 'Abd Allāh went out to the expedition he took me with him. I was riding on the back of his saddle and, as he journeyed by night, I heard him reciting the following verses"<sup>1</sup> which he addressed to his camel.

When you have brought me and carried my gear,  
A four-nights' journey from the swampy ground,  
Then enjoy life and bear no blame  
And may I never return to my people at home.  
The Muslims have gone and left me  
In syria where I wish to be.  
And a near relative of mine in God,  
Though no blood relation, has brought you back.  
There I shall not care for fruit that depends on  
rain  
Or palms whose roots are watered by man.<sup>2</sup> (38)

Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, the first two commanders of the army of Mu'ta, were killed on the

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1) IH, II, 376.

2) Translated by A. Guillaume, Sīra, 533.

battlefield.

'Abd Allāh then took up the standard, but was inwardly reluctant to obey his urgent wish to throw himself into the heat of battle. So he had to put pressure on himself, and addressed his soul as follows:-

I swear, my soul, you shall come to the battle;

You shall fight or be made to fight.

Though men shout and scream aloud,

Why should you spurn Paradise?

Long have you been at ease.

You are nothing but a drop in a worn-out skin.<sup>1</sup> (39)

He also said:-

O soul, if you are not killed you will die.

This is the fate of death which you suffer.

You have been given what you hoped for,

If you do what those did you will have been guided

aright.<sup>2</sup> (40)

Finally, the battle of Mu'ta focuses a great deal of attention on Ibn Rawāḥa's strong character. He was reported to have stood firm<sup>3</sup> when the expeditionary force to Mu'ta spent two nights at Ma'ān in Syria debating what to do. They were in favour of writing to the Prophet to tell him that the enemy had mobilized

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1) A. Guillaume, Sīra, 534.

2) A. Guillaume, Sīra, 534.

3) IH, II, 375.

a large body of troops against their 3,000 men. 'Abd Allāh rejected this idea, and encouraged the men, saying, "Men, what you dislike is that which you have come out in search of, that is, martyrdom. We are not fighting the enemy with numbers, or strength, or the might of a multitude, but we are confronting (T. fighting) them with this religion with which God has honoured us. So come! Both prospects are fine: victory or martyrdom." The men said, "By God, Ibn Rawāḥa is right."

So they went forward, and 'Abd Allāh said, concerning their holding back,

We urged on our horses from Aja and Far'  
Their bellies gorged with the grass they had eaten.  
We gave them as shoes the smooth hard ground,  
Its surface smooth as leather.  
They stayed two nights at Ma'ān;  
After their rest they were full of spirit.  
We went forward, our horses given free rein,  
The hot wind blowing in their nostrils.  
I swear that we will come to Ma'āb  
Though Arabs and Greeks be there.  
We arranged their bridles and they came furiously,  
Their dust arose in streamers  
With an army whose helmets as their points appeared  
Seemed to shine like stars  
The woman who enjoys life our spears divorced.  
She can remarry or remain a widow.<sup>1</sup>

(41)

1) Guillaume, Sīra, 533.

His Islamic Poetry

Despite the fact that only a small portion of Ibn Rawāḥa's poetry has been preserved (and there is no question of its being forged), it cannot be denied that he was a skilful poet shortly before the rise of Islam.

After the Prophet's emigration to Medina, Ibn Rawāḥa, however, was one of three poets who were regarded as ardent defenders of the Islamic faith. This statement, which has been recorded in many reliable sources, has never been questioned.<sup>1</sup>

The question which has remained unanswered was first raised by Dr. W. 'Arafāt, who asked why it was that, although there is a large Dīwān containing a great many verses ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit, the number of poems attributed to Ibn Rawāḥa can be counted on one hand.<sup>2</sup>

We may show the relevance of this point by giving the following statistics from Ibn Hishām's Sīra, in which is to be found the largest amount of what is supposed to be the earliest Islamic poetry, ascribed to the Prophet's three poets, Ḥassān b. Thābit, Ka'b b. Mālik and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. These statistics, however, will refer to only the number of poems or

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 186. Istī'āb, I, 349. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Rawāḥa, 'Iqd, VI, 134.

2) al-Adab al-'Arabī Fī Āthār ad-Dārisīn, 62.

fragments of verses which are claimed to have been written by the poets concerning the battles of Badr and Uḥud and the siege of Medina, three turning-points in early Islamic history.

<u>The occasion</u>	<u>Ḥassān</u>	<u>Ka' b</u>	<u>Ibn Rawāḥa</u>
Badr	13	4	1
Uḥud	12	9	1
The siege of Medina	6	5	0
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Total	31	18	2

Besides the fact that Ibn Hishām, his authorities, and modern scholars have questioned the authenticity of a considerable number of these poems, or attributed them to different poets, including those which were ascribed to Ibn Rawāḥa, a wide gap still remains between the number of poems attributed to Ḥassān and Ka' b, and the number attributed to Ibn Rawāḥa.

However, no direct proof can be obtained that such a small proportion of this poetry is by Ibn Rawāḥa unless we first make a careful investigation based on a critical study of all the poems or stories ascribed to these three poets, in order to ascertain the facts about them and to produce clear evidence establishing the literary characteristics of the poets of Medina who similarly served the religion and carried out their duties towards the Islamic faith and its adherents.

Therefore, in an attempt to find a satisfactory

reason for the lack of literary works ascribed to Ibn Rawāḥa, we must emphasize that, before making any study of the recorded poetry, we should first examine closely the stories which are given, because we believe that some of the stories are not absolutely accurate and may have been exaggerated or, perhaps, are based on guesswork.

This may be illustrated by two quotations. The first is given by Abū'l-Faraj, who indicates that during the quarrel between the poets of Mecca and Medina "...both Ḥassān b. Thābit and Ka'b b. Mālik reproached the Quraysh for their wrongful deeds, while Ibn Rawāḥa reproached them for their infidelity. The most hurtful satires to them at that time were those of Ḥassān and Ka'b, while the least severe were those of Ibn Rawāḥa. But when the Quraysh were converted to Islam and understood it, the most hurtful satires to them were those of Ibn Rawāḥa."<sup>1</sup>

This statement is of great interest, because it is reasonable to suppose that the Quraysh would have attempted to wipe out not only the polemical poetry which had been recited by their own poets or by those of the Prophet during their confrontation with the new religion, but probably all record of their impious behaviour before their acceptance of Islam. Indeed, this theory is quite plausible, but it should be noted that we cannot, perhaps, take it as a competent basis for critical study. The objections to this theory may

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1) Aghānī, XV, 29.

be illustrated by the following points:-

- (1) Abū'l-Faraj includes in the Kitāb al-Aghānī a large number of poets, prefacing some of the poems cited by accounts of the lives of their authors, but does not give any further information about Ibn Rawāḥa.
- (2) All works of biography and history belonging to the early 'Abbāsīd period, which appeared many years before the work of Abū'l-Faraj, included a very small amount of Ibn Rawāḥa's poetry.
- (3) If we look at the earliest anthologies of Arabic poetry which have been collected by al-Asma'ī, al-Mufaḍḍal, Abū-Tammām and al-Buḥturī, we observe that none of these works contains any poem or fragment of verse ascribed to 'Abd Allāh, with the exception of four lines included by al-Buḥturī dealing with the expedition to Mu'ta.

All these facts suggest that most of Ibn Rawāḥa's poetry was lost long before it could be put down in writing. This seems especially probable when we observe that 'Abd Allāh's death took place nearly half a century before that of his colleagues, Ḥassān b. Thābit (d.<sup>1</sup>) and Ka'b b. Mālik (d.50/670). Accordingly

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- 1) As for the year of Ḥassān's death, W. 'Arafāt says in his edition of the Dīwān that sources have variously suggested the year 40/659, an earlier date, or else 50/669 or 54/673. The year 40/659 or the period preceding that year is perhaps the most likely date, because it is about this time that we last hear of him as an old man.

it seems probable that Abū'l-Faraj had never seen more than a few lines of Ibn Rawāḥa's poetry and that his theory that it was particularly hurtful to the Quraysh does not rest on any sound evidence. In the fifty years which followed 'Abd Allāh's death there came a quick succession of crucial events: the Prophet's death, the wars of apostasy, the battles of conquest in parts of Persia and the Byzantine Empire, and the civil wars. These events were not conducive to an atmosphere suitable for the preservation of Ibn Rawāḥa's poetry, or, indeed, the literary works of that period in general.

Ibn Sallām, however, seems to have reached this same conclusion when he says:-<sup>1</sup>

Poetry (he writes quoting the ultimate authority of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb for the first statement) was the science of a people who had none better. Islam then came (continues Ibn Sallām) and the Arabs were engaged in other matters to the neglect of poetry. They became preoccupied with the invasion of Persia and Byzantium and were distracted both from writing and from transmitting poetry. When Islam spread, when the conquests were accomplished and the Arabs had settled down in the provinces, they returned to the learning and transmission of poetry, only to find that they had no records and no written books. That was, moreover,

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 22.

when many Arabs had perished either by natural death or in battle, so that a minimum amount of poetry was preserved and a very great deal lost.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, before ending this survey regarding Abū'l-Faraj's statement, I would like to refer to another account which seems to be more reliable than the previous one. Many sources indicate<sup>2</sup> that the Prophet asked 'Abd Allāh to tell him how he composed poetry. When 'Abd Allāh answered that he just had to put his mind to it,

t The Prophet asked him to compose immediately some verses against the polytheists of Quraysh.

From the lines which are supposed to have been recited on that occasion, perhaps only a few have been preserved. This can be seen because the lines as recorded do not fit together very well; and the main object, moreover, was to satirize the Quraysh, whereas only one line is addressed to them while the rest are in praise of the Prophet and his family. However, this line is particularly interesting because it entirely contradicts Abū'l-Faraj's statement. This line reads:-

Tell me, you whose price was cheap as that of a cloak,  
When were you generals, when did Muḍar come under  
your rule. (42)

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- 1) This translation is given by Dr. W. 'Arafāt, art., IQ, XIII (Part 13), 1969, and in his edition of the Dīwān of Ḥassān, I, 27.
  - 2) Ṭabaqāt, 188. IS, III (Part 2), 81. Mu'talif, 126  
'Umda, I, 210.

Finally, it is probably useful to refer to the arguments which have been adduced by Aḥmad ash-Shāyib,<sup>1</sup> who discussed this point as follows:

- 1) Abū'l-Faraj gave a general description, since both Ḥassān and Ka'b attacked the Quraysh for their unbelief.
- 2) Furthermore, a great amount of poetry attacking the Quraysh must have been lost, because what has reached us from the poetry of Ḥassān and Ka'b is only about the battles of Islam in general.
- 3) The Islamic expressions which are used by Ḥassān and Ka'b were generally in praise of the faith of Islam, the Prophet, the warriors who defended the religion, and its martyrs. Ibn Rawāḥa used similar expressions, but he also censured Judaism, Christianity and, more particularly, the paganism of the Quraysh.

The second illustration is given by Ibn Sa'd, who states that Ibn Rawāḥa was travelling with the Prophet (during the expedition of Khaybar) when the latter asked him to recite a poem to make the journey light. Ibn Rawāḥa replied, "I have left off composing poetry like

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1) Tārīkh-ash-Shi'r as-Siyāsī, 95.

that."<sup>1</sup>

I find this remark surprising, however, since the Qur'ān gives the Muslim poets the right to defend their religion against the polytheistic poets, who exploited the fine sentiments they expressed in their poetry for their own purposes.

Furthermore, according to the information given by different authors,<sup>2</sup> the Prophet personally asked his poets to provide rejoinders to the attacks of the polytheistic poets of the Quraysh. Ibn Sallām, however, states<sup>3</sup> that, when the effort made by 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa and Ka'b b. Mālik proved inadequate, the Prophet not only invited Ḥassān b. Thābit to contribute but he also asked him to learn about the shameful acts of the Quraysh from Abū Bakr.

This statement is perhaps more acceptable, for when Ḥassān addressed his cutting words to the poet Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith,<sup>4</sup> Abū Sufyān is reported to have said,<sup>5</sup> "These expressions were based on the knowledge of Ibn Abī Quḥāfa."

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- 1) IS, III (part 2), 81. Ibn Sa'd's statement is reported to have been made during the expedition of Khaybar. On this occasion, however, Ibn Ishāq gives another version; he indicates that the person of whom the Prophet made the request was 'Āmir b. Sinān b. al-Akwa'. IH, II, 328. See also Maghāzī, II, 638; Ath., Kāmil, II, 166.
- 2) 'Iqd, VI, 140. Aghānī, XV, 29. 'Umda, I, 31.
- 3) Ṭabaqāt, 180.
- 4) Dīwān (ed. 'A.), 398; (B) 159; (H) 91.
- 5) Istī'āb (Ḥassān b. Thābit), I, 125. Zahr, I, 31.

Finally, as may be seen from the small amount of poetry which was composed by Ibn Rawāḥa before and after Islam and which, moreover, shows no sign of having been forged or otherwise fabricated, we may end this brief study as follows:-

Ibn Rawāḥa was a distinguished person among the poets of al-Khazraj. Besides his innate poetical talent and military activity, he had contributed to the polemical poetry which recorded the final stages of his tribe's warfare, but it is probably only a small portion of that poetry which has come down to us.

After the rise of Islam, the people of Medina were the second group of urban dwellers to adopt Islam. When 'Abd Allāh became a Muslim, he sincerely attempted to put all the qualities which he possessed to the service of his new faith.

Poetry was one of these qualities, but unfortunately, in the absence of most of these works, we cannot make any final judgments on his poetry or reach a conclusive verdict as to its quality.

(c) Ṣayfī b. 'Āmir b. Jusham b. Wā'il, also known as Abū Qays b. al-Aslat was one of the chief leaders of his tribe al-Aws during the final stages of their campaigns against the Khazraj. Unfortunately it is extremely difficult to get a full picture of his life, since the few recorded accounts are very muddled and contradictory. Perhaps an analytical approach to the

martial poetry of Yathrib will help to establish the facts of his activities during the final stages of the tribal feud of Yathrib which ended in the battle of Bu'āth, five years before the Prophet's emigration to Medina. Besides composing poetry in support of his tribe, he also probably took part in many battles and sometimes perhaps even commanded his kinsmen.<sup>1</sup> It is probably because of his brave words and deeds that the Khazrajite poets Ḥassān b. Thābit<sup>2</sup> and Ka'b b. Mālik<sup>3</sup> fiercely attacked him and reproached him, claiming that Abū Qays had fled from the battle of al-Jisr where his brother Abū 'Aqīl b. al-Aslat had been killed. Furthermore his excellent poem which is included in the Mufaḍḍaliyāt (No. LXXV) refers to the vital role he played when he was the supreme commander of his tribe. Details about the style of this poem, which appears to be genuine, will be found below in the analysis of Yathrib's martial poetry. Reference to the battle of Bu'āth appears in two of his poems,<sup>4</sup> but it seems that he abandoned the supreme command during the battle. Ḥudayr b. Simāk of the clan of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, because of his previous ill-fatedness which was responsible for the rout of his kinsmen when he had been in command.<sup>5</sup>

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1) Mufaḍḍaliyāt, 564; Aghānī, XV, 161; Ath, Kāmil, 5, 499, 506, 507.

2) Dīwān (ed. 'A) P. No. 115.

3) Ms of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawī) 184.

4) Ms of the Dīwān of Ḥassān ('Adawī) 184-5.

5) Aghānī, XV, 163.

After the Prophet's emigration to Medina, Abū Qays' life is obscure and the recorded accounts of his life during that period in particular, seem to have been embellished later with fictitious details. For example, Ibn Sa'd states among other authorities (IV, p.2, 94) that Abū Qays was one of those seekers after the purer religion known as a Ḥanīf, but this is at variance with records of his previous activities and is not supported by Ibn Qutayba (Ma'ārif, 30) who lists Arabs with the faith they had adopted before the rise of Islam. Among the Yathribis he mentions the name of Abū Qays Ṣirma b. Abī Anas and states that Ṣirma was a Ḥanafī, became a Muslim and ascribed to him lines of poetry supporting the Prophet and the Islamic faith. He does not mention Abū Qays b. al-Aslat at all and it would seem that the account given by Ibn Sa'd is based upon a confusion of these two names. M 'Abdu 'Azzām has discussed (p.55) in his thesis<sup>1</sup> the authenticity of the poems ascribed to the Ḥanīf poets including those attributed to Abū Qays Ṣirma b. Abī Anas.

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1) A critical study of the poetry content of the Sīra of Ibn Hishām. Ph.D., London, 1953.

His Poetry.

According to Ibn Sallām (Ṭabaqāt, 189) Abū Qays was a proficient poet. His surviving verses which are certainly not forgeries bear this out and support Ibn Sallām's verdict. But it should be pointed out that there are few verses ascribed to him, certainly not enough to form a Dīwān which would place him among the major poets of nomadic Arabia.<sup>1</sup>

As we have already noted, records concerning the attitude of Abū Qays towards Islam are confused and ambiguous. Of more importance is, in particular, the fact that Ibn Hishām ascribed two poems to him, giving the impression that Abū Qays was a Hanafī and showed sympathy towards Islam. We will consider the first poem included by Ibn Hishām (I, 283) in detail, because it is the longest poem so far attributed to Ibn al-Aslat.

The poem runs as follows:-

O rider, when you meet Lu'ayy Ibn Ghālib  
Give him a message from me.  
The tidings of a man who though far from you  
Is distressed at what is between you, sad and worried.  
I have become the caravanserai of cares,

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- 1) A list containing the number of verses ascribed to Ibn al-Aslat, together with the main sources including them appears at the end of this thesis.

Because of them I cannot do what I should.  
I learn that you are divided into camps,  
One party kindles the fire of war, the others  
provide the fuel.  
I pray God to protect you from your evil act,  
Your wicked quarrel and the insidious attack of  
scorpions,  
Defamatory reports and secret plots  
Like pricking awls which never fail to pierce.  
Remind them of God, first of all things,  
And the sin of breaking the taboo or travel-  
worn gazelles.  
Say to them, and God will give his judgment  
If you abandon war it will go far from you.  
When you stir it up you raise an evil thing;  
'Tis a monster devouring everything near and far,  
It severs kinship and destroys people;  
It cuts the flesh from the hump and the back.  
You will give up the finest clothes of Yaman  
For a soldier's garb and coat of mail,  
Musk and camphor for dust-coloured armour  
With buttons like the eyes of a locust.  
Beware of war! Do not let it cling to you;  
A stagnant pool has a bitter draught.  
War - it first seems fine to men  
But afterwards they plainly recognize an old hag.  
It scorches unsparingly the weak,  
And aims death-dealing blows at the great.

Know you not what happened in the war of Dāḥis?  
Or the war of Ḥāṭib? Take a lesson from them!  
How many a noble chief it slew,  
The generous host whose guest lacked naught,  
A huge pile of ashes beneath his pots,  
Praised by all, noble in character, his sword.  
Drawn only in righteous cause;  
'Tis as water poured out at random,  
As of winds from all quarters scattered the clouds;  
A truthful, knowledgeable man will tell you of its  
battles

(For real knowledge is the result of experience).

So sell your spears to those who love war  
And remember the account you must render,  
For God is the best reckoner.  
Man's Lord has chosen a religion;  
So let none guard you but the Lord of heaven,  
Raise up for you a Ḥanīfī religion.  
You are our object; one is guided in travel by  
heights,  
You are a light and protection to this people,  
You lead the way, not lacking virtues.  
If men were valued, you would be a jewel,  
The best of the vale is yours, in noble pride.  
You preserve noble, ancient peoples  
Whose genealogy shows no foreign blood;  
You see the needy come to your houses  
Wave after wave of starving wights.

The people know that your leaders  
Are ever the best people of the stations of Minā,  
Best in counsel, loftiest in custom,  
Most truthful amid the assemblies.

Rise and pray to your Lord and rub yourselves  
Against the corners of this house between the  
mountains.

He gave you a convincing test  
On the day of Abū Yaksūn, leader of the squadrons,  
His cavalry was in the plains,  
His infantry upon the passes of the hills.  
When the help of the Lord of the throne reached you  
His armies repulsed them, pelting them and covering  
them with dust;

Quickly they turned tail in flight  
And none but a few returned to his people from the  
army.

If you perish, we shall perish and the fairs by  
which men live.

These are the words of a truthful man.<sup>1</sup> (43)

We will briefly consider the subject matter of  
this poem and its style in general. In regard to the  
subject matter it seems that it entirely contradicts  
what has been stated by the earliest sources of the  
history of Islam which say that because of the

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1) Translation by A. Guillaume, Sīra, 128.

influence of Ibn al-Aslat on his own clan, they did not accept Islam before the end of the siege of Medina. These are the words included by Ibn Hishām in his edition of the *Sīra* (I, 437).

"Every house of the Anṣār had men and women who were Muslim except those of B. Umayya b. Zayd and Khaṭma and Wā'il and Wāqif, the latter were Aws Allāh and of Aws b. Ḥāritha... The reason was that Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, whose name was Ṣayfī, was among them. He was their poet and leader and they obeyed him and he kept them back from Islam. Indeed he continued to do so until the apostle migrated to Medina and Badr and Uḥud and Khandaq were over.<sup>1</sup>

Another historical account given by al-Wāqidī<sup>2</sup> relates that after the battle of Badr, the majority of the clan of Abū Qays were not only unbelievers, but even hostile to Islam and the Prophet, and the minority among them who became Muslim concealed their conversion because they feared persecution. Again, the estimated number of the men of al-Aws who took part in the battle of Badr which is well attested, was sixty one men, none of whom were of the clan of Abū Qays, while the estimated contingent of al-Khazraj was one hundred and seventy men.<sup>3</sup>

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1) Translation by Guillaume, *Sīra*, 201.

2) *Maghāzī*, I, 172.

3) IH, I, 686. Ṭabarī, 1-3, 1357.

Even during the battle of Uḥud the difference was still great, although there is no mention of numbers for each single tribe, but among the list of those killed in the battle of Uḥud, al-Wāqidī<sup>1</sup> gives the name of thirty eight Khazrajite dead and only twenty from the Awsite side, none of whom were of the clan of Abū Qays.

The style of this poem:-

The first point arousing suspicions as to the authenticity of this poem is that a considerable number of its lines are a simple record of events. More than ten consist of references to the war of Dāḥis, Ḥāṭib (16-21) and to the event of the Elephant (30-34). On the other hand the emphasis on preaching the religion of the Hanīfiyya makes it unlikely that this poem was composed by Ibn al-Aslat since we have already pointed out that warfare of Yathrib, in which the poet played a vital part, occupied his poetic mind for years before and after the rise of Islam. In addition there is no satisfactory reason for the rejection of the statements of Islamic sources, asserting the hostile attitude of Abū Qays who prevailed on his kinsmen to refrain from adopting Islam. Therefore it is difficult to reconcile the differences between the reports of the historians of the Islamic period and many lines of this poem, especially those

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1) Maghāzī, I, 300.

addressed to Quraysh urging them to stand by one another, enjoining them to rebuild the religion of Hanīfiyya and to follow the Islamic path (5-8, 21-24).

Leaving this point, if we consider lines 9-12 we may notice that these lines are a mere imitation of four of the lines in the Mu'allāqa of Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā (lines 30-33). Further imitation appears even in the lines describing war (13-15) which uses the same images and meaning as found in lines ascribed to 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib<sup>1</sup> who is reported to have composed his lines to describe the hardship of war in general.

Perhaps line 33 is of the most interest because it is not only full of such common Qur'ānic expressions such as Naṣr dhī 'l-'Arsh and Jund al-Malīk, but is also an imitation of the Qur'ānic verses speaking of the event of the Elephant.

Finally we may note the structural weakness of this poem in general in which there are irregularities of grammar such as lines 21, 34 as well as downright plagiarizations of expression used by other poets (1, 9, 12) the authenticity of whose poems is unquestioned.

When we compare the general standard of this poem in particular with others ascribed to Ibn al-Aslat which have no apparent sign of forgery, the gap is very wide. Indeed, we are forced to completely reject the attribution of this poem to Abū Qays, in spite of the

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1) 'Iqd, I, 75., IQ, Shi'r, I, 333.

fact that a great scholar like al-Jāhiz not only ascribed<sup>1</sup> some of these lines to Abū Qays (30-31, 33-34) but even comments that these are genuine lines and that narrators had never questioned the authenticity of these lines.

(d) Qays b. al-Khaṭīm b. 'Adiyy b. 'Amr b. Sawād, of the clan of Banū Zafar b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj, and Abū Qays b. al-Aslat were the most active poets in Medina on the rise of Islam.

Ibn al-Athīr<sup>2</sup> seems to be mistaken in stating that Qays, 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba, Mālik b. 'Ajlān and Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ went on the mission from al-Aws and al-Khazraj in an attempt to settle the quarrel between 'Abs and Dhubyān, for, according to Abū'l-Faraj,<sup>3</sup> Qays did not live in the time of Mālik b. 'Ajlān, having been born years after him.

The sources give very little information about his life, particularly in his early years. However, the first poem in his Dīwān gives an account of the revenge which he took for his father and grandfather, although it is difficult to say when Qays actually composed his poem, or even to give an accurate date for this event. It is more reasonable to presume that it took place before the battle of Bu'āth, because

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1) Ḥayawān, VII, 59.

2) Ath., Kāmil, I, 429.

3) Aghānī, II, 168.

Qays's murder occurred a short time after the battle. In the last line of this poem there is, however, a reference to the battle of Bu'āth, but this cannot be taken as proof because it seems that the last part of this poem was borrowed from another poem composed by Qays after that battle.

Abū'l-Faraj gives two accounts of Qays's revenge,<sup>1</sup> one on the authority of al-Mufaḍḍal and the other on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī, but both Brockelmann and Kowalski believe that this event was later embellished with all sorts of fictitious details.<sup>2</sup>

Our most concrete information about the poet's life concerns his activities during the final stages of the warfare between his tribe al-Aws and that of al-Khazraj, which he himself recorded in his poetry. Qays seems to have dedicated himself to being the representative of his whole tribe. He not only celebrates the deeds of his tribe, but consoles it in the days of its defeat, and he replies to the satires directed against it. He was, of course, involved in various quarrels with most of the poets of al-Khazraj during that period. His most violent opponents were the poets Ḥassān b. Thābit and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. These poets castigate Qays personally, and often refer

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1) Aghānī, II, 159-62.

2) B. Arabic Translations, I, 114. and K. EI, art.,  
Qays b. al-Khaṭīm.

to the defeats of his tribe.<sup>1</sup> Qays is said to have gone to Mecca with the deputation from al-Aws which went there in an attempt to form an alliance with the Quraysh against al-Khazraj.<sup>2</sup> Poem 14<sup>3</sup> contains references to this event, while elsewhere Ḥassān b. Thābit<sup>4</sup> refers to the same event in one of his poems which he starts by mentioning Qays's sister Laylā. While Ḥassān addresses amorous lines to Qays's sister, Qays himself opens one of his poems by addressing sentiments of love to a certain 'Amra, but it is not known if he meant 'Amra the former wife of Ḥassān, or 'Amra the sister of 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.<sup>5</sup>

Qays took part in the encounter of al-Ḥadīqa,<sup>6</sup> on which occasion he was seriously wounded. That event is referred to by 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa in the following line:-<sup>7</sup>

We wounded you on the days of Fijār, when you were  
forbidden to drink water; whoever drank, it  
was not you.<sup>8</sup>

(45)

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- 1) Dīwān Ḥassān, (ed 'Arafāt) Poem no.2, lines 17-22  
Dīwān Qays, (ed. Asad) Page 169.
  - 2) Munammaq, 326-30. Aghānī, II, 163.
  - 3) Dīwān, (ed. Kowalski, Poem no.14, but this poem is under no. 15 in the Dīwān edited by al-Asad (p.181)
  - 4) Dīwān, (ed. 'A) poem no.114, Aghānī, II, 164.
  - 5) Dīwān, Poem no.3.
  - 6) Dīwān, Poem no.4, line 21.
  - 7) Ath., Kāmīl, I, 507.
  - 8) The seriously wounded were not allowed to drink water because it was thought they might die.

Qays did not take part in the decisive battle of Bu'āth, something he admits himself in one of the most genuine-seeming poems ascribed to him.<sup>1</sup> This was perhaps because of the wound which he received in the battle of al-Ḥadīqa.

On the rise of Islam, Qays was still alive, but he was not converted. Many authors tell of different meetings which took place between the Prophet and Qays, in one of which, Ibn Sa'd states, the Prophet was very desirous of Qays's conversion to Islam; but he refused because of the war which occupied his mind more than anything else.<sup>2</sup> T. Kowalski says, "Qays's meeting with the Prophet is pure invention,"<sup>3</sup> but does not give any further reasons for this statement.

As a result of Qays's war activities, he was murdered not long after the battle of Bu'āth, which battle put an end to the warfare between al-Aws and al-Khazraj.

#### His Poetic Talent.

On different occasions it is clearly stated<sup>4</sup> that three famous poets expressed their admiration for Qays's

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- 1) Dīwān, Poem no.4, line 38.
  - 2) IS., VIII, 237. See also Ṭabaqāt, 162; M., Mu'jam, 196; Aghānī, II, 163; Istī'āb (Ḥawwā' bint Yazīd; Iṣāba (Ḥawwā' bint Yazīd).
  - 3) EI, art., Qays b. al-Khaṭīm.
  - 4) Aghānī, II, 162. M., Mu'jam, 196. Q., Amālī, 2,273. Zahr., IV, 906.

poetic ability. When we turn to the main sources in the Arabic language, we see that many examples of Qays's poetry have been quoted which may give us confidence not only in his talent but also in his style, which was appreciated by the early scholars.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Sallām, however, says "Some people prefer Qays's ability to that of Ḥassān, but I do not agree."<sup>2</sup>

First let us consider briefly this statement by one of the most prominent critics of the past, in order to discover whether this remark is purely professional, or whether it is due to Ḥassān's reputation which he built up after the rise of Islam, when he became the master of early Islamic poetry.

In this attempt we shall examine some of the lines ascribed to both Ḥassān and Qays. Of course, all the examples that we will quote are from their recorded poems which are supposed to have been composed during the pre-Islamic period, which period we assume Ibn Sallām meant, since Qays was murdered not long before the Prophet's emigration to Medina. Furthermore, every poem attributed to them is in the pagan poetic tradition, such as starting the poem with amatory lines and celebrating the deeds of the tribe.

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1) IQ., Ma'ānī, II, 891, 969, 978, 988, 1024, 1083, 1101, and 1117.

'Ask., Ma'ānī, I, 170, 229, 276; II, 50, 51, 57, 70 and 119. Adab, 237, 390.

2) Ṭabaqāt, 190.

However, since most of the poetry ascribed to each of these poets deals with the events which took place during the outbreak of fighting between al-Aws and al-Khazraj, and since both Ḥassān and Qays represented their own tribe, let us turn to some of their lines which describe war and the battlefield as a whole. In the following lines, Ḥassān speaks about the war:-

When the udder of war is untied, and it bestows  
death and blood generously upon the milkers,  
And no one has any hope except for every admirable  
and noble man,  
Mighty of strength, glorious and generous,  
We will be in front of the leaders to the battle,  
When the weak coward does not advance.<sup>1</sup> (46)

Here is what Qays says about the war:-

When those who milk (the udder of) war are unable  
to do anything,  
We can take it over like wolves of the forest.  
We impregnate it (the war) against its will, while  
it rebels against us, with our swords, until  
we humble its pride.<sup>2</sup> (47)

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- 1) Dīwān (ed 'A) Poem no. 10, lines 25-26.
  - 2) Dīwān (ed A) Poem no.1, lines 16-17.

In the above lines, both Ḥassān and Qays describe war as a she-camel, an image very often used by the pre-Islamic poets and even by the early poets of Islam. The meaning is that when the udder of the she-camel is squeezed it gives more milk, and so it is with war which causes more bloodshed when it is stirred up.

Looking at the general expressions of each of these poets, we see that Ḥassān adduces a banal idea when he makes the combatants only advance when their cowardly enemy hesitates. On the other hand, Qays not only uses very strong phrases, but emphasizes that the fighters obtain victory by force, making the enemy surrender in the end.

In the following example, it is clear that Ḥassān, who did not take part in battles, could not have written a line like this one by Qays:-

In fierce war I am encharged with advancing a soul  
whose preservation I do not wish.<sup>1</sup> (48)

Perhaps we may understand this fact from Ḥassān himself when he says:-

My tongue and my sword are both cutting, and my  
tongue attains what the sword does not attain.<sup>2</sup>  
(49)

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1) Dīwān, Poem no.1, line 11.

2) Dīwān, (ed 'A) Poem no.2, line 2.

In the following lines, Ḥassān speaks about the battalions:-

I am not (born) of a chaste mother if you are not  
visited throughout your houses by a violent flame,  
To which the noble man submits when he sees it, and  
the dwellers flee from the fear of it.  
The adolescent virgin turns grey from it, and the  
foetus is miscarried from fear of it.<sup>1</sup> (50)

But listen to what Qays says:-

We visited you with an army in full daylight,  
leading a clamorous host to death,  
Banū 'l-Aws came like a hail-bearing cloud,  
which the wind causes to flow, advancing and  
sweeping everything away.  
A numerous army, like an unexpected flood, which is  
followed by a continuous downpour which makes  
the high ground stream with water.<sup>2</sup> (51)

Looking at both Ḥassān's and Qays's description of the battalion, we see that Ḥassān includes expressions only based on exaggeration, while the general meaning is rather common since it is widely known that war leaves behind a state of destruction and a life of destitution. When we leave Ḥassān's lines to

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- 1) Dīwān (ed 'A) Poem no. 115, lines 3-5.
- 2) Dīwān (ed A) Poem no.14, lines 17-18.

consider those of Qays, we see that Qays not only gives the reader of his lines a moving picture of the warriors, suitable, of course, for the main purpose, but that his expressions are clearly related to the subject-matter and every word seems to be correctly suited to its context.

Finally, if anyone reads through the poetry ascribed to both Ḥassān and Qays which describes the warfare of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, it is quite clear that he will easily recognise the differences between Ḥassān's phraseology and that of Qays, and further, it will be obvious to him that Ḥassān does not include any of the stirring images used by Qays when he describes action or arms.

For example, let us read Qays's description of the action he took when he exacted his revenge on the man who had killed his father:-

I wounded Ibn 'Abd al-Qays with the thrust of an  
avenger,

A deep wound (which everyone could see) except for  
the red blood which brightened it.

I made my hand do it confidently and I made its  
wound flow so that standing before the man,  
one could see through what was behind him.<sup>1</sup> (52)

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1) Dīwān (edA) Poem no.1, lines 7-8.

Or when he describes the heads of al-Khazraj which were cut off by the swords of al-Aws:-

When our detachments appeared following with the dawn,  
The heads of the Khazrajites were like colocynths (i.e. scattered on the ground).<sup>1</sup> (53)

In the following line, let us read his description of the arms. Hear what he says in description of the lances and javelins during the combat:-

You see them being pulled out like buckets ( from a well) whose rope pull tightly.<sup>2</sup> (54)

or when he describes the broken spears on the battle-field:-

You see fragments of spears fall down,  
Like palm branches in the hands of women who strip them of their leaves.<sup>3</sup> (55)

Or when he describes his coat of mail:-

A coat of double mail whose cuffs cover the ends of my fingers,  
The heads of whose nails are like the eyes of locusts.<sup>4</sup> (56)

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- 1) Dīwān, Poem no.8, line 2.
  - 2) Dīwān (ed A) Poem no.3, line 9.
  - 3) Dīwān (ed A) Poem no.4, line 15.
  - 4) Dīwān (ed A) Poem no.4, line 11.

Or when he says in description of the sword:-

With every flexible, cutting-edged, sharp (sword)  
which goes deep when you brandish it.<sup>1</sup> (57)

However, when we turn to Ḥassān's recorded poetry, we see that he does not draw a picture like that drawn by Qays, but in fact speaks in general, as in the following lines:-

The passing of wars and their misfortune has left  
to us swords and coats of mail and a multitudinous  
army.<sup>2</sup> (58)

Or when he says:-

Do not be ignorant, O Qays, and desist, for the  
utmost you can do is to be met, with Indian  
swords.

A sword and spears in the hands of mighty ones,  
when you see them O Ibn al-Khaṭīm you will  
be stupefied.<sup>3</sup> (59)

The conclusion which may be reached is as follows:-  
Ḥassān neither speaks elaborately when describing  
the scenes of the battlefield, nor does he give any of

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- 1) Dīwān, Poem no.14, line 22.
  - 2) Dīwān (ed 'A) Poem no.4, line 20.
  - 3) Dīwān (ed 'A) Poem no.2, lines 17-18.

those exhaustive details, such as Qays gives, regarding the arms used in the fighting.

Furthermore, Ḥassān had no direct experience of battle, and in this matter he seems to have relied on his own poetic talent and on the accounts of those who had taken part in the battle, whereas Qays based his description on his own experiences, because he had himself participated in battles.

It must be admitted that Qays occasionally borrowed some of his general ideas from earlier poets, but Ḥassān apparently felt deficient in this respect and tried to fill the gap by imitating a great number of expressions of earlier poets.

In addition to this, Qays completely surpassed Ḥassān, and all his contemporaries in Medina, in his descriptions of women. According to pagan custom, Qays starts most of his poems with love poetry, and a study of these lines in particular shows that he was well versed in the art of the Ghazal and had a good command of its technique. In general, his Ghazals seem to have been moulded chiefly under the influence of settled life which was established in the oases of Hijāz at that time.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, while descriptions of war and women are the main subjects of Qays's Dīwān, other topics are frequently dealt with by Ḥassān when he

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1) For example, see his Dīwān poems no. 2, 3 and 5.

extols himself, his ancestors and their hospitality, or when he celebrates the delights of wine drinking, or when he boasts of the Ghassanid princes whom he visited, and so on; all of which are entirely lacking in the odes of Qays.

His Dīwān.

At the present time, there are three different editions of Qays's Dīwān. The earliest, issued in 1914, was edited by T. Kowalski. The other two editions first appeared in 1962. One was published in Baghdad, the editors being I. as-Samarrāī and A. Maṭlūb, while the other was published in Cairo in 1962 and in Beirut in 1967, and was edited by N. al-Asad.

We shall not give an exhaustive account of these editions, as our main purpose is to study his poetry as found in the original texts. In the first edition published by Kowalski, who gives a considerable number of references, reference is often made to the differences between the versions of Qays's poetry as given by different authorities. He adds a preface to the Dīwān in German together with a considerable number of remarks, mostly quoted from Arabic sources. Sometimes he refers to some of the historical facts mentioned by the poet. He ends his edition by collecting a number of scattered fragments attributed

to Qays, calling them "plagiarised poetry (al-Manḥūl) ascribed to Qays b. al-Khaṭīm al-Awsī.

The word plagiarism is actually confusing, as it is not clear whether he uses this phrase because these poems are ascribed to Qays as well as to other poets, or because he thought that they had been fabricated. It might be inferred from the phrase that he means both, but it is in fact rather difficult to prove whether these were composed by Qays, or were attributed to him, since most of them are only fragments of verses or single lines. It might perhaps be easy to identify some of these lines, particularly some which were certainly not composed by Qays but were in fact extracted from poems attributed to other poets. Mr. al-Asad points out some of these in his edition of the Dīwān.<sup>1</sup>

The second edition, published by as-Samarrāī and Maṭlūb, is rather similar to Kowalski's edition. In fact, it is regrettable that this new edition is of no better standard than the one which appeared 48 years before, even though the editors are specialists in their field.

They claim that they produced this edition because the one which was printed in Europe was not available and it was accordingly not easy for scholars to become acquainted with Qays's poetry.

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1) Dīwān, p. 230, line no. 1; 232, 238-9.

Although most of the genuine poems included in the Dīwān are available elsewhere, we would agree with them if they restricted their claim to these points alone; but not only do they express their wish to publish a new edition of the Dīwān in a very accurate manner, but they maintain that they have achieved their objective.

If this were the case, one would expect that there was nothing more to be done. It would, however, be useful if they, for example, were to consider details of the poet's life, the genuineness of his poetic ability, the subjects which his poetry dealt with, the manuscripts which contain that poetry, and how far his poetry was known among the early scholars.

Another point which should have been discussed by the editors is that there are in the preserved manuscript a few poems containing lines ascribed to various poets, especially in Nos. 11 and 22.

The third edition of the Dīwān - that published by N. al-Asad - is, in fact, the best. One appreciates the details which he gives about the manuscript, and the collection of large numbers of references to valuable sources which he gives for every poem. Mr. al-Asad, also includes the meanings of many expressions or lines which have also been given by other scholars. He sometimes gives his own view on the readings given by different authors, or on a number of lines included in the Dīwān which are also ascribed to other poets. He gives information about the occasion on which a certain verse

was recited, the places and the clans referred to in the poems and the poets mentioned by name, or from whom a verse is quoted as an example or an explanation of one of Qays's phrases.

In addition, he sometimes refers to some lines composed by certain poets which are similar in meaning or use similar expressions to Qays's, some of which are mentioned in many different works.

He adds some comments, at the end of his edition, regarding a number of poems on which he quotes numerous remarks from reliable sources on the warfare of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, or the genuineness of some lines included in the Dīwān.

The first indirect reference to a collection of Qays's poetry is made by al-Qālī, who remarks that he had read the poetry of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm under Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933).<sup>1</sup> The second reference is from Ibn an-Nadīm, who says that among the collection of Arabic poetry which has been compiled by as-Sukkarī (d. 275/888) was the poetry of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm.<sup>2</sup> A later mention is made by al-Baghdādī,<sup>3</sup> who comments after one of Qays's poems that "This is the part included by al-Qālī and it is the same part which is included in Qays's Dīwān."

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1) Q., Amālī, II, 273.

2) Fihrist, 117.

3) Shāfiya, II, 184.

Al-Asad, however, rightly remarks that al-Baghdādī's statement does not definitely mean that the Dīwān of Qays, which al-Qālī took with him to al-Andalus after studying under Ibn Durayd, is the same as the one mentioned by al-Baghdādī.

On the other hand, it may be inferred from al-Baghdādī's statement that he himself had a copy of the Dīwān of Qays, in spite of the fact that he gives the same reading which had been included before by al-Qālī. However, we may assume that the version which al-Baghdādī referred to was not the same as the original one which is now in the Dīwān, because the arrangement of the lines is different and there are, furthermore, two extra lines added by al-Qālī.<sup>1</sup>

This new edition of the Dīwān is based on an old manuscript dated Rajab 419/1028 in the Topkapi Sarayi Library in Constantinople, No. 2534, included as an appendix to the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit. The name of the writer of this manuscript has not been given, but at the end of Ḥassān's poetry and before the beginning of that of Qays, he says, "I transcribed it from a copy which was read under al-'Adawī in the year 255/868."<sup>2</sup> However, no similar remark is made in Qays's poetry to indicate the writer's name, the copy from which he transcribed this collection, or the year of writing.

The available evidence is as follows. Qays's

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1) Q., Amālī, II, 177.

2) MS., p. 189.

poetry is given as an appendix to that of Ḥassān, and it has been written by the same hand, with the exception of pages 49 and 50. These two pages seem to have been written by a different hand, and may be more recent than the previous pages. After these two pages, there is in the manuscript copied by the Arab League (No.302) from the original, a space of two pages before the original writer of the manuscript takes over again. On these two pages which seem to have different writing, there are one poem and three fragments, but the real difficulty is in regard to the last fraction of verse in which there are only two lines followed by a space of two pages. It is accordingly difficult to decide whether this space was left for extra lines from the last fragment, or because there are poems or fragments which might have been omitted during the first writing of the manuscript. Perhaps no answer can be found, since all the available manuscripts are the same.

Looking at the manuscript, in the section on Ḥassān's poetry we find a number of references to the poetry of Qays.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, in the section on Qays's poetry, al-'Adawī's name is mentioned several times,<sup>2</sup> which makes one feel confident that Qays's poetry had also been read in the year 255/868 under al-'Adawī; who

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1) Pp. 45, 61, 150, 153, 155, 156.

2) MS., 7, 8, 11, 16, 21.

explains the meaning of a number of phrases.

When we leave these facts and turn to the earliest collections of Arabic poetry, we see that Qays's poetry was appreciated by many of the early writers, who sometimes included one of his poems or fragments of his verses, or at least referred to a number of lines from different poems which now appear in the Dīwān.<sup>1</sup>

In the Egyptian National Library in Cairo, there are three manuscripts of Qays's Dīwān, No. 612 Adab, 70 Adab (Sh) and 296 Taymuriyya. The earliest of these (No.612) seems to be a late copy of the previous one ('Adawī).

Kowalski refers to the manuscript (No. 612), he assumes that it was written after the year 1858.<sup>2</sup> The other two are more recent, and both were written in the year 1320/1902. The earliest of the Egyptian manuscripts has been transcribed from the original ('Adawī), but each of the later copies seems to have copied from the one which appeared before it.

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- 1) Aṣma'īyyāt, no. 68, pp. 226-9. T., Ḥamāsa, I, 94, and III, 104. B., Ḥamāsa, 34, 42, 111, 112, 120, 122, 132, 147, 213 and 223. Munammaq, 228-9. M., Mu'jam, 196. Ṭabaqāt, 190-2. Ḥayawān, III, 21; V, 60, 73, 162; VI, 139.
- 2) Dīwān, XXXVI.

The poems included in the original manuscript which formed Qays's Dīwān seem to have been collected by Ibn as-Sikkīt. On the title page, however, we read "... the poetry of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm from Ibn as-Sikkīt and others."<sup>1</sup>

Twenty-five poems or fragments are included in this manuscript, which contains fifty-three pages clearly written in ordinary Naskh. All these poems are supposed to have been composed by Qays, except for two, one of which is ascribed to 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa,<sup>2</sup> while the second is attributed to Anas b. al-'Alā'.<sup>3</sup> Both these poems are reported to have been uttered on different occasions in reply to Qays.

Finally, in regard to the genuineness of Qays's poetry, it is beyond any doubt that most of the recorded poetry, especially the complete poems, is entirely creditable and of high quality. Furthermore, his poems contain references to the days known as the Ayyām al-Aws wa 'l-Khazraj. We think that some of these poems must be taken as reliable sources of information on the circumstances in Medina immediately before Islam. In general, his Dīwān throws light on the warfare which raged for many years between the two tribes. Most of the days included in his poetry had taken place in the

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- 1) MS., 189.
- 2) MS., 47-8.
- 3) MS., 53.

poet's lifetime and he had, moreover, participated in some of these battles himself. So far, doubts have been expressed about parts of two fragments, some lines of which are ascribed by a number of authors to four poets. Mr. al-Asad, however, gives details about this in his edition of the Dīwān.<sup>1</sup>

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1) Dīwān, 151-8.

(3) THE FEUDS BETWEEN AL-AWS AND AL-KHAZRAJ.

(a) Internal Conditions in Yathrib in the years preceding the rise of Islam.

Before the rise of Islam internal conditions in the society of Mecca were quiet and peaceful. The entire city which was dominated by one tribe, the Quraysh, had enjoyed the prosperity which was brought by their caravans.

In contrast with Mecca, the bulk of the population of Medina was divided into two Arab tribes; the Aws and the Khazraj and three Jewish tribes, Banū Qurayza, Banū 'n-Naḍīr and Banū Qaynuqā'. A destructive feud in this city had been raging for many years, first between the Jews and the Arabs, and later between the Arabs themselves. Thus the people of Yathrib in general were living in a state of almost continuous hostility.

As regards the approximate period during which the Aws and the Khazraj might have fought with each other, the narrators of Islamic history claim that it was for over a hundred years.<sup>1</sup> The existing records of poetry refer particularly to the final stages of this tribal quarrel.

However, because of the lack of information regarding the earliest period of that conflict, it is

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1) Ath'Kāmil, I, 503; Samhūdī, I, 215.

difficult to form a clear picture, or to estimate accurately when the feud flared up, and for how long these tribes had been opposed to one another. Traditionally it was claimed that the first recorded fighting took place in the time of Mālik b. 'Ajlān. This quarrel was called the Wars of Sumayr<sup>1</sup> and according to Abū 'l-Faraj<sup>2</sup> this incident continued for twenty years, but its events had been forgotten. But from the feuds of Sumayr, Abū 'l-Faraj gives the name of only two incidents in which severe fighting had been reported.<sup>3</sup> The first of these took place in aṣ-Ṣafīna,<sup>4</sup> a village which belonged to Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf. The Khazraj were commanded by Mālik b. 'Ajlān, but there is no mention of the Aws leader. The combatants attacked one another bitterly and according to the account, al-Aws asked Mālik to appoint one of the Khazraj to be an arbitrator between them. 'Amr b. Imri 'l-Qays was chosen, but he failed to bring about peace when Mālik refused to accept his offer and insisted upon receiving full blood money for his allies' victim. The demand of Mālik led to another confrontation in which a number of families were involved in

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- 1) Sumayr is the real name of an Awsī, who was supposed to have caused this trouble when he killed an ally of Mālik b. 'Ajlān, the leader of the Khazraj who was the first among the Aws and the Khazraj to gain his independence from the Jews.
  - 2) Agānī, II, 169.
  - 3) Agānī, II, 169, 176-7.
  - 4) Buldān, Ṣafīn, III, 402 and Maghāzī, I, 451.

ferocious fighting at a place called al-Faḍā, near the strongholds of Banū Qaynuqā'. According to Abū'l-Faraj, Mālik was supported by several clans of the Khazraj, except Banū'l-Ḥārith who refused to join him. Al-Aws were assisted by Banū Qurayḡa and an-Naḍīr and the battle ended in favour of al-Aws.

The feuds of Sumayr, however, ended when Ḥassān b. Thābit's grandfather made a compromise acceptable to both parties.<sup>1</sup>

The poets of that period do not give or record any details about the feuds of Sumayr. The surviving verses<sup>2</sup> only mention the reason behind the dispute and the opponents' demands. In a poem ascribed to Mālik b. 'Ajlān the poet asks Banū'l-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj and Banū 'n-Najjār to stay, but this seems to have been said after the event of aṣ-Ṣafīna, since Banū 'l-Ḥārith had abandoned their support for Mālik when the latter refused to accept the compromise offered by their chief. On the other hand Dirham b. Zayd al-Awsī explains in one of his poems the view of his clan. Although he does not specifically mention the details of the war, he does throw some light on the incident.

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- 1) Dīwān Ḥassān (ed. H) Poem no. VII, line 11, and Ishtiqāq, 449. In one commentary it is said that it was Ḥassān's father who had restored the peace. Aghānī II, and Dīwān Poem no. V, line 8.
  - 2) Aghānī, II, 167-8, M' Mu'jam, 55, 256. Sha'Hamāsa, 39, Q, Jamhara, 225. Dīwān Ḥassān, (ed. B) 278-81.

From the following lines attributed to him, we may reach the conclusion that a blood feud between the rival tribes of Yathrib had existed even in the earliest period.

In spite of Ibn 'Ajlān we prevented (anyone)  
from harming us.

With sharpened swords (which glisten) like salt,  
just polished.

We struck them until our swords had their way  
with them

And they turned their backs, fleeing in slaughter.

The chiefs of al-Aws rebutted what Mālik said,

With a blow like the loose lips of a broken-in  
camel.<sup>1</sup>

(60)

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- 1) In three editions of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit, these lines are ascribed to him, (53H, 320B, 247 'A), but according to Ibn ash-Shajarī (Ḥamāsa 39) these lines were composed by Dirham b. Zayd al-Awsī. However, it is more reasonable to assume that these lines were said by an Awsī, because it fits conveniently into the story given about the quarrel of Sumayr. Furthermore, both Ḥassān and Mālik belonged to the same tribe so it is unlikely that Ḥassān would have attacked his own tribe.

W. 'Arafāt, however, points out that one of the MS on which his published edition is based, attributed the first three lines to Ḥassān and the rest to an Awsī as an answer to the first part.

There are two poems ascribed to Dirham (Aghānī, II, 168) but both of them appear to have been composed at the beginning of the conflict, since there is no mention of fighting in the poems. Most probably the narrators based their information on these poems when they assumed that al-Aws and al-Khazraj quarrelled among themselves when Sumayr b. Zayd al Awsī killed an ally of Mālik b. 'Ajlān the chief of the Khazraj.

In the surviving verses attributed to the later poets of al-Aws and al-Khazraj who played a vital role during the final tribal feud, the Quarrel of Sumayr in general is rarely mentioned.<sup>1</sup> We have already stated that in the incident of al-Faḍā, al-Aws achieved victory over al-Khazraj. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, who did not live in that period, singled out the place of al-Faḍā in four different occasions.<sup>2</sup> But only on two of these occasions does the poet speak in any detail about the war of al-Faḍā.

Perhaps Qays wants to emphasize that the supremacy of power does not belong to the Khazraj alone as it was proved in this battle that in spite of the fact that al-Aws were smaller in number, they defeated al-Khazraj. He also seeks to put Aws who shortly before the battle of Bu'āth were in a depressed condition, at par with his

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1) Dīwān Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, poem no. 5.  
Dīwān Ḥassān, (ed. H) poem no. CCXVL.

2) Dīwān, (ed. A) pages 61, 93, 127 and 147.

rivals the Khazraj. With this in mind, he siezes this opportunity to glorify the past heroic deeds of the tribe of Aws.

It is important to study the poetry dealing with the quarrel, since most of it was composed by the poets taking part in the battle, some being recorded not long after. This poetry provides us with some reliable information about the circumstances in Yathrib during the period which had preceded the rise of Islam. Besides the value of its style and literary ideas this poetry contains very rich material of a geographical<sup>1</sup> and historical character. Furthermore, we strongly believe that many of the accounts given by the historians concerning this feud have relied entirely on this poetry, not only to establish the history of the tribal feud of Yathrib, but also to define many of its places.

If we look at poem No.10<sup>2</sup> which was composed by Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, regarding the incident of al-Faḍā, we find that neither Ibn al-Kalbī nor Abū 'l-Faraj give more details of the event than the information provided by Qays in his poem. In a brief account both Ibn al-Kalbī<sup>3</sup> and Abū'l-Faraj<sup>4</sup> point out that on the day

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- 1) For example see B, Mu'jam, II, 637 (ar-Rubay') and III, 731 (ʿash-Shar'abī and Rātij. Buldān I, 670. (Bu'āth). and II, 226 (Ḥadīqa).
  - 2) Dīwān, (ed, K) 25, (ed, A) 145. See also poem no.2 lines 9-13.
  - 3) Dīwān of Ḥassān (ed 'A) 238.
  - 4) Aghānī, II, 169.

of al-Faḍā al-Aws and al-Khazraj were engaged in continuous bloody fighting until darkness prevented each side from further attacks. But at the end the balance of victory was in favour of the Aws against al-Khazraj.

This statement was based entirely on Qays' poem which probably had been said three centuries earlier. Moreover, Qays's poem provides us with the name of the clans opposing him who participated in the battle. From his poem which consists of 18 lines, we would like to quote the following few lines, simply to show the historical importance of this poetry.

Banū 'Awf<sup>1</sup> and their brother Tazīd<sup>2</sup> drank cups  
of death in al-Faḍā.

We met them with every experienced warrior,  
Leading behind him a prepared throng. (61)

and

Killing struck Sā'ida Ibn Ka'b, and left  
baboons in their gatherings.  
Ambitions have been defeated in Ṭarīf<sup>3</sup> and  
blacksmiths who fashion steel.<sup>4</sup> (62)

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- 1) In the Jamhara of Ibn Ḥazim, (353) the author mentions that Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf b. al-Khazraj b. Ḥāritha, were divided into three clans, Sālim, Ghanm and 'Anz.
  - 2) Tazīd b. Jusham b. al-Khazraj (358)
  - 3) Sā'ida and Ṭarīf, were two branches of Banū Ka'b b. al-Khazraj (365)
  - 4) Dīwān (ed K), poem no. 10. Lines 6-7 and 10-11.

Ibn al-Athīr points out that between the wars of Ḥāṭib and the wars of Sumayr, there was a period of about a hundred years.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps it is rather difficult to accept this assumption since the accounts given both by the poets and the historians mention the names of the grandfathers of the later Khazrajite poets 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa and Ḥassān b. Thābit. The latter claims that during the conflict of Sumayr, his grandfather was the one who brought the conclusion of peace.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore we find that al-'Abbās b. 'Ubāda b. Naḍla, the grandson of Mālik b. 'Ajlān was killed in the battlefield of Uḥud.<sup>3</sup> On the basis of this information, we can deduce that there cannot have been a period of long duration between the wars of Sumayr and Ḥāṭib. This provides another evidence of the falsity of the statement of Ibn al-Athīr.

Apart from the conflicting accounts regarding this feud in general, it seems more probable that the tribal feud between al-Aws and al-Khazraj broke out only after their complete domination of Yathrib, although it should be noted that most of the recorded quarrels are not proper battles like the day of Bu'āth, but merely skirmishes in which instead of the whole

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1) Ath' Kāmil, I, 503.

2) Maghāzī, I, 303, H. Jamhara, 353 and Ishtiqaq, 458.

3) Aghānī, II, 162.

tribe only a few families or individuals opposed one another.

Abū 'l-Faraj, however, gives two contradictory accounts of this war. In the first place he, on the authority of Anas b. Mālik, reports<sup>1</sup> "One day the Prophet was sitting in a gathering in which none other than Khazrajites were present. He asked one to recite the poem of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm.

Do you know the traces of 'Amra (my beloved)  
which are pale on the sand like the gold  
lines in the skin,

Deserted and uninhabited now, the place is  
unfit for a rider to halt at.<sup>2</sup>

a. (63)

Thereupon one of the Khazrajites started reciting it; when he reached the verse:-

I fought them on the day of al-Ḥadīqa without  
my armour.

The sword in my hand like a rolled up piece of  
cloth in the hand of a playing child.<sup>3</sup>

a. (64)

The Prophet addressing the gathering asked "Did he really fight like that?" On this Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās replied that he did. He further remarked "By him who sent you with the truth, he (Qays) came

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1) Aghānī, II, 162.

2) Dīwān, Poem no.4, line 1.

3) Dīwān, Poem no. 4, line 21.

out to us on the seventh day of his marriage dressed only in an under garment and a yellow wrap and fought with us in the manner he described in his poetry."

According to the second report given by Abū 'l-Faraj on the authority of Muṣ'ab az-Zubayrī "There was no war between al-Aws and al-Khazraj except on the day of Bu'āth on which the fighting was severe. On the remaining days, however, the fighting was limited to throwing stones and beating with staffs."

Abū 'l-Faraj further quotes az-Zubayr b. Bakkār as saying, I recited to Muḥammad b. Faḍāla the verse:-

I fought them on the day of al-Ḥadīqa without  
any armour,

The sword in my hand like a rolled-up piece of  
cloth in the hand of a playing child.

On which he laughed and said "On that day they fought only with palm-boughs and the tender branches of trees."

The last part of the statement of al-Muṣ'ab does not seem tenable to us. In the first place it contradicts the main sources which had recorded these events. The poetry ascribed to the poets of that period, for instance, provides enough evidence for this. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, one of these poets, and his Dīwān provide the chief demonstration of this fact. Furthermore, Qays himself played a prominent part during the years of the quarrel, and he was murdered because of

his activities in the battlefields.<sup>1</sup>

In the accounts of the historians there is one fragment describing this event. Ibn al-Athīr in his Kāmil (I, 507) says "On the day of al-Hadīqa (first Fijār) when Qays came back from his field he found that his clan had gone out to fight. Without waiting to arm himself properly, he rushed to join his clan only with his sword. There he showed the highest bravery and achieved thereby great honour." In this incident, however, Qays was seriously wounded and took a long time to recover, being ordered not to take water. Referring to this his opponent 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, says:-

We wounded you on the day of Fijār, when you  
were forbidden to drink water, whoever drank,  
it was not you.

In the battle of Bu'āth all of the tribes of Medina, including these of the Jews, were involved in ferocious fighting, but Qays admits that he did not take part:-

I was absent from the day when my people  
satisfied me,

And the day of Bu'āth was the day of victory.<sup>2</sup> b.(63)

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1) Aghānī, II, 163 and Asmā' al-Mughtālīn Min al-Ashrāf, II, 274.

2) Dīwān Poem no.4, Line, 38.

Perhaps there are no explanations for this except that he was not able to participate, since he was suffering from the wound which he received on the day of al-Ḥadīqa. The second hemistich moreover gives the impression that fighting was known among these tribes before the battle of Bu'āth, but Qays admitted that Bu'āth had ended the humiliation of al-Aws and finally marked their decisive victory which brought utter defeat upon al-Khazraj.

This passage, together with existing reliable records of verses attributed to Ḥassān b. Thābit, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa and Ka'b b. Mālik from the Khazrajite side and Abū Qays b. al Aslat, Qays b. al-Khaṭīm and 'Ubayd b. Nāfidh from the Awsite asserts that a blood feud existed among the two rival tribes of Yathrib years before the battle of Bu'āth, and that bloodshed and destructive feuds had tormented the population of Yathrib for many years.

The sources give accounts which merely suggest that al-Aws and al-Khazraj attempted to impose favourable conditions to limit the state of hostility. Both of them, however, are reported to have accepted the following principles during the long period of quarrel.

- 1) It was forbidden, at any rate, to kill a man if he was in his house or farm.<sup>1</sup>

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1) Aghānī, II, 177; Dīwān Ḥassān (ed H) 22, (ed 'A) 239

- 2) If combatants took refuge in their own farms they should not be further pursued by their enemies.<sup>1</sup>
- 3) If one side of the opponent tribes claimed to be about to celebrate 'Umra (lesser pilgrimage) or perform Ḥajj (pilgrimage) no one would obstruct them if they hang palm-branches on their houses.<sup>2</sup>
- 4) The victorious side must be satisfied with the defeat of the enemy, but he was not allowed to finish off a wounded man or strip off his armour etc.<sup>3</sup>

In the recorded poetry, there are no definite references to these principles, but there may be an element of fact in these reports since it is creditable to assume that both tribes were afraid of the consequences of severe fighting which meant, in the first place, the weakening of their position in the region and secondly the possibility that the Jews, their common enemy, might be able to restore their domination in Yathrib.

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- 1) Ath'Kāmil I, 504.
- 2) Ath'Kāmil I, 507.
- 3) Ath'Kāmil I, 511.

(b) The motive of the warfare between al-Aws and al-Khazraj.

Among the pagan Arabs of the desert hostility among themselves existed due to the following three motives:-

- 1) The obligation to take revenge, a deep-rooted habit among the nomads. In some cases it was the beginning of a regular blood feud.
- 2) The plundering of the herds of cattle which represented the wealth of a tribe.
- 3) The desire to humble and subdue other tribes in order to give their own tribe pride, and build for them a reputation as bold people. Motivated by the human desire of showing power and strength, they wished to establish their superiority and demanded that they be treated with respect and honour.

So far as the causes of the hostility in Yathrib were concerned, these were due to the following factors:-

If we consider the feud of Sumayr, perhaps the first recorded fighting, we find that the motives behind this fight were the same as those mentioned above.

The powerful leader of the Khazraj, Mālik b. 'Ajlān wanted to exact vengeance for one of his allies, who had been killed by an Awsite called Sumayr b. Zayd. In spite of the fact that the victim was only an ally,

Mālik demanded full blood money, while, according to the pagan custom, the other side was liable to pay only half of the Diya (blood-money). Mālik's demands for full blood-money was perhaps motivated by his desire to increase his personal power in order to show the strength of his tribe. Otherwise there seems no justification for Mālik's demand.

However, if the economic motive among the nomadic tribes led in the past to the plundering of camels, probably the settled tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj the same economic factor led them to extend their agricultural areas. It has traditionally been said that both al-Aws and al-Khazraj were an agricultural people in their first settlement in Yemen. When they came to Yathrib they formed settled agricultural communities. However, al-Aws seems to have occupied the productive land which gave them more of an economic advantage over their collateral tribe of al-Khazraj. So it is possible to assume that al-Khazraj did not accept this situation since it seems to be certain that al-Khazraj had played a prominent part during the early struggle between the Arabs and the Jews, together with the fact that their numbers were increasing. Obviously this motive was clear among their later generations, and the desire of their chief 'Amr b. an-Nu'mān of Bayāḍa in particular was to improve the position of his tribe at the expense of others.

Here is what Abū 'l-Faraj says about 'Amr who is

supposed to have said to his people of Bayāda "‘Āmir has given to you a bad land as your home, half salt-crust, half desert. By God, no water shall touch my head until I have got for you the land of Banū Qurayza and an-Naḍīr with the sweetest water and most splendid palms."<sup>1</sup>

Finally, unlike the nomadic tribes of the desert, the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj came to settle in Yathrib at a time when it was already occupied by the Jews. It seems that in the beginning both al-Aws and al-Khazraj were in a subordinate position. The Arabs reduced the domination of the Jews which was perhaps done through the unity of the Arabs and the division of the Jews. But when al-Aws and al-Khazraj quarreled among themselves it was in the interest of the Jews to exploit this occasion. We get this impression on the basis of the following two accounts.

In the first one Abū ‘l-Faraj says "During the battle of Bu‘āth the Khazraj fled, then the Aws struck among them and a cry went up, "Have mercy, Awsites, and do not destroy your brothers, for their neighbourhood is better than the neighbourhood of the foxes." So the Aws stopped and they refrained from removing the weapons of the fallen men after they had started a blood-bath; only the Qurayza and an-Naḍīr removed the weapons and armour."<sup>2</sup>

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1) Aghānī, XV, 161.

2) Aghānī, XV, 164.

The word foxes, by which the Arabs designated the Jews, indicates that Arabs might have realized that the Jews of Yathrib, in an attempt to widen the gap between them and to make favourable conditions for themselves in the internal affairs of Yathrib, had played a sinister part during their tribal feud. On the other hand there was the possibility that the Yathribī Jews were afraid of the coalition of the Arabs as was obviously the case shortly after the Prophet's emigration to Medina.

The second account is given by Ibn Ishāq who says<sup>1</sup>

"Shās b. Qays, who was an old man hardened in unbelief and most bitter against the Muslims and exceedingly envious of them, passed by a number of the apostles' companions from Aws and Khazraj in a meeting while they were talking together. When he saw their amity and unity and their happy relations in Islam after their enmity in pagan times, he was filled with rage and said: 'The chiefs of B. Qayla in this country having united there will be no firm place for us with them.' So he gave orders to a Jewish youth who was with them to go with them and sit with them and mention the battle of Bu'āth and the preceding events, and recite to them some of the poetry composed by each side."<sup>2</sup>

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1) IH, I, 555.

2) Translated by Guillaume, Sīra, 261.

(4) MARTIAL POETRY AMONG AL-AWS AND AL-KHAZRAJ;  
AND ITS HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE.

The long tribal feud which flared between al-Aws and al-Khazraj provided the poets of Medina with almost unlimited scope and opportunity for displaying their poetical talents.

But before we analyse some of the poems and fragments of verses which deal with the feuds of Ḥāṭib and the war of Bu'āth, perhaps it will be of interest to show the historical value of this poetry.

Indeed the poets of Medina recorded a great deal of information in their poetry concerning the history of Yathrib during the period which had anteceded the rise of Islam.

This poetry contains a permanent record of a considerable number of events in which the poets tell us the name of the feud and how it began, the clans which were involved, the demands of the rival groups and their chiefs who had commanded them, how the quarrel ended and the result which had been achieved.

But, before starting our study of the martial poetry of Yathrib, probably it will be useful to give a background for the battle of Bu'āth in particular and some of the events which had preceded it in general, based on the commentary which is given by Abū 'l-Faraj on the authority of Ibn Ishāq and aṭ-Ṭabarī, with additions from the reports of Ibn al-Kalbī.

A brief survey will follow based on the surviving

poetry in order to examine the historical background of this commentary and furthermore to show the importance of this poetry as a source of historical information.

(a) The Day of Bu'āth.

In their internal feuds the Aws had asked Qurayza and an-Naḍīr for help. The Khazraj heard this and sent a message to the Jews, "We have heard that the Aws have asked you for help against us. We could ask the Arabs for as many men as you have and more to help us. If we beat you now you will be in a terrible position; and if you win we shall not rest until we have got revenge and you will be in a bad position, and you will get trouble from us which you are free from at present. So it is better for you if you leave us alone and not interfere between us and our brothers." When they heard that, they realized that it was right and sent a reply to the Khazraj. "What you heard is true, al-Aws did ask for our help, but we will never help them against you." The Khazraj said to them, "If that is so, send us some hostages who will be in our hands," so they sent forty of their boys and al-Khazraj divided them among their households. After some time 'Amr b. an-Nu'mān al-Bayāḍī said to his people, Bayāḍa "'Āmir has given to you a bad land as your home, half salt-crust, half desert. By God no washing shall touch my head until I have made you dwell in the dwelling of Banū

Qurayḡa and an-Naḡīr with the sweetest water and most splendid palms. Then he sent a message to them "Either you leave your dwellings free for us to live in, or we kill your hostages." They were just thinking of leaving their dwellings when Ka'b b. Asad al-Qurayḡī said to them "People, defend your homes and let him kill the hostages. By God it only takes one night for there to be born to you a boy like one of the hostages." They all agreed on this and sent a message to 'Amr, "We are not going to give up our houses, so you keep the promise you made to us about the hostages." So 'Amr b. an-Nu'man and those of al-Khazraj who obeyed him, attacked their hostages and killed them.<sup>1</sup> But 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, a gentle chief, did not want to and said, "This is treacherous and sinful and wrong. I will not help you and neither will any men who obey me." Among the hostages with him were Sulaymān b. Asad al-Qurayḡī the grandfather of the (Muslim theologian) Muḡammad b. Ka'b and he set him free; and other Khazraj set others free and these (freed hostages) returned to their families. The Aws and the Khazraj had a skirmish on the day of the murder of the hostages, but it was not important. The Qurayḡa and an-Naḡīr now

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1) In the Kāmil of Ibn al-Athīr, I, 509, this act is called the second Fijār, one of the last reported events among the feuds of Ḥāḡib.

gathered with Ka'b b. Asad, one of the Banū 'Amr b. Qurayza, and agreed to support the Aws against the Khazraj. Ka'b told the Aws of this. Then they decided that each family of the Nabīṭ should stay with one family of the Qurayza and an-Naḍīr, so the Nabīṭ lodged with them in their houses. They sent for the Nabīṭ and asked them to come to them and promised them that they would never give up, but fight with them to the last man; so the Nabīṭ came to them and set up with Qurayza and an-Naḍīr in their homes. Then they told the other Aws that they wanted to begin a war and stand on their side against the Khazraj, and the Aws agreed. Their assembly agreed and made thorough and serious preparations for war, and some tribes from the inhabitants of Medina joined them; among them the Banū Tha'laba who belonged to Ghassān and the Banū Za'ūrā who belonged to Ghassān. When the Khazraj heard of this, they gathered and marched out, among them 'Amr b. an-Nu'mān of Bayāḍa and 'Amr b. al-Jamūh of Salama, and came to 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy and said to him, "As you have heard the Aws and the Qurayza and an-Naḍīr are together and we intend to fight them. If we defeat them not one of them will be protected by his fortress or his place of refuge, until not one of them is alive." When they had finished what they had to say 'Abd Allāh stood up to speak and said, "This is a breaking of your word, by God I would not like a swarm of locusts. I have learnt that they say that these

relation of ours are preventing us from living - will they prevent us from dying? By God I see a people who will not stop until they have destroyed you all, and I fear that if they fight you they will be given the victory over you because you have wronged them, so fight your relations as you used to fight them, and if they turn their backs (in defeat) let them be, and if they put you to flight and you enter the nearest house they will leave you alone." Then 'Amr b. an-Nu'mān said to him, "Your lungs have been blown up (i.e. you have been frightened) Abū 'l-Hārith since you heard of the alliance of al-Aws with Qurayza and an-Nādīr." 'Abd Allāh replied. "I will never take part in a fight with you, nor will any of my followers. Looking at you is like looking at a corpse carried by four men and wrapped in a cloak." A few Khazrajites, including 'Amr b. al-Jamūh al-Ḥarām, joined 'Abd Allāh. The others agreed to make 'Amr b. an-Nu'mān al-Bayādī their leader and entrusted the war to him. It took the Aws and the Khazraj forty days to arm for war and to send for their allies of the Beduin tribes. The Khazraj sent for the Juhayna and the Ashja'. Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās being the ambassador to the Ashja' and they answered their call and came. The Aws sent for the Muzayna, and Ḥudayr al-Katā'ib of 'Abd al Ashhal went to Abū Qays b. al-Aslat and told him to gather the Aws Allāh (= Aws Manāt) and he did so. Then Ḥudayr stood up leaning on his bow, wearing a

striped garment which revealed his genitals, and he inspired them and commanded them to great seriousness in their war and reminded them of what the Khazraj had done to them, of the driving out of the Nabīṭ and the humiliation of the Aws who had remained in Medina. He made a long speech and every time he spoke of what the Khazraj had done to them, and how they had mishandled them, he became excited and warm, and his testicles shrank into him till they disappeared, but when his listeners replied in the way he wished his testicles came down and returned to normal. The Aws Allāh promised him their help and support and expressed seriousness in the war as he wished. Hishām (Ibn al-Kalbī) says the Aws assembled at that time in front of Ḥudayr in a place called al-Ḥayāt and discussed what to do and then said, "If we defeat the Khazraj, we will spare none of them and we will not fight with them in the same way as we did before." Then Ḥudayr said "You Aws, you have no other reason for being called Aws except that you set right many things and he added in the Rajaz

Oh my people, you are being attacked by people  
who have killed the best of you.

And who will soon completely destroy your dwelling.

b.(64)

Hishām continues, when they were together in al-Ḥayāt, they threw dates before them and began to eat. Ḥudayr was sitting with them in a Burda, which he

was completely wrapped in, (the only garment he was wearing) not eating with them nor even reaching out for a date, so full was he with anger and inner rage. He said "Oh my people, hoist Abū Qays b. al-Aslat's flag" Abu Qays said, "I do not accept that because everytime I have been your captain in war we have been beaten, and we have had misfortune because of my leadership. Then they looked at Ḥuḍayr, not eating and pre-occupied with the war they were engaged in; and his testicles appeared from out of his Burda, and when he saw that they were lazy and feeble, his testicles shrank together in rage and anger, but when he found them serious and ready for war as he wished, they went back to normal.

The Aws Allāh promised to support him and help him with enthusiasm, and the Muzayna came to the Aws too. Then Ḥuḍayr and Abū 'Āmir ar-Rāhib b. Ṣayfī went to Abū Qays b. al-Aslat and said, "The Muzayna have come to us and a large number of the inhabitants of Yathrib against whom the Khazraj cannot win. What do you think? Should we kill them or spare them when we win?" Abū 'Āmir said "I wish by God there were howling foxes in your place." Abū Qays said, "Kill till they say 'Bazā bazā'" a word which asks for mercy. They argued about this point, but Ḥuḍayr swore he would touch no wine until he had won and destroyed Muzāḥim, Ibn Ubayy's fortress. The preparations and armouring took two months, then they fought at Bu'āth.

The Banū Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith held back from the Aws and sent a message to al-Khazraj saying, "We do not want to fight you." (The Khazraj) sent to them saying; "Send us some hostages who will be in our hands," and they sent 12 men, one of whom was Khadīj Abū Rāfi' b. Khadīj. Bu'āth was one of the possessions of the Qurayza; there is a cornfield there called Qawrā. Because of the battle it is called Bu'āth al-Ḥarb. Both tribes came together and only nameless people remained behind. They had never been altogether in a battle before. When the Aws saw the Khazraj they looked superior to them, and they said to Ḥuḍayr "Oh Abū Usayd, prevent the people from fighting and send for your allies of Muzayna who have not come." But he threw down his bow and said "Am I to wait for the Muzayna while the enemy looks at me and they are seen by me? I would rather die." Then he attacked and they attacked with him and they fought violently, and the Aws fled when they felt the bite of weapons, and they went up to Ḥarrat Qawrā near al-'Urayḍ which is in the direction of the road to Najd. Ḥuḍayr came down and the Khazraj called scornfully after them, "Where are you running to?, Najd is a barren land." When Ḥuḍayr heard them he pierced his hip with the point of his spear, dismounted and shouted, "Alas by God, I shall not move from this place until I have been killed; if you want to desert me, you Awsites, then do so." The Aws gathered round him and two youths

of the 'Abd al-Ashhal came up to him, called Maḥmūd and Labīd, the sons of Khalīfa b. Tha'laba, who had just got married; two strong men, and they began in the Rajaz.

What sons of Kings you see in us in war,  
when its mill turns with us and the people  
prepare a place for us.

(65)

Then they fought until they were killed. An arrow came flying and hit 'Amr b. an-Nu'mān, the head of Khazraj, and killed him without anyone knowing who had shot it. The Banū Qurayza maintained that one of their men, Abū Lubāba, had killed him. While 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy was riding up and down on his mule near Bu'ath, to find out news of his people, 'Amr b. an-Nu'mān came into his view, being carried home dead in his cloak by four men. He asked who the dead man was and when he heard he said, "Taste the unwholesomeness of breaking the duty of relationship." The Khazraj fled then and the Aws struck among them and a cry went up, "Have mercy Awsites and do not destroy your brothers for their neighbourhood is better than the neighbourhood of foxes." So the Aws stopped and they refrained from removing the weapons of the fallen men after they had started a blood-bath; only the Qurayza and an-Naḍīr removed their weapons and armour and the Aws carried Ḥuḍayr because of his wounds and while they surrounded him they said in the

Rajaz.

"An army whose adornment is its lord has no old man nor young man who is feeble." (66)

But the Aws began to burn down the Khazraj's palms and dwellings. Then Sa'd b. Mu'ādh al-Ashhalī went out and stood before the door of the Banū Salāma, and took them and their possessions under his protection in thanks for their behaviour to him on the day of ar-Ra'1 when the Khazraj had beaten the Aws on the day of Mu'abbis and Muḍarris.<sup>1</sup>

At that time Sa'd b. Mu'ādh had been carried wounded to 'Amr b. al-Jāmūḥ al-Ḥarām, who gave him his life and protected him and his brother from the cutting down and burning of their palm trees on the day of ar-Ra'1 which was a bad one for the Aws; and Sa'd did him the same service on the day of Bu'āth. Ka'b b. Asad al-Quraḏī swore to humiliate 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy and cut his hair under Muzāḥim ('Abd Allāh's fortress). He called to him, "Come down, you enemy of God." 'Abd Allāh said to him, "I swear to you by God that I did not desert you." He made inquiries and found out that it was true, so he let him go. The Aws decided to destroy Muzāḥim, 'Abd Allāh's castle, and Ḥuḍayr swore to tear it down and he ordered them to go gently, so

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1) Mu'abbis and Muḍarris (= ar-Ra'1) an event among the feuds of Ḥāṭib, see Ibn al-Athīr, I, 507.

they only made one hole in the wall. The Jew Az-Zubayr then spared Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās of the Banū 'l-Hārith b. al-Khazraj, that is the good deed for which Thābit repaid him after the coming of Islam at the execution of the Banū Qurayza.<sup>1</sup>

After the defeat Ḥuḍayr al-Katā'ib and Abū 'Āmir ar-Rāhib went to Abū Qays b. al-Aslat and Ḥuḍayr said to him "Abū Qays, if you think fit we will attack the Khazraj fortress after fortress and house after farm, killing and destroying, sparing none." Abū Qays said, "We do not want to do that." Ḥuḍayr got angry and said, "You are called Aws for no other reason than that you give away things; if the Khazraj had beaten us, they would have left us nothing." Then he turned back and ordered the Aws to return to their homes. Ḥuḍayr was, at that time, seriously wounded and Kulayb b. Ṣayfī b. 'Abd al-Ashhal took him into his dwelling in the quarter of Banū Umayya b. Yazīd, and in a few days he died there of his wound. His grave is today at the quarter of Banū Umayya b. Yazīd. But there was a blind Jew of the Banū Qurayza that day in one of their fortresses, and he said to his daughter, "Go up onto the fortress and see how it is going." She went up and said, "I can hear the noise rising up above Qawrā and I can hear

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1) Information regarding this event is given by IH, II, 242-3, Maghāzī, II, 518.

shouts, 'Keep striking, you Khazraj'." He said, "Then things are going badly for the Aws." Then he asked, "What can you hear?" She said, "I can hear people shouting, 'attack you Aws', and others shouting, 'attack, you Khazraj'." He said, "Now the fight has become fierce." He waited a bit and then said, "Go up and listen." She said, "I can hear people saying, 'we are the Banū Şakhra, the people of ar-Ra'1 ." He said "That is the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, by God, al-Aws are victorious." Then he jumped with joy against the door and hit his head on the stone lintel and fell dead.

Abū 'Āmir had sworn to plant his lance in the foundations of Muzāḥim, the castle of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy; and a troop of the Aws marched out and encircled the castle. But Abū 'Āmir had married Jamīla the daughter of Ibn Ubayy and she was the mother of his son Ḥanẓala al-Ghasīl.<sup>1</sup> 'Abd Allāh appeared up in his castle and said, "By God I was not in favour of this war as you well know yourselves, so leave me alone." But Abū 'Āmir replied, "By God, I shall not leave until I have planted my flag in the foundation of your stronghold." When Ḥanẓala saw that, he said to them, "My father loves me dearly, show me to him and say, "If you do not turn back, we will throw

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1) Ḥanẓala was killed in the battlefield of Uḥud. According to al-Wāqidī, I, 273; Jamīla was the wife of Ḥanẓala whom he married just before the battle of Uḥud.

his head down to you." They did this, and he stuck his lance in the ground of the stronghold, because of his oath, and then turned away from them. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm alludes to this in his verse:-

We came to the stronghold around Muzāḥim in  
the morning,

The projections of our helmets glittered like  
stars.<sup>1</sup>

(67)

That day Abū Qays had captured Mukhallad b. aṣ-Ṣāmit as-Sā'idī the father of Maslama, some of his men and of Muzayna and the Jews assembled and they said, "Kill him." But he refused and set him free and spoke the verse:-

I have taken Mukhallad prisoner and spared him,  
The reward for my good deed is with God,  
The Muzayna and the Jews of Qawrā  
And my people were there and I neutralized  
their influence.

(68)

Khufāf b. Nadba wrote a poem on the death of his friend and comrade Ḥuḍayr al-Katā'ib

If the fates ever turned aside from a fearsome man  
They would have feared Ḥuḍayr on the day he shut  
up his fortress Wāqim

1) Dīwān, poem no.4, line 16.

2) Khufāf, known by his mother's name Nadba, converted to Islam and took part in the conquest of Mecca. Q'Shi'r. I, 300, on Khufaf's life with fragments of his verses see Aghānī, XVI, 139.

He circled around it until night covered him,  
And then entered a comfortable dwelling. (69)

Later he also said, mourning him:-

News came to me and I declared it a lie,  
I was told my friend lay in the grave  
Oh eye, weep for Ḥuḍayr's generosity,  
Ḥuḍayr of the war troops and the metting  
On many days when the heat of enthusiasm was great,  
So that the soul's handles were torn off.  
You withstood the heat wrapped in iron,  
    between Sal' and al-A'ras  
Now the day of the battle has put an end to you,  
But left your clothes clean and unmarked. (70)

From the existing poetry a summary is given in order to demonstrate the fact that historians have based their information about the tribal feud of Yathrib entirely on this poetry which might have been composed three centuries before the recording of these historical events.

Qays b. al-Khaṭīm in his poem no.9 not only celebrates the decisive victory of his tribe and their allies, but also defines the place in which the fighting had taken place.

And we put your throng to flight with a detachment which caused the hard ground and depression of Qawrā to seem insignificant. If a group of them decides to retire they return as camels which have gone five days without drinking, return to water yearning for their spring-born foals.

On that day we left Bu'āth and Qawrā and their hyenas were satiated with them despite their wishes. (71)

In addition to the above historical information, he refers to the fallen men of his enemy who had been killed in the battlefield of Bu'āth. This he does in the last line of the above quotation.

As we have already stated the historians have pointed out that during the combat of Bu'āth, the two Jewish tribes Banū Qurayza and an-Naḍīr took part in the fighting beside al-Aws.

On two different occasions Qays b. al-Khaṭīm tells us about this historical event when he says:-

Groups from al-Kāhinān<sup>1</sup> and Mālik,  
And the altruistic Tha'laba, the clan of Ghālib.  
Men who when called to death,  
Hasten to it like unruly camels.

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1) al-Kāhinān and aṣ-Ṣarīḥ, were two names of Banū Qurayza and an-Naḍīr.

When they are roused by night they come to the  
aid of one who calls upon them,  
Like waves of heavy foamy rainfall.<sup>1</sup> (72)

And he also says:-

Whenever a people complained to us of oppression,  
The Kāhinān saddled their horses in our support  
and came to us.  
They forgot their hostages and the Banū 'ṣ-Ṣarīḥ  
Consoled us with their presence and were  
generous and noble.<sup>2</sup> (73)

The Khazrajite poet 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa refers to  
the same event when he acknowledges the assistance  
given by Banū Qurayḥa against his tribe:-

You boasted of a gathering of men which visited  
you in your dwelling,  
Which advanced until they were repulsed by fingers,  
They (Khazraj) threw the fortresses open and then  
went up, searching on the suspicion that there  
were surviving fugitives among Qurayḥa.<sup>3</sup> (74)

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- 1) Dīwān, Poem no.4, lines 12-14.
  - 2) Samhūdī, I, 178
  - 3) Dīwān of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm (ed Asad) 201,  
lines 14 - 15.

Furthermore, Ḥassān b. Thābit attacked Banū Qurayza and an-Nadīr because of their support for Aws in the battle of Bu'āth.

With the Kāhinān whose ancestor is 'Abd al-'Aṣā and the base ones, even if they regret it.<sup>1</sup> (75)

Another reference to the fact that Banū Qurayza supported al-Aws against al-Khazraj in the battle of Bu'āth is found in the verse ascribed to the Jewish poet Ka'b b. Asad al-Qurazī. The poet says:-

Aws never lack a victorious canine tooth from us in its battles in opposition to those who attack it. We are not to be disregarded when the war-cry is raised.

And we are not given coats of mail without men worthy of them being found among us.<sup>2</sup> (76)

Another incidental reference which is found in the poetry is the statement of the historians that during the war of Bu'āth, when al-Aws were on the verge of being defeated and were in flight, their chief Ḥudayr al-Katā'ib acted in such a manner that it kindled enthusiasm among his tribe and finally brought the triumph.

Referring to this event Abū Qays b. al-Aslat says:-

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- 1) Dīwān, Poem no. CCXVS, line 19.
  - 2) M, Mu'jam, 232.

It makes me happy with my people that my people  
on the morning of Bu'āth when they turned  
their backs and retreated.

Responded to the speech of the chief and  
consented to it, and returned to the fight  
which they had denied

And the men of forbearance among them returned  
to their business, and the blind among them  
became seeing.<sup>1</sup> (77)

The reference to this historical event is given by  
Qays b. al-Khaṭīm as well in the last line of his poem  
No. 14 which says:-

When their chief called them to death, their  
bands gather about them in throngs. (78)

As regards the historical information that 'Abd  
Allāh b. Ubayy did not take part in the battle of  
Bu'āth, reference to this is found in the poetry of  
two Awsite poets who reproach 'Abd Allāh for not doing  
so. Referring to this incident Abū Qays b. al-Aslat  
in one of his poems says:-

If our horseman had caught you, O Abū Ḥubāb,  
The foraging wild beasts would not have left you.  
With a heavily armed detachment whose helmets  
gleam brightly, spread out like locusts.

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1) Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawi) MS, page 185,  
lines 11, 12, 13.

You would have followed Nu'mān and 'Amr and his son  
And would have remained above the ground with no  
pillow under you.<sup>1</sup> (79)

Similarly Qays b. al-Khaṭīm opens one of his poems  
as follows:-

Ask the man 'Abd Allāh,<sup>2</sup> when he fled, if he saw  
what the fighting of our detachments was like  
in war.

If he had stood firm, he would not have met his  
friends thereafter, and would have met lions,  
their rending and their defence.<sup>3</sup> (80)

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- 1) Dīwān of Ḥassan b. Thābit, MS, page 184, lines 6, 7, 8.
  - 2) According to verses ascribed to 'Ubayd b. Nāfidh al-Awsī (Kāmil of Ibn al-Athīr, I, 498) 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy was unable to fight and fled from the battlefield of as-Sarāra where a quarrel had taken place between 'Amr b. 'Awf, a branch of the Aws tribe and Banū 'l-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. In the Kāmil it is said (I, 497) that Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk commanded Banū 'Awf b. 'Amr while 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy led Banū 'l-Ḥārith. However, on this incident narrators give very conflicting reports. See Dīwān Ḥassān, (ed 'A) I, 26., B. Mu'jam (as-Sarāra) III, 731, Samhūdī, I, 205.
  - 3) Dīwān, Poem no. 9.

It is maintained that it took approximately forty days to make all the preparations for the battle of Bu'āth. Perhaps this estimate number of days is inferred from the verse of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm who says:-

Amongst us is the man who swore not to touch  
drink for thirty nights,  
Until he came upon you with his forces.<sup>1</sup> (81)

Referring to another historical event, i.e. that the leader of the Khazraj 'Amr b. an-Nu'mān was killed in the battlefield of Bu'āth, Abū Qays b. al-Aslāt says:-

The chief of the people was left lying prone with  
a wound which left gushing, flowing blood  
under the arteries.<sup>2</sup> (82)

In another occasion he says:-

But I was taken by surprise by a person of anger,  
And on account of this I was visited from time  
to time by a fixed sadness.  
If you killed him, yet a sharp-toothed (sword)  
has bitten 'Amr's head.<sup>3</sup> (83)

The same incident has been referred to by Qays b. al-Khaṭīm in two of his poems, in poem no. 4, line 24, he says:-

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1) Dīwān, Poem no. 4, line 28.

2) Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawī) MS, 185, line 16.

3) IH, I, 556.

Banū 'Awf obeyed their leader when he warned  
them against peace,  
And he was the first to be killed. (84)

And in poem No. 14, line 14 and 21 says:-

Their chief was left at the place of battle,  
With an arrow in him so that you would think  
him a flame. (85)

and

They lift up the head of the chief of their brothers,  
Until they (the enemy) turn their backs and take  
to flight. (86)

To take other instances, the report that Ḥuḍayr  
al-Katā'ib chief of Aws, swore that he would touch no  
wine until he had won the battle of Bu'āth, is found  
in the poetry of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm who in poem No.4,  
lines 34-35, says:-

When we came down to al-Ḥārath our leader said,  
Wine is forbidden to us until we fight,  
The noblest of us obeyed him,  
We never left the battlefield until drink was  
permitted. (87)

Another event, the reference to which is found in  
the poetry, is that during the battle of Bu'āth Aws did  
not strip the Khazrajite fallen enemies of their arms.  
Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, provides us with this information

in his poem No. 14, line 23, when he says:-

Banū Aws said, of their forbearance, go and do  
not take booty of them. (88)

To take one more example, it is said that in the war of Bu'āth the nomadic tribe of Muzayna had joined the war against al-Khazraj. Perhaps Ḥassān the poet was also referring to this event when he attacked Muzayna, on more than one occasion.<sup>1</sup> One of these verses ascribed to Ḥassān runs as follows:-<sup>2</sup>

Muzayna came from a far to help them, flee Muzayna,  
you who are like draught-animals (hit, with  
ropes on your buttocks)

Everything (is yours) but that you should be  
mentioned for honour, or that you should attain  
good repute, humiliation is your lot!

An unclean people (vile) in whose courtyards no  
neighbour walks (i.e. because of their stinginess)  
and who have no champion in battle.<sup>3</sup> (89)

1) Dīwān, (ed 'A) Poems no. 67, 68 and 69.

2) Dīwān, (ed 'A) Poem no. 67.

3) In the Sharḥ Ash 'ār al-Ḥamāsa of at-Tibrīzī (442)

the first line of this poem is attributed to Ḥassān's father followed by an anecdote. "On the day of Bu'āth Muzayna took Thābit b. al-Mundhir as prisoner. Muqarrin Ghāyidh, their captain, swore to release him only in exchange for a black ram without horns. There are also verses which Muqarrin is supposed to have addressed to his wife. From this poem we extract the following two lines:-

Why have you not asked how I fought at Bu'āth, when  
the Ghassān marched with sharp sword and lances.  
And how I beat Thābit in a fight when a man needs  
bold courage.

The poet Ka'b b. Zuhayr of Muzayna, furthermore, refers to the same occasion when he says:-

We attacked the Khazrajites in the morning  
with sharpened swords, whose owners have  
passed down their pedigree?<sup>1</sup> (90)

The final example of the historical importance of of the poetry of this kind is the incident of Mu'abbis and Muḍarris mentioned by Abū 'l-Faraj which has already been referred to.

Of the incident of Mu'abbis and Muḍarris, one among the feuds of Ḥāṭib, Ibn al-Athīr says;<sup>2</sup>

"At two walls called Mu'abbis, behind which the Aws were, and Muḍarris, behind which were the Khazraj. They fought for some days then Aws fled to their houses and strongholds. It was a despicable escape, the like of which had not happened before. An armistice with the Khazraj was then agreed by 'Amr b. 'Awf and Aws Manāt. Only 'Abd al-Ashhal and Ḥafar and a few more of the Aws refused to join in and said, we do not wish to agree until we have got revenge on the Khazraj. But the Khazraj insulted and attacked them so badly that they decided to leave Medina. Then the Aws went to Mecca to form an alliance with the Quraysh against al-Khazraj."

Among the poems ascribed to Qays b. al-Khaṭīm,

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- 1) Sharḥ Ash'ār al-Ḥamāsa, 442.
  - 2) Ath., Kāmil, I, 507.

poem no.15 which consists of twenty lines clearly demonstrated what has been stated above. He belonged to the clan of Zafar which was among the victims of the feud of Mu'abbis and Muḍarris. He took part in the mission that went to Mecca to ask the support of Quraysh.

Qays opens his poem as follows:-

The apparition of Laylā Umm 'Amr approached,  
And it would not have approached us except for  
a purpose.

My companion said, when she got into the camel-  
litter,

"Will you leave what you have gathered at the  
break of dawn?"

So I said to her, "Leave me be; my wealth will  
come and go when I have overcome them.

I am not the son of a chaste woman if you do  
not see us fighting you as though we were  
drinking wine (i.e. fighting is nothing to us)

And Quraysh will take on fighting them for us,  
And it will be as though their fingers were  
plucking unripe dates,

And they will exact every blood-vengeance on  
behalf of Khazraj,

For the blameworthiness of the Kāhinān and 'Amr. (91)

He reproaches Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf who agreed to make  
a truce with al-Khazraj and also Banū Qurayẓa and

an-Naḍīr who refused to support them.

Tell Banū Zafar of a messenger, for we will not be  
humiliated in Yathrib for more than a month.

During this month we were deserted and our  
associates let us down, and aṣ-Ṣarīḥ left us,  
though we were not few in numbers. (92)

Of the tribal feuds of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, the following table gives the names of events which are included in the existing records of poetry.

THE NAME OF EVENTS	THE MAIN SOURCES.
al-Faḍā	<u>Dīwān of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm</u> , (ed Asad) Poem no. 2, 10.
as-Sarāra	<u>Kāmil of Ibn al-Athīr</u> , I, 448.
ad-Darak	<u>Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit</u> (ed 'Arafāt) Poem no. 116, II, Page 188, <u>Dīwān Qays b. al-Khaṭīm</u> , Poem no. 8.
aṣ-Ṣu'aydā'	<u>Dīwān of Ḥassān</u> , II, page 188.
ar-Ra'l	Aghānī, XV, 165
Ḥāṭib	<u>Dīwān of Qays</u> , Poem no. 4
al-Jisr = ar-Radm	<u>Dīwān of Qays</u> , Poem no. 23, <u>Dīwān of Ḥassān</u> , Poem no. 115.
ar-Rabī', or ar-Rubay'	<u>Dīwān of Qays</u> , Poem no. 3, <u>Kāmil of Ibn al-Athīr</u> , I, 504.
al-Fijār	<u>Kāmil of Ibn al-Athīr</u> , I, 507.
Bu'āth	<u>Dīwān of Qays</u> , Poem no. 1, 4 and 9. <u>Dīwān of Ḥassān</u> , Poem no. 115, 213. <u>MS of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit</u> ('Adawī) pages 184-5.

(b) Poetic Images Describing War and Its Armament.

During our study of the poetry of Mecca, we discussed the validity of Ibn Sallām's statement which clearly indicates that wars which had taken place among the Arab tribes had increased the quantity of their poetry.

In contrast to that of Medina, Meccan poetry during pre-Islamic times was comparatively scanty and feeble. This, according to Ibn Sallām, was the result of the lack of feuds and hostility among the tribe of Quraysh.

In the following pages, we shall endeavour to show how the tribal feuds of Yathrib provided its poets with wide scope to display their talents, and how this quarrel which continued for so many years was responsible for the composition of excellent verses by the poets. The poets of Yathrib found a congenial atmosphere in this warfare. They describe the scenes of the battlefield, and the hardship of war in general. Thus in the recorded poetry we find mention not only of the weapons used in battle but also of different scenes during the battle. There are many verses describing the sword, the spear, the coat of mail, the helmet, the javelin, the army, the squadron, the striking, the stabbing, the retreat, etc. These descriptions, however, were derived from the poets' observation of everyday life. It is also to be pointed out that images employed by the poets of Yathrib were common among the previous

poets of the Jāhiliyya period in general. The poets of al-Aws, in particular, gave exhaustive details concerning war and the arms used in the fighting. This is probably because both Abū Qays b. al-Aslat and Qays b. al-Khaṭīm were enthusiastic upholders of their tribal cause, and were also valiant and real fighters. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the poets mentioned above were more capable of composing poetry than the Khazrajite poets 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa and Ka'b b. Mālik who, like their foe, had direct experience of battle but whose poetic ability was inadequate in comparison to their opponent's.<sup>1</sup>

In general, the poets of Yathrib describe war as a crime against humanity, a crime which leaves behind it a state of destruction and a life of vagrancy, a crime causing horror in which the adolescent virgin turns grey and the foetus is miscarried from fear. In considering the images dealing with war, we notice that Yathribī poets provide us with expressions which had very often been used by Jāhiliyya poets who employed various similes for different aspects of war. For instance, the war being stirred up has been compared to the she-camel which bestows milk. Using this simile, Ḥassān b. Thābit says:-

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- 1) See pages (152-160) for differences between the verses of Ḥassān b. Thābit and Qays b. al-Khaṭīm describing war and arms. In addition, see the poems which will be dealt with later. (pp. 252-73)

When the udder of war is untied,  
And it bestows death and blood generously upon  
the milkers.<sup>1</sup> (93)

The meaning is that when the udder of the she-camel is squeezed it gives more milk, and so it is with war which causes more bloodshed when it is stirred up.

Similarly, when one side of the combatants forces the enemy to give way because of the severity of the fighting, this action is likened to the she-camel when she rebels against the male. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

We impregnate it (the war) against its will,  
While it rebels against us, with our sword,  
Until we humble its pride.<sup>2</sup> (94)

'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, the Khazrajite poet, addressing Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, compared the grievous nature of war to a female animal weighted down in pregnancy:-

If you had been among them when war was pregnant,  
You would have been overcome and humiliated among  
them.<sup>3</sup> (95)

The men who rushed into battle were compared to unruly camels, because it was traditionally believed

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- 1) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) Poem no. 10, line 27.
- 2) Dīwān, (ed, A) Poem no. 1, line 17.
- 3) Dīwān of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, (ed, A) page 169.

that camels in this state were usually very fast and strong. Thus Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

Men who, when called to death,  
Hasten to it like unruly camels.<sup>1</sup> (96)

The war which occurs over and over again was compared to a 'awān, i.e. a horse or a cow which has just given birth to its young. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

Why you did not have fortitude in a 'awān  
(protracted) war,  
When we were fighting, and misfortune is hard  
to bear.<sup>2</sup> (97)

War being stirred up was compared to a fire being kindled. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

I was a man who never stirred up war unjustly,  
When they refused (to accept peace) I kindled it  
on every side.<sup>3</sup> (98)

When it finally flares up it is compared to a heap of firewood being set alight. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

Banū 'l-Aws, when war is kindled,  
Are like a fire which consumes the firewood.<sup>4</sup> (99)

- 
- 1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no.4, line 13.
  - 2) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no.4, line 32.
  - 3) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no.4, line 7.
  - 4) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no.14, line 19.

However, it is not only from animals and fire that Yathrib poets have drawn their images of war. In some cases they have turned to human beings as well. They compare the declaration of war, for instance, to a person who in time of danger takes every possible precaution and gets himself ready for action. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm speaks about himself when he says:-

When I saw that war had become naked,  
I put on the warrior's garment as well as my  
usual attire.<sup>1</sup> (100)

(What a warrior, when war tucks up its garment,  
and foremost man (in fighting) the enemy am  
I after that!)<sup>2</sup> (101)

Determination to end a war on favourable terms was compared to a group of people who under any circumstances are determined to clear away obstructions facing them. Abū Qays b. al-Aslat says:-

Until the battle has ended and we are gathered  
around our banner,  
Never calling for the help of medley people.<sup>3</sup> (102)

Occasionally, poets who had often kindled enthusiasm among their tribes to stir up war have used

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- 1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no.4, line 10.
  - 2) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no.13, line 5.
  - 3) MUF, poem no. LXXV, line 15.

their poetical gifts to make an appeal for peace, in order to spare the blood of their enemies. In this regard Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

I called on Banū 'Awf in order to prevent the  
shedding of their blood,  
And when they refused, I entered upon the war of  
Ḥāṭib.

I was a man who never stirred up war unjustly,  
When they refused, I kindled it on every side.  
I strove skilfully to ward off war, but I saw  
that despite the warding off it did not  
grow less imminent.

If there is no way of warding off the end of death,  
Then I welcome it while I still have the chance.<sup>1</sup>

(103)

(c) Implements Of War Mentioned By The Poets of Yathrib.

The Sword (sayf)

In the Nihāyat al-Arab of an-Nuwayrī (VI, 202), exhaustive information is given concerning the types of sword and the expressions used by the Arabs describing them in general. In that section an-Nuwayrī gives the names of seven types of sword which were supposed to be common among the Arabs.

If we turn, however, to the poetry dealing with

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1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no.4, lines 6-9.

the tribal quarrel of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, we find that the poets of Yathrib mentioned the following types of sword:-

The Mashrafite Sword.

According to some authors,<sup>1</sup> the name Mashrafite is derived either from the Mashārīf region, a number of villages "close to the rural area in the Arabian peninsula", or from the name of Mashraf, a sword-maker of Thaqīf. Ibn Rashīq,<sup>2</sup> on the other hand, rejected this explanation, and said that this type of sword was named Mashrafite simply because it was made in Mashraf, a village in al-Yemen.

The Indian Sword.

An-Nuwayrī points out that this name was given either because these swords were made from Indian iron or because they were made in India.

Turning to the existing records of poetry dealing with the feuds of Yathrib, we find that verses mentioning swords are very numerous. On various occasions Qays b. al-Khaṭīm alone devotes nineteen lines to the sword in his Dīwān. Although, during the period of hostility, the poets of Yathrib composed a considerable number of verses describing the sword, we observe, generally speaking, that the attractive images and vivid expressions among the verses are very rare.

Among the lines which may attract one's attention

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1) Khushanī, sharḥ, I, 158, II, 303. MUF, 106.

2) 'Umda, II, 232.

are the following examples. Dirham b. Zayd al-Awsī, who seems to have spoken on behalf of his tribe al-Aws in the earliest period of the hostility, says:-

The striking edges of the swords have been blunted,  
The souls of the (enemy) champions have been  
snatched by them.

When they gleam in (the warriors') hands,  
They are like the flash of lightning which appears  
and reveals itself.<sup>1</sup> (104)

Perhaps in these lines both the poetic images and the general meaning are entirely suitable to the subject-matter. The edges of their swords were jagged not because they were made of inferior material but because they had long been striking the heads of the champions of the enemy. In the second line we appreciate the poet's simile in which he compares the gleam of the swords on the battlefield to the lightning flashing across the sky.

In the following passage on the sword an amazing and imaginative picture is conveyed by Qays b. al-Khaṭīm when he says:-

I fought them on the day of al-Ḥadīqa without any  
armour,  
The sword in my hand like a rolled-up piece of  
cloth in the hand of a playing child.

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1) Aghānī, II, 168.

With a sword, the sheen on whose blades is like  
pieces of cloud or the horns of the Jundub  
(a kind of locust).<sup>1</sup> (105)

In the first line, Qays may have imitated the previous poet 'Amr b. Kulthūm, who gives the same simile in his Mu'allāqa (line 47); but, nevertheless, the poet's expressions are apt and genuine, since he wants to demonstrate his skill on the battlefield by comparing the sword in his hand to a rolled-up piece of cloth in the hand of a child at play.

In martial poetry, in particular, exaggerations are very often used by the poets, either because they want to stress their deeds of glory or simply because they intend to demoralise their enemies and to insult them in general.

This can be seen in the first line quoted above, where Qays emphasises that the fight on the day of al-Ḥadīqa was nothing more than a game among inexperienced children.

On the images of the second line, Qays compares the glitter and lustre of the sword to pieces of cloud which are pursued by the wind across a shiny desert sky. He also likens the sheen of his delicate sword to the horn of a grasshopper.

Occasionally a comparison was also made with the human body, to indicate the sword's smoothness and to

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1) 'Ask, Ma'ānī, II, 57.

stress its value. In this sense Qays compares the smoothness of women's bellies to an Indian sword.

He says:-

Their bellies are like swords of India when they  
are taken out of the scabbard.<sup>1</sup> (106)

Finally, the action and effectiveness of a sword were compared to those of a medicine. Qays also says:-

When a soul is sick for hostility, I seek to treat  
it with the medicine of the sword-blade.<sup>2</sup> (107)

### The Spear (rumḥ)

In one of the many accounts concerning spears, Ibn Rashīq<sup>3</sup> gives the names of seven types of spear. In addition to the six types of spear mentioned by an-Nuwayrī,<sup>4</sup> he mentions numerous expressions and adjectives which are supposed to have been used by the earliest Arabs in description of spears and spearheads in general.

Turning to the poetry dealing with the dispute of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, we see that some of these expressions and adjectives are common among the poets of Yathrib, as the following quotations show. The word muthaqqafa is an adjective often used by poets to indicate that a spear has been straightened, or greased

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- 1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 10, line 3.
  - 2) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 1, line 12.
  - 3) 'Umda, II, 230.
  - 4) Nihāyat al-Arab, VI, 214.

and tempered with fire, thereby altering it in colour.

Ḥassān b. Thābit says:-

My mother and my aunt were a sacrifice for Banū 'n-  
Najjar, on the morning when they came to you  
with tawny, straightened (spears).<sup>1</sup> (108)

Mudharraba is another adjective used to describe  
either a sword or a spearhead which is sharp and,  
further, dipped in poison. Ka'b b. Mālik says:-

With thirsty, sharpened and poisoned (spears) and  
with every sword white (shining) like a pool.<sup>2</sup>  
(109)

The spear, which is solid and will not bend, is  
called Mid'as, and the person who pierces the enemy  
with lances is called Mid'ās (pl. Madā'īs). In this  
sense, Ḥassān b. Thābit says:-

Lions with cubs whose den is protected, piercing  
with khaṭṭī spears in every battle.<sup>3</sup> (110)

Among the expressions included by an-Nuwayrī is the  
phrase ushri'at, meaning spears which point directly  
towards the enemy. 'Ubayd b. Nāfidh, one of the Awsite  
poets, says:-

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1) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 244, line 1.

2) Ms. of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawī), 184.

3) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 2, line 19.

Setting off (in flight) rescued you from us after  
the spears had been pointed at you.<sup>1</sup> (111)

Ḥassān b. Thābit uses the expression Nahuzzu <sup>1</sup>-  
Qanā to signify the state of commotion among the  
combatants.

We shake the spears in the chests of the champions,  
until we break their shafts.<sup>2</sup> (112)

Abū Qays b. al-Aslat also uses the phrase Nā'ir,  
to show that in the battle of Bu'āth a spearhead passed  
through the body of the Khazrajites' leader 'Amr b.  
an-Nu'mān of Bayaḍa and pierced an artery, from which  
the blood poured.

And I left your chief with a spear-thrust, gushing  
from a penetrating spear.<sup>3</sup> (113)

Finally, it should be pointed out that, among the  
verses concerning spears and spearheads which are  
ascribed to the poets of Yathrib, striking images are  
very rare. We give the following examples of striking  
images.

The fragments and broken pieces of spears left on  
the battlefield are likened to pieces of palm branches  
in the hands of women who strip them of their leaves

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1) Ath, Kāmil, I, 498.

2) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 26, line 14.

3) Ms. of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawī), 184.

for making mats. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

You see fragments of spears fall down,  
Like palm branches in the hands of women who strip  
them of their leaves.<sup>1</sup> (114)

The gleam of a spearhead, and its lethal effect,  
were compared to a flame. Qays also says:-

Their chief was left at the place of battle,  
With a spearhead in him, so that you would think  
him a flame.<sup>2</sup> (115)

The Coat of Mail (dir')

In their verses, Yathribī poets do not always mention the coat of mail by its Arabic name (dir'), but they frequently use an adjective to describe it, as the following quotations show. Muḍā'afa, meaning the coat of mail composed of double rings.

Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

A coat of double mail, whose cuffs cover the ends  
of my fingers,  
The heads of whose nails are like the eyes of  
locusts.<sup>3</sup> (116)

Mawḍūna, the word used for a woven double coat of mail.  
According to Lyall "... that is, with two rings every-

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- 1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no.4, line 15.
- 2) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no.14, line 14.
- 3) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no.4, line 11.

where in place of the one of which ordinary mail is constructed, each pair secured to the next above, below and on each side."<sup>1</sup>

Faḍfāḍa, which implies 'wide'. Abū Qays b. al-Aslat says:-

I have prepared for the enemy a coat of double mail,  
Wide and shining like a pool in a depression.<sup>2</sup> (117)

Dilāṣ = Dalāṣ, i.e. a shining coat of mail. Abū Qays b. al-Aslat says:-

With every coat of mail, wide as a pool, and horses  
lean like wolves.<sup>3</sup> (118)

Sābigha, According to Lane, "... that is, wide, or ample, and long, or such that one drags it upon the ground, or (that falls) against one's ankles, by reason of length."<sup>4</sup> Ḥassān says:-

A trailing (coat of mail) which pushes my sword-belt  
away from me, which covers my fingers like a  
pool in a depression.<sup>5</sup> (119)

Mufāḍa, This means a wide or ample coat of mail which covers the body and spreads over it.

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- 1) Translation of the MUF, VII, note p.16.
  - 2) MUF, poem no. LXXV, line 6.
  - 3) Ms. of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawī) page 185, line 14.
  - 4) Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon (Sābigha)
  - 5) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 150, line 13.

Zaghf, This is a coat of mail of the highest perfection which is wide, smooth and long, or of thin, soft iron chains, or of small rings. Ka'b b. Mālik says:-

And a wide, long coat of mail whose nails ripple like  
the rippling of a pond on rugged, hard ground.<sup>1</sup>  
(120)

In regard to the images expressed in the preceding line, the comparison of a coat of mail to the surface of a brook stirred by the wind is frequently used. It has also been said that the nail-heads are like the eyes of locusts.

Finally, the strength of combatants, and their agility when wearing a coat of mail, have been likened to unruly camels because of their strength, obstinacy and fastness. <sup>6</sup>Amr b. imri'l-Qays says:-

They walk, in their helmets and coats of mail,  
as obstinate, swift camels walk.<sup>2</sup> (121)

#### The Helmet (al-Bayḍa)

Among their military equipment the poets of Yathrib sometimes refer to their helmets. In two different verses both Ḥassān b. Thābit and Abū Qays b. al-Aslat tried to foretell the consequences to a group of combatants or an individual if he took part in military activity. The helmet has been chosen as a symbol of

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1) Ms. of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawī), page 184, line 3.

2) Aghānī, II, 167., Q, Jamhara, 237.

the object of attack on the one hand and to glorify the deeds of battles on the other. Each poet seems to have relied on his own imagination.

Perhaps Ḥassān who, according to many sources, never took part in battle and who usually used well-known, even hackneyed, expressions when describing war and arms, on this occasion provides us with the line which is most credible and comes fairly close to the truth. He claims that a reddish-blackness which has marked the cheeks of his tribe's warriors is the result of their helmets. He says:-

You see us with reddish-black cheeks from our helmets,  
whose asbād, (i.e. the implements of war) we put  
on.<sup>1</sup> (122)

But his opponent, Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, who was himself one of the most active leaders of his tribe al-Aws, gives us a pleasant image, adding exaggeration, however, by claiming that his helmet has rubbed off the hair of his head.

The top of the helmet has thinned out my hair,  
I never had but a wink of sleep.<sup>2</sup> (123)

Poetic images dealing with helmets are simple and in general currency. Because of the helmet's protection

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- 1) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 26, line 20.
- 2) MUF, poem LXXV, line 4.

of the head and neck, it has been compared to a fortress, a prominent feature of Yathrib's culture during that period. Dirham b. Zayd al-Awsī says:-

The helmets are a fortress to them when they are  
alarmed and coats of mail like clear water.<sup>1</sup> (124)

The bright and shining helmet was likened either  
to the stars or to a flash of lightning. Qays b. al-  
Khaṭīm says:-

We came to the strongholds in Muzāḥim in the morning,  
The projection of our helmets was like stars.<sup>2</sup> (125)

and

We came to them, a big army whose helmets were shining  
like lightning,  
Revealing the anklets of their women who were running  
away.<sup>3</sup> (126)

The Javelin (al-Ḥarba, pl. Ḥirāb)

In spite of the scantiness of verses describing  
javelins in the poetry of Yathrib, Qays b. al-Khaṭīm  
twice gives us an excellent series of poetic imagery,  
carefully completed with a final vivid image in  
description of javelins during the actual fighting.

1) Aghānī, II, 168.

2) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 4, line 16.

3) Dīwān, (ed. A) poem no. 4, line 26.

In one of these series of images, Qays tells us what will happen to a person when the javelin is pulled out of his body.

As we said to the foremost warriors, "Stop advancing, while the javelins are going to and fro.

When they are pulled out there follows in their traces hot blood whose veins are flowing."<sup>1</sup> (127)

The fatal effect of the javelin when it hits its victim and is pulled back and forth within the man's body is compared to buckets being pulled out and down from a well by a long and strongly-twisted rope.

We turn aside our javelins for those who call for help until their shafts are broken (in the enemy). You see them being pulled out like buckets (from a well) whose rope pulls tightly."<sup>2</sup> (128)

#### The Army and The Squadron.

In the poetry dealing with the quarrels of Yathrib, poets occasionally used certain expressions to indicate an army, either attacking or defending. The phrases which appear in our collection are: katība, jaḥfal, faylaq and khamīs. Some scholars of the Islamic period<sup>3</sup> estimate the size of the force indicated by each of the

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1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 5, lines 24-5.

2) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 3, lines 7, 9.

3) Fiqh Alluḡha of ath-Tha'ālibī, 329; Nihāyat al-Arab, VI, 189.

above-mentioned words. According to their accounts, katība varied between four hundred and one thousand men. Faylaq and jaḥfal are both assumed to have indicated between one and four thousand men. The estimated number of khamīs is said to be between four and twelve thousand men.

Regardless of such explanations, it is impossible to estimate definitely the number of fighting men in each single tribe of Yathrib who might have fought during that period. But it is extremely doubtful that the number of men who were able to fight during the years of tribal feuds reached the alleged estimated number of either a faylaq or a khamīs. Even in the battle of Bu'āth, when both al-Aws and al-Khazraj were supported by Jewish and nomadic tribes, these numbers are not credible. It should be noted that after the rise of Islam the Khazrajite and Awsite warriors, who actually took part in the battle of Badr and Uḥud, are mentioned as only a few hundred.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, it is fair to suppose that Yathrib poets had used these expressions particularly in order to exaggerate their deeds of glory. Perhaps this assumption is borne out in the following quotations. Ḥassān b. Thābit, whose tribe al-Khazraj was utterly defeated in the battle of Bu'āth, attempted to mitigate the defeat by stressing the glorious deeds of the past.

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1) IS, II, part I, 12, 27.

How many of your chiefs have we killed, in a faylaq,  
whose destruction has been sought.<sup>1</sup> (129)

The attitude of Ḥassān's rival Qays b. al-Khaṭīm  
was probably the same.

We are people of war, it does not worry us; we lead  
a khamīs that is spread out like sand-grouse.<sup>2</sup> (130)

Qays also mentions the word khamīs in order to  
support his emphasis in the first part of the line on  
the capability of his tribe of standing the test of war  
in general.

On another occasion, Qays mentions the two express-  
ions khamīs and jaḥfal in a single line, which clearly  
shows that Yathribī poets used these phrases only to  
exaggerate the size and number of their forces.

We visited them openly with a five-fold army (khamīs),<sup>3</sup>  
leading a huge clamorous army (jaḥfal) to death.<sup>4</sup>  
(131)

In the martial poetry of Yathrib, the word katība  
(squadron), combined with expressions meaning or  
implying the possession of numerous weapons, or strong,

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- 1) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 213, line 16.
  - 2) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 23, line 6.
  - 3) khamīs "is an army because it consists of five parts,  
namely the van, the body, the right wing, the left  
wing, and the rear." Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon.
  - 4) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 14, line 16.

mighty warriors, etc., appears frequently. The following are examples:-

katībatun shahbā', a glazed or lustrous squadron, as an allusion to the gleam of the steel. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

We came to them, a big army whose helmets were  
shining like lightning,  
Revealing the anklets of their women who were  
running away.<sup>1</sup>

katībatun mustanna, implying the briskness and strength of its combatants in battle. Abū Qays b. al-Aslat says:-

We keep them away from us by an active (mustanna)  
squadron of noblemen and protectors.<sup>2</sup> (132)

katībatun mush'ila, describing wide deployment of an army.

katībatun ṭaḥūn, an indication of the toughness of an army which crushes whatever it meets. Ḥassān b. Thābit says:-

I am not (born) of a chaste mother if you are not  
visited throughout your dwelling by a grinding  
widespread (army) (mush'ilatun ṭaḥūn).<sup>3</sup> (133)

katībatun malmūma or mulamlama refers to the gathering and concentration of warriors who hold their formation in battle. In this same sense Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

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- 1) Dīwān, (ed, A), poem no. 4, line 26.
  - 2) Lyall, MUF, I, poem no. LXXV, line 13.
  - 3) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 115, line 3.

And a gathered army (malmūma) like a rock in a  
wadi-bed (ṣafāt al-Masīl) whose mill turns and  
we turn with it.<sup>1</sup> (134)

Abū Qays b. al-Aslat also says:-

And they did not know until there appeared from our  
dwellings  
A gathered army (mulamlama) with spears and coat  
of mail.<sup>2</sup> (135)

When the poets described an army, they emphasized  
the large number of fighters<sup>a</sup> who do not fear the death  
which they inflict upon the enemy.<sup>b</sup> They also insisted  
that there was no rabble present among their force,<sup>c</sup>  
but that all were high-ranking nobles<sup>d</sup> with long  
experience in the affairs of war.<sup>e</sup>

While boasting about the exploits of their own  
people, poets used to swear at and mock their foes,<sup>f</sup>  
or reproach them for their stupidity and imbecility,<sup>g</sup>  
for the lowness of their birth,<sup>h</sup> or for vainly  
threatening their enemies with death and with slavery  
for their women.<sup>i</sup>

Speaking about the results of action in battle,  
poets frequently claimed that they had killed prominent  
chiefs of the opposing tribe.<sup>j</sup> Sometimes poets claimed  
to have forced the enemy to remain in fear or to take

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1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 7, line 7.

2) Ms of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawī) page  
185, line 18.

refuge in strongholds.<sup>k</sup> As examples of each claim mentioned above, we give extracts as follows.

Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

- a) We met them with every experienced warrior  
leading behind him a prepared throng.<sup>1</sup> (136)

and

I advanced from the land of Ḥijāz with a throng  
(of horsemen) which darkened the open space  
like scattered sand-grouse.<sup>2</sup> (137)

Abū Qays b. al-Aslat says:-

With a heavily-armed detachment whose helmets  
gleam brightly, spread out like locusts.<sup>3</sup> (138)

- b) Abū Qays b. al-Aslat says:-

We do not fear death, but inflict it upon our  
enemies, giving measure for measure.<sup>4</sup> (139)

- c) Abū Qays b. al-Aslat says:-

Until the battle has ended, and we are gathered  
around our banner,  
Never calling for the help of medley people.<sup>5</sup> (140)

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- 1) Dīwān (ed, A) poem no. 10, line 7.
  - 2) Dīwān (ed, A) poem no. 6, line 4.
  - 3) Ms. of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawī), page 184, line 7.
  - 4) Lyall, MUF, I, poem no. LXXV, line 12.
  - 5) Lyall, MUF, I, poem no. LXXV, line 15.

d) Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

We came upon you in the morning with it, (the  
army) every horseman of noble mention, who  
defends his family in order to be praised.<sup>1</sup> (141)

And he also says:-

The nobles of Mālik came upon them, their young  
men hastening to terror (i.e. the battle).<sup>2</sup> (142)

Abū Qays b. al-Aslat also says:-

We keep them away from us by an active squadron  
of noblemen and protectors.<sup>3</sup> (143)

e) Ḥassān b. Thābit says:-

Noble-nosed, long of arms, noble-expressed in  
the smiting of men wearing coat of mail, having  
received wounds.<sup>4</sup> (144)

and

With every young man with prominent knuckles,  
tempered by lightning against champions  
sprinkling blood and musk (i.e. because of  
his nobility his blood is like musk).<sup>5</sup> (145)

-----  
1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 23, line 3.

2) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 3, line 18.

3) Lyall, MUF, I, poem no. LXXV, line 13.

4) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 10, line 38.

5) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 4, line 26.

f) Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

Did you reckon that fighting my people was like  
eating bad dates and colocynth seeds?<sup>1</sup> (146)

Ḥassān, addressing Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, says:-

Al-Aws has tasted battle and has been driven back,  
And you are with the womenfolk at every defeat.  
Flirting with soft dark-eyed maidens at the doors,  
So adorn your beautiful eyes with kuḥl.<sup>2</sup> (147)

g) Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

I see that every time I do something the Banū'r-  
Raq'ā' (the sons of the stupid women) cause you  
difficulty.<sup>3</sup> (148)

h) Ḥassān says:-

A base mother has driven you away from glory,  
And a fire-steel which, when you strike fire with  
it, gives no flame.<sup>4</sup> (149)

'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa also says:-

You claimed that you killed kings of the Ḥijāz,  
But we only killed slaves (i.e. we are kings,  
you are slaves).<sup>5</sup> (150)

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- 1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 10, line 9.
  - 2) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 2, lines 20-21.
  - 3) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 10, line 16.
  - 4) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 2, line 22.
  - 5) Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit, (ed, 'A) poem no. 114,  
line 19.

i) Ḥassān b. Thābit says:-

Transmit a poem from me to the clan of an-Nabīṭ  
that will humble them.

They have taken an oath to us (i.e. they are our  
subordinates).

By God, we will indeed kill you savagely when the  
horsemen are put to flight.

Until you, al-Aws, call for escape, and humiliation  
appears in your katība.

You were slaves of ours whom we used as servants  
for those who came to visit us; and slaves  
are made weak.<sup>1</sup> (151)

Qays b. al-Khaṭīm also says:-

We will not cease, as long as we live, killing  
your men and making you slaves.<sup>2</sup> (152)

j) Ḥassān says:-

Every day we make a raid against al-Aws in which  
we kill their lions (valiants).<sup>3</sup> (153)

and

Have we not left the gatherings of mourners  
bewailing their chieftains.<sup>4</sup> (154)

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1) Dīwān, (ed. 'A) poem no. 213, lines 7-10.

2) Dīwān, (ed. A) poem no. 10, line 18.

3) Dīwān, (ed. 'A) poem no. 26, line 19.

4) Dīwān, (ed. 'A) poem no. 115, line 9.

Ibn al-Khaṭīm also says:-

Our swords hit the nobles of Banū Mālik b. al-Agharr,

Leaving the sons of slaves and wood-gatherers.<sup>1</sup>(155)

k) Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

It pleased me to see them not leaving the innermost recesses of their strongholds.

Never daring to get their camels into the pasture except with someone to accompany them.

Had it not been for the summits of your strongholds you know that well,

And keeping away from open tracts of land, you would have shared the fate of the (captive) women.

You could not keep us out of any place we wished,

As a refuge for you except for your own rooms.<sup>2</sup>(156)

Poetic Images Describing The Army In General.

Yathribī poets used to speak extensively about their army, and they seem to have developed a particular talent for vivid military imagery. Here we shall refer to some examples which do not appear in the poems that we will deal with later.

An army on the move was described in a number of

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1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 4, line 27.

2) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 4, lines 29-31.

different similes, varying according to the particular aspect emphasized. The way in which an unmounted army spreads out over the landscape is compared to the first and most deceiving mirage. Abū Qays b. al-Aslat says:-

With an army of infantrymen like the first appearance of a mirage, in front of it squadrons among whom are men in coats of mail and men without mail.<sup>1</sup>  
(157)

Ḥassān b. Thābit likens the action of people fighting each other to a camel daubed with tar.

When we fight you on foot we are like camels, black (with tar), fighting.<sup>2</sup>  
(158)

The preceding image of Ḥassān inspired his rival Qays b. al-Khaṭīm to describe the state of commotion the moving to and fro of their squadron and its coherence in action which he compares, in the violence and destruction caused, to that of a grinding handmill and a violent, mangy, tar-daubed camel.

And a gathered army like a rock in a wadi-bed whose mill turns and we turn with it.

We advanced on them like scabby camels with tar sticking to their flanks.<sup>3</sup>  
(159)

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1) Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit, Ms. ('Adawī), page 185.  
line 15.

2) Dīwān, (ed. 'A) poem no. 115, line 17.

3) Dīwān, (ed. A) poem no. 7, lines 7-8.

Because of the speed and violence of their marching, warriors are said to be like camels driven to water after five days and longing for their spring-born foals from which they have been separated. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

If a group of them decides to retire, they return as camels which have gone five days without drinking return to water yearning for their spring-born foals.<sup>1</sup> (160)

The humiliation of those who surrender or submit to the demands of the enemy, or the army forced to leave the heat of battle by the superior strength of their opponents, or because they are inferior fighters, are likened to male camels among female camels in milk. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

We forced you back with our swords so that you were rendered more humble  
Than your male camels among milk camels.<sup>2</sup> (161)

The lack of resistance, and the superiority of a victory, inspired Qays b. al-Khaṭīm to compare the victims who were slain in the battle to slaughtered sheep.

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1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 9, line 4.

2) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 4, line 33.

When you overcome them in battle they are like  
sheep whom the drinkers slaughter.<sup>1</sup> (162)

Because of its great number, the army has been  
likened to swarms of locusts and to sand-grouse. Qays

b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

We are people of war, it does not worry us: We  
lead a khamīs that is spread out like sand-  
grouse.<sup>2</sup> (163)

The comparison of the attacker to lions and  
leopards is employed to demonstrate wildness, ferocity  
and severity, both in attack and in courage. Ḥassān b.  
Thābit says:-

A people of Najjār surrounds you like forest lions  
who dwell in a lair.

The lion remains in it quietly, and he only makes a  
quiet noise when he goes around it.<sup>3</sup> (164)

In the same sense, Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

A band of al-Aws advanced, shaking their spears,  
As lions walk in scattered rocky ground.<sup>4</sup> (165)

and

When they have left their women for us, we are like  
lions who have cubs in the thickets of Bīsha.<sup>5</sup> (166)

- 
- 1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 2, line 10.
  - 2) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 23, line 6.
  - 3) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 115, lines 14-15.
  - 4) Dīwān, (ed, A) page 227.
  - 5) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 8, line 7.

and

When you meet the men of al-Aws you meet the  
raiment of lions and the skins of leopards.<sup>1</sup>(167)

The Flight.

Flight from the battlefield was regarded as a mark of disgrace and a loss of self-respect; and every tribe, clan or individual, especially those of high rank, did their best to avoid flight.

When the poets described the heat of battle, in particular one in which their warriors gained ground, or had achieved some advantages against the adversary, they used to emphasize the achievements of that action by glorifying and boasting of the courage of their fighting men who had stood their ground. In this sense, Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

If we ran away, the worst we could do would be to  
draw our faces or shoulders backwards,<sup>2</sup>  
Averting our cheeks, while the spears are fighting,  
holding firmly to our places in the fray.<sup>3</sup> (168)

When the battle ended, the victors usually took this opportunity to diminish the reputation of their enemy by enumerating those rivals who had fled leaving their dead behind them. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

- 
- 1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 15, line 10.
  - 2) Either to prepare themselves for attacking or warding off an attack.
  - 3) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 4, lines 18-19.

I wish Suwayd had seen those of you who were  
dragged away dead,  
And those who fled when they were driven like  
herds of cattle.<sup>1</sup> (169)

Exaggeration has often been used by poets  
describing the way in which they had driven their  
enemies from the field. For example, Abū Qays b. al-  
Aslat claimed that it was only the dust of the battle  
which made the escape of his rival possible.

Mālik barely escaped beneath the dust, yet the  
soul's days are counted and enumerated  
(i.e. one cannot live for ever).<sup>2</sup> (170)

The poets also attempted to belittle their foes and  
lower their moral by saying that when they fled they  
were in such a state of fear and panic that they  
abandoned their equipment. 'Ubayd b. Nāfidh al-Awsī says:-

The kinsmen of Abū 'l-Ḥubāb were harmed by his  
fleeing with his life on the day of as-Sarāra.  
He turned his back on that day and threw down his  
coat of mail when someone said "Death has come  
in search (of you) from behind.  
Setting off (in flight) rescued you from us after  
the spears had been pointed at you."<sup>3</sup> (171)

- 
- 1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 4, line 36.
  - 2) Ms. of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawī) page  
185, line 17.
  - 3) Ath., Kāmil, I, 498.

Thrusting with the Spear.

When speaking of thrusting with the spear, poets used to stress that the blow hit the victim in the most vulnerable spot.

Various descriptions are given to indicate the manner and condition of the wound. Some describe it as fatal blows which are vigorously directed at the belly of the enemy,<sup>a</sup> or which make wounds causing an artery to pour with blood.<sup>b</sup>

Others have insisted that they pierced the enemy with spears which passed through the body of the victim.<sup>c</sup> Sometimes it has been stated that the wound has a passage through the body of the person who has been stabbed by a man seeking revenge and making an angry assault.<sup>d</sup>

Occasionally, poets claim that during the fighting their combatants were able to inflict wounds upon their adversaries such that the upper portion of their chests was stained with blood.<sup>e</sup> As examples of each claim mentioned above, we give extracts as follows:-

a) Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

The lions are not the kind to take their siesta  
in the thicket, but lions of the forests who  
wound in the stomach on (the day of) Dhū 'l-  
Jadr.<sup>1</sup>

(172)

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1) Dīwān, (ed, A) page 231.

b) Abū Qays b. al-Aslat says:-

The chief of the people was left lying prone with  
a wound which left gushing, flowing blood under  
the arteries.<sup>1</sup> (173)

c) Abū Qays also says:-

And I left your chief with a spear-thrust, gushing  
from a penetrating spear.<sup>2</sup> (174)

d) Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

I wounded Ibn 'Abd al-Qays with the thrust of an  
avenger,  
A deep wound (which everyone could see) except for  
the red blood which brightened it.  
I made my hand do it confidently and I made its  
wound flow. So that, standing before the man,  
one could see through to what was behind him.<sup>3</sup>  
(175)

e) Ḥassān b. Thābit says:-

Aws b. Khālid escaped on the day of fear, gushing  
with blood like red tassels of leather, with a  
stained upper chest.<sup>4</sup> (176)

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- 1) Ms. of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawī) page  
185, line 16.
- 2) Ms. of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawī) page  
184, line 9.
- 3) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 1, lines 7-8.
- 4) Dīwān, (ed. 'A) poem no. 244, line 4.

The Poetic Image of Thrusting.

The gush of blood caused by a wound is likened to water as it pours from several holes at the base of a freshly-dug well. Ḥassān b. Thābit says:-

With a smiting which (even) the jinn hearken to,  
And a thrusting like the mouths of wells.<sup>1</sup> (177)

The wound's width and its perilousness have been compared to the innermost depths of a dark cave. Ḥassān also says:-

If you escape from it, Juwayy, it is wide like the  
bottom of a cave dark of depths.<sup>2</sup> (178)

The image of a camel's lips has inspired Dirham b. Zayd al-Awsī. He compares the parting of the flesh caused by the blows to the slackness of a camel's lips.

The chiefs of al-Aws rebutted what Mālik said with a  
blow like the loose lips of a broken-in camel.<sup>3</sup> (179)

The Striking.

The mention of striking appears during a poet's description of battle scenes.

The immediate consequences of a blow, poets admitted, are terrible and frightening, but they

- 
- 1) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 153, line 15.
  - 2) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 244, line 5.
  - 3) Sha., Ḥamāsa, 39, line 3.

emphasized that the main object of a blow is to ward off unjust enemy action.

Poets describe the cruel consequences of a blow, stating that it pierced the coat of mail and caused much loss of life in which heads were split and pieces of hands and legs were severed and scattered over the battlefield.

'Urwa b. al-Ward, or Ḥassān b. Thābit, describes the blows at the battle of ad-Darak when he says:-

May my mother be a ransom for 'Awf, all of them,  
And Banū 'l-Abyaḍ on the day of ad-Darak.

They prevented a wrong being inflicted on me with  
a blow which penetrated under the edges of the  
mail-coats, rending.

And fingers whose ends were cut off,

And hocks cut like small trees.<sup>1</sup> (180)

#### Poetic Images of Striking.

The heads which were struck off and thrown to the ground are compared to a colocynth plant which drops its bitter fruits around itself. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

When our detachment appeared following with the dawn,  
The heads of the Khazrajites were like colocynths

(i.e. scattered on the ground.)<sup>2</sup> (181)

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1) Dīwān (ed, Barqūqī) page 296.

2) Dīwān (ed, A) poem no. 8, line 2.

The striking and severing of the victims' heads has been compared to the action of cutting down branches of trees with a bill-hook. Ibn al-Khaṭīm says:-

Between ash-Shar'abī and Rātij there is a smiting,  
like a bill-hook lopping a sayyāl tree.<sup>1</sup> (182)

The victims falling down to the ground when they are struck are likened to felled palms. Ibn al-Khaṭīm says:-

They have lost ninety of their chiefs, like palm  
trees felled by a south wind.<sup>2</sup> (183)

### Poetic Exaggeration.

Poetry was regarded as the archives (Dīwān) of the Arabs, simply because it records their wars, illustrates their habits and customs, and gives a faithful picture of the tribal life of nomadic Arabia.

Among the nomadic Arabs it was traditionally believed that the glorious deeds of a tribe were these recorded battles.<sup>3</sup>

When the accounts of these events which had long been maintained as an oral tradition were written down in the 'Abbasid period, it was poetry which provided the Muslim scholars with the most considerable and remarkable accounts. But poets who had celebrated these events seem to have exaggerated the achievements of their kinsmen in

- 
- 1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 6, line 5.
  - 2) Dīwān, poem no. 2, line 12.
  - 3) Ṭabaqāt, 39-40.

battles in which they were engaged.

Exaggeration, therefore, is one factor which characterised martial poetry in general.

Turning to the martial poetry of Yathrib, we observe that poets exaggerated in the estimation of the numbers of their own warriors who had taken part in battle,<sup>a</sup> in emphasising the loss of life among the defeated enemy,<sup>b</sup> the bluntness of the once-sharp swords, their bloodiness and so on at the end of the battle,<sup>c</sup> the resistance with which the advancing enemy had been met,<sup>d</sup> the confusion and the disintegration of an overwhelmed army and the reactions of its warriors to the misfortune befalling them,<sup>e</sup> the state of the women whose menfolk had been killed in battle,<sup>f</sup> and the scourge and devastation of warfare in general.<sup>g</sup>

As examples of each claim mentioned above, we give extracts as follows:-

a) Qays Ibn al-Khaṭīm says:-

If you threw colocynth on the top of our helmets,  
It would not roll off our closely-packed helmets  
inlaid with gold.<sup>1</sup> (184)

And he also says:-

I advanced from the land of Ḥijāz with a throng  
(of horsemen),  
Which darkened the open space like scattered  
sand-grouse.<sup>2</sup> (185)

- 
- 1) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 4, line 17.
  - 2) Dīwān, (ed, A) poem no. 6, line 9.

and

When a great army came from Banū 'Amr, on  
account of which the rough ground and the  
hills shook.<sup>1</sup> (186)

b) Qays Ibn al-Khaṭīm says:-

You see the black volcanic ground turning red,  
And every hill and piece of hard ground is  
running with it (blood).<sup>2</sup> (187)

and

And the swords of al-Aws and the edge of their  
blades only left a few scattered (survivors)  
of you.<sup>3</sup> (188)

c) Qays b. al-Khaṭīm says:-

When we unsheath our swords they are white, when  
we meet our enemy,  
But when we put them back in the scabbards they  
are red with their blades worn out.<sup>4</sup> (189)

Ḥassān Ibn Thābit also says:-

When we are angry, with our swords, we make  
skulls their scabbards.<sup>5</sup> (190)

- 
- 1) Dīwān, poem no. 17, line 4.
  - 2) Dīwān, poem no. 6, line 7.
  - 3) Dīwān, poem no. 10, line 17.
  - 4) Dīwān, poem no. 4, line 23.
  - 5) 'Ask, Ma'ānī, II, 51.

d) 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa says:-

You boasted of a gathering of men which visited you  
In your dwelling, which advanced until they were  
repulsed by (your) fingers.<sup>1</sup> (191)

e) The Khazrajite poet, Anas b. al-'Alā', addressing  
his rival Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, says:-

We came upon them in the morning in the battle  
with a raid, and after that Qays became confused.  
Biting the ends of his fingers whenever a horseman  
of ours appeared, seeking battle in order to  
come to (someone's) aid.<sup>2</sup> (192)

f) Abū Qays b. al-Aslat says:-

On every side there were slain men of yours to  
whom the wild beasts came and fed.  
Your women left bereaved ones after that, and  
exchanged constraint for eye-paint.  
Between women in mourning and between women  
weeping in grief for the killing of a faithful  
one who has been slain.<sup>3</sup> (193)

g) 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa says:-

We do not desire blood-revenge from the allies,  
For we have had our revenge on the leaders and  
the led.

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1) Dīwān of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, (ed, A) page 201

2) Dīwān of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, (ed, A) page 221.

3) The Ms. of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawī)

And your women in every dwelling-place were  
scratching their wrists and their cheeks.  
We have left Jaḥjaba humiliated,  
And 'Awf sitting in their gatherings.  
And we have taken the clan of Abū Umayya by force,  
And we have made Aws Allāh to follow Thamūd.<sup>1</sup> (194)

Finally, we end this survey of the poetic images concerning war and arms by analysing briefly four poems ascribed to Abū Qays b. al-Aslat and Qays b. al-Khaṭīm from the Aws tribe, and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa and Ka'b b. Mālik from the Khazraj tribe. In this analysis we have tried to show the poetic ability of each poet by examining closely the style and similes of the poems included.

It should be noted that the poets mentioned had direct experience of the tribal feuds and were highly esteemed for the services they had rendered by defending the cause of their tribes through their poetry.

### The Awsite Poets

#### A. Abū Qays b. al-Aslat

The poet Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, whose tribe al-Aws had suffered defeat on several occasions when he was in command, spoke in the following lines about the hardship of war:-

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1) Q., Jamhara, 224.

1. She spoke, and she was not fair in her foul  
utterance,  
Enough of it, it has all reached my hearing.
2. Disowned me (hit him) when you perceived me,  
For war is an ogre full of pains.
3. Whosoever tastes war, will find it bitter,  
And it will confine him in a rugged place.
4. The top of the helmet has thinned out my hair,  
I never had but a wink of sleep.
5. I strive for the good of the mass of Banū Mālik,  
Everybody strives for his own good.
6. I have prepared for the enemies a coat of double  
mail,  
Wide and shining like a pool in a depression.
7. I push it away from me with (the sheath of) an  
Indian sword,  
Sharp and shining like pure salt.
8. Hard, cutting, incisive of edge,  
And a tawny, solid, convex shield.
9. The armour of a death-defying man,  
Cautious of Time, unflagging, uncomplaining.
10. Firmness and strength are better than  
Trickery, weakness and indolence.
11. The sand-grouse is not like the little sand-grouse,  
And the herded folk among men are not like the  
herdsman.

12. We do not fear death, but inflict it upon our  
enemies,  
Giving measure for measure.
13. We keep them away from us by an active squadron  
(katība),  
Well provided with noblemen ('Arānīn) and protectors.
14. We are like lions protecting cubs,  
Roaring in forest and winding valleys.
15. Until the battle has ended, and we are gathered  
around our banner,  
Never calling for the help of medley people.
16. Did you not ask the horsemen, when they departed,  
When I hurried and when I slowed down?
17. How I spent money on them - though it is most  
treasured by others,  
And how I answered the call (for war, or help).
18. I strike the crests of men's helmets on the day  
of clamour,  
With the sword which I was not backward in using.
19. I cross the desolate expanse where people fear  
destruction, on a white she-camel which runs  
eagerly.
20. A she-camel, strong as a male which has its unique  
way of running,  
Its gear padded with felt of Hīra and saddle-cloths.

21. It keeps on running, need not be struck, reliable,  
never faltering.
22. The edges of its saddle-padding flutter,  
As though blown by a violent, tempestuous north  
wind.
23. I decorate its saddle with an embroidered rug,  
From Hīra woven of divers colours, or made of  
patches sewn together.
24. With it I go about my business,  
Indeed the brave man is subject to treacherous  
Fate. (195)

In general, the poet appears to be describing his own experience when he describes the preparation for war, the weapons which had been used in the fighting, the squadron and its men taking part in the battle. In his description of war (2-3) Abū Qays uses an imaginative simile when he describes war as a Ghūl. Even in the third line the poet uses an uncommon image, comparing war to a bitter taste.

In the second hemistich of the third line another imaginative metaphor is given, to demonstrate the human burden of war. The poet likened the hardships suffered by those involved in war to a man forced to stay upon a rugged place.

Lines 4-5.

In lines 4-5, Abū Qays speaks about his activity during the period in which he led his tribe. In poetical

phrases the poet tells us that his mind was fully occupied by that warfare.

The exaggeration of the simile about the helmet which has rubbed the hair off his head is congruous to the subject-matter, since the poet wanted to demonstrate that he actually played a vital part during this quarrel.

In the second hemistich of line four, Abū Qays did not give rein to his imagination as much as he did in the first part of the line, but he seems to be more realistic in explaining his duty as a leader. Perhaps it is true that responsibility like that which had been assumed by Qays makes one react in the same manner as expressed by the poet when he claims that because he was in charge of that warfare he had never relaxed or enjoyed any period of rest.

Lines 6-8.

From these lines regarding the equipment of war it appears quite clear that Abū Qays does not give the description of war and arms only from his poetic imagination but rather that it is based mainly on his real experiences. With regard to the similes and metaphors used in this poem, it is quite apparent that Abū Qays had drawn his images in the same manner as the previous poets of the Jāhiliyya period, but also extracted them from his observation of the daily life of his own people. For example, consider the comparison of the gloss of his coat of mail to a pool in a clay bottom, or the gleam of his sword to pure salt.

In order to show that the poet was a man of real experience, we may consider the expression wādiq ḥadduhū, in which the poet gives the impression that his sword was not only thirsting for the blood of his enemies but that it would penetrate deeper when striking an enemy and inflict deep wounds upon him.

In the second hemistich, the expression qarrā'ī means solid, but the meaning here also is that his shield was always able to strike against an enemy.

Lines 9-12.

Besides his ability as one of the greatest Awsite poets, Abū Qays possessed other qualities which made him a prominent leader among his tribe. Even after the rise of Islam, when Medina became the main centre of the new faith, his influence on his own clan kept them back from accepting Islam, and that was continued until his death. In addition to his leadership, the tribe of al-Aws had acknowledged his military gifts, in spite of his misfortune during the period he was in command.

These lines seem to have reinforced this assumption, because we notice that Abū Qays emphasizes that victory over the enemy would be achieved not only by martial courage and strength but also by being vigilant and cautious of Time.

The expression ḥādhir is of great interest, because it implies that one should make oneself ready to ward off any sudden attack that might be launched by one's enemies.

For a belligerent, both firmness and bravery are essential factors, but for an experienced fighter these are ineffective if they are tied up with weak will and feeble-mindedness.

Lines 13-15.

In these lines, Abū Qays speaks about the active detachment which repels the enemy attack. We fully appreciate the vocabulary expressed in this poem in general, and in these lines in particular. We also notice that the poet's expressions are in accord with the subject-matter and are fitting. Take, for instance, the word 'Arānīn', which has been used in the sense of superciliousness and honour.

In line 14, we admire his authentic imagery, which he uses to compare the boldness of men taking part in fighting to lions warding off an attack on their whelps.

In line 15 the phrase jummā'ī is apt to some extent, since the poet wants to glorify his tribe's deeds and to emphasize that al-Aws, during their dispute with al-Khazraj, had never asked for the help of medley people.

Lines 16-18.

As a well-known leader who played a vital role during his life, the poet points out some of the reasons which made him capable of reaching that status. When the war breaks out he is the first to face death and the last to retreat.

In the battle, when attacking the enemy, he has never hesitated or felt reluctant, but always hastens

to meet death and to smite the crests of men's helmets with his sword.

Regardless of the fact that goods were a most treasured thing, in spite of his needs he made them available to any one of his kinsfolk. He easily gave them to those who were covetous and very eager to obtain them. He was always willing to help his tribesmen, and when one of his kinsfolk asked for help he immediately answered his call.

Lines 19-24.

The poet ends his poem by employing one of the most genuine expressions used by the earliest poets describing a she-camel.

The point which has to be noticed here is that, in the past, among the nomadic Arabs, horses played the vital part in their warfare, but neither al-Aws nor al-Khazraj seem to have used them during the long period of hostility in which each tribe vigorously opposed the other.

This is probably because the quarrel between al-Aws and al-Khazraj was an internal one, and, moreover, most of their feuds were merely skirmishes between a few families and individuals. Another factor is that, in the society of Yathrib where land might have represented the main wealth of individuals, horses in particular were not attractive to settled people living in a primitive society with very meagre and poor resources like cultivation of land.

Even in Islam, when the enmity between al-Aws and al-Khazraj was removed for ever and both of them faced the external enemies who had to be fought outside their borders, horses were rarely used on their side.

In the battle of Badr, where the first real confrontation took place between Mecca and Medina, only two horses were brought forward by the Muslims as against one hundred horses in the army of the polytheists of Quraysh.

In the battle of Uḥud, the Quraysh army included two hundred horses as against two in the Islamic army. Finally, it should be understood that in the poetry ascribed to the poets of Yathrib, the description of horses in general is very rare indeed.

B. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm

12. Praise to Allāh, Lord of the Ka'ba, since Duḥayy had been crushed and been overcome.
13. The first of them (to escape) took the hard road,  
Calling upon their cousins in grief.
14. Their chief was left at the place of battle,  
With an arrow in him so that you would think  
him a flame.
15. And the two sons of Ḥarām and Thābit,  
Their horses have been scattered and they have  
perished.
16. We visited them openly with a five-fold army,  
Leading a huge, clamorous army to death.

17. Banū 'l-Aws came like a hail-bearing cloud,  
Which the wind caused to pour (lit. milked)  
as it advanced.
18. Noble, like a sudden flood, followed by a steady  
downpour which makes the mountain slopes flow.
19. Banū 'l-Aws when war is kindled,  
Are like a fire which consumes the firewood.
20. Banū 'l-Aws are a company of people who strike  
truly and establish the binding of wounds  
and scars (for the enemy).
21. They lift up the head of the chief of their  
brothers,  
Until they (the enemy) turn their backs and take  
to flight.
22. With every flexible, cutting-edged, sharp (sword)  
Which goes deep when you brandish it.
23. Banū 'l-Aws said, of their forbearance, go and do  
not take booty of them.
24. Those in the rear lead those in front, as the  
seller leads his cattle.
25. When their chief calls them to death, their bands  
gather about them in throngs. (196)

At the beginning it must be pointed out that there is an introduction in the Dīwān of Qays which speaks of the occasion on which the poem was recited. It claims that Qays composed this poem in connection with a feud

which had flared up between two branches of the Aws tribe. This assumption, however, contradicts the poem itself, because Qays not only boasts about the tribe of al-Aws in general (lines 17, 19, 20) but refers to some historic events which were supposed to have taken place during the battle of Bu'āth (lines 14, 21, 23, 25)

On the other hand, in the Ms. of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawī, p. 155) it is mentioned that Qays recited this poem especially to indicate that al-Aws had desisted from taking the booty of al-Khazraj after their defection in the battle of Bu'āth. A fragment of a poem attacking Qays b. al-Khaṭīm in particular is included in the Ms. of the Dīwān of Ḥassān following Qays' poem which now appears in the edition of the Dīwān of Qays edited by al-Asad. This fragment is ascribed to the Khazrajite poet 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa as his answer to Qays' poem. Ibn Rawāḥa's fragment consists of eight lines, and it has the same metre and rhyme as the poem attributed to Qays, which also supports the supposition that Qays composed his poem with reference to the battle of Bu'āth.

Mr. al-Asad, in his published edition of the Dīwān of Qays (p.171), discusses this point and supports the statement found in the Ms. of the Dīwān of Ḥassān.

Qays begins his poem by amorously addressing his beloved Hind. Because of this we have not taken the whole poem into consideration, only the lines which refer to battle.

Lines 12-15.

As we have seen from the first line and some others included in the Dīwān, Qays occasionally refers to God. This has no connection with fighting, but it seems that the mention of God is either to praise Allāh, the Creator, and to ask for his help,<sup>1</sup> or to strengthen an oath.<sup>2</sup> With regard to the first line mentioned above, Qays says 'al-Ḥamdu li-Lāh' ('Praise to God'), simply because one of the most hateful adversaries of Banū Duḥayy was entirely defeated. In addition to these lines which are addressed to Banū Duḥayy, Qays attacked them vigorously on different occasions in his Dīwān.<sup>3</sup>

In order to show how the poet supplements his poem with the most vivid style and excellent phrases which have been drawn exclusively from his observations of daily life, we may consider the expression Ḥazn aṭ-Ṭarīq, which emphasizes that the enemy not only escaped from the battlefield but fled in the direction of the difficult terrain, choosing the high, rugged places in an attempt to seek refuge and to make further attack or pursuit more difficult.

Lines 16-18.

These lines clearly illustrate the points concerning the authentic style of the poem mentioned above. In the

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1) Dīwān, (ed, Asad) pp. 105, 113, 155, 175, 206.

2) Dīwān, pp. 111 and 206.

3) Dīwān, 50, 61 and 71.

beginning the poet stresses that they did not take their foes in a surprise attack, but openly challenged them, leading a huge army hastening to face death. The word Lajibā, which means 'noisy sound', is probably used to emphasize the commotion of this army, but it fits the subject-matter and is used in the correct context.

The expressions included in line 17 and 18 seem to have been carefully chosen to stress that the Awsite fighters were not only very organised and well-armed, but noble of birth and numerous. Let us take, for instance, the phrase 'Āriḍa which originally means a collection of rainy clouds. We have seen from this line that Qays compared the gathering and marching of the combatants with the gathering of rain clouds. The poet uses the word Barida to give us an image of the rushing and thundering of the Awsite warriors as they make their way to the battlefield, and the noise caused by them and their armaments is compared to the hail-bearing cloud which often accompanies thunder.

No word in these lines is in conflict with another, and line 18 in particular is full of <sup>striking</sup> ~~unique~~ phrases which describe the army in detail. Let us take, for example, the first word, Ar'an, which has been used to signify the greatness of the army. Because of its size, height and permanence it was likened to a portion of a mountain. It is also used to imply the strength and firmness of the army. Occasionally it might be used to emphasize its numerousness by the noise made by rain falling from it.

The other expressions included in this line demonstrate that the Awsite army was numerous and widely spread over the battlefield. They also emphasize that they had rushed on to the battlefield like a torrent which engulfed whatever lay in its path (consider the phrase al-Atiyy), and continuously fought the enemy until the battle was ended (consider Ṣawb Mulithth).

Lines 19-20.

In these lines the poet boasts of the capability of the men of his tribe who have proved themselves valiant warriors and who, in spite of the vehemence of war, were able to withstand the test of fighting and to provide further evidence of their valour in the shape of the scars and wounds inflicted on the enemy. The comparison of war to fire is probably given to stress the devastations of war.

Line 21.

A note is given in the front of this line in the margin of the Ms. of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit. It says that the man the poet has in mind was 'Amr b. an-Nu'mān of Bayāḍa, the Khazrajite leader who was killed by an arrow in the battle of Bu'āth.

Line 22.

Perhaps in this line the poet provides the most vivid expressions for the sword. The first phrase is Layn; it means 'flexible', and furthermore implies that this sword was of high quality. It was not only

extremely sharp ('Aḍb), but would penetrate deep into the body of the man struck by it (Māḍ Ḍarībatuhu and Rasabā). In the Lisān al-ʿArab (Rasab) it is pointed out that the Prophet called his sword 'Rasūb', meaning deep-thrusting, while Khālīd b. al-Walīd called his own sword 'Mirsaba'.

Lines 23-25.

In line 23 there is an indication of an historical event which supposed that al-Aws had refrained from taking the booty of al-Khazraj after their defeat in the battle of Bu'āth. The defeated troops driven off are said to be like cattle in their submission, while their responses to their rival are compared to a seller leading cattle to the market (line 24).

Finally, in the Ms. of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit, there is another marginal note for the last line. It points out that the person who had summoned them was Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk.

According to reliable sources, Ḥuḍayr was seriously wounded in the battle and died a few days later.

### The Khazrajite Poets

#### A. 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa

During our brief discussion of the differences between the martial poetry ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit and Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, we noted that Ḥassān rarely uses striking images of warfare.

On the other hand, because the extant poems ascribed to the other Khazrajite poets, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa and

Ka'b b. Mālik, are so few, it is probably impossible to give any conclusive account of their military exploits.

Only two pre-Islamic poems ascribed to Ibn Rawāḥa have been found, and, in spite of the fact that both these poems deal with the tribal feuds of Yathrib, neither of them gives us an elaborate description of the instruments of war which might shed light on Ibn Rawāḥa's military ability. To illustrate this point we extract the following lines from one of the two recorded poems, which is supposed to have been composed concerning the battle of Bu'āth.

1. Even though other people's reputations may have  
    been altered.  
    You find us generous therein and noble in our  
    sword-blades.
2. We defend our reputations with our hereditary  
    wealth,  
    (Given) to those who have no (glorious past), or  
    those who are in need and ask for their due.
3. How many a blind man has our forbearance led to  
    the right path,  
    And how many a mischievous enemy have we set  
    straight, after he had been obstinate.
4. And how many a constricted battlefield, in whose  
    midst you see death,  
    Have we advanced to like unruly camels.

5. With silent men, over whose skin you see armour,  
and shining helmets like the colour of the stars.
6. And they are bold beneath their coats of mail, like  
lions, when the swords are unsheathed they strike.
7. On every day of battle, their strongholds, together  
with endurance, are their noble cutting swords.
8. You boasted of a gathering of men which visited  
you in your dwellings,  
Which advanced until they were repulsed by fingers.
9. They (Khazraj) threw the fortresses open and then  
went up, searching on the suspicion that there  
were surviving fugitives among Qurayza. (197)

To some extent it is probably credible that Ibn Rawāḥa deliberately attempted to play down the total rout of his tribe by boasting of the generosity and hospitality of his kinsmen in being kind and protective to those who had no glorious tribal past, and in their forbearance towards trouble-makers and their capability to exhaust them (lines 1-3)

Lines 4-6.

In the battle, when the atmosphere is bitter with fear and panic, the word ḍank is used to describe the fierceness of the fighting and to emphasize that whatever happened the Khazraj would never be reluctant to face the heat of battle, for when war breaks out they hasten to death at full speed. The image of the unruly camels is common among the Jāhiliyya poets, and it is

used here to symbolise and stress the strength of the warriors and to describe the speed of the army as it makes its way to the battlefield.

The word khurs is the plural of kharsā', and according to the explanation of the Islamic sources it was used to mean katība. It was called kharsā', which is 'silent', by reason of the multitude of the coats of mail without any clashing of arms.

The gleam of the instruments of war inspired the poet to compare them with the stars (line 5). In the battle itself, when swords are unsheathed and fighters need courage, the Khazraj fight as vigorously as lions warding off an attack (line 6).

Perhaps the defeated poet had no alternative but to disseminate propaganda, which relied on exploiting the glorious achievements of the past. A Good example of this can be seen in lines 7-9, when the poet emphasizes that when war breaks out and some people prefer to take refuge in their strongholds, the Khazrajites' favourite shelter is in their own fine, sharp swords (line 7).

Poetic exaggeration may sometimes lead to misrepresentation of the facts. Probably the best example of this can be seen in lines 8-9. Here the poet claims that his tribe's forces have advanced until they are repulsed by the very fingers of their enemy. But it might be assumed that the poet is referring to a triumph achieved before the defeat of Bu'āth, or perhaps he is

describing their favourable position at Bu'āth at the beginning of the fighting when Aws are put to flight.

B. Ka'b b. Mālik

During our study on the poetry of Ka'b we have remarked that, from his pre-Islamic poetry, only one recorded poem has so far been ascribed to him. But, as we have already noted, the poetical gift of Ka'b during the earliest period of Islam is unquestionable.

The poem ascribed to Ka'b runs as follows:-

1. Ibn al-Aslat claimed that we did not avenge our dead at Bu'āth and that we did not (kill) more (than our opponents).
2. With thirsty, sharpened and poisoned (spears), and with every sword, white (shining) like a pool.
3. And a wide, long coat of mail whose nails ripple like the rippling of a pond on rugged, hard ground.
4. And with thick-necked young men, raiders, whoever meets them on the day of the disaster (battle) is driven off (or: killed).
5. Have you forgotten your people, whose spears blackened you (i.e. shamed you) after you had gone grey, and you were not made a chief.
6. You saw Abū 'Aqīl in the battle, and you turned aside your horse from him to escape.

7. You were niggardly of your life with him when he had perished, and you left him on the hard ground without a pillow (unburied). (198)

Ka'b b. Mālik, whose tribe al-Khazraj suffered the humiliation of defeat at the last confrontation with al-Aws, starts his poem with an address to his rival Abū Qays b. al-Aslat who celebrated the victory of his tribe at the battle of Bu'āth.

Ka'b admits in the opening line that a number of his kinsmen had been killed in the battle, but emphasizes that blood revenge for those who fell had already been taken in events which occurred before the combat of Bu'āth.

Perhaps the word Nazdadi ('we exceed') is used to describe the earliest triumphs of al-Khazraj over al-Aws.

Lines 2-3.

As we see from these lines, the poet describes the instruments of war - in particular, spears, swords and coats of mail. To emphasize the cruel consequences of either a sword blow or the thrust of a spear, poets often used the word mudharraba, which means sharp and, further, steeped in poison, in order to inflict fatal blows.

The expression nawāhil is probably used to indicate that the spears are thirsty for the blood of the enemy.

In the third line the poet uses two words, mufāḍa and zaghaf, to explain that a coat of mail is wide and well-shaped. Ka'b twice uses the image of the surface of a pond to describe the glitter of a sword and the

gloss of the mail's rings. A suggested explanation for this is that we may assume that Ka'b draws these images according to the geographical character of Yathrib, since most of its land consists of either mountainous or stony areas, in which pools of water are quite common.

Line 4.

In this line the poet describes the warriors by stressing that they were bold, unbending, fighting men, tough and eager to face the challenge of an enemy (Ghulb ar-Riqāb). The word mughāwir originally means those who made frequent raids against others, but it might be used here to mean that they were fighters with direct experience of warfare.

The expression Yawm al-karīha (the day of battle) is often used to emphasize the vehemence of war and its discomfort and hardship in general.

Lines 5-7.

Ka'b uses these lines to attack his adversary Abū Qays b. al-Aslat who played a vital part in the final stages of the tribal feuds of Yathrib.

On the other hand, the poet also attempted to exploit the glorious deeds of the past when al-Khazraj were victorious. Abū 'Aqīl b. al-Aslat, the brother of Abū Qays, was killed on the day of al-Jisr (Dīwān Ḥassān, poem no. 115), an event among the feuds of Ḥāṭib. Ka'b the poet took this opportunity to claim that Abū Qays had fled from the battle of al-Jisr, leaving his brother dead behind him, and that had it not been for the speed

of his horse he would have met the same end as his brother. Ka'b further exploited the achievements of that event by emphasizing that Abū Qays fled in fear and panic, aiming to save his own life, while his brother was left lying upon hard ground without any covering of earth on his body.

Chapter Three.

(1) THE WARS BETWEEN MECCA AND MEDINA IN THE  
EARLY ISLAMIC PERIOD.

(a) Development of Martial Poetry in Mecca and Medina  
in the Early Islamic Period.

In the previous chapters a summary has been given of internal conditions in Mecca and Medina in the twenty years or so preceding the rise of Islam. From the time of the Hijra (622) a virtual state of war existed between Mecca and Medina for about eight years. The state of belligerency came to an end when the Prophet occupied Mecca (8/629) and forced Quraysh to accept Islam.

Islamic sources record<sup>1</sup> a vast collection of information, detailing all expeditions and battles which took place during the Prophet's stay in Medina.

In the following pages our object is to study the development of martial poetry in Mecca and Medina during the Prophet's life, mainly describing the battles of Badr and Uḥud. But before starting our study we must point out that although a vast collection of verses concerning the above-mentioned events is extant the authenticity of a considerable number of these poems has been questioned. This poetry first appeared in the Sīra of Ibn Ishāq and was then transmitted to many biographies of the Prophet, notably the Sīra

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1) Maghāzī, Passim IH, Passim, Ṭabarī, 1-3, Passim, 1-4  
1687-1837, IS, I, Passim., B, Ansāb, 287-386,  
Ath., Kāmil, II, 79-232.

of Ibn Hishām.

Prominent scholars of the Abbāsīd period such as Ibn Sallām (Ṭabaqāt 8) and Ibn an-Nadīm (Fihrist 142) questioned the poetical integrity of Ibn Ishāq and violently attacked him because of the corruptions he had added to the poetry. According to Ibn Sallām, Ibn Ishāq himself declared that he knew nothing about poetry and merely transmitted what was brought to him. Furthermore, Ibn Hishām and his authorities quite often expressed doubts about the authenticity of a large number of poems transmitted from Ibn Ishāq's Sīra and included in his own edition of the Sīra. He frequently questioned the authenticity of certain poems with such a comment as "Most of the specialists in poetry rejected it" or "Among the learned men of poetry, no one has any knowledge of it (the poem)." On the other hand, Ibn Hishām in commenting on a poem attributed to Abū Usāma Mu'āwiya b. Zuhayr concerning the battle of Badr said, "This is the most authentic of the poems said by the people of Badr." This comment leads us to believe that Ibn Hishām was not entirely convinced of the authenticity of the majority of the poems referring to the battle of Badr which he included in his work of the Sīra. Frequently Ibn Hishām even expressed doubts on Ibn Ishāq's attribution of some verses and suggests another author. Modern scholars have frequently discussed or

cast doubts<sup>1</sup> on some of the poems included in the Sīra of Ibn Hishām. Perhaps most perspicacious are two theses submitted to the University of London by Walīd 'Arafāt and by Muḥammad 'Abdu 'Azzām. Dr. 'Arafāt in a close critical study of the poetry ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit, attempts to distinguish between the genuine and the spurious. His arguments are based on a full investigation of the historical background of the poetry or an exhaustive examination of the subject matter and the style of the poems in general.

Dr. 'Azzām has also made a comprehensive critical study of a large number of poems appearing in the Sīra of Ibn Hishām which is based on an examination of the style of that poetry.

All criticism of the poetry of the Sīra should refer closely to the events which took place during the early stages of Islam. With this in mind our study of the early Islamic Martial Poetry of Mecca and Medina will be based on an analytical approach to the following fundamental factors.

- 1) The development of Meccan and Medinan martial poetry during the pre-Islamic period. Since most of the poets concerned, either in Mecca or in Medina, had played a vital role even before the rise of

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1) For example see; Maṣādir ash-Shi'r al-Jāhili  
wa-Qīmatuhā 't-Tārīkhiyya, 599., Fī'l-Adab al-Jāhili. pp. 131-6, 138, 152, 154., Tārīkh ash-Shi'r as-Siyāsī, 87. Guillaume's Introduction to the Translation of Ibn Ishāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allāh, XXV.

Islam, a study of their lives and poetry is included in the previous chapters. It is likely that this pre-Islamic background will help us to understand some of the poets' motives and may shed light on some of their attitudes during the Islamic period. Perhaps the most important factor in the pre-Islamic background as we have already seen in the previous chapter is the high technical standard of the martial poetry of Yathrib attained as a result of the continuous tribal feuds there.

In Mecca conditions were different and there was no internal warfare although martial poetry did exist. The appearance of Islam had a great impact on Meccan society. In particular poetry was used as a weapon against the Prophet and the tenets of Islam.

- 2) In order to distinguish between the genuine and the counterfeit verses we must also examine the historical background of the poems in question. In the earliest period after the rise of Islam there were momentous changes in the societies of both Mecca and Medina.

In Mecca the unity of the tribe of Quraysh was broken when some of them adopted Islam against the wishes of their own kinsmen. At the beginning this led to the isolation of the minority group and to their persecution by the majority of Quraysh. The increasing hostility towards those who accepted Islam, and the

refusal of leaders of the tribe of Quraysh to make any compromise with them, left some clans with no alternative but to support their persecuted kinsmen even if they themselves objected to Islam. This was probably the prevailing atmosphere during the Prophet's time in Mecca.

The hostility of Quraysh forced the Prophet and his followers to leave Mecca for Medina which gave shelter to the refugees and also gave zealous support to the religion of Islam.

On the other hand in Yathrib (later called Medina), the longstanding enmity between the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj had declined somewhat by the time the Prophet reached Medina. But in Mecca the period of peace and prosperity probably came to an end as soon as the Prophet and his companions started to attack the caravans of Quraysh.

Both the Meccan and the Medinan communities thus passed through a critical period, which was perhaps conducive to the composition of poetry.

In Mecca for instance, Quraysh vigorously resisted Islam for about two decades, using every possible effort to defend their cause against the rising power of Islam, until they were overpowered in the year 8/629. During these years in which Quraysh had challenged Islam, poetry was certainly used to put the Quraysh point of view on the momentous events of that period. In order to demonstrate this point we quote the following account

given by Ibn Sallām (Ṭabaqāt, 203). Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb and 'Abd Allāh b. az-Ziba'rā came to Medina during the Caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. They went to Abū Aḥmad b. Jaḥsh al-Asadī, who was a blind man, a composer of poetry and a place of resort where people could meet. They said to him; "We came to you in order to meet Ḥassān b. Thābit, because we would like to listen to him and let him listen to us since he has composed poetry both in the age of infidelity and in the age of devotion to God." (Abū Aḥmad) sent to Ḥassān and when he came, he said to him, "Abū 'l-Walīd, your brothers Ibn az-Ziba'rā and Dirār would be delighted if you all competed in reciting poetry." Ḥassān agreed to their request and said to them, "As you like, start or let me start." They began reciting to him until he started to boil with anger, (then they left him) and took their female riding camel. Ḥassān then went (to complain) to 'Umar and when he appeared before him he quoted a line of poetry which Ibn Ju'duba recited to me, but I have forgotten it. 'Umar asked him about the matter, and when he was told he said, "Surely by Allāh they will not escape." 'Umar then sent men after them to bring them back, and when they were back 'Umar asked Ḥassān to give his own recitation until he was satisfied. Then they were given the option of staying or departing.

This statement is of great importance, not only because it indicates that poetry was used to good effect

during the period of hostility between Mecca and Medina, but also because we can see the extent to which this poetry could inflame the feelings of those concerned.

The inflammatory effects of this poetry are said to have induced the authorities to impose restrictions on the recitation of poetry supposedly composed during the years of enmity between Mecca and Medina.<sup>1</sup> With the occupation of Mecca the Prophet put an end to the resistance of the tribe of Quraysh. Poets either in Mecca or Medina composed verses putting forward their own opinions about events of the time. Of the poetry assumed to have been recited to propagate the claims of the rival parties, probably only a small portion was recorded, consisting mainly of verses said by the pro-Muslim poets. But doubtless a great deal of the Meccan poetry supposedly composed during the period of warfare between Mecca and Medina had not survived. Several factors appear to have induced the obliteration of that poetry. We have already pointed out some of these factors during our study of the poetry ascribed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā, Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith. Here we give an example of a reference in poetry which shows that a certain amount of the poetry of Ibn az-Ziba'rā has been lost. On the occasion of Uḥud, Ka'b b. Mālik sharply attacked Ibn az-Ziba'rā<sup>2</sup>

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1) Aghānī, IV, 5.

2) Dīwān (ed 'Ānī) poem no. 61, lines 26-29.

because of some poetry he recited supposedly attacking the Prophet and the religion of Islam. Turning to the Islamic sources we find no mention of these verses supposedly composed by Ibn az-Ziba'rā which caused Ka'b to recite the biting words which he addressed to him. Probably Ibn az-Ziba'rā was referring to his poetical activities when he apologized to the Prophet and expressed regret concerning his past criticism. He opens one of his poems as follows:-

O apostle of God, my tongue is mending,  
The mischief I did when I was futile.<sup>1</sup>

In general Ibn Sallām (Ṭabaqāt 22) points out that only a small portion of the Arabic poetry has been recorded, and a great deal of it has been lost. He supports this statement as follows:-

"When Islam came the Arabs ignored poetry because they were occupied in other matters such as the Holy Wars with Fāris and ar-Rūm. But when they turned to the transmission of poetry they found no records or written books, and those who knew the poetry or who recited it had died either by natural death or in battles."

The leaders of the Umayyad dynasty were the descendants of Abū Sufyān, the old enemy of Islam who

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1) Ṭabaqāt, 202.

challenged the Prophet until he was forced to accept Islam. Now they had become dominant and rebuilt the self-respect and reputation which they had lost during the Prophet's time. In this atmosphere in which leadership of the Islamic community had gradually been transferred to the sons and grandsons of the old enemy of Islam we may assume that the second and third generations of Quraysh, after the death of the Prophet, would have preferred to rid themselves of the stigma of their ancestors' actions by misrepresenting the facts. Assuming this to be so, we may explain the motive for the fabrication of a large number of verses found in the Sīra attacking the Anṣār, or others praising chiefs of Quraysh killed in battles etc. These verses were ascribed to poets who played a vital part in the years of struggle between Mecca and Medina and the authenticity of many of these verses has been questioned by Ibn Hishām or his authorities. Perhaps the absence of reliable records of the poetry supposed to have been composed during the period of hostility encouraged certain individuals of the next generation of the tribe of Quraysh to deny the dishonour of their ancestors by means of counterfeit poetry falsely ascribed to poets of the time. Both Abū 'l-Faraj (Aghānī, I,30) and Ibn Sallām (Ṭabaqāt 209) demonstrate this point and relevant examples are given in their works. Another important factor which probably led to the corruption of the early Islamic poetry is the mutual hatred which

developed between various sections of the Quraysh after the murder of the Caliph 'Uthmān. During the civil wars the dispute became more serious and poetry was forged and ascribed to pro-Islamic poets of the earliest period of Islam to support one side or the other. Regarding the poetical talent of Ḥassān b. Thābit, Ibn Sallām (Ṭabaqāt, 179) comments that because of the quarrel which flared up among the tribe of Quraysh a great deal of good poetry has been ascribed to Ḥassān which it is impossible to disentangle from the genuine works.

On the other hand, during the first century of Islam the internal condition of Medina passed through a period which can be divided into three stages. Here we aim to outline the most important events of these three stages.

In the first stage, the Prophet's arrival in the city externalized the internal hostility and gradually led to the decline of Meccan influence and power. Medina therefore not only became the central power in the Arabian peninsula, but its old inhabitants of al-Aws and al-Khazraj were highly respected for the services and the ardent support they gave to the Prophet and the path of Islam. During the critical years when the Prophet was constantly at war with various opponents of the Islamic faith, al-Aws and al-Khazraj were in fact the backbone of his army. The Prophet's total victory at Badr was probably the

turning point which gave both al-Aws and al-Khazraj, now collectively known as al-Anṣār (helpers), the good reputation and high status which they enjoyed among Muslims. For at an early date they had spontaneously adopted the Islamic faith, voluntarily given refuge to the Prophet and his Meccan followers after the Hijra and humiliated his enemy the Quraysh more than once and had achieved victory after victory. These events and the records of them show the high reputation which the Anṣār had gained in the earliest period of post-Hijra Islam.

In the second stage after the murder of the third Caliph 'Uthmān 35/655, Medina became less important as a political centre of Islam and its inhabitants the Anṣār were treated with less respect. Their reputation as defenders of Islam had already begun to decline when they were seen to be unable to give 'Uthmān support against the Egyptian and Iraqī rebels who were besieging his house.

When the civil war broke out and sections of the Quraysh were again set against each other the majority of the Anṣār, particularly the Prophet's companions, remained neutral and were not involved. Mu'āwiya who won the struggle for power and established the Umayyad dynasty in 41/661, successfully silenced all opposition to his rule in both Mecca and Medina.

In the third stage the internal condition of Medina was critical and the Anṣār in particular treated with

hostility. After Mu'āwiyā's death (60/679) his son Yazīd became his successor, but in Mecca and Medina Yazīd's rule was met by growing opposition. In the year 63/682 Yazīd sent a Syrian army which not only violated the sanctuary of the city of Medina after the battle of al-Ḥarra, but murdered a great number of its population, including some of the Prophet's companions who belonged to the Anṣār, during a three day plundering of the city. These two tragic events which took place in Medina were probably exploited by forgers of poetry. For example, Ibn 'Abd al-Barr is reported to have said (Ath, Kāmil, III, 151) that the Syrians added more lines to the poem ascribed to Ḥassān (Dīwān, poem no. 20) which is supposed to have been composed as an elegy for 'Uthmān. However, Ibn al-Athīr (Usd, III, 383) points out that among the lines added by the Syrians was line 3 which allegedly aimed at inflaming the Syrians against 'Alī and reinforcing their suspicions that he was responsible for the murder of 'Uthmān.

Perhaps similar alterations were made in particular where lines of poetry referred to events which took place during the first two centuries of Islam when the true motives of certain sections of the Quraysh were apparently a struggle for power. But study of the historical background of those events may cast light and distinguish between the poetry recited at the time of an event and that which may have been fabricated and added later.

The later generation of the Anṣār who had nothing more to lose after the battle of al-Ḥarra may have exploited the past glorious deeds of their ancestors which might have led to the fabrication of verses.

Walīd 'Arafāt in his thesis (P68) reaches this conclusion and declares that a large number of verses ascribed to Ḥassān and particularly those which emphasized the glorious achievements of the Anṣār during the earliest post Hijra period of Islam were in fact the work of later generations of the Anṣār.<sup>1</sup>

### 3) Subject Matter and Style.

Ibn Hishām transmitted from Ibn Ishāq's Sīra a large number of poems which he included in his edition of the Sīra.

Among these poems there are a number ascribed to poets who had composed poetry before the rise of Islam, some of whose pre-Islamic verses are recorded.

A comparison and examination of the style of two poems supposed to have been composed by one poet before and after Islam, may shed light and help us to distinguish between the spurious and genuine poetry.

But examination of the subject matter of a poem will be inadequate unless we make an exhaustive study of the poet's life.

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- 1) On this point see by the same author the introduction to the Dīwān of Ḥassan b. Thābit (P.28) and Arts, BSOAS XXIX, I and II, 1966.

Examples of the stylistic examination of a poem and its subject matter are illustrated above in our study of the poetry and life of the poets 'Abd Allāh b. az-Ziba'rā, Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Ka'b b. Mālik and Abū Qays b. al-Aslat.

b) The Battle of Badr.

It was merely chance which stirred up the battle of Badr and made it inevitable. In the second year of the Hijra (624 A.D.) the Prophet set out from Medina with over three hundred men, about eighty of whom were Meccan emigrants and the rest from the Anṣār. The intention of the Prophet was to attack the Qurayshī caravan which was on its way back from Syria to Mecca. When Abū Sufyān the leader of the caravan found out that the Prophet was going to intercept it, he called for armed aid from Mecca. A force consisting of about a thousand well-armed and well-equipped men rushed from Mecca until they reached the valley of Badr, about fifty miles south-west of Medina.

The outcome was that Muslims won a total victory over the polytheists of Quraysh. This success was a turning point in the history of early Islam. This event also marked the end of the humiliation of the Meccan Muslims now in exile, who for ten years had suffered all kinds of persecution at the hands of their own kinsmen without putting up any defence. Against all expectations they had accomplished a decisive victory

over the same persecutors assisted by the zealous support of the Medinan Anṣār.

As regards Islam this battle also decided the balance of power and turned it in favour of the religion of Islam.

In Medina there was growing opposition to Islam both from the Jews and among certain prominent Arabs. This victory not only silenced them, but encouraged many of the Medinan Arabs to abandon their resistance and to accept Islam. This assumption may be made from the fact that the number of warriors now increased to more than double the number at Badr in the battle of Uḥud which took place just one year later. In addition this victory assisted the Prophet in his search for allies among the tribes surrounding Medina.

In Mecca, Quraysh, the true enemy of the Islamic faith, whose aim was to crush and annihilate the followers of Islam, besides losing the battle, lost also their self-confidence and their reputation; but, most important of all, many of their chiefs had been killed or taken prisoner. That major blow considerably weakened the position of Quraysh in the Arabian peninsula, and their chances of success in regaining their supremacy grew less and less.

Turning now to the martial poetry concerning the battle of Badr, we start with verses describing the catastrophe which befell Quraysh composed by their poets or by those of their allies. Besides the

historical importance of this poetry, the Qurayshite verses in particular are infused with deep emotion which probably reflects their reactions to the tremendous calamity at Badr. The devastating blow which came after a long period of peace and prosperity seems to have excited the talents of their poets. Much of the poetry was devoted to elegising those killed at Badr and the expression of fear following the loss of the Qurayshite chiefs. Poetry was also composed to describe the complete Qurayshī defeat and to glorify the courage of an individual or to explain a disgraceful action supposed to have taken place during the fighting.

As we can see from the poetry which appears to be genuine, the terrible disaster of Badr seemed to have severely shocked Meccan citizens. When, for instance, Shaddād b. al-Aswad returned from Badr to Mecca, his wife congratulated him on being safe and well, and this re-awakened his deep sorrow for his fellow tribesmen. He accordingly recited a poem answering his wife and mourning the prominent Qurayshites who had fallen in the battle.<sup>1</sup>

Another example can be seen in the poem ascribed to al-Aswad b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who himself had lost three of his sons, but in spite of his calamity acceded to the demand of the Qurayshite leaders who forbade all mourning for the fallen men for a time. In this gloomy atmosphere al-Aswad is reported to have

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1) IH, II, 29.

heard a woman weeping at night (IH, I, 648) and as he was blind he told his servant to go and see if mourning had been permitted again. When he found out that it was only a woman weeping over a camel she had lost he said:-

Does she weep because a camel of hers has got lost,  
And (does) sleeplessness prevent her from sleeping?  
And she does not (really) weep for a young camel,  
But good fortune fell short at Badr.

For Badr, the chiefs of Banū Ḥuṣays and Makhzūm and  
the clan of Abū 'l-Walīd

And weep, if you must weep, for 'Aqīl, and weep  
for Ḥārith, the lion of lions.

Nay, some of them have men for chiefs who would not  
be chiefs if not for the day of Badr.<sup>1</sup> (199)

On the other hand the Muslim poet Ḥassān b. Thābit seemed to be completely delighted at the Meccan defeat. With obvious enjoyment Ḥassān gives his impression of the manner in which Zam'a b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (Abū Ḥakīma) was lying on the battlefield of Badr.

And they left the man Zam'a with his throat bleeding  
with moist blood.

Lying on a noble forehead, covered with dust, with  
the nostrils of his nose smeared with shame.<sup>2</sup> (200)

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1) IH, I, 648 Commenting on this Ibn Hishām says "Among the poetry of Quraysh this is a widely known poem."

2) Dīwān (ed, 'A) poem no. 204, lines 5-6.

Pungent words like these appear frequently in Ḥassān's poems when the poet addresses leading figures among his Qurayshite opponents, and from the various descriptions of Badr, it is quite apparent that after the Muslim victory Ḥassān was given a free hand. When Ḥassān knew that al-Ḥārith b. Hishām had retreated leaving his brother Abū Jahl behind him among the dead, he used this incident to reproach him for not defending his brother, and for spurring on his horse, being more concerned to save his own skin.

In return al-Ḥārith tried to explain the motive behind his escape. He claims that he had ceased fighting only when his horse was foaming with blood and when he realised that he could only avenge his slain associates and relation on another day.

God knows, I did not leave off fighting them until  
they covered my horse with red, foaming (blood)  
And I smelled the scent of death from their side,  
in a critical position when the horsemen had  
not scattered

And I knew that if I fought alone, I would be killed,  
and my death would not harm my enemies.

So I turned away from them (leaving) my loved ones  
among them, desiring revenge for them on a day  
of my choosing.<sup>1</sup>

(201)

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1) Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit, (ed, B) 366;

B. Ḥamāsa, 40.

Among the Meccan verses describing Badr, there are two poems (IH, II, 34, 37) ascribed to Abū Usāma Mu'āwiya b. Zuhayr who was an ally of Banū Makhzūm. Both poems described the battle-scenes in which the poet took part. In the first poem the poet devotes a large number of lines (5-20) to boasting about his deeds, his courage in the battlefield of Badr, and an account of the incident when he passed Hubayra b. Abī Wahb, one of the poets and knights of Quraysh as he was collapsing on the field after his kinsmen had been put to flight. He went up to him, freed him from his coat of mail and carried him to safety. This poem was composed to celebrate the help he gave on that particular occasion. In the first four lines the poet describes how the Quraysh were defeated and how they had retreated leaving their chiefs on the ground behind them, slaughtered like sacrifices. When he describes the Muslims' advance and how they seized them, he says it was like waves of an overwhelming flood.

When I saw that the people were in flight, taking  
to their heels to run away

And that the chiefs of the people had been left  
lying, as though their best men were sacrifices  
to idols

And a throng of them met death, and we were made  
to meet the fates on the day of Badr.

We turned away from the road and they overtook us  
As though their number was the swelling of the sea.

The instruments of war are also described. The blades of swords are said to be like burning coal and clear and pure as spring water.

With whetted swords like spears, their blades like  
the fire of blazing embers.

And a curved shield of ox-hide and a strong bow  
And a sword like a pond, over which 'Umayr had  
busied himself for half a month with a polishing-  
stone.

I sweep along in its sword-belt, and walk with the  
gait of a lurking long lion. (203)

In the second poem the poet describes the calamity which overtook them at Badr. Furthermore he tells how he returned alone from the battle even though he was surrounded by the enemy and in spite of his bleeding wounds. The poet also gives a vivid description of his actions on the occasion of Badr. He claims that his foes were left on the battlefield, suffering from fatal blows which he inflicted upon them during fighting.

How many an opponent have I overpowered, in pain  
like a broken branch.

I came up to him with a blow, when the battle  
was joined,

Which caused much blood to flow, and whose wound  
murmured.

This was my doing on the day of Badr and before,  
a careful man, not to be put upon. (204)

On the other hand the victory which the Muslims achieved at Badr gave their poets free scope to display their talents.

Ka'b b. Mālik who did not take part in the battle of Badr describes how the Muslims stood firm in the battle. At the same time he does not disparage the courage of the enemy. But when he describes the manner in which the adversaries opposed each other, he says that they were like lions whose victims were without hope of survival. Ka'b also expresses his pride at the number of prominent Qurayshites who were killed at the hands of their Muslim fellow tribesmen. Perhaps Ka'b intentionally used the expression dusnāhum which means here 'we cut them down', in order to make clear the extent of the humiliation which Quraysh had received on that occasion.

They advanced and we advanced and we met like

lions in a battle in which there was no hope  
for the wounded.

We struck them until the greater part of Lu'ayy  
fell upon their faces.

And they turned their backs and we cut them down  
with sharp swords, not caring whether they were  
allies or pure-bred.<sup>1</sup>

(205)

Ḥassān b. Thābit in particular found in the Qurayshite defeat a good opportunity for the composition

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1) IH, II, 25.

of verses. He celebrates the victory of Badr as he had celebrated previous victories before Islam. A number of verses boast about the courage of al-Aws and al-Khazraj and emphasize their past deeds, while some of the Qurayshite chiefs who were forced to flee are reproached. In these verses Ḥassān also violently attacks al-Ḥārith b. Hishām<sup>1</sup> and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām<sup>2</sup> both of whom were forced to retreat from the battlefield of Badr. He addresses one of the poems directly to al-Ḥārith (P. no. 149) and he reproaches him for his desperate attempt to escape from the battle when it was at its most furious. This, he maintains, was a base action unworthy of a nobleman. Seeking to shame him the poet says that no nobleman would have turned his back in flight and left his brother lying dead in the battlefield. This occasion appears to have particularly inspired the poetical talent of Ḥassān as he produces excellent expressions wonderfully apt to the subject matter. Consider for example, 'awwalt<sup>a</sup> ghayr mu'awwal<sup>i</sup> meaning to try by every means to find a way, or sā'at al-aḥsāb<sup>i</sup>, the time for ancestral bragging, meaning the time when every warrior taking part in battle can really show whether he is of noble stock or not, or akhtham<sup>u</sup> shābik<sup>u</sup> al-anyāb<sup>i</sup> which means a lion whose jagged canine teeth are locked together, referring to the boldness of the Muslim

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1) Dīwān (ed, 'A) poem no. 3, 149.

2) Dīwān (ed, 'A) poem no. 78.

fighters and to the manner in which they used to challenge their enemy, or his description of the mare on which al-Ḥārith supposedly escaped as Maraṭā 'l-jirā' (rapid-footed) and Khafīfat al-Aqrāb<sup>i</sup> (long in flank).

O Ḥārith, you have tried to find a way where there was no way, at the time of battle and the time to show your mettle.

When you rode a fleet-footed noble horse, swift-footed, light-flanked.

While you left all fighting to the people behind you, seeking deliverance when it was not the time to go.

Did you not feel pity for your brother when he perished, killed instantly by spears, abandoned to the plunderers.

Helpless by God, if you had been afflicted in a like way, he would have come to your aid, like a jagged-toothed lion. (206)

In the second poem (no.3) Ḥassān gives a free rein to his imagination when he describes the mare which he supposes enabled al-Ḥārith to escape. He likened the swiftness of that mare to a weighted bucket racing down to the bottom of the well.

If you were to lie about what you told me and to escape like al-Ḥārith b. Hishām (Who) left off defending his loved ones and escaped by the head and bridle of his swift horse. Smooth-haired, leaping in the dust like a forest

wolf in the darkness of a cloud.

Leading the excellent thoroughbred horse in the  
desert like a pulley with a rope and a weighted  
(bucket).

With full thighs (for running) - and it sped away  
with him, while his loved ones perished evilly.  
(207)

In his description of the Muslims' achievement  
at Badr, he boasts of the courage of the warriors who  
had taken part in the fighting and how they over-  
whelmed their enemy. When the poet describes their  
action on that occasion, he says that they were like  
hawks successfully swooping down their prey.

Every captive with fetters clamped on; a hawk  
when he meets the squadron, a protector,  
And those lying on the battlefield, who will  
not respond to another challenge until the  
heights of the mountains cease to exist. (208)

A point which has to be noted is that Islamic  
influence on Ḥassān at that early stage was probably  
limited. Tribal solidarity is uppermost in his  
celebration of the victory of Badr. The mention of  
al-Aws and al-Khazraj and the neglect of the Meccan  
emigrants who played a vital part in the battle, shows  
that Ḥassān was not yet influenced by the preaching of  
Islam which was actively attempting to replace tribal  
solidarity with the communal fraternity. Ḥassān  
boasts of how both sides of the valley of Badr were

swarming with bold squadrons of al-Aws and al-Khazraj who were experienced fighters who invariably inflicted fatal blows on their enemy, who openly challenged their opponents and never attacked by stealth, who stood firmly in battle while others retreated and who smote the greatest heroes among their rivals with piercing swords, who were generous with blood-money in peace, but who would always be ready to fight.

Ḥakīm was saved on the day of Badr by his running, like a colt who is one of the descendants of al-A'waj.

He flung down his weapons and fled from it without arms like a prudent man hasting on his horse.

When he saw Badr with its sides flowing with squadrons of al-Aws and al-Khazraj.

Enduring, giving the (Pagan) heroes a drink of death, Advancing along the broad road (i.e. not lying in ambush).

How many a glorious one was among them, mighty, a hero when battle is at its climax.

And (how many) a chief who gives abundant (booty) from his hand, a giver of heavy blood-money, crowned.

An ornament of the gathering, used, on the day of battle to smite heroes with every sharp sword.

Or every awesome, noble, strong man, or every man trailing his sword-belt, bristling with arms.<sup>1</sup> (209)

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1) Dīwān (ed, 'A) poem no. 78.

Poetical Images Describing the Battle of Badr.

The heads of Qurayshite chiefs which had been cut off and scattered over the battlefield of Badr were compared to broken colocynths. Abū Usāma Mu'āwiya b. Zuhayr says:-

When the chiefs of the people were left felled,  
their heads like broken colocynths.<sup>1</sup> (210)

The submission of a warrior who did not need to force himself to fight his enemy and who rushed into battle without reluctance or fear, and was ready to face his enemy and death was compared to a camel overfull with milk. Al Mujadhhar b. Dhiyād says:-

I kill the opponent with a sharp Mashrafī sword,  
and yearn for death as a camel with overfull  
udders yearns (to be milked).<sup>2</sup> (211)

The large number of warriors who spread out over the battlefield were likened to the streaming of a torrent. Ḥassān b. Thābit says:-

When he saw Badr with its sides flowing with  
squadrons of al-Aws and al-Khazraj.<sup>3</sup> (212)

The passion for the beloved killed in battle which consumed a mourner was described as the longing of a

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1) IH, II, 37.

2) IH, I, 630.

3) Dīwān (ed, 'A) poem no. 78, line 3.

she camel for her first-born. Shaddād b. al-Aswad says:-

Therefore you would remain, out of passion for them,  
Like the mother of a first-born wandering in search  
for the object of her desire.<sup>1</sup> (213)

In the fighting swords which strike fire from  
steel were compared to lightning issuing from gathered  
clouds. Ḥassān b. Thābit says:-

Swords which strike fire from steel, like lightning  
under the covering of every cloud.<sup>2</sup> (214)

The appearance of a horse jumping in the fighting  
and the dust thus raised was described as that of a  
wolf in a forest during a dark night. Ḥassān b. Thābit  
says:-

Smooth-haired, leaping in the dust like a forest  
wolf in the darkness of cloud.<sup>3</sup> (215)

The panic of a fighter escaping from the battle-  
field and the sudden rise in his body temperature as  
a result of his confusion was likened to boiling gold.  
Ḥassān b. Thābit says:-

And Ibn Ḥamrā' al-'ijān, little Ḥārith, his brains  
were boiling (in fear) like molten gold.<sup>4</sup> (216)

1) IH, II, 29.

2) Dīwān (ed, 'A) poem no. 3, line 23.

3) Dīwān (ed, 'A) poem no. 78, line 9.

4) Dīwān (ed, 'A) poem no. 3, line 13.

The warrior who plunged into the heat of battle without hesitation was described as being like a dog sheltering himself from a cold wind. Abū Usāma Mu'āwiya b. Zuhayr says:-

I plunge into the heat of the crowded battle, when  
the dog is driven to shelter by the bitter cold.<sup>1</sup>  
(217)

(c) The Battle of Uḥud.

The crushing defeat which the Qurayshites suffered at Badr made the Meccan Pagans throw all the energies they possessed into preparing for the next round of fighting with the Medinans. During the period of preparation, the Quraysh attempted to propagate their cause in pursuance of which four of their poets are reported to have been sent to the tribes surrounding Mecca to ask for their support against the Prophet and his followers.<sup>2</sup> Abū 'Azza al-Jumāḥīyy, who was among the prisoners of Badr and was released without payment of ransom because he was a poor man with a large family, went out to Kināna. He urged them to aid the Quraysh saying:-

Listen, O sons of 'Abd Manāt the steadfast,  
You are bold combatants like your forefathers,  
Do not promise me your help a year after,  
Do not desert me (for) disappointment is not lawful.<sup>3</sup>

1) IH, II, 38.

2) Maghāzī, I, 200.

3) Ṭabaqāt, 213.

In the history of Arabian warfare, poetry was frequently used by rivals as a weapon and each tribe used to encourage individual poets to use their poetical talents for the cause of the tribe. This urging by Abū 'Azza was thus quite in accord with this tribal custom of the Jāhiliyya period.

After a year of extensive preparation Quraysh marched from Mecca to Medina with an army consisting of about three thousand men. In an attempt to stir up the anger of their warriors and to prevent a flight from the battlefield, some of their chiefs were accompanied by their women. The presence of women also served as an incentive to show bravery. Before the battle, Abū Sufyān, the commander in chief of the Qurayshite army tried to inflame the courage of the family of Banū 'Abd ad-Dār, the standard bearers of Meccan army. He is reported to have urged them thus:

"Either you must defend our standard efficiently, or (in case of your failure to do so) leave it to us, and we will save you the trouble of guarding it."<sup>1</sup>

When the news reached Medina that Abū Sufyān with a large army was on his way to the Muslim city, the Prophet consulted his companions in this matter, as a result of which they decided that the Muslims must challenge the enemy outside the town. Accordingly,

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1) IH, II, 67., Maghāzī, I, 220.

the Prophet camped with seven hundred men on the foot of Mount Uhud which dominates the city of Medina and is situated at a distance of three miles to the north. The Prophet who personally took charge of the disposition of his force tried to incite and encourage some of the brave warriors of his army. It is reported that he brandished a sword and said, "Who will take it and use it as it should be used?" Hereupon, many men promised to do so.<sup>1</sup> But in the end, Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharasha was chosen from whom the Prophet demanded that he should smite the enemy with it until it bent in his hand.

The outcome of the battle was that at the beginning the battle went well for the Muslims, but when the Muslim archers left their post to join in the pursuit and share in the booty, the Quraysh took advantage of the situation. There was then severe hand to hand fighting around the Prophet in which many of the Muslims were either killed or put to flight.

Turning now to the poetry dealing with Uhud we start with the Meccan verses composed to celebrate the victory of Quraysh. The Meccan success in avenging the bloodshed at Badr provided their poets with the best opportunity to give vent to their anger against their foes and further to make a reply to the crushing defeat of Badr. Perhaps in the case of Badr the Qurayshite poets were left with a limited

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1) IH, II, 66., Ṭabarī, 1-3, 1397.

scope for their poetry as a result of their total defeat. But the battle of Uḥud, in which they were victorious, gave them a free hand to describe the marching of the army, the general atmosphere of the battlefield, the blows which the Qurayshite warriors inflicted on their adversaries when they killed leading figures from amongst the Muslims or when they forced some of the Medinans to retreat from the battlefield. But it appears that most gratifying of all was their success in obtaining revenge for the Meccans killed at Badr. With obvious gratification at the Qurayshite achievement at the battle of Uḥud, Abū Sufyān, the leading man of Mecca frankly pointed out that if he had not avenged the blood of his kinsmen shed at Badr, his heart would have been grieved and scarred.

The (grief) that was in my soul was consoled by  
the fact that I killed every nobleman of  
an-Najjār.

And of Hāshim a noble, active man and Muṣ'ab,  
who was not reluctant in battle.

And if I had not cured my soul with them, it would  
have been grief in my heart and scars.

They went back and the Jalābīb<sup>1</sup> of them had

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- 1) Polytheists of Quraysh were used to reproach the Muslims by calling them al-Jalābīb. For further information about the word see A. Guillaume, A Translation of Ibn Ishāq's Sirat Rasūl Allāh, 378. and W. 'Arafāt, A Critical Introduction to the Study of the poems ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit, 146  
Ph.D. London, 1954.

spear-wounds flowing and sorrowful.

They were wounded by those who were not similar  
to them in blood, and not like them in nature.<sup>1</sup>

(218)

Describing the marching of the Qurayshite army and the assistance given to Quraysh by the tribe of Kināna, Hubayra b. Abī Wahb, who during Badr, when Quraysh were put to flight, was left collapsing on the battlefield and was saved by one of his fellow poets, describes how they brought to Medina an army yearning to meet the enemy.

We led Kināna from the extremities of Tihāma,  
Across the width of the country as they had long  
wished.

Kināna said, "Where are you taking us?" We said  
"an-Nakhīl, so make for it and those who are  
in it."<sup>2</sup>

(219)

In his description of the Meccan assault at the battle of Uḥud, he says they came like a cloud of hail and successfully inflicted fatal blows on Banū 'n-Najjār as a result of which fragments of their skulls were left scattered over the battlefield like shells of ostrich eggs, discarded, and cast aside, or were like a wilted colocynth which had been uprooted by the

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1) IH, II, 76.

2) Ṭabaqāt, 215.

sweeping winds.

We, the horsemen on the day of the slope of Uḥud  
Ma'add feared and we said "We will go to their  
aid"

They feared sword-blows and spear-thrusts, true  
And cutting, which they had seen, although their  
scattered forces had been brought together.

Then we went like a hail-bearing rain-cloud,  
And the hām<sup>1</sup> of the Banū 'n-Najjār arose to  
bewail them.

In the battle their skulls were like fragments of  
ostrich-egg shells, which they cast out of the  
egg-hollow.

Or colocynths, tossed around by the wind,  
On withered stems, which the uprooting winds  
throw one to another.<sup>2</sup>

(220)

Addressing Ḥassān b. Thābit, 'Abd Allāh b.  
az-Ziba'rā celebrates the Meccan victory. He declares  
that composition of poetry quenches one's thirst. This  
probably is an indication of the pains which the  
Meccans had suffered since their defeat at Badr, and  
the state of satisfaction which came as a result of  
their success at Uḥud. In his boasting about the

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- 1) It was believed that until vengeance had been taken  
for the dead man, his spirit appeared above his  
tomb in the shape of an owl (hāma or ṣadā) crying  
"Isqūnī" ("Give me to drink") Nicholson, A literary  
History of the Arabs, 94.
  - 2) IH, II, 130.

Qurayshite achievements the poet emphasizes that the Muslims who had perished in the battle were truly the noble and brave men who during the fighting used to hasten to the heat of battle without fear or reluctance. Furthermore, Ibn az-Ziba'rā gives the impression that the motive behind the Qurayshite attack on Medina was mainly their desire to take vengeance for the Meccan bloodshed at Badr. Finally, the devastation of war is described as being like a she-camel who when she kneels down destroys all that is underneath her. The Muslims who had retreated are said to be like young ostrich running up a hill. Thus in the historical accounts concerning Uḥud it is pointed that when Muslims were put to flight some of them took refuge on the mountain of Uḥud.<sup>1</sup>

Communicate a verse from me to Ḥassān, for the composition of poetry heals the person who is thirsty.

How many skulls do you see on the slope, and  
palms of hands cut off and feet.  
And fair coats of mail stripped off from heroes  
destroyed in the place of battle?  
How many a noble chief did we kill, of glorious  
ancestors, eager for battle, heroic.  
Sincere in help, active and skilled, not weak  
when the spears strike.  
Ask al-Mihrās who is dwelling in it, between  
worthless fragments and heads like crows.

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1) Ṭabarī, 1-3, 1408, IH, II, 86.

Would that my Shaykhs (who were killed) at Badr had witnessed the anguish of al-Khazraj caused by the smiting of spears.

When its (sc. war's) chest touched (them) in destruction and the killing grew hot among 'Abd al-Ashhal.

Then they ran swiftly thereupon, skipping like young ostriches going up into the hills.

And we killed the difficult of their nobles, and we set straight the bias of Badr, and it became straightened.

I do not blame our side except in that, if we had attacked again, we could have finished the job.

With swords of India, rising over their heads to drink again after drinking deeply.<sup>1</sup> (221)

Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who was regarded as one of the knights among the Quraysh and had played a vital role on the battlefield of Uḥud which caused the death of a number of victims, describes his own action and the importance of the outcome of the battle.

Describing the violence of fighting on that occasion, he declares that he had forced himself to be steadfast and put pressure on himself as he felt reluctant to go forward.

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1) IH, II, 136.

When a detachment of Banū Ka'b came, and Khazrajites  
with gleaming swords.

And they unsheathed Mashrafi and Indian swords,  
And a banner flapping like an eagle's wing.

I said "A day for other days, and a battle which  
will cause people to know about it in future  
as long as the leaves move."

They are accustomed to having the scent of the  
battle every day, and the spoils of those whom  
they meet.

I forced myself to choose whatever fearsome thing  
there might be, and was sure that glory is  
lasting.

I forced my colt to plunge into their throng, and  
it was moistened by flowing blood.

My colt and my coat of mail were coloured by the  
spurting of veins, the sprinkling of wounds,  
and blood.<sup>1</sup>

(222)

On the other hand Muslim poets in spite of their  
misfortune found in the occurrences of Uḥud an  
occasion to display a polemical battle of words, with  
the polytheist poets of Quraysh. In order to bear  
this out, we will analyse some of the lines ascribed  
to Ka'b b. Mālik who was among the Muslims taking part  
in the battle. In one of his poems<sup>2</sup> which has the

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1) IH, II, 145.

2) IH, II, 158.

quality that we expect from a gifted poet like Ka'b, the poet devotes a considerable number of its lines to boasting of the glorious deeds of his tribe. Indeed in this poem Ka'b shows his capability in composing poetry and further brings out his ability, by keeping up the composition of a Qaṣīda with the standard common among the great poets of the Jāhiliyya and the early period of Islam. In this poem Ka'b has let his poetical talent speak freely. Although he did not detail what had occurred on the incident of Uhud, yet he provides us with excellent verses describing the past deeds of his tribe (lines 1-8, 22-25) gives the description of war and the arms they used when fighting broke out (9-21) and ends his poem with burning words in which he addresses his Meccan rival 'Abd Allāh b. az-Ziba'rā (26-29). When Ka'b describes the march of their men and their rush into the heat of battle, he says that it was like the flood of the Euphrates destroying and sweeping away anything that comes in its path. In his description of the state of commotion among their fighting men, he says that when our opponents looked at our squadrons, they immediately gave up in total confusion.

And the flood of foot-soldiers, like the billows  
of the Euphrates, advances reddish-black,  
enormous, crushing.

You see its colour to be like the colour of the stars, surging, confounding the onlookers.<sup>1</sup> (223)

To show the vehemence of war, Ka'b uses very strong expressions and by using these expressions, the poet perhaps aims at relieving the bad consequences of Uhud which was a set-back for the Muslims. This might explain his emphasis on the military capability of the old inhabitants of Yathrib which had been acquired as a result of previous continuous, devouring, biting and distressing wars.

The severity of war which causes destruction and blood-shed when it is stirred up is compared to a she-camel being urged to yield milk.

How do we act when it (war) becomes contracted  
(i.e. severe)

A continuous war, biting, chewing, gnashing.

Did we not tie up its udders until it gave  
milk and became soft?<sup>2</sup> (224)

In his description of the day of the battle Ka'b emphasizes that it was a furious and terrifying day. The heat of the battle had burned those who kindled its blaze and kept away those who were base-born. The heroes involved were intoxicated and fully exhausted spending their time exchanging the cups of death with their sharp-edged swords.

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1) IH, II, 159.

2) IH, II, 160.

A day of constant blazing, of violent fear,  
roasting the kindlers.

Long, violent in the heat of combat, its changing  
fortunes keeping away the base.

You would think that its heroes in it were  
drunk with delight, intoxicated.

Their right hands passing around cups of death  
with the edge of their blades.<sup>1</sup> (225)

Speaking about their presence at the battle of  
Uḥud, Ka'b says that they were the Prophet's heroes,  
wearing their badges under the dusty cloud of the  
battle. Their Buṣrī swords were in a perfect condition  
and were saturated with blood because of their  
continuous blows upon the enemies on occasions when  
they detest being kept in their scabbard.

We witness as we were its champions, below the  
cloud, and the emblazoned (warriors).

With dumb (swords) making a slight sound,  
beautiful, well-watered (with blood) and  
swords from Buṣrā which dislike (to remain in)  
their scabbards.

They do not become blunt and do not bend and do not  
(wish to be) put back in their scabbards.

Like autumn lightning in the hand of the champions,  
terrifying firmly-seated herds with their shadows.<sup>2</sup>  
----- (226)

1) IH, II, 160.

2) IH, II, 133.

In other verses ascribed to Ka'b the poet describes various instruments of war, prepared to defend the religion of Islam.

Every squadron will defend our religion (armed with) sharpened and poisoned (swords) in which the tops of helmets gleam.

And every noiseless (i.e. tightly-woven) coat of mail among the armour like, when it is put on, a pond full of water.<sup>1</sup> (227)

In his explanation of the Muslim defeat at the battle of Uḥud, Ka'b emphasizes that the Medinan army was smaller in number, while the Meccan force was exceedingly numerous.

We came to a wave of the sea, among it Aḥābīsh without armour and with covering (i.e. armour) Three thousand, and we were choice men, three hundred and four hundred at the most.<sup>2</sup> (228)

In the early stages of the combat of Uḥud, certain individuals among the Muslim fighters successively inflicted fatal blows upon the standard bearers of Quraysh, who belonged to the clan of Banū 'Abd ad-Dār. Nine of these Qurayshites are supposed to have been killed while defending their standard. This incident which was to the credit of the Muslim army, provided a

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1) IH, II, 133 .

2) Ṭabaqāt, 183 .

good opportunity for Ḥassān b. Thābit to extol the achievements of the Muslims. Traditionally among the Arabs the standard symbolized the honour and dignity of the entire army and its loss was considered as a stigma of disgrace.

When you were present, there took charge of the people a pure family of Banū Quṣayy

Nine people bearing the standard, and Makhzūm were put to flight among the common people by the spears.

They did not take to flight until they were all destroyed on the spot, all of them flowing with blood.

With red blood, and it was in accordance with their obligations that they stood their ground; indeed the honourable man is honourable.

They stood their ground until they were made to visit death, and the spears were shattered in their chests.

And Quraysh fled from us; they did not stand their ground and their minds were distraught by it (the battle)

Their noble standard-bearers could not endure; only the stars (i.e. the prominent people) could bear the banner.<sup>1</sup>

(229)

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1) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 5, lines 18-24.

Finally it should be pointed out that during the pre-Islamic and the early Islamic period, women were sometimes allowed to accompany the warriors into battle. Their presence in the battlefield prompted the men to fight with great zeal. They stirred them up by reciting verses which gave added strength to their courage. The women also gave valuable service by dressing the wounds of their own injured men and by supplying drinking water to the fighters and often they helped in inflicting the final death blow to their wounded foes. But in few cases are women said to have taken part in the actual fighting. For example, during the battle of Uḥud when the Muslims were put to flight, Nusayba bint Ka'b firmly stood behind the Prophet and fought side by side with the few men who were defending him. On this occasion she is supposed to have received several wounds.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Ibn Ishāq in a statement given by Ibn Hishām's Sīra (II, 78) states that in the early stage of the battle of Uḥud "The Quraysh flag lay on the ground until 'Amra bint 'Alqama ʿl-Ḥārithiyya took it up and raised it aloft for Quraysh so that they gathered around it." Ḥassān b. Thābit records this incident and says:-

When 'Aḍal was led to us like young antelopes  
of shirk with spots on their eyebrows.

We gave them fatal and crushing spear-thrusts,  
and overpowered them with blows from every side.

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1) Maghāzī, I, 268., IH, II, 81.

And if it were not for the standard of al-Ḥārithiyya,  
then they would have found themselves on sale  
in the markets like live stock.<sup>1</sup> (230)

Poetical Images Describing the Battle of Uḥud.

The speed of the warriors who are fleeing from  
the battlefield is described as like fast winds which  
cause the clouds to pour rain, while those who firmly  
stand the test of war and whose rear-guard retreats  
slowly from the battlefield are described as lions  
returning to their lairs, walking slowly because they  
had spent all the day eating their prey. Ka'b b.  
Mālik says:-

And they went swiftly, hastening like clouds  
which have shed their rain, whose water the  
wind has caused to pour, dispersing.  
And we went, and our rear-guard was slow, as  
though we were lions at their meat in a  
thicket, slow of gait.<sup>2</sup> (231)

The speed of a horse running with long paces has  
been compared to a wild ass in the desert. Hubayra b.  
Abī Wahb says:-

When he runs he is like a wild ass in the desert  
which has been bitten and takes refuge with  
the asses which protect it.<sup>3</sup> (232)

- 1) Dīwān, (ed, 'A) poem no. 33, lines 1-3  
2) Ṭabaqāt, 183.  
3) IH, II, 130.

The fragments of a horseman's skull, split and matted with blood are likened to a shepherd's cloak made of odd pieces of fur. Ǧirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb says:-

And the fragments of the skull of a horseman,  
the top of whose head had been stuck by a  
sword, would be like a shepherd's fleece.<sup>1</sup> (233)

The fluttering of the banner which had to be displayed during fighting was likened to the wing of an eagle. Ǧirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb says:-

And they unsheathed Mashrafī and Indian swords,  
and a banner flapping like an eagle's wing.<sup>2</sup> (234)

The piercing thrust has been described as like the beams of the sun. Shaddād b. al-Aswad says:-

I defend my friend and myself with a spear-thrust  
like the rays of the sun.<sup>3</sup> (235)

d) Islamic Influence on the Poets of the Prophet.

The Sīra of Ibn Hishām contains the largest amount of the so-called Islamic poetry. But as we have already pointed out, doubts concerning a great deal of that poetry have been expressed since the second century of Islam. It is probably difficult, therefore, to show accurately the extent of the Islamic influence on that

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- 1) IH, II, 145.
  - 2) IH, II, 145.
  - 3) IH, II, 75.

poetry, unless we make a critical study of the existing poetry, distinguishing between the genuine verses composed by the Prophet's poets and the counterfeit ones, composed later and put into the mouths of the poets of the early Islamic period. Indeed it must be admitted that any study of the Islamic elements in that poetry which does not take into consideration this point would be rather insufficient and unrewarding.

In an attempt to shed some light on this matter, we shall confine ourselves to considering some lines supposed to have been composed by Ka'b b. Mālik and recited on different occasions. It is significant to note that all the verses that we are going to deal with seem to be authentic; none of them show any sign of being forged. The poet who apparently recited them embraced Islam before the Prophet's arrival in Medina and was regarded as an ardent follower of the Islamic faith. As we may see from the following quotations, Islamic influence on the poetical talent of Ka'b seem to be limited to the borrowing of Qur'anic expressions. Although in a few cases we find that Ka'b had used a poetical concept according to the preaching of Islam, yet the most striking factor is that Ka'b entirely relied on the ideas reflecting the pre-Islamic culture with its traditional ideology and the heritage of ancient Arabia. Take for example Ka'b's description of the man who took part in the event of Khaybar in 7 A.H. We have noted that Ka'b did not, for instance,

boast of the warrior's submission in accepting the preaching of the Prophet and for their sacrifices in establishing the faith of Islam. Instead, his boasting was about their long experience of fighting, their strength, their intrepidity when striking their foes and for their generosity and hospitality, all concepts exceedingly common in the pre-Islamic poetry.

We descended upon Khaybar and its springs,  
With every prominent-knuckled young man, well  
able to defend himself.

Generous in aims, not feeble in strength, bold  
in the face of his enemies in every encounter.  
Great in the ashes of his cauldron in every winter,  
A great striker with the blade of his Indian,  
Mashrafī sword.<sup>1</sup>

(236)

In the following quotation which is supposed to have been composed in the second year of the Hijra, Ka'b in the first line provides us with the Qur'anic<sup>2</sup> concept of laying stress on the criteria of true worship.<sup>2</sup> But, in the second line its quite clear that Ka'b praises the Prophet not only as the messenger of God, but as a man with glorious inheritance whose ancestors were of pure origin.

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1) IH, II, 349.

2) Sura, XVIII al-Kahf, verse 110.

Verily we have served God, not hoping for other  
than him,

In the hope of paradise, since its chief man  
has come to us.

A Prophet who has a heritage of glory in his people,  
And descents of truthfulness, whose origins have  
purified them.<sup>1</sup> (237)

Apart from these verses, let us consider the  
scathing attack which Ka'b addresses to his rival  
Ibn az-Ziba'ra, after the setback which the Muslims  
received at Uḥud. The lines run as follows:-

I asked about you, Ibn az-Ziba'rā, and I was  
always informed among the people that you  
were a half breed.

Foul, surrounded by a shameful action,  
living in baseness time and again.

Pouring out lampoons against the Prophet of  
the Lord, may God fight against you as a  
coarse fellow and an accursed one.

You utter foul speech, then you hurl it at one  
pure of raiment, God fearing and trusty.<sup>2</sup> (238)

Looking at the above verses, we find that Ka'b  
while attacking his adversary very often gives the  
expressions as used by the Jāhiliyya poets. This can  
be seen in the phrases saying that Ibn az-Ziba'rā was

1) IH, II, 25.

2) IH, II, 161.

ignoble (Hajīn), wicked (La'īm) and a boorish man (Jilf). The Islamic elements on the other hand are apparent in the third line where the poet uses the expression Qātalak Allāh. These seem to have been borrowed from the Qur'ānic phrase occurring in the Sura LXIII Munāfiqūn, verse 4 which was revealed in connection with the Hypocrites in Medina, possibly concerning their mischief either during and after the battle of Uḥud, or during the expedition against Banū 'l-Muṣṭaliq (5/626).

The next quotation is extracted from a poem which has all the signs of being genuine (IH, II, 263). The poem, dealing with the siege of Medina 5/626, consists of 24 lines, out of which only 2 lines contain some Islamic elements. They are as follows:-

When the warners said to us "Get ready" we  
relied upon the Lord of the servants.

and

That we may establish your religion, O God,  
Indeed we are in your hand, so lead us on the  
paths of true guidance. (239)

In the second hemistich of the first line the poet's expressions are frequently used in the Qur'ān, in verses which were revealed both in the Meccan and the Medinan period. The first part of the second line is probably a mere imitation of a phrase occurring in the Sūrat aṣ-Ṣaff (LXI, verse 9) which apparently was

revealed shortly after the battle of Uḥud, fought in Shawwāl 3/624.

The second part of the same line contains another imitation of two Qurānic verses included in the Meccan Sūrat Ghāfir (XL, verses 29, 38)

The final quotation is an extract from an apparently genuine poem (IH, II, 478) composed on the siege of aṭ-Ṭā'if 8/630. This poem consists of 25 lines, seven of which contain Islamic concepts, or some of the expressions used by the Qurān (lines 13-18, 23).

These are the lines containing the Islamic elements:-

Their chief the Prophet, and he was firm, pure of heart, patient and abstemious.

Rightly guided, wise and knowledgeable, magnanimous, never light-headed or frivolous.

We obey our Prophet and obey our Lord, He is the Merciful who was compassionate to us.

So if you propose peace-making to us we will accept and will make of you a help and a resource.

And if you refuse we will fight you and endure, and our position will not be shaky and weak.

We will fight as long as we last until you are brought to Islam in submission, seeking refuge.(240)

and

For God and Islam until the faith is established  
in justice and pristine purity.

Taking into consideration the third line of the  
above mentioned verses, we note that the expressions  
in the second part of the line occur in many verses  
in the Qur<sup>2</sup>ān.<sup>1</sup>

The rest are a mere adoption of verse 61 of  
Sura VIII, Anfāl ordering the Prophet to be ready for  
any inclination towards peace with the opponents of  
the Islamic faith. Furthermore, the concept given in  
the last line is probably based on the same concept  
found in two Qur<sup>2</sup>ānic verses<sup>2</sup> asking the believers to  
establish the religion of Islam and to fight in  
defence of their faith and to make every possible  
effort to ward off the oppression and hostility of its  
enemies.

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- 1) For example see Sūrat al-Baqara, II, verses 143,  
207 and Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān, verse 30.
- 2) Suras II, 193 and VIII, 72.

(2) CONCLUSION.

As we have seen in the previous chapters, there are great differences between the martial poetry of Mecca and Yathrib. The Meccan martial poetry of the quarter of century preceding the rise of Islam and the first years of the Islamic period was scanty and not of high quality. The situation in Yathrib was completely different where the quality of the martial poetry was much higher. To a great extent this was a result of the feuds which continually flared up between al-Aws and al-Khazraj.

Beside the historical importance of the martial poetry which has been investigated, the Yathribī poetry in particular is very rich in geographical detail and in providing us with a mass of information about the history of Medina and its inhabitants, and Yathrib's poetry in general has been of great use in historical studies and an inspiration for later literature.

The poetry itself realistically describes the Arab manner of life and it faithfully records their feuds and the glorious deeds of their tribes. Poets who usually personally experienced the events they have recorded, speak to us in a perfect well-integrated style nourished with vivid expression which entirely reflects their sincerest feelings. On the other hand the images, similes and metaphors which they used are very simple.

After the appearance of Islam a great change took place in both Mecca and Medina; poetry was used as a vehicle of propaganda connected with the momentous events of the time. Unfortunately, a great deal of these poems, particularly the Meccan ones, were lost, while most of the surviving verses included in the biographies of the Prophet seem to be the work of later generations.

On the otherhand, the Islamic influence on that poetry appears to be minimal, although it must be admitted that we cannot speak authoritatively until the extant material is exhaustively investigated to enable us to distinguish between the genuine and the spurious poetry. But, since our aim is to study the development of the martial poetry in Mecca and Medina before and after Islam, we have discussed this point only briefly in considering the apparently genuine verses ascribed to Ka'b b. Mālik.

APPENDIX 'A'

Sources for the poetry of

- a) 'Abd Allāh b. az-Ziba'rā
- b) Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb
- c) 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.
- d) Abū Qays b. al-Aslat.<sup>1</sup>

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- 1) As noted previously there exist published Dīwāns for the work of Ḥassān b. Thābit, Qays b. al-Khaṭīm and Ka'b b. Mālik. For this reason it has been considered unnecessary to give the sources for their poetry here.

Sources for the Poetry of Ibn az-Ziba'rā

The following list contains the total of the recorded verses in the early sources ascribed to Ibn az-Ziba'rā or imputed to him.

The occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
Lines supposed to have caused the quarrel between Ibn az-Ziba'rā and Banū Quṣayy.	<p><u>Ṭabaqāt</u>, 196.</p> <p><u>Munammaq</u>, 427. Ibn Ḥabīb drops last line mentioned by Ibn Sallām and adds a different one.</p> <p><u>Rawḍ</u>, II, 87.</p>
Lines apparently said when the quarrel was settled between Ibn az-Ziba'rā and Banū Quṣayy.	<p><u>Ṭabaqāt</u>, 197. <u>'Umda</u>, I, 65. Ibn Rashīq adds two lines more to Ibn Sallām's narrative.</p>
Lines in praise of Banū 'l-Mughīra b. 'Abd Allāh al-Makhzūmiyyīn for their standing the test of the war of al-Fijār.	<p><u>Ḥadhf</u>, 66. It seems that Mu'arrij was the first to include this poem. <u>Ṭabaqāt</u>, 200.</p> <p><u>Nasab</u>, 300. <u>B., Ansāb</u>, I, 43. <u>Muḥabbar</u>, 457.</p> <p><u>Dhayl</u>, 196. <u>Aghānī</u>, I 30. <u>'Iqd</u>, III, 111.</p> <p><u>Ishtiqāq</u>, 122; and other books.</p>

The Occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
Lines in praise of Banū 'l-Mughīra.	Bayān, I, 102.
Lines in praise of al-'Āṣī b. Wā'il.	<u>Nasab</u> , 408.
Lines of Praise of al-'Aṣī b. Wā'il and the clan of Banū Sahm.	<u>Munammaq</u> , 429.
Lines in praise of Banū Quṣayy.	<u>Munammaq</u> , 430.
Lines apparently said when the dispute flared up between Banū 'Abd Manāf (al-Muṭayyabūn and al-Aḥlāf).	<u>Munammaq</u> , 44.
Lines in praise of Banū 'Abd ad-Dār.	<u>Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit</u> , ed. H, 63, 201 B, 291 'A. <u>MS</u> ('Adawī) 163.
Lines in praise of Banū 'Abd Manāf. It has the same opening line as the last one.	<u>Rawḍ</u> , II, 84. <u>Nahj</u> , III, 453. Azraqī, 68 'Aynī, IV, 140.
Lines in praise of Khalaf b. Wahb b. Ḥudhayfa b. Jumāḥ.	<u>Aghānī</u> , VI, 154. <u>Ḥadhīf</u> , 88 (includes one line only). <u>Nasab</u> , 386. Az-Zubayrī also includes one line, but he does not mention that it was composed by Ibn az-Ziba'rā.

The Occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
Lines on the account of the abortive attack by Abraha.	IH, I, 57, <u>Bidāya</u> , II, 175.
In reply to Abū Bakr who claimed to have composed a poem concerning the raid of 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith.	IH, I, 593.
Lines mourning the chief of the Quraysh who was slain during the battle of Badr.	IH, II, 15. <u>B., Ansāb</u> , I, 308.
In this poem, Ibn az-Ziba'rā sings of the victory won by the Quraysh at the battle of Uḥud.	IH, II, 136. <u>Ḥadhf</u> , 84. <u>Ṭabaqāt</u> , 198. <u>Ḥayawān</u> , V, 163. <u>Bayān</u> , III, 98. <u>Nasab</u> , 402. <u>Dīwān of Ḥassān</u> , MS 25. <u>Ishtiqāq</u> , 122. <u>Bidāya</u> , IV, 55. <u>Mu'talif</u> , 132. <u>Aghānī</u> , XV, 177, XIV, 11; and many other books.
Lines attributed to the battle of Uḥud.	IH, II, 141.

The Occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
Lines describing the gladness of the poet about the killing of a number of Muslims, and his regret that some of his enemies had escaped.	IH, II, 166.
Lines attributed to the siege of Medina.	IH, II, 257. <u>Bidāya</u> , IV, 132.
Lines directed to 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa and Khālīd b. al-Wālīd who embraced Islam before the conquest of Mecca.	IH, II, 278. <u>Nasab</u> , 251. <u>Munammaq</u> , 43, 335. <u>Bidāya</u> , IV, 142.
Lines in reply to Mawhab b. Rayāḥ, an ally of Banū Zuhra.	IH, II, 325.
Lines composed by Ibn az-Ziba'rā when he embraced Islam.	IH, II, 419. <u>Dīwān of Ḥassān</u> , MS, 30 <u>Maghāzī</u> , II, 847 <u>Ṭabaqāt</u> , 202. <u>Ṭabarī</u> , III, 64. Q., <u>Amālī</u> , II, 213. <u>Istī'āb</u> , I, 355. <u>Ath.</u> , <u>Kāmil</u> , II, 190. <u>Usd</u> , III, 160. <u>Iṣāba</u> , II, 752; and many other books.

The Occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
Lines apparently said by Ibn az-Ziba'rā after accepting Islam.	<u>Istī'āb</u> , I, 356. <u>Usd</u> , III, 160.
Lines supposed to have been said by Ibn az-Ziba'ra to express his regret for what he had done before accepting Islam.	IH, II, 419. <u>Ṭabaqāt</u> , 202. <u>Istī'āb</u> , I, 356 <u>Ṭayfūr</u> , 53. <u>Usd</u> , III, 160. <u>Iṣāba</u> , II, 752. <u>Bidāya</u> , IV, 309.
Lines described as being by Ibn az-Ziba'rā. Ibn Manẓūr in his book <u>Lisān al 'Arab</u> (III, 443) includes these lines, but he does not mention that they were composed by 'Abd Allāh. al-Jāḥiẓ on the other hand, (Ḥayawān, IV, 151) refers to the first line, but ascribed it to Shatīm b. Khuwaylid al-Fazārī.	<u>Suyūṭī</u> , <u>Sharḥ.</u> , 195.
A single line addressed to Busr b. Sufyān al-Ghamīrī.	<u>Munamnaq</u> , 231.
A single line.	IH, I, 312.

The Occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
A single line in praise of Buḥayr (‘Abd Allāh) b. Abī Rabī‘a.	<u>Nasab</u> , 317. <u>Ishtiqāq</u> , 99. <u>Istī‘āb</u> , II, 298. <u>Aghānī</u> , I, 31. <u>Uṣd</u> , III, 160. <u>Iṣāba</u> , II, 305.
A single line directed to the Quraysh. It is most likely that this line was composed by Ka‘b b. Mālik al-Anṣārī.	May., <u>Amthāl</u> , I, 166, II, 365.

Sources for the Poetry of ʿDirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

The following list contains the total of the recorded verses in the early sources attributed to ʿDirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fihrī or ascribed to him.

The Occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
Lines in the account of the battle of 'Ukāz.	<u>Aghānī</u> , XIX, 80. Ibn Hishām mentions one line only, but he says this line is extracted from lines composed by ʿDirār, I, 47. <u>Sha.</u> , <u>Ḥamāsa</u> , 16.
Lines directed to Khālid b. 'Ubayd Allāh of the clan of Banū 'l-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Manāt.	<u>Aghānī</u> , VII, 28. <u>Munammaq</u> , 248. <u>Nasab</u> , 264. Both Ibn Ḥabīb and al-Muṣ'ab az-Zubayrī refer to the first line only.
Lines addressed to Banū Lu'ayy inciting them to take revenge and to refuse to take blood money.	<u>B.</u> , <u>Ḥamāsa</u> , 29. <u>Aghānī</u> , VII, 28-29.

The Occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
<p>Lines ascribed to ʔirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb on the authority of Abū 'Ubayda.</p>	<p><u>Aghānī</u>, XIV, 130.</p>
<p>These lines are, however, supposed to have been composed after the killing of Rabī'a b. Mukaddim, one of Muḏar's heroes who was reported to have been killed on the day of al-Kadīd.</p>	<p>For further information about these lines, see <u>Dīwān Ḥassān</u> (ed. 'Arafāt), 410-411.</p>
<p>On the other hand, these lines are attributed to a number of poets, but Abū 'l-Faraj says, on the authority of Abū Khalīfa, that Ibn Sallām is reported to have ascribed them to 'Amr b. Shaqīq of the clan of Banū Fihr b. Mālik.</p>	
<p>Lines supposed to have been composed by ʔirār in praise of his clan Banū Muḥārib b. Fihr.</p>	<p><u>B., Ansāb</u>, I. 40-41.</p>
<p>Lines directed to Ḥujayr and Ḥujr, Banū 'Abd b. Ma'īṣ b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy.</p>	<p><u>Nasab</u>, 433-4.</p>

The Occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
Lines in praise of Zuhayr and Hāshim, Banū 'l-Hārith b. Asad (b. 'Abd al'Uzzā)	<u>IB., Jamhara, 441.</u> Al-Muṣ'ab az-Zubayrī, however, includes these lines but he does not ascribe them to Ḍirār. <u>Nasab, 212.</u>
Lines supposed to have been spoken by Ḍirār in praise of Zuhayr b. al-Hārith b. Asad.	<u>IB., Jamhara, 442.</u>
There are different views among the early Muslim authors about the occasion on which these two lines were recited, and about the names included by Ḍirār.	IH., I, 250-51 <u>Nasab, 126-27.</u> <u>Istī'āb</u> (Sa'd b. an-Nu'mān). <u>Rawḍ, IV, 130.</u> <u>Dīwān Ḥassān</u> (ed. Barqūqī, 191., 'Arafāt, I, 224, and H, 78, (MS.147) <u>B., Ansāb, I, 254-5.,</u> <u>Istibṣār (MS), 152.</u>
Lines claimed to have been spoken by Ḍirār on the battle of Badr.	IH., II, 13-14. <u>'Uyūn, I, 289</u> <u>Bidāya, III, 341.</u>

The Occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources.
Lines supposed to have been composed by ʿDirār lamenting Abū Jahl, who was killed on the battlefield of Badr.	IH., II, 27.
Lines composed by ʿDirār when the tribe of Daws made an attempt to kill ʿDirār and his companions in revenge for the killing of Abū Uzayhir ad-Dawsī, who was killed by Hishām b. al-Walīd.	IH, I, 415 <u>Ṭabaqāt</u> , 21. <u>Munammaq</u> , 242. <u>B., Ansāb</u> , I, 136 <u>Dīwān Ḥassān</u> (ed. 'Arafāt, II, 263 (MS.181). <u>Iṣāba</u> , II, 533.
Lines supposed to have been composed by ʿDirār in lament for 'Uqba b. Abān, one of the prisoners of Badr, who was killed on the Prophet's command.	<u>B., Ansāb</u> , I, 297.
Single line ascribed to ʿDirār, on the same occasion as the last one.	<u>B., Ansāb</u> , I, 297.
Lines attributed to ʿDirār, who is reported to have spoken these lines describing his deeds with his sword (as-Saḥāb), during the combat of Uḥud.	<u>Munammaq</u> , 521.

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The Occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources.
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Lines attributed to ʒirār in reply to a poem supposed to have been composed by Ka'b b. Mālīk in lament for Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalīb and the other Muslims who were killed on the battlefield of Uḥud.	IH., II, 139.
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Lines ascribed to ʒirār in description of the battle of Uḥud.	IH., II, 145.
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Lines attributed to ʒirār, describing the combat of Uḥud.	IH., II, 145.
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Lines supposed to have been spoken by ʒirār on the battle of Uḥud.	IH., II, 164.
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Abū 'l-Faraj gives details about these lines which are ascribed to ʒirār on the siege of Medina.	<u>Aghānī</u> , XVII, 109 <u>B.</u> , <u>Ḥamāsa</u> , 26. <u>Sha.</u> , <u>Ḥamāsa</u> , 16.
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Lines ascribed to ʒirār in the account of <u>al-Khandaq</u> (trench).	IH., II, 254.
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The Occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
Lines ascribed to ̣Dirār on the conquest of Mecca.	<u>Istī'āb</u> , II, 748-9, and 592. <u>Rawḍ</u> , VII, 99. <u>Istibsār</u> (MS.), 38 <u>'Uyūn</u> , II, 172. <u>Bidāya</u> , IV, 295. Zarqānī, II, 306. <u>Iṣāba</u> , II, 533.

Sources for the Poetry of Ibn Rawāḥa

The following list contains the total of the recorded verses in the early sources ascribed to 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa or imputed to him.

The occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
<p>According to the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī, this poem was spoken by Ibn Rawāḥa as a reply to one of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm's poems (No. 10, p. 145 (A), 25(K), 51(S), which are supposed to have been composed by the latter in celebration of the victory won by his tribe on the battle of al-Faḍā. This poem, however, contains 23 lines, and it has the same rhyme and metre as the poem of Qays.</p>	<p><u>Dīwān Ḥassān</u> (ed. 'A), 238, <u>MS</u>, 150-51. <u>Q.</u>, <u>Jamhara</u>, 223.</p>
<p>This fraction of verse consists of 6 lines, and it is reported that it was recited by Ibn Rawāḥa as a reply to Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, who is also reported to have composed his poem (No.14, p.169(A), No.13, p.29(K), 57(S)) in praise of his tribe al-Aws who</p>	<p><u>Dīwān Qays b. al-Khaṭīm</u> (ed. Asad), 169. <u>Dīwān Ḥassān</u> (<u>MS</u> 'Adawī), 156.</p>

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The occasion on which the verse  
was recited.

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Sources

were disdainful of taking the  
spoils when they achieved  
victory on the battle of Bu'āth.  
Ibn Rawāḥa's lines, however,  
have the same rhyme and metre  
as the poem of Qays.

This poem consists of 15 lines,  
and it was apparently said by  
Ibn Rawāḥa in reply to Qays b.  
al-Khaṭīm's poem (No.4, p.26(A),  
10(K), 31(S)) in which Qays,  
however, recorded the warfare  
of Ḥāṭib and the decisive battle  
of Bu'āth.

Ibn al-Athīr attributes these  
two lines to Ibn Rawāḥa as a  
reply to a poem supposed to  
have been spoken by 'Ubayd b.  
Nāfidh al-Awsī, but these lines  
are also ascribed to Ḥassān b.  
Thābit and are among four lines  
included in his Dīwān, p. 206('A),  
343(B), 35(H).

Dīwān Qays b. al-  
Khaṭīm 199(A),  
36(K), 63(S),  
MS, 47-8. Ath.,  
Kāmil, I, 513,  
includes nine lines  
of this poem, and  
he comments after-  
wards, "It is  
longer than that.",  
al-Ashbāh, I, 28.  
Ath., Kāmil, I, 506.

The occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
Single line apparently said by Ibn Rawāḥa as a reply to Qays b. al-Khaṭīm's poem ( <u>Dīwān</u> , 181 (A), 32(K), 60(S)). This line is, perhaps, the opening line of a poem which has not yet been discovered.	<u>Dīwān Qays b. al-Khaṭīm</u> , 187 (A), 34(K), 61(S), <u>MS</u> , 44.
Single line addressed to Qays b. al-Khaṭīm.	<u>Ath.</u> , <u>Kāmil</u> , I, 507.
Shortly after the defeat of the Quraysh on the battlefield of Badr, it was related (IH, II, 654) that the Prophet's daughter Zaynab had set out from Mecca to rejoin her father in Medina. Her brother-in-law accompanied her publicly, and this event aroused the anger of some of the Quraysh. As a result she was eventually detained for a while.	IH, II, 655. <u>Rawḍ</u> , V, 197. <u>Bidāya</u> , III, 330.
Ibn Ishāq, however, ascribed this poem to 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa or to Abū Khaythama (Akhū Banū Sālim b. 'Awf).	
Ibn Hishām, on the other hand, confirms that it was composed by Abū Khaythama.	

The occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
<p>An elegy directed to Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was killed on the field of Uḥud. Ibn Ishāq attributed this poem to Ibn Rawāḥa, but, on the authority of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, Ibn Hishām ascribes it to Ka'b b. Mālīk. On the other hand, Ibn Manzūr, in his book <u>Lisān al-'Arab</u>, includes four lines, commenting that Ibn Barī said they were taken from a poem included by an-Naḥḥās in his book <u>Ṭabaqāt ash-Shua'rā'</u>; this latter, moreover, confirms that this poem was composed by Ka'b.</p>	<p>IH, II, 162.  <u>Istī'āb</u>, 374.  <u>Bidāya</u>, IV, 59  <u>Rawḍ</u>, VI, 160.  <u>Shāfiya</u>, 66,  <u>Iṣāba</u>, I, 727.  <u>Lisān</u> (Bakā)  <u>Ṣiḥāḥ</u> (Bakā)  <u>Tāj</u>, (Bakā)</p>
<p>Two lines apparently written by Ibn Rawāḥa as an elegy for Nāfi' b. Budayl, who was killed at Bi'r Ma'ūna 4/625.</p>	<p>IH, II, 188.  <u>Maghāzī</u>, II, 353.  <u>IQ.</u>, Adab, 225.</p>
<p>Ibn Hishām says (II,200) this poem was written by Ka'b b. Mālīk or by 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa in reply to 'Abbās b. Mirdās, who is reported to have composed a poem in praise of the men of Banū 'n-Naḍīr.</p>	<p>IH, II, 202.</p>

The occasion on which the verse was recited.

Sources

This poem, addressed to Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, is reported to have been spoken concerning the absence of the Quraysh from Badr al-Maw'id 4/625.

Ibn Ishāq, however, ascribes it to Ibn Rawāḥa, but Ibn Hishām attributes these lines to Ka'b b. Mālik on the authority of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī.

These three lines of Rajaz are supposed to have been recited by 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa when the Prophet asked him to stir up the army on their way to Khaybar, 7/628. Ibn Ishāq, however, gives another version; he indicates that the Prophet asked 'Āmir b. Sinān b. al-Akwa' to inspire the troops, so he composed these lines in Rajaz.

IH, II, 210. In the Ansāb al-Ashrāf of al-Balādhurī (340), he refers to the opening line only, but ascribes it to Ḥassān b. Thābit. Manāqib, I, 190, 164. Bidāya, IV, 88. IS, III (p.2), 81. Maghāzī, II, 639. IH, II, 328. Ath., Kāmil, II, 166. Bidāya, IV, 182.

The occasion on which the verse was recited.

Sources

In Dhū'l-Qi'da 7/628, the Prophet and his followers went out to Mecca to make the 'Umrat al-Qaḍā', in place of the 'Umra from which the Quraysh had excluded them the year before. When the Prophet entered Mecca on that occasion, Ibn Rawāḥa held the halter of his camel and recited these lines. Ibn Hishām, on the other hand, attributes these lines to 'Ammār b. Yāsir on the occasion of Ṣiffīn 37/657.

Maḥmūd Shākīr, however, rejects Ibn Hishām's remark, and he gives details to explain why he believes that Ibn Hishām was mistaken (Ibn Sallām, 186).

These lines are said to have been composed by Ibn Rawāḥa when his wife accused him of having intercourse with his slave-girl. When he denied his wife's accusation, she asked him to recite some Qur'ānic verses. Accordingly he recited these lines, full of

Ṭabaqāt, 186.  
IS, II (p.1), 88.  
Maghāzī, II, 736.  
IH, II, 371.  
Ṭabarī, 1-3, 1595.  
Mu'talif, 127.  
Istibṣār (MS), 45.  
Ath., Kāmil, II, 174.  
'Uyūn, II, 149.  
Iṣāba, II, 751.  
Bidāya, IV, 227.

Istī'āb, I, 351.  
Istibṣār (MS), 167.

The occasion on which the verse was recited	Sources
<p>Islamic expression, to make his wife think that he was reciting Qur'ānic verses. Al-Qurṭubī, in his book <u>al-Jāmi' Li-Aḥkām al-Qur'ān</u> (V,209), refers to the same account, but includes different lines of poetry.</p>	
<p>Ibn Sallām and others point out that these lines were recited when the Prophet asked Ibn Rawāḥa to compose extempore some lines of poetry against the polytheists of the Quraysh.</p>	<p><u>Ṭabaqāt</u>, 188. IS, III (p.2),81. <u>Mu'talif</u>, 126. <u>'Umda</u>, I, 210. IH, II, 374. <u>Istī'āb</u>, I, 351. <u>'Iqd</u>, III, 329. <u>Rawḍ</u>, VII, 39. <u>Istibṣār</u> (MS),45. Zarqānī, II, 270. <u>Iṣāba</u>, II,750. <u>Bidāya</u>, IV, 242.</p>

The occasion on which the verse was recited	Sources
These lines, in which Ibn Rawāḥa hopes for martyrdom, were apparently composed by him in reply to his fellow-Muslims who said "God be with you and protect you and bring you back to us safe and sound."	IH, II, 374. IS, II (p.1), 93. <u>Maghāzī</u> , II, 757. Ṭabarī, 1-3, 1611. <u>Istī'āb</u> , I, 349. <u>Istibṣār</u> (MS), 46. <u>Ath.</u> , <u>Kāmil</u> , II, 179. Zarqānī, II, 270. <u>Khizāna</u> , I, 361. <u>Bidāya</u> , IV, 241.
This poem was written in description of the army at Mu'ta and also considers what to do at Ma'ān in Syria.	IH, II, 375. Ṭabarī, 1-3, 1612. <u>Rawḍ</u> , VII, 32. <u>B.</u> , <u>Mu'jam</u> , IV, 1173. <u>Buldān</u> (Qurḥ, Ma'ān, Ma'āb). <u>Bidāya</u> , IV, 243.
It is reported that this line was spoken by Ibn Rawāḥa after the return of the Prophet, who had walked out to see off the army at Mu'ta.	IH, II, 374, Ṭabarī, 1-3, 1611. <u>Ath.</u> , <u>Kāmil</u> , II, 179. <u>Bidāya</u> , IV, 242.

The occasion on which the verse was recited	Sources
<p>These lines, in which 'Abd Allāh began by addressing his camel, show how he was determined to die in the service of the Islamic faith.</p>	<p>IH, II, 376.  <u>Maghāzī</u>, II, 759.  <u>Ṭabarī</u>, 1-3, 1613.  <u>Rawḍ</u>, VII, 34.  <u>Istibṣār</u> (MS), 46.  <u>Ath.</u>, <u>Kāmil</u>, II, 179. <u>Al-Maqṣūrwa'l-Mamdūd</u>, II. <u>Buldān</u> (Ḥisā'). <u>Lisān</u>, (Ḥisā'), <u>Khalā</u>.  <u>Sīhāḥ</u>, Ḥisā', Ba'1.  <u>Tāj</u>, Ḥisā', Ba'1.  <u>Iṣāba</u>, II, 749.  <u>Khizāna</u>, II, 263.  <u>Bidāya</u>, IV, 243.</p>
<p>These lines were apparently composed by Ibn Rawāḥa, addressing his soul, when he was inwardly reluctant to obey his urgent wish to throw himself into the heat of the battle at Mu'ta.</p>	<p>IH, II, 379.  <u>Ṭabaqāt</u>, 189.  <u>B.</u>, <u>Ḥamāsa</u>, 9.  <u>IS</u>, III (p.2), 82.  <u>Ṭabarī</u>, 1-3, 1614.  <u>Istibṣār</u> (MS), 47.  <u>Istī'āb</u>, I, 350.  <u>Rawḍ</u>, VII, 36.  <u>Usd</u>, III, 58. <u>Ath.</u>, <u>Kāmil</u>, II, 180.  <u>Nihāya</u>, III, 227.  <u>Zarqānī</u>, II, 272.  <u>Bidāya</u>, IV, 244-5.</p>

The occasion on which the verse was recited	Sources
<p>Most of the sources indicate that Ibn Rawāḥa directed this line of Rajaz to Zayd b. Arqam, who was riding on the back of his saddle on their way to the battlefield of Mu'ta.</p>	<p>IH, II, 377.            Ṭabarī, 1-3, 1614.            'Uyūn, II, 154.            Bidāya, IV, 243.            Lisān ('Amal),            Tāj, 'Amal.</p>
<p>Al-Mubarrad, on the other hand (<u>Kāmil</u>, III, 217), ascribes this line to 'Umar b. Laja', but in the <u>Khizānat al-Adab al-Baghdādī</u> (II, 263) says "I have seen in the <u>Nawādir of Ibn al-A'rābī</u> an <u>urjūza</u> containing 22 lines of Rajaz, starting with this line." Al-Baghdādī continues, "Ibn al-A'rābī said that Bukayr b. 'Ubayd ar-Raba'ī recited these lines to him."</p>	
<p>Al-Baghdādī comments that he does not know about the period in which ar-Raba'ī lived, but assumes that he lived after Ibn Rawāḥa for, during the <u>Jāhiliyya</u> period, a poem in Rajaz consisted of only three to four lines. The first man to make the Rajaz long was al-Aghlab al-'Ijlī.</p>	

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The occasion on which the verse  
was recited

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Sources

However, Ibn Qutayba, in the Kitāb ash-shi'r wa-shu'arā' (II, 95), says that al-Aghlab died in the battle of Nahāwand 21/641.

According to as-Suhaylī, this line was addressed to Mālik b. at-Tayhān, an ally of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal and one of the twelve trustworthy men at the second pledge of 'Aqaba.

A single line in praise of the Prophet. Both al-Jāhiz and as-Suhaylī include this line, but do not indicate that it was composed by Ibn Rawāḥa.

A single line attributed to Ibn Rawāḥa.

A piece of Rajaz ascribed to Ibn Rawāḥa.

These lines were said in rebuke of al-'Uzzā, one of the pre-Islamic idols.

Rawḍ, IV, 94.

Aghānī, XV, 28;

IV, 6. Iṣāba, II

751. Bayān, I, 28.

Rawḍ, III, 153.

Lisān (Salsal).

Tāj, Salsal.

Lisān, Tāj, ṣiḥāḥ

(Badā)

Lisān, Tāj, (Filal).

These lines are also ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit and are among five lines included in his

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The occasion on which the verse was recited	Sources
These lines describing the way in which the Prophet worshiped were apparently said by Ibn Rawāḥa.	<u>Dīwān</u> in poem no.89. Furthermore both Abū 'l-Faraj, ( <u>Aghānī</u> , IV, 10) and Ibn al-Kalbī, ( <u>Kitāb al-Aṣṇām</u> , 44) include these lines and ascribe them to Ḥassān.  <u>Kitāb al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ</u> , I, 292., <u>Bidāya</u> , IV, 288.

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Sources for the Poetry of Abū Qays b. al-Aslat.

The following list contains the total of the recorded verses in the early sources ascribed to Abū Qays b. al-Aslat or imputed to him.

The occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources.
In the <u>Kāmil</u> of Ibn al-Athīr (I,506) the poem is said to have been written about the war of Ḥāṭib.	<u>Mufaḍḍaliyāt</u> , 564, (284).
In the <u>Aghānī</u> (XV,161) according to a story said to be derived from Ibn al-Kalbī, it is said to have been composed with reference to the later war which ended at Bu'āth.	<u>Dīwān</u> of Ḥassān (ed.'A), 300, (MS) 164-6, Q., <u>Jamhara</u> , 234, <u>al-Ashbāh</u> , I,136 <u>Ṭabaqāt</u> , 189.
C.J. Lyall referred to the occasion in his translation of the <u>Mufaḍḍaliyāt</u> (225) where he says "Abū Qays is said to have absented himself from his home for a long time in the prosecution of the warfare of Bu'āth and given up to it his whole mind. When after many months he knocked at his own door, it was opened by his wife Kabsha. He put out his hand to clasp her, but she repulsed him, the hardships of war having so altered his appearance	IQ., <u>Ma'ānī</u> , I, 394., II, 1033, 1106., III, 1251. T., <u>Ḥamāsa</u> , I, 54. B., <u>Ḥamāsa</u> , 34., <u>Ḥayawān</u> , III, 13., VI, 141. <u>Tanbīh</u> , 33., <u>Aghānī</u> , XV, 160, 196. <u>Ath.</u> , <u>Kāmil</u> , I, 506., <u>Khizāna</u> , III, 375.

The occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
that she did not recognise him. He called her by name, and when she heard his voice she knew that it was her husband.	Q., <u>Amālī</u> , II, 215., <u>'Iqd</u> , VI, 189, and other books.
It is with this incident that the poem opens.	
The incident between Abū Qays and his wife is also included in the MS of the <u>Dīwān of Ḥassān</u> ( <u>'Adawī</u> , 166), but according to the information given in the MS (164-66) Ibn al-Kalbī is reported to have said that this poem was written on the day of Khaṭma, which was brought about by the killing of Abū Qays's brother, al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Aslat.	
Ibn al-Athīr ( <u>Kāmil</u> , I, 499) called this event the war of al-Ḥuṣayn b. al-Aslat. Al- Ḥuṣayn is the name of one of Abū Qays's brothers who had quarrelled with a member of the Khazraj from Banū Māzin which led to the death of both. When Abū Qays learned that his	<u>Dīwān of Ḥassān</u> (MS), 168. <u>Ath.</u> , <u>Kāmil</u> , I, 499.

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The occasion on which the verse was  
recited.

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Sources

brother had been killed by the men  
of Banū Māzin in revenge for their  
man killed by al-Ḥuṣayn, the war  
broke out and Abū Qays was the  
chief of the Aws at this event in  
which they were defeated by al-Khazraj.

Abū Qays wrote these lines for his  
brother Waḥūḥ, who had blamed him at  
not winning a victory against al-  
Khazraj on that occasion.

This account is also given in the  
MS of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit  
(‘Adawī, 168).

Ibn al-Athīr, on the other hand  
mentions five lines of poetry which  
he comments (Fī Abyāt), do not  
constitute the whole poem supposed  
to have been recited on this  
occasion.

In the MS mentioned above there  
is a line extra to the version  
given by Ibn al-Athīr.

This poem was composed in rebuke  
at the tribe of Ghaṭafān, who claimed  
to have prepared themselves for an  
attack on the Khazraj.

Ṣifat Jazīrat  
al-‘Arab, 205.  
Buldān, (Rawḍat  
Laylā).

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The occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
This poem was apparently written by Abū Qays in description of the incident of the Elephant which Abraha had brought with his army during their abortive attack on Mecca (570)	IH, I, 58. <u>Ḥayawān</u> , VII, 59 <u>Bidāya</u> , II, 175 <u>Lisān</u> (sharam).
Ibn Hishām, however, says that this poem was also ascribed to Umayya b. Abī ʿĀṣ-Ṣalt.	
al-Jāḥiẓ, on the other hand, says "This poetry is an evidence that God turned back the Elephant from Mecca and then destroyed the enemy by a flock of birds."	
al-Balādhurī states that this poem was composed by Abū Qays in praise of Uḥayḥa b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Ummayya, who died after the Prophet's emigration to Medina.	<u>B.</u> , <u>Ansāb</u> , 141 <u>Bayān</u> , III, 67.
al-Jāḥiẓ quotes these two lines in reply to those who said that, during the period of the <u>Jāhiliyya</u> , the Arabs did not know of ambush ( <u>kamīn</u> ).	<u>Bayān</u> , III, 16-17.

The occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources.
Two fragments of verse, each containing two lines, the first of which Qays started by asking his son to save money and to be generous to the poor.	<u>B., Ḥamāsa, 216.</u>
This single line was also addressed to his son Qays, advising him to be kind to the poor.	<u>Aghānī, XV, 161.</u> <u>Khizāna, II, 375.</u>
Ibn Sallām ascribes these three lines to Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, but they are included in one of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm's poems ( <u>Dīwān</u> 181 (ed, A), 32(K), 60(S).	<u>Ṭabaqāt, 189.</u>
<p>The occasion is given as follows; "al-Aws were over-powered by al-Khazraj on the day of Muḍarris and Mu'abbis. They went therefore to Mecca in an attempt to form an alliance with the Quraysh. Ibn al-Khaṭīm is supposed to have composed this poem about that occasion.</p>	
<p>(<u>Dīwān</u>, 32 K., 179 A., 59 S., <u>Aghānī</u>, II, 163., <u>Kāmil of Ibn al-Athīr</u>, I, 507.)</p>	

The occasion on which the verses were recited.

Sources

The information given about this poem is very confused. A number of authors attribute it variously to three different poets, Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, Qays b. Rifā'a al-wāqifī from the clan of Banū Wāqif b. Imri' 'l-Qays b. Mālik b. al-Aws (Marzubānī, Mu'jam, 197) and Abū Qays b. Rifā'a, a Jewish poet from Medina (Ibn Sallām, Ṭabaqāt, 242).

Aghānī, IV, 167  
Q., Amālī, I, 11  
M., Mu'jam, 197  
B., Ḥamāsa, 12.  
Lisān (Ḥawaj, darak).

Abū 'l-Faraj is perhaps the only author who ascribes this poem to Abū Qays b. al-Aslat. Thus, in the Kitāb at-Tanbīh al-Bakrī (22), says that the poem was not composed by Qays b. Rifā'a as mentioned by al-Qālī but by Abū Qays b. Rifā'a whose real name was Dithār.

Ṣiḥāḥ (Ḥawaj).  
Tāj (Ḥawaj, darak).  
Iṣāba, III, 492.  
Khizāna, III, 379.

These lines were written by Abū Qays in description of his she-camel.

Khizāna, III, 373.  
Tāj, (Waqal).

The occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
These lines are included by a number of authors who show that these lines are famous and are regarded as the best of those describing a bashful woman.	<u>Aghānī</u> , XV, 166. <u>Ask.</u> , <u>Ma'ānī</u> , I, 243. <u>al-Ashbāh</u> , I, 21. <u>Khizāna</u> , III, 377. <u>Iṣāba</u> , IV, 303. <u>'Iqd</u> , IV, 316.
These lines were written in praise of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf for their endurance in the war of Sumayr. (Sumayr was the name of an Awsī from the clan of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf who was said to have killed an ally of Mālik b. 'Ajlān, called Ka'b ath-Tha'labī, the chief of the tribe of Khazraj, over which event war flared up for the first time between the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj.	<u>Aghānī</u> , II, 169
This poem consists of 19 lines; it was composed with reference to the battle of Bu'āth which marked the end of hostilities between the Aws and the Khazraj.	<u>MS of the Dīwān of Ḥassān b. Thābit ('Adawī)</u> 185.

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The occasion on which the verse  
was recited.

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Sources

This poem was composed by Abū Qays  
in celebration of the victory won  
by his tribe al-Aws at Bu'āth.

MS of the Dīwān  
of Ḥassān b.  
Thābit, ('Adawī)  
184.

During the battle of Bu'āth, Abū  
Qays captured Mukhallad b. aṣ-  
Ṣāmit as-sā'idī. His tribe and  
their allies put pressure on him  
to kill his prisoner, but he  
refused to do so and later  
released him, writing these two  
lines on this event.

Aghānī, XV, 165.

These two lines relate to the  
killing of 'Amr b. an-Nu'mān  
al-Bayādī who was the chief  
leader of al-Khazraj at the battle  
of Bu'āth.

IH, I, 556.

Ibn Hishām says that these  
two lines were taken from one  
of his poems, but unfortunately  
these are at present the only  
lines known to us.

The occasion on which the verse was recited.	Sources
In the <u>Aghānī</u> it is related that this single line in description of the Pleiades, was regarded as one of the best on that subject.	<u>Aghānī</u> , XV, 166. <u>Khizāna</u> , III, 378 <u>Ṣiḥāḥ</u> , <u>Lisān</u> , <u>Tāj</u> , (Mulaḥ). <u>Kitāb at-Tashbīhāt</u> of Ibn Abī 'Awn, 5
A single line ascribed to Abū Qays b. al-Aslat.	<u>Lisān</u> , <u>Tāj</u> (Fatan).
A single line attributed to Abū Qays b. al-Aslat.	<u>Lisān</u> , <u>Tāj</u> (Ṭabbaba)
Abū Qays addressed these lines to his brother Waḥūḥ b. al-Aslat, who was later embraced Islam and was among the Muslims who took part during the siege of Medina.	<u>Istibṣār</u> , MS, 130.
A single line ascribed to Abū Qays b. al-Aslat.	<u>Q.</u> , <u>Jamhara</u> , 23.
This poem consists of 35 lines. It was claimed that Abū Qays had directed this poem to Quraysh when they quarrelled among themselves after the rise of Islam.	IH, I, 283. <u>Ḥayawān</u> , VII, 59. al-Jāḥiẓ includes 4 lines of this poem (30, 31, 33, 34). He comments that these lines
Ibn Kathīr ascribes this poem to Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, but	

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The occasion on which the verse  
was recited.

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Sources

says that as-Suhaylī also  
attributed this poem to Abū  
Qays Ṣirma b. Abī Anas an-  
Najārī.

are genuine and  
known to the  
narrator who had  
no doubt about  
their authenticity.  
Rawḍ III, 107.  
Istibṣār, MS, 129.,  
Bidāya, III, 153.

It was supposed that Abū Qays  
composed these lines concern-  
ing what he thought of Islam  
and how people disagreed about  
his state.

IH, I, 438. IS, IV  
(p.2) 95. Bidāya,  
III, 156. Buldān  
(Jalīl).

APPENDIX 'B'

ARABIC TEXTS

قال ضرابه الخطاب : ( 1 )

جزى الله عنا أثم غير به صالحا	ونوتها إذ صحت عواطل
فهي رفعة الموت بعد اقترابه	وقد ظهرت للتأثير به مقاتل
وجردت سيفي ثم قمت بصله	معه أي نفس بعد نفسي قاتل
وقد وردت هذه الأبيات في سيرة ابن هشام مع زيادة	

البيتين التاليين : ( 2 )

دعت دعوة دوافلنا شاعها	بعض وأدتها الشراج القوابل
وعمرأ جزاه الله غيراً فما وفي	وما بردت منه لدي المفاصل

قال هشام به ثابت : ( 3 )

فدا أهل حضني ذي الجواز بسحره	وجار ابنه حرب بالمغنس ما يغدو
كالكهشام به الوليد شيا به	فأبل وأخلف مثلها جهداً بعد
قضى وطراً منها فأصبح مادياً	وأصهبت رجواً وأتجب وما تعدو
فلو أنه اشياخاً بدير شهودم	لبل نعال القوم حبب وورد
فما منع العير الضوط زماره	وما نعت حزاره والدها هند

وفي حلف الفضول قال الزبير بن عبد المطلب : ( 4 )

هلفت لنعقدن حلفاً عليهم	وإن كنا جميعاً أهل دا -
نحميه الفضول لنا عقدنا	يفر به الغريب لدى الجوار -
ويعلم منه صوالي البيت أنا	أبابة الضيم نمنع كل عا -

قال عبد الله بن الزبير : ( 5 )

تظنوا عنه بجه ملة إخفا	كانت قد يماً لا يرام حرميها
لم تخلوه الشعرى ليالي حرمت	إذ لا عزيرمه الأنام بروصيها

سائل أمير الجيش عنها ما رأى      ولسوف ينبي الجاهلين عليمها  
ستون ألفا لم يئوسوا أرضهم      ولم يعش بعد الاياب سقيمها  
كانت بها عاد وجرهم قبلهم      والله من فوق العباد يقيمها

قال طالب بن أبي طالب بن عبدالمطلب: (6)

ألم تعلموا ما كان في حرب داحس      وجيش أبي يكسوم إذ ملئوا الشعبا  
فلولا دفاع الله لا شيء غيره      لأصبحتم لا تمنعون لكم سربا

قال خدش بن زهير:

جلبنا الخيل ساهمة اليهم      عوابس يدرعن النقع قودا (7)  
فبتنا نعقد السيما وياتوا      وقلنا صبحوا الأنس الجديدة  
فجاؤا عارضا بردا وجئنا      كما أضمرت في الغاب الوقودا (8)  
ونادوا بالعمرو لا تفروا      فقلنا لا فرار ولا صدودا  
فعاركنا الكماة وعاركونا      عراك النمر عاركت الأسودا (9)  
فولوا نضرب الهامات منهم      بما انتهكوا المحارم والحدودا  
تركنا بطن شمطة من علاء      كأن خلالها معزا صديدا  
ولم أر مثلهم هزموا وقلوا      ولا كذيادنا عتقا نجودا (10)

قال ضرار بن الخطاب في يوم عكاظ: (11)

ألم تسأل الناس عن شأننا      ولم يثبت الأمر كالخابر  
غداة عكاظ إذا استكملت      هوازن في كفها الحاضر  
وجاءت سليم تهز القنا      على كل سلهبة ضامر  
وجئنا اليهم على المضمرا      ت بأرعن نى لجب زاخر

فلما التقينا أذقناهم طعانا بسمر القنا العائر  
ففرت سليم ولم يصبروا وطارت شعاعا بنو عامر  
وفرت ثقيف إلى لاتها بمنقلب الخائب الخاسر  
وقاتلت العنس شطرنها ر ثم تولت مع الصادر  
على أن دهمانها حافظت أخيرا لدى دائرة الدائر

قال عبدالله بن الزبيرى فى مدح بنى المغيرة : (12)

ألا لله قوم ولدت أخت بنى سهم  
هشام وأبو عبدمناف مـدره الخصم  
وذو الرمحين أشبهك من القوة والحزم  
فهذان يـذوان، وذا من كـشب يرمى  
وان أحلف وبيت الله لا أحلف على إثم  
لما إن إخوة بين روب الروم والبردم  
بأزكى من بنى ربيعة أو أوزن فى حلم  
هم يوم عـكاظ منعوا الناس من الهزم

وردت هذه القصيدة فى الأغاني مع الزيادة التالية : (13)

أسود تزدهى الأقران من مناعون للهضم  
وهم من ولدوا أشبوا بسر الحسب الضخم

وقد وردت القصيدة أيضا فى نيل الأملى لأبى علي القالى مع الزيادة التالية (14)

يكن القول فى المجلس أو ينطق عن حكم  
بجأوا طحون فخممة القونس كالنجم

وقال ابن الزبيرى : (15)

ألهى قصيا عن المجد الأساطير  
ورشوة مثل ما ترشى السفاسير  
وأكلها اللحم بحثا لا خليط له  
وقولها رحلت عير أتت عير

وقال أيضا : ( ١٦ )

لعمرك ما جاءت بنكر عشيرتي  
وإن صالحت إخوانها لا ألومها  
بيود جناة الفي أن سيوفنا  
بأيماننا مسلولة لا نشيمها  
وقد ورد هذان البيتان في العمدة مع الزيادة واختلاف في الرواية ( ١٦ )  
لعمرك ما جاءت بنكر عشيرتي  
فرد جناة الشر أن سيوفنا  
بأيماننا مسلولة لا نشيمها  
فإن قصيا أهل مجد وعزة  
وأهل فعال لا يرام قديمها  
هم منعوا . . . يومى عكاظنساءنا  
كما منع الشول الهجان قرومها

وقال أيضا : ( ١٨ )

كانت قريش بيضة فتفقت  
فالمح خالصة لعبدمناف  
الخالطين فقيرهم بغنيهم  
والظاعنين لرحلة الأضياف  
والرائثين وليس يوجد رائش  
والقائلين هلم للأضياف  
عمرو العلاء هشم الشريد لقومه  
قوم بمكة مسنتين عجاف

وقال عمرو بن الاطنابة : ( ١٩ )

المانعين من الخنا جيرانهم  
والحاشدين على طعام النازل  
الخالطين فقيرهم بغنيهم  
والبازلين عطاءهم للسائل  
لا يطيعون وهم على أحسابهم  
يشفون بالأحلام راء الجاهل  
القائلين ولا يعاب خطيئهم  
يوم المقامة بالكلام الفاصل

قال ضرار بن الخطاب : ( 23 )

أرى ابني لؤى أوشكا أن يسالما      وقد سلكت أبناؤهم كل مسلك  
فيا ابني لؤى إضما يمنع الخنا      أولو العرض والأحساب والتمسك  
فان شقاء الظلم ما قد جمعتما      ومن يتق الأقبوام بالشر يترك  
فان أنتم لم تشأروا بأخيكم      فدكوا الذى أنتم عليه بمدك  
ألم يك منا الجار فيكم فتغضبوا      لما نيل من عرض ومال منهنك

وقال أيضا : ( 24 )

فما السحاب غداة الحر من أحد      بناكل الحد إذ عاينت غسانا  
غادرت منهم بجنب القاع ملحمة      صرعى فما عدلوا يا مي قتلانا  
فلو رأيتهم والخيل تثبتهم      والبييض تأخذهم مثنى ووجدانا  
أيقنت أن بنى فهر وأخوتهم      كانوا لدى القاع يوم الروع فرسانا

واليه نسب الرواة الأبيات التالية : ( 25 )

يا نبي الهدى إليك نجا      حي قريش وأنت خير لجا  
حين ضاقت عليهم سعة الا      رُض وعاداهم إله السماء  
والتقت حلقتا البطان على القوم      ونودوا بالصليم الصلعا  
إن سعدا يريد قاصمة الظهر بأهل الحجون والبطحاء  
خزرجي لو يستطيع من الفيظ      رمانا بالنسر والعواء  
وغير الصدر لا يهيم بشئ      غير سفك الدما وسيي النساء  
قد تلظى على البطاح وجاءت      عنه هند بالسوءة السوآء  
إذ ينادى بذل حي قريش      وابن حرب بذنا من الشهداء

فلئن أقحم اللوا، ونادى يا حماة اللوا، أهل اللوا،  
لتكونن بالبطاح قريش فقعة القاع في أكف الاماء،  
فانهينه فإنه أسد الأسد لدى الغاب والغب في الدماء،  
إنه مطرق يريد لنا الأمر سكوتا كالحية الصماء

وقال ضرار : ( 26 )

تداركت سعدا عنوة فأخذته وكان شفاء لو تداركت منذرا  
ولو نلته طلعت هناك جراحه وكان حريا أن يهان ويهدرا

وقال عبدالله بن الزبيرى : ( 20 )

فذر ذا ولكن هل أتى أم مالك أحاديث قومي والحديث يشيع

وله أيضا : ( 21 )

يا رسول الملوك إن لسانى راتق ما فتقت إن أنا بور

وقال أيضا : ( 22 )

مطاعم فى المقرى مطاعين فى الوغى

زبانية غلب عظام حلومها

قال حسان بن ثابت : ( وردت هذه الأبيات في الديوان مع بعض اختلاف في الرواية وزيادة

بيت على رواية ابن هشام . الديوان تحقيق البرقوقي ص ٣٧٢ ) ( ٢٦ )

فسرنا إليهم بأثقالنا على كل فحل هجان قطم  
جنبنا بهن جيار الخيو ل قد جلولها جلال الأدم  
فلما أناخوا بجنبي صرا ر وشدوا السروج بلى الحزم  
فما راعهم غير معج الخيو ل والزحف من خلفهم قد دهم  
فطاروا سراعاً وقد أفزعوا وجئنا إليهم كأسد الأجم  
على كل سلهبة في الصيا ن لا يشتكين تحول السأم  
وكل كميت مطار الفؤا د أمين الفصوص كمثل الزلم  
عليها فوارس قد عودوا قراع الكماة وضرب البهم  
ملوك إذا غشموا في البلا د لا ينكلون ولكن قدم  
فأبنا بساداتهم والنسا ء وأولادهم فيهم تقتسم  
ورثنا ساكنهم بعدهم وكنا ملوكا بها لم نرم

وقالت سارة القرظية : ( ٢٨ )

بنفس أمة لم تفن شيئا بذى حرض تعفيها الرياح  
كهول من قريظة أتلفتهم سيوف الخزرجية والرماح  
رزئنا والرززية ذات ثقل يمر لأهلها الماء القراح  
ولو أربوا بأمرهم لجالت هنالك دونهم جأوى رداح

وقال الربيع بن أبي الحقيق : ( ٣٠ )

سئمت وأمسيت رهن الفرا ش من جرم قومي ومن مفرم

ومن سفه الرأي بعد النهي وعيب الرشاد ولم يفهم  
فلو أن قومي أطاعوا الحليم لم يتعدوا ولم يظلم  
ولكن قومي أطاعوا الفواة حتى تمكس أهل الدم  
فأودي السفه برأى الحليم وانتشر الأمر لم يبرم

قال العباس بن مرداس : ( 29 )

هجوت صريح الكاهنين وفيكم لهم نعم كانت من الدهر ترتبا  
فبك بنى هارون واذكر فعالهم وقتلهم للجوع إذ كنت مجدبا

وقال كعب بن مالك: (31)

إنك عمر أبيك الكريم إن تسألني عنك من يجتدينا

وله أيضا: (32)

ألا أبلغ قریشا أن سلعا وما بين العريض إلى الصمار

وله أيضا: (33)

قضينا من تهامة كل ريب وخير ثم أجمنا السيوفنا

ولضرار بن الخطاب تنسب هذه القصيدة ومطلعها: (34)

عجبت لفخر الأوس والحين دائر عليهم غدا والدهر فيه بصائر

ولكعب بن مالك تنسب هذه القصيدة ومطلعها: (35)

عجبت لأمر الله والله قادر على ما أراد ليس لله قاهر

واليه أيضا ينسب هذا البيت: (36)

ألا أنعى النبي إلى العالمينا جميعا لا سيما المسلمينا

وقال عبدالله بن رواحة: (37)

لكنني أسأل الرحمن مغيرة وضربة ذات فرغ تقذف الزبدا

أو طعنة بيدي حران مجهزة بحرية تنفذ الأحشاء والكبدا

حتى يقال إذا مروا على جدتي أرشده الله من غاز وقد رشدا

وله أيضا: (38)

إذا أديتني وحمكت رحلي مسيرة أربع بعد الحساء

فشأنك أنعم وخلاك ذم ولا أرجع إلى أهلي ورائي

وجاء المسلمون وغادروني بأرض الشام مشتتني الشبواء

وردك كل ذي نسب قريب  
هنالك لا أبالي طلع بعلى  
إلى الرحمن منقطع الإخاء  
ولا نخل أسافلها رواه

وله أيضا : ( 39 )

أقسمت يا نفس لتنزلنه  
إن أجلب الناس وشدوا الرنة  
لتنزلن أو لتكرهنه  
قد طال ما قد كنت مطمئنة  
مالي أراك تكرهين الجنة  
هل أنت إلا نطفة في شنة

وقال أيضا : ( 40 )

يا نفس إلا تقتلى تموتى  
وما تمنيت فقد أعطيت  
هذا حمام الموت قد صليت  
إن تفعلى فعلهما هديت

وقال أيضا : ( 41 )

جلينا الخيل من أجرٍ وفرع  
حذوناها من الصوان سبتا  
تفر من الحشيش لها العكوم  
أزل كأن صفحته أديم  
أقامت ليلتين على معان  
فرحنا والجياد مسومات  
فلا وأبى مآب لسأتينها  
فعبأنا أعنتها فجاءت  
تنفس فى مناخرها السموم  
وإن كانت بها عرب وروم  
عوابس والغبار لها بريم  
إذا برزت قوانسها النجوم  
أسنتها فتنكح أو تئيم  
فراضية المعيشة طلقها

وله أيضا : ( 42 )

فخبرونى أثمان العباء متى  
كنتم بطاريق أو دانت لكم مضر

وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت : ( 43 )

أيا راكبا إما عرضت فيلفن مفلقلة عنى لئى بن غالب  
رسول امرئ قد راعه ذات بينكم على النأى محزون بذلك ناصب  
وقد كان عندى للهموم معرس فلم أفضى منها حاجتى ومآرى  
نبيتكم شرحين كل قبيلة لها أزمى من بين مذك وحاطب  
أعيزكم بالله من شرّ صنعكم وشرّ تباغيكم ورس العقارب  
وإظهار أخلاق ، ونجوى سقيمة كوخز الأشافى وقعها حق صائب  
فذكرهم بالله أول وهلة وإحلال أحرام الأطباء الشواذب  
وقل لهم والله يحكم حكمه نروا الحرب تذهب عنكم فى المراحب  
متى تبعثوها ، تبعثوها زميمة هي الغول للأقصين أولالأقارب  
تقطع أرحاما ، وتهلك أمة وتبرى السديف من سنام وغارب  
وتستبدلوا بالأتحمية بعدها شليلا وأصداء ثياب المحارب  
وبالمسك والكافور غيرا سوابغا كأن قتيريها عيون الجنادب  
فإياكم والحرب لا تعلقنكم وحوضا وخيم الماء مرّ المشارب  
تزين للأقوام ، ثم يرونها بعاقبة إن بينت ، أمّ صاحب  
تحرق ، لا تشوى ضعيفا ، وتنتحى ذوى العز منكم بالحتوف الصوائب  
ألم تعلموا ما كان فى حرب راحس فتعتبروا أو كان فى حرب حاطب  
وكم قد أصابت من شريف مسود طويل العماد ، ضيفه غير خائب  
عظيم رماد النار يحمى أمره ونى شيمة محض كريم المضارب  
وما هريق فى الضلال كأنما أذاعت به ريح الصبا والجنائب  
يخبركم عنها امرؤ حق عالم بأيامها والعلم علم التجارب  
فبعوا الحراب ملمحارب، وانكروا حسابكم ، والله خير محاسب  
ولى امرئ ، فاختر دينا ، فلا يكن عليكم رقبيا غير رب الشواقب  
أقيموا لنا دينا حنيفا ، فأنتم لنا غاية قد يهتدى بالذوائب

وَأَنْتُمْ لِهَذَا النَّاسِ نُورٌ وَعِصْمَةٌ  
وَأَنْتُمْ - لِأَنَّمَا حَصَلَ النَّاسُ بِمَوْجِهِمْ  
تَصَوَّنُوهُ أَجْرًا كَرَامًا عَقِيْقَةً  
يَرَى لِحَالِ الْحَاجَاتِ تَحْوِيْبِيَّتِكُمْ  
لَقَدْ عَلِمَ الْأَقْوَامُ أَنَّ سِرَاتِكُمْ  
وَأَفْضَلُهُ - أَيًّا وَأَعْلَاهُ - سِنَّةٌ  
فَقَوْمُوا ، فَصَلُّوا بِكُمْ ، وَتَمَسَّكُوا  
فَعِنْدَكُمْ مِنْهُ بِلَادٌ وَبِصَدْرِهِ  
كَلْتِيَّتُهُ بِالرَّهْلِ تَمْسِي ، وَرَجَلُهُ  
فَلَمَّا أَتَاكُمْ نَصَرَ ذِي الْعَرَسَةِ رِدْهَمَ  
فَوَلُّوا سِرَاعًا هَارِبِينَ ، وَلَمْ يُؤَبِّ  
فَإِنْ تَهَلَّلُوا نَهَلِكُ وَتَهَلِّكُ مَوَاسِمُ

تُؤَمِّمُوهُ وَاللَّذَّاهِلَامُ غَيْرُ عَوَازِبِ  
لَكُمْ سِرَّةُ الْبَطْحَاءِ شِمُّ الْأَنْبِ  
مَعْدِيْبَةُ الْأَنْبَابِ غَيْرُ أَشَائِبِ  
عَصَائِبِ هَلْكَى تَهْتَدِي بِعَصَائِبِ  
عَلَى كُلِّ حَالٍ ضَيْرُ أَهْلِ الْجِيَامِ  
وَأَقْوَالُهُ لِلْحَوْرِ وَطُ الْمَوَالِكِ  
بِأَنَّكَ كَانَ هَذَا الْبَيْتَ بَيْنَ الْأَخَائِبِ  
غَدَاةٌ أُنْفِ يَكْسُومُ هَارِي الْبَلْتَائِبِ  
عَلَى الْقَاذِفَاتِ فِي رُؤْسِ الْمَنَاقِبِ  
جِنُودِ الْمَلِيكِ بَيْنَ سَافِي وَطَائِبِ  
إِلَى أَهْلِهِ مِ الْبَشْرِ غَيْرِ عَصَائِبِ  
يَعَا سَهْ جَعَا ، قَوْلُ امْرِئٍ غَيْرِ كَاذِبِ

وقال عبيد الله بن رواحة ( 45 )

رميناك أيام الفجار فلم تزل حميا فمن يشرب فلست بشارب

وقال حسان بن ثابت : ( 46 )

ونحن إذا ما الحرب حل صرارها وحادت على الحلاب بالموت والدم  
ولم يرح إلا كل أروع ماجد شديد القوى ذى عزة وتكرم  
نكون زمام القائدين إلى الوغى إذا الفشل الرعديد لم يتقدم

وقال قيس بن الخطيم : ( 47 )

وأنا إذا ما مستروا الحرب بلحوا نقيم بأسبار العرين لواءها  
ونلقحها مسورة ضرزنية بأسيفنا حتى نذل إباءها

وله أيضا : ( 48 )

وإنني في الحرب الضروس موكل بإقدام نفس ما أريد بقاءها

وقال حسان : ( 49 )

لساني وسيفى صارمان كلاهما ويبلغ ما لا يبلغ السيف مذودى

وله أيضا : ( 50 )

فلست لحاصن إن لم تزركم خلال الدار مشعلة طحون  
يدين لها العزيز إذا رآها ويهرب من مخافتها القطين  
تشيب الناهد المنذراء منها ويسقط من مخافتها الجنين

وقال قيس بن الخطيم : ( 51 )

زرناهم بالخميس ضاحية تزجى إلى الموت جحفا لجبا  
جاءت بنو الأوس عارضا بردا تحلبه الريح مقبلا حلبا

أرعن مثل الأنبي أعقبه صوب ملث يسيل الحدبا  
وله أيضا: (52)

طعنت ابن عبدالقيس طعنة ثائر لها نفذ لولا الشعاع أضاءها  
ملكنت بها كفي فأنهزت فتقها يرى قائما من خلفها ما وراءها  
وله أيضا: (53)

كأن رؤوس الخزرجيين إذ بدت كئائبنا تترى مع الصبح حنظل  
وله أيضا: (54)

تراهن يخلجن خلع الدلا \* تختلج السنزع أشطانها  
وله أيضا: (55)

تري قصد المران تهوى كأنها تذرع خرصان بأيدي الشواطب  
وله أيضا: (56)

مضاعفة يفش الأنامل فضلها كأن قتيريها عيون الجناب  
وله أيضا: (57)

بكل لين ماض ضريبته غضب إذا ما هززته رسبا

وقال حسان: (58)

وأبقا لنا مر الحروب ورزؤها

سيوفا وأدراعا وجمعا عرمرما

وقال أيضا: (59)

ولا تعجلن يا قيس واربع فإنما قصارك أن تلقى بكل مهند  
حسام وأرماع بأيدي أعزة متى ترهم يا ابن الخطيم تبلد

وقال قيس بن الطيم : (63) a.  
أتعرف رسماً كاطراد المذهب  
لعرة وصفاً غير موقف ركب

وقال أيضا : (64) a.

أجالدهم يوم الحديقة حاسرا  
كأن يدي بالسيف مترافه للاعب  
وقال درهم به زيد الأوسي : (65)

منعنا على نعم ابنه عجلانه ضيماً  
ضربناهم حتى استباحنا يوفنا  
بمصرفة كالملاح صحنه الصقل  
صماهم فولوا هاربين من القتل

ورر سارة الأوسى ما قال مالك  
بضرب كأفواه المعبدة الهدل

وقال قيس بن الطيم (61)

تقينا بالفضاء كثور من صفتف  
لقيناهم بطل أخى صروب  
بني عوف وإخوتهم تزيديا  
يقود مراده جمعاً عنيدا

وله أيضا : (62)

أصاب القتل ساعده به كعب  
وقدر العزائم فحى طريف  
وفادر في مجالسها قرودا  
وأقيان يصوغونه الحديدرا

وله أيضا : (63) b.

ونجيت عنده يوم كنتني عشيري  
ويوم بهات كان يوم التغالب

وقال مضير الكناشب : (64) b.

يا قوم قد أصبحتم دوارا  
لمعشر قد قتلوا الحيارا

يوشك أن يتأصلوا الديارا

ولحمود وليبيد ابنا خليفة به ثعلبة نيب هذا الرجز : (65)  
أي غلامي ملك ترائنا  
في الحرب إذا رأيت بنا رحانا

وعدد الناس لنا مكانا

وحملت الأوس حضيرا من الجراح التي به وهم يرتجزون حوله ويقولون : (66)

كتيبة زينها مولاها لا كهلها عد ولا فتاها

وقال قيس بن الخطيم : (67)

صبحنا بها الآطام حول مزاحم قوانس أولى بيضنا كالكوكب

وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت : (68)

أسرت مخلدا فعفوت عنه مزينه عنده ويهود قورى  
وعند الله صالح ما أتيت وقومى كل ذلكم كفيت

وقال خفاف بن ندبة : (69)

لو أن العنايا حدن عن نى مهابة لهبن حضيرا يوم أغلق واقما  
أطاف به حتى إذا الليل جنه تباؤا منه منزلا متناعما

وقال أيضا : (70)

أتانى حديث فكذبتة وقيل خليلك فى المرمس  
فيا عين بكى حضير الندى حضير الكتائب والمجلس  
ويوم شديد أوار الحديد تقطع منه عرى الأنفس  
صليت به وعليك الحديد ما بين سلع إلى الأعرس  
فأودى بنفسك يوم الوغى ونقى ثيابك لم تدنس

وقال قيس بن الخطيم : (71)

ونحن هزمننا جمعكم بكتيبة تضال منها حزن قورى وقاعها  
إذا هم جمع بانصراف تعطفوا تعطف ورد الخمس أظت رباعها  
تركنا بعاشا يوم ذلك منهم وقورى على رغم شباعا ضباعها

وقال أيضا: (٦٢)

أنت عصب م الكاهنين ومالك  
رجال متى يدعوا إلى الموت يبرقوا  
وشعلة الأشرين رهط ابن غالب  
إليه كإرقال الجمال المصاعب  
إذا فزعوا مدوا إلى الليل صارخا  
كسج الأتي المزيد المتراكب

وقال أيضا: (٦٣)

كنا إذا رامنا قوم بمظلمة  
نسوا الرهون وآسونا بأنفسهم  
شدت لنا الكاهنان الخيل واعتزموا  
بنو الصريح فقد عفوا وقد كرموا

وقال عبدالله بن رواحة: (٦٤)

فخرتم بجمع زاركم في دياركم  
أباح حصونا ثم سعد بيتي  
تغفل حتى دوفعوا بالرواجب  
مظنة حي في قريظة هارب

وقال حسان بن ثابت: (٦٥)

بالكاهنين الذين جدهم  
عبد العصا واللثام إن أسفوا

وقال كعب بن أسد القرظي: (٦٦)

لا تعدم الأوس منا في مواطنها  
لا نستخف إذا كان الصياح ولا  
نابا لمن نابها في الحرب ميمونا  
نعطي السوايح إلا أهلها فينا

وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت: (٦٧)

وقد سرنى من قومنا أن قومنا  
أنابوا إلى قول المليك وسلموا  
غداة بعث حين ولوا وأدبروا  
وعادوا لما كانوا من الحق أنكروا  
وآب زووا الأحلام منهم لأمرهم  
وأمسس أولوا العمياء فيها قد أبصروا

وقال قيس بن الخطيم: (٦٨)

لما دعاهم للموت سيدهم ثابت إليهم جموعهم عسبا

وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت: (79)

ولو أدركتك أبا حباب خيلنا  
لما غدت منك السباع الروود  
في فيلق جاؤا يلمع بيضها  
لمع اليراق فالديبا المتبدر  
لتبعت نعمانا وعمرا وابنه  
وشويت فوق الأرض غير موسد

وقال قيس بن الخطيم: (80)

سل المرء عبدالله إذ فر عل رأى

كتائبنا في الحرب كيف مصاعها

ولو قام لم يلق الأحبة بعدها  
ولاقى أسودا عصرها ودفاعها

وقال أيضا: (81)

ومنا الذي آلى ثلاثين ليلة  
عن الخمر حتى زاركم بالكتائب

وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت: (82)

وغودر كبش القوم يكبوا بطعنة  
لها نفت تحت الشرايين منهـر

وله أيضا: (83)

على أن قد فجعت بندي حفاظ  
فعاودني له حزن رصين  
فأما تقتلوه فإن عمرا  
أعـض برأسه غضب سنين

وقال قيس بن الخطيم: (84)

أطاعت بنو عوف أميرا نهاهم  
عن السلم حتى كان أول واجب

وله أيضا: (85)

غودر عند المكر سيدهم  
فيه سنان تخاله لهبا

(86)

فصمدوا رأس كبش إخوتهم حتى تولوا واستنفروا هربا

وقال أيضا : ( 87 )

ولما هبطنا الحرث قال أميرنا  
فسامحه منا رجال أعزة  
حرام علينا الخمر ما لم نضارب  
فما برحوا حتى أحلت لشارب

وقال أيضا : ( 88 )

قالت بنو الأوس من عفافهم  
مروا ولا تأخذوا لهم سلبا

وقال حسان بن ثابت : ( 89 )

جاءت مزينة من عمق لتنصرهم  
فكل شيء سوى أن تذكروا شرفا  
إنجى مزينة في أستاذك القتل  
أو تبلغوا حسبا من شأنكم جليل  
قوم مدانيس لا يمشى بعقوتهم  
جار وليس لهم في موطن بطل

وقال كعب بن زهير : ( 90 )

صبحن الخزرجية مرهفات  
أبان ذوى أرومتها ذوهها

وقال قيس بن الخطيم : ( 91 )

ألم خيال ليلي أم عمرو  
تقول ظعيني لما استقلت  
ولم يللم بنا إلا لأمر  
أترك ما جمعت صريم سحر  
فقلت لها ذريني إن مالى  
فلمست لحاصن إن لم ترونا  
يروح إذا غلبتهم ويسرى  
نجالدكم كأننا شرب خمر  
وتحمل حريهم عنا قريش  
كأن بنا نهم تفريك بسر  
وتدرك فى الخزاج كل وتر  
بذم الكاهنين وذم عمرو

ومنها أيضا : ( 92 )

ألا أبلغ بنى ظفر رسولا  
فلم تذلل بيثرب غير شهر  
خذلناه وأسلمنا الموالي  
وفارقنا الصريح لغير فقر

قال حسان بن ثابت: (93)

ونحن إذا ما الحرب حل صرارها  
وجادت على الحلاب بالموت والدم

وقال قيس بن الخطيم: (94)

ونلقحها مسورة ضرزنية  
بأسيافنا حتى نذل إباءها

وقال عبدالله بن رواحة: (95)

لو كنت فيهم والحرب لاقحة  
لكنت فيهم مغلبا زنبا

وقال قيس: (96)

رجال متى يدعوا إلى الموت يرقلوا  
إليه كإرقال الجمال المصائب

وله أيضا: (97)

فهلا لدى الحرب العوان صبرتم  
لوقعتنا والبأس صعب المراكب

وله أيضا: (98)

وكنت امرأ لا أبعث الحرب ظالما  
فلما أبوا أشعلتها كل جانب

وله أيضا: (99)

إن بنى الأوس حين تستعمر السحرب  
لكالنار تأكل الحطبا

وقال أيضا: (100)

فلما رأيت الحرب حربا تجردت  
لبست مع البردين ثوب المحارب

وقال أيضا: (101)

وأى أخى حرب إذا هي شمرت  
ومدرة خصم بعد ذاك أكون

وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت : ( ١٥٢ )

حتى تجلت ولنا غاية من بين جمع غير جماع

وقال قيس بن الخطيم : ( ١٥٣ )

وكنت امرأ لا أبعث الحرب ظالما فلما أبوا أشعلتها كل جانب  
أريت بدفع الحرب حتى رأيتها عن الدفع لا تزداد غير تقارب  
فإن لم يكن عن غاية الموت مدفع فأهلا بها إن لم تنزل في المراحب

وقال لرهيم بن زيد الأوسي : ( ١٥٤ )

والبييض قد ثلمت مضاربها بها نفوس الكمأة تختطف  
كأنها في الأكف إن لمعت وميض برق يبدو وينكشف

وقال قيس بن الخطيم : ( ١٥٥ )

أجالدهم يوم الحديقة حاسرا كأن يبدى بالسيف مخراق لاعب  
بسيف كأن الماء في صفحاته طحارير غيم أو قرون جناب

وله أيضا : ( ١٥٦ )

كأن بطونهن سيوف هند إذا ما هن زایلن الغمودا

وله أيضا : ( ١٥٦ )

إذا سقمت نفسي إلى ندى عداوة

فإنى بنصل السيف باغ رواها

وقال حسان به ثابت : ( ١٠٨ )  
فدى لبني النجار أُمِّي وفالتي غداة أتوكم بالثقفه السر

وقال كعب به مالك : ( ١٠٩ )  
بجديات بالذكف نواهل وبكل أبيض كالغدير مصند

وقال حسان به ثابت : ( ١١٥ )  
ليوت لدى الأشبال محمي عرينها مداعين بالخطي في كل مشهد

وقال عبير به نافذ : ( ١١١ )  
نجاك منا بعدما قد أشرعت فيك الرماح هناك المذهب

وقال حسان بن ثابت ( ١١٢ )

نهز القنا في صدور الكماة حتى تكسر أعوادها

وقال أبوقيس بن الأسلت ( ١١٣ )

وتركت سيدكم يبوؤ بطعنة من ناعر عن ذي سنان مصرد

وقال قيس بن الخطيم ( ١١٤ )

ترى قصد المران تهوى كأنها تذرع خرصان بأيدي الشواطب

وله أيضا ( ١١٥ )

غودر عند المكر سيدهم فيه سنان تخاله لهبا

وله أيضا ( ١١٦ )

مضاعفة يغش الأنامل فضلها كأن قتيريها عيون الجناب

وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت ( ١١٦ )

أعدت للأعداء موضونة فضفاضة كالنهي بالقاع

وله أيضا ( ١١٨ )

بكل دلاص كالأضاعة مفاضة وخيل كأمثال السراحين ضم

وقال حسان بن ثابت ( ١١٩ )

تحفز عنى نجاد السيف سابغة تغشى الأنامل مثل النهي بالقاع

وقال كعب بن مالك ( ١٢٥ )

ومفاضة زغف تمر فصولها مور الأضاعة على العزار الجدجد

وقال عمرو بن أمية القيس ( ١٢١ )

يمشون في البيض والدروع كما تمشى جمال مصاعب قطف

وقال حسان بن ثابت ( ١٢٢ )

- ترانا من البيض سفع الخدو د نلبس للحرب أسبارها  
وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت ( ١٢٣ )  
قد حصت البيضة رأسى فما أطعم نوما غير تهجاء  
وقال درهم بن زيد الأوسي ( ١٢٤ )  
أبيض حصن لهم إذا فزعوا وسابغات كأنها النطف  
وقال قيس بن الخطيم ( ١٢٥ )  
صبحنا بها الآطام حول مزاحم قوانس أولى بيضنا كالكواكب  
وله أيضا ( ١٢٦ )  
صبحناهم شهباء يبرق بيضها تبين خلاهيل النساء الهوارب  
وقال أيضا ( ١٢٧ )  
كقيلنا للمقدمين قفوا عن شأوكم والحراب تختلف  
يتبع آشارها إذا اختلجت سخن عبيط عروقه تكف  
وله أيضا ( ١٢٨ )  
جنبنا الحراب وراء الصريخ حتى تقصف مرانها  
تراهن يخلجن خلع الدلاء تختلج النزع أشطانها  
وقال حسان بن ثابت ( ١٢٩ )  
وكم قتلنا من رانس لكم فى فيلق يجتدى له التلف  
وقال قيس بن الخطيم ( ١٣٠ )  
ونحن حماة الحرب ليس تضيرنا نسوق خميسا كالقطا متبذرا  
وله أيضا ( ١٣١ )  
زرناهم بالخميس ضاحية نرجى الى الموت جحفا لجبا

وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت (132)

ندودهم عنا بمستنة ذات عرانيين وذفاع

وقال حسان بن ثابت (133)

فلست لحاصن إن لم تزركم خلال الدار مشعلة طحون

وقال قيس بن الخطيم (134)

وملمومة كصفاة المصيل دارت رحاها ودرنا بها

وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت (135)

وما علموا حتى بدت من ديارنا ملممة فيها القنى والسنور

وقال قيس بن الخطيم (136)

لقيناهم بكل أذى حروب يقود وراءه جمعا عتيذا

وقال أيضا (137)

وأقبلت من أرض الحجاز بحلبة تغم الفضاء كالقفا المتبدرا

وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت (138)

في فيلق جاؤا يلمع بيضها لمع اليراق فالدبا المتبدر

وله أيضا (139)

لا نألم القتل ونجزى به آل أعداء كيل الصاع بالصاع

وله أيضا (140)

حتى تجلت ولنا غايية من بين جمع غير جماع

وقال قيس بن الخطيم (141)

صبحناكم منا به كل فارس كريم النشا يحيى الذمار ليحمدا

- وقال أيضا ( ١٤٢ )  
أنتهم عرانيين من مالك  
سراع إلى الروع فتياها
- وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت ( ١٤٣ )  
نذودهم عنا بمسنة  
ذات عرانيين ورفاع
- وقال حسان بن ثابت ( ١٤٤ )  
أشم طويل الساعدين سميذع  
معيد قراع الدارعين مكلم
- وله أيضا ( ١٤٥ )  
بكل فتى عارى الأشاجع لاحه  
قراع الكماء يرشح المسك والدماء
- وقال قيس بن الخطيم ( ١٤٦ )  
أكنتم تحسبون قتال قومي  
كأكلكم الفغايا والهبيدا
- وقال حسان بن ثابت ( ١٤٧ )  
فقد زافت الأوس القتال وطردت  
تناغى لدى الأبواب حورا نواعما  
وأنت لدى الكنات كل مطرد  
وكحل مآقيك الحسان بإثمد
- وقال قيس بن الخطيم ( ١٤٨ )  
أراني كلما صدرت أمرا  
بني الرقعاء جشمكم صعورا
- وقال حسان بن ثابت ( ١٤٩ )  
نفتم عن العليا أم لثيمة  
وزند متى تقدح به النار يصد
- وقال عبدالله بن رواحه ( ١٥٠ )  
زعمتم أنما نلتم ملوك  
السحجاز وأنما نلنا عبيدا

وقال حسان بن ثابت ( ١٥١ )

بلغ عنى النبىء قافية  
بالله جهدا لنقتلنكم  
أو ندع فى الأوس دعوة هربا  
كنتم عبيدا لنا تخولكم  
تذلمهم أنهم لنا حلفوا  
قتلا عنيفا والخيل تنكشف  
وقد بدا فى الكتيبة النصف  
من جاءنا والعبيد تضطعف

وقال قيس بن الخطيم ( ١٥٢ )

فلن ننفك نقتل ما حيننا  
رجالكم ونجعلكم عبيدا

وقال حسان بن ثابت ( ١٥٣ )

وفى كل يوم لنا غارة  
على الأوس نقتل أسادها

وله أيضا ( ١٥٤ )

ألم نترك ماتم معولات  
لهن على سراتكم رنين

وقال قيس بن الخطيم ( ١٥٥ )

أصابت سراة م الأغر سيوفنا  
وغودر أولاد الاماء الحواطب

وله أيضا ( ١٥٦ )

رضيت لهم إذ لا يريمون قعرها  
فلولا نرى الآطام قد تعلمونه  
فلم تمنعوا منا مكانا نريده  
إلى عازب الأموال إلا بصاحب  
وترك الفضا شوركتم فى الكواعب  
لكم محرزا إلا ظهور المشارب

وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت ( ١٥٦ )

ورجل كريعان السراب أمامه  
كراديس فيهم دارعون وحسر

وقال حسان بن ثابت ( ١٥٨ )

كنا إذ نساميكم رجالا  
جمال حين يجتلدون جـون

وقال قيس بن الخثيم : ( 159 )

وملحومة كصفاء المسيل دانت - ماها ودرنا بها  
شينا إبيها كجرب الجمال باقي الهناء بأقرا بها

وقال أيضا : ( 160 )

إذا هم جمع بانصراف تعطفوا تعطف ورد الخس ألت رباعرا

وقال أيضا : ( 161 )

ظأ - ناكم بالبض حتى لئن تموا أزل منه القبان بين الخراب

وقال أيضا : ( 162 )

وكأنهم في الحرب لاذ تعلوهم غنم تعبطها غواة شروب

وقال أيضا : ( 163 )

وحن حماة الحرب ليت نضيرنا نوق خمياً كالقطا متبدا

وقال صاه به ثابت : ( 164 )

يلهيف بكم منه النجار قوم كأسد الغاب مكفها عرين  
يظل الليث فيها متكيناً له في كل ملتفت أ نين

وقال قيس بن الخثيم : ( 165 )

أنت عصابة للذوس نخر بالقنا كشي الأسود في شاش الأهاضب

وقال أيضا : ( 166 )

كأنا وقد أجهلوا الناعه ناسهم أ سود لرا في عيص بيته أشبل

وقال أيضا : ( 167 )

منى تلقوا - جمال الأوس تلقوا لباس أ سود وجلود نخر

وقال أيضا ( 168 )

إذا ما فررنا كان أوا فرانا صدور الخدود وازوار الخالك  
صدور الخدود والقنات ساجر ولاتبرح الأقدام عند التضارب

وقال أيضا ( ١٦٩ )

فليت سويداء را من جر منكم ومن فر إن يحدونهم كالجلائب

وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت ( ١٦٥ )

نجا مالك تحت الغبار ولم يكد وللنفس أيام تعد وتقدر

وقال عبيد بن نافذ ( ١٦١ )

لكن فرار أبي الحباب بنفسه ولي وألقى يوم ذلك درعه نجاك منا بعدما قد أشرعت  
يوم السرارة سيء منه الأقرب إن قيل جاء الموت خلفك يطلب فيك الرماح هناك شد المذهب

وقال قيس بن الخطيم ( ١٦٢ )

فما الأسد باللاتي الغريف مقلها ولكن أسد الغاب جافه ذى الجدر

وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت ( ١٦٣ )

وغودر كبش القوم يكبوا بطعنة لها نفث تحت الشرايين منهر

وله أيضا ( ١٦٤ )

وتركت سيدكم يبو بطعنة من ناعر عن ذى سنان مصرر

وقال قيس بن الخطيم ( ١٦٥ )

طعنت ابن عبد القيس طعنة ثائر ملكت بها كفى فانهرت فتقها لها نفذ لولا الشعاع أضاءها يرى قائما من خلفها ما وراءها

وقال حسان بن ثابت ( ١٦٦ )

وأفلت يوم الروع أوس بن خالد يمح دما كالرعث مختضب النحر

وله أيضا ( ١٦٦ )

بضرب تآذن الحسن له وطعان مثل أفواه الفقر

وله أيضا (١٦٨)

فإن تنج منى يا جويي فإنها رحاب كجوف الغار مظلمة القعر

وقال درهم بن زيد الأوسي (١٦٩)

ورد سراة الأوس ما قال مالك بضرب كأفواه المعبدة الهدل

وقال عروة بن الورد أو حسان بن ثابت (١٨٥)

ففدا أمي لعوف كلها ونى الأبيض في يوم الدرك  
منعوا ضيمي بضرب صائب تحت أطراف السرايل هتك  
وبنان نادر أطرافها وعراقيب تفسا كالفلك

وقال قيس بن الخطيم (١٨١)

كأن رؤوس الخزرجيين إذ بدت كتائبنا تترى مع الصبح حنظل

وقال أيضا (١٨٢)

ألا إن بين الشرعبي وراتج ضرابا كتخديم السيال المعضد

وقال أيضا (١٨٣)

وتفقدوا تسعين من سرواتكم أشباه نخل صرعت لجنوب

وقال أيضا (١٨٤)

لو أنك تلقى حنظلا فوق بيضنا تدحرج عن نى سامه المتقارب

وقال أيضا (١٨٥)

وأقبلت من أرض الحجاز بحلبة تغم الفضاء كالقطا المتبدر

وقال أيضا (١٨٦)

لما أنت من بنى عمرو ململمة بها تهد حزون الأرض والأكم

وقال أيضا (١٨٦)

ترى اللابة السوداء يحمر لونها ويسهل منها كل ريع وفدند

وله أيضا ( ١٨٨ )

فما أبقت سيوف الأوس منكم  
وحد ظباتها إلا شريدا

وله أيضا ( ١٨٩ )

يعرين بيضا حين نلقى عدونا  
ويغمدن حمرا ناحلات المضارب

وقال حسان بن ثابت ( ١٩٥ )

إذا ما غضبنا بأسيا فإنا  
جعلنا الجماجم أغمادها

وقال عبدالله بن رواحه ( ١٩١ )

فخرتم بجمع زاركم في دياركم  
تفلفل حتى دوفعوا بالرواجب

وقال أنس بن العلاء ( ١٩٢ )

صبحناهم عند القتال بغارة  
يعض على أطرافه كلما بدا  
لنا فارس يبغي القتال تنجدا  
فأصبح قيس بعدها متلدرا

وقال أبو قيس بن الأسلت ( ١٩٣ )

في كل ناحية هنالك منكم قتلى  
تركت نساءكم أيامي بعدها  
من بين مسلبة وبين مجدة  
جزعا لأخي حفاظ مقصد  
تروح لها السباع وتفتدى  
واستبدلت عننا خلاف الأشد

وقال عبدالله بن رواحه ( ١٩٤ )

وما نبغى من الأحلاف وترا  
وكان نساءكم في كل دار  
تركنا جحجبي كينات فقع  
ورعط أبي أمية قد أبحنا  
وقد نلنا الصور والمسودا  
يهرشن المعاصم والخدودا  
وعوفا في مجالسها قعودا  
وأوس الله أتبعنا ثمودا

قال أبو قيس بن الأسلت : ( ١٩٥ )

قالت - ولم تقصد لقليل الخنا - مهلا فقد أبلغت أسمعاع  
أنكرته حين توسمته والحرب غول ذات أوجاع  
من يذوق الحرب يجد طعامها مرا وتحبسه بجعاع  
قد حصت البيضة رأسى فما أطعم نوما غير تهجاع  
أسعى على جل بنى مالك كل امرئ فى شأنه ساع  
أعدت للاعداء موضونة فضفاضة كالنهي بالقاع  
أحفزها عنى بذى رونق مهند كالملاح قطاع  
صدق حسام وادق حده ومجنبا أسمر قراع  
بز امرئ مستبسل حاذر للدهر جلد غير مجزاع  
الحزم والقوة خير من الا دهان والفكة والهعاع  
ليس قطا مثل قطى ولا المرعى فى الأقوام كالرعى  
لا نالم القتل ونجزى به الا عداء كيل النصاع بالصاع  
ندودهم عنا بمستننة ذات عرانيين ورفاع  
كأننا أسد لدى أشبل ينتهن فى غيل وأجزاع  
حتى تجلت ولنا غاية من بين جمع غير جماع  
هلا سألت الخيل ان قلصت ما كان إبطائى وإسراعى  
هل أبذل المال على حبه فيهم وآنتى دعوة الداعى  
وأضرب القونس يوم الوغى بالسيف لم يقصر به باعى  
وأقطع الخرق يخاف الردى فيه على أدماء هلعواع  
ذات أساهيج جمالية حششتها كورى وأتساع

تعطى على الأين وتنجومن الضرب أمون غير مظلاع  
كأن أطراف ولياتها في شمال حصاء زعزاع  
أزين الرحل بمعقوفة حارية أو ذات أقطاع  
أقضى بها الحاجات إن الفتى رهن بنى لونه خداع

قال قيس بن الخطيم : ( ١٩٦ )

الحمد لله زى البنية إن أمست دحي قد أثخت غلبا  
يركب حزن الطريق أولهم يدعو بنى عمه وقد كربا  
غودر عند المكر سيدهم فيه سنان تخاله لها  
وابنا حرام وثابت كشفت خيلاهما عنهما وقد عطبا  
زرناهم بالخميس ضاحية نزجى إلى الموت جحفا لجبا  
جاءت بنو الأوس عارضا بردا تحلبه الريح مقبلا حلبا  
أرعن مثل الأتي أعقبه صوب ملث يسيل الحدبا  
إن بنى الأوس حين تستعر الحرب لكالسنار تأكل الحطبا  
إن بنى الأوس معشر صدقوا الضرب وسنوا الاساء والنديبا  
فصمدوا رأس كبش اخوتهم حتى تولوا واستنفروا هربا  
بكل لين ماض ضريبته غضب إذا ما هززته رسبا  
قالت بنو الأوس من عفافهم مروا ولا تأخذوا لهم سلبا  
تسوق أخراهم أوائلهم كما يسوق المعارض الجلبا  
لما دعاهم للموت سيدهم ثابت إليهم جموعهم عسبا

وقال عبدالله بن رواحه ( ١٩٦ )

إذا غيرت أحساب قوم وجدتنا      ذوى نائل فيها كرام المضارب  
نحامي على أحسابنا بتلادنا      لمفتقر أو سائل الحق راغب  
وأعمى هدته للسبيل حلومنا      وخصم أقمنا بعد ما لج شارب  
ومعترك ضنك ترى الماء وسطه      مشينا له مشي الجمال المصعب  
بخرس ترى الماذى فوق جلودهم

ويضا نقاء مثل لون الكواكب  
فهم جسر تحت الدروع كأنهم  
مع الصبر منسوب السيوف القواضب  
معاقلهم فى كل يوم كرهية  
تغفل حتى دوفعوا بالرواجب  
فخرتم بجمع زاركم فى دياركم  
مظنة حى فى قريظة هارب  
أباح حصونا ثم صعد يبتغى

وقال كعب بن مالك ( ١٩٨ )

زعم ابن الأسلت أننا لم نتثر  
بمذريات بالأكف نواهل  
ومفاضة زعف تمور فصوصها  
وفتية غلب الرقاب مفاور  
من يلقهم يوم الكرهية يبعد  
أنسيت قومك سودتك رماحهم  
بعد المشيب وكنت غير مسود  
ولقد رأيت أبا عقيل بالوغا  
فصدرت عنه بالنجاء الأجر  
وضننت عنه بالحياة وقد شوى  
وتركته بالمتن غير مولى

وقال الأسود بن عبدالمطلب (199)

ويعتصم من النوم السهود  
على بدر تقاصرت الحدود  
وتخروم ورهط أبي الوليد  
وبكى حارثا أسد الأسود  
وما لأبي حكيمة من نديد  
ولولا يوم بدر لم يسودوا

أتبى أن يضل لها بعير  
فلا تبكى على بكر و لكن  
على بدر سراة بنى هُصَيْن  
وبكى إن بكيت على عقيل  
وبكيتهم ولا تسمى جميعا  
ألا قد ساد بعدهم رجال

وقال حسان بن ثابت (200)

يدعى بعاند مضط مسفوح  
قد عرَّ مارن أنفه بقبوح

والمرء زمعة قد تركن ونخره  
متوسداً حرَّ الجبين معفراً

وقال الحارث بن هشام (201)

حتى علوا فرسى بأشقر مزبد  
في مازق الخيل له تتبدد  
أقتل ولا يضر رعدوى شهدي  
لمحالههم بعقاب يوم مرصد

الله يعلم ما تركت قتا لهم  
وشممت ربح الموت من تلقائهم  
وعلمت ألى إن أقاتل واحداً  
نصددت عنهم والأجبة فيهم

وقال أبو أسامة معاوية بن زهير (202)

وقد زالت سهامتهم لنفر  
كأن خيارهم أدياح عثر  
ولقينا المنايا يوم بدر  
كأن زهاءهم غطيان بحر

ولما أن رأيت القوم خفوا  
وأن تركت سراة القوم صرعى  
وكانت جمعةً وافتجما ما  
نصدعن الطريق وأدركونا

وله أيضا (203)

كأن طبائهن جحيم جحر  
وصفراء البراية ذات أزر

بيض كالأسنة مرهفات  
وأكلف بجناً من جلد ثور

عسير بالمداوس نصف شهر  
لكشيته خادر ليت سبطر

ينوء كأنه غصن قصيف  
مسححة لعاندها حفيف  
وقبل أخو مدارة عزوف

أسود لقاء لا يرجي كليهما  
لمنخر سوء من لوى عظيمها  
سواء عدينا حلفها وصيها

عند الهياج وساعة الأحساب  
سرطى الجراء خيفة الأقراب  
ترجو النجاء فليس حين ذهاب  
تعض الأسنان ضاع الأسلاب  
لأنك أحمم شابت الأنياب

فبحوت مبي الحارت بن هشام  
ونجا برأس طيرة ورجام  
سرحان غاب في ظلال غمام  
سرّ الدموك بمحصد ورجام  
وثوى أحبته بشر مقام

وأبيض كالغد يرتوى عليه  
أرقل في حمائله وأمشى  
وقال أيضا (204)

وقرن قد تركت عاى يديه  
دلفت له إذا اختلطوا بحرى  
فذلك كان صنتى يوم بدر

وقال كعب بن مالك (205)  
فساروا وسرنا نالقتنا كأننا  
ضربنا هر حتى هوى فى مكرنا  
فولوا وودسناهم بيض صورم

وقال حسان بن ثابت (206)  
يا حار قد عولت غير معرول  
إذا تمطى سرح اليدى بنجيبه  
والقوم خلفك قد تركت قتالهم  
هلا عطفت عاى بن أمك إذ توى  
جهم العرك لودهيت عتاهما

وله أيضا (207)

إن كنت كاذبة الذى حدثنى  
ترك الأجنة أن يقاتل دونهم  
جرداء تمزق فى العبار كأنها  
تذر العناجج الجياد بقفرة  
ملأت به الفرجين فارمدت به

وله أيضا ( 208 )

من كل مأسور يُتَدَّ صفاده  
وَجَدَل لا يَسْتَجِيب لدعوة  
وله أيضا ( 209 )

نَجى حكيما يوم بدر ركضه  
ألقى السلاح وفرعها مَحْمِلا  
لما رأى بدرا تسيل جلاهما  
صبر يساقون الكماة حتونها  
كم فيهم من ماجد ذي سورة  
ومسود يعطى الجزيل بكفه  
زيتن الندي معا وديوه الوغى  
أوكل أدوع ماجد ذي سورة

وقال أبو أسامة معاوية بن زهير ( 210 )

وقد تركت سراة القوم صرعى

وقال المجذّر بن زياد ( 211 )

وأعبط القرن بسبب مشرفي

وقال حسان بن ثابت ( 212 )

لما رأى بدرا تسيل جلاهما

وقال شداد بن الأسود ( 213 )

إذا لظَلَّت من وجد عليهم

وقال حسان بن ثابت ( 214 )

بيض إذا لاقت حديدا حمت

صقرا إذا لاقى الكتيبة حامي  
حتى تزول شواخح الأعلام

كجاء مهر من بات الأعوج  
كالهبرري بزل فوق المنسج  
بكتائب ملأوس أو ماخرج  
يمشون مهيعة الطريق المنهج  
بطل بمكرهه المكان المخرج  
حمال أثقال الديات متوج  
ضرب الكماة بكل أبيض سلجج  
أوكل مسترخي الجاء مدحج

كان رؤوسهم حدج نقيف

أرزم للعوت كارزام المرى

بكتائب ملأوس أو ماخرج

كأم التقب جائلة المرام

كالبرق تحت ظلال كل غمام

وله أيضا ( 215 )

جرداء تمزج في الغبار كأنها

وله أيضا ( 216 )

ونجا ابن خضراء العجان حويرث

وقال أبو أسامة معاوية بن زهير ( 217 )

أخوض الصرة الجماء خوضا

سرحان غاب في ظلال غمام

يغاي الدماغ به كغاي الزيرج

إذا ما الكلب ألحاه الشفيف

وقال أبو سفيان بن حرب ( 218 )

وسأى الذي قد كان في النفس أنى

وسرهاشم قرما كريما ومصعبا

ولو أنى لم أشف نفسي منهم

نآبوا وقد أودى الجلابيب منهم

أصابهم من لم يكن لدمائهم

قتلت من الجمار كل نجيب

وكان لدى الهجاء غير هيب

لكانت شجأ في القلب ذات ندوب

بغير خدب من معطب وكثيب

كفاء ولا في خطه بصريب

وقال هبيرة بن أبي زهب ( 219 )

سقنا كنانة من أطراف ذي يمن

قالت كنانة أي تذهبون بنا؟

عرض البلاد على ما كان يزيها

قلنا النخيل فأدوها ومن فيها

وله أيضا ( 220 )

نحن الفوارس يوم الجر من أحد

هابوا ضرابا ولبنا صادقا خدما

ثم رحنا كأننا عارض برد

كان هامهم عند الوغى فاق

أوحنظل زعدته الريح في غصن

هابت معد فقلنا نحن نأتيها

مما يرون وقد ضمت قواصيها

وقاد هام بن النجار بيكيها

من قبض ربد نقتله عن أديها

بال تعاوره منها سوا فيها

وقال عبد الله بن الزهري ( 221 )

أبلغ احسان عن آية

تقرض الشعر شفى ذا الغلل

وأكف قد أترت ورجل  
عن كساء أهدكوا في المنزل  
ماجد الجدين مقدام بطل  
غير ملاتات لدى وقع الأسل  
بين ألقاف وهام كالجل  
جزع الخرج من وقع الأسل  
وأستخر القتل في عبد الأشل  
رقص الحفان يتاو في الجبل  
وعد لنا ميل بدر فاعتدل  
لو كررنا لفعلنا المفتعل  
عدلا تعاوهم بعد نهل

والخرجية فيها البيض تألق  
وراية كجناح النسر تخفق  
بني لما خلفها ما هز هزر الورق  
ريح القتال وأسباب الدين لقوا  
منها وأيقنت أن الجرد مستبق  
وبلده من نجح عانك عاق  
نفع العروق رشاش الطعن والورق

ت يقدم جأ واء جولا طحونا  
م رجراجة تترك الناظرينا

كم ترى في الجر من جمجمة  
وسرايل حسان سريت  
كم قتلنا من كريم سيد  
صادق النجدة قرم بارع  
فسل المهراس من ساكنه ؟  
ليت أشياخي بيدر تشهدوا  
حين حكك بقاء بركها  
ثم حفوا عند ذاكم رقصا  
فقتلنا الصعب من أشرافهم  
لا ألوم النفس إلا أنا  
بسيوف الهند تعاوها مهر

وقال ضرار بن الخطاب (222)

لما أتت من بني كعب مزينة  
وجردوا مشرفيات مهندة  
فقلت يوم بأيام ومعرفة  
قد عودوا كل يوم أن تكون لهم  
خيرت نفسي على ما كان من رجل  
أكرهت مهري حتى خاض غمرتهم  
فظل مهري وسرايلى جسيدهما

وقال كعب بن مالك (223)

ودفاع رجل كموج الفرا  
تري لونها مثل لون الجوى

وله أيضا (224)

بنا كيف نفعل إن قلصت  
السنا نشد عليها العصا

وله أيضا (225)

ويوم له وهج دائم  
طويل شديد أوارا لقتا  
تخال الكمأة بأعراضه  
تعاور أيما نهم بينهم

وله أيضا (226)

شهدنا ككنا أولى بأسه  
بحرس الحيس حسان رواء  
فما ينفلان وما ينحنين  
كبرق الخريف بأيدي الكمأة

وله أيضا (227)

مجالدنا عن ديننا كل فحمة  
وكل صموت في الصوان كأنها

وله أيضا (228)

فجئنا إلى موج من البحر وسطه  
ثلاثة آلاف ونحن نصية

وقال حسان بن ثابت (229)

ولي الناس منهم إذ حضرتهم  
تسعة تحمل اللواء وطارت  
لم يولوا حتى أبيدوا جميعا

عوانا ضروسا عضوضا حجونا  
ب حتى تدرو حتى تلبينا

شديد التهادل حامي الأرينا  
لتنفى قوا حزه المقر فينا  
تعالأى لذة متر فينا  
كؤوس المنايا بحد الظينا

وتحت الحماية والمعامينا  
وبصرية قد أجس الجفونا  
وما ينتهين إذا ما نهينا  
ينجعن بالظلها ما سكونا

مذربة فيها القوانس تلمع  
إذا لبست نعي من الماء مترع

أحايش منهم حاسر ومقنع  
ثلاث مئين إن كثيرا وأربع

أسرة من بني قصي صميم  
في رعا ع من القنا محزوم  
في مقام وكلهم مذموم

أن يقيموا إن الكريم كريم  
والقنا في محورهم محطوم  
لم يقيموا وحف منها الخلود  
إنما يحمل اللواء النجوم

بدم عاتك وكان حفاظا  
وأقاموا حتى أزيروا شعوبا  
وقريش تلوذ منا لوادا  
لم تطق حملته العواتق منهم

وله أيضا (230)

جداية شرك معالم الحواجب  
وحرباهم بالضرب من كل جانب  
يباعون في الأسواق بيع الجلائب

إذا عضل سيفت الينا كأنها  
أقمنا لهم طعنا ميرا منكلا  
فلولا لواء الحارثية أصبحوا  
وقال كعب بن مالك (231)

حمار هراقت ماءه الريح مقلع  
أسود على الحرب بيثشة ظلع

فراحو اسراعا موجنين كأنهم  
ورحنا وأخرانا بطاء كأننا

وقال هبيرة بن أبي وهب (232)

سكده لاحق بالهون يحميها

كأنه إذ جرى غير يفد فدا

وقال ضرار بن الخطاب (233)

أفلاق هامة كفروة الراعي

وفارس قد أصاب السيف مفرقة

وله أيضا (234)

وراية كجناح النسر تخفق

وجردوا مشرفيات مهندة

وقال شداد بن الأسود (235)

بطعنة مثل شعاع الشمس

لأحمين صاحبى ونفسى

وقال كعب بن مالك (236)

بكل فتى عارى الأشاجع مذود

ونحن وردنا خيرا وفروضه

جرى على الأعداء في كل مشهد

جواد لدى الغايات لاواهن القوى

ضروب بنصل المشرفي المهند

عظيم رماد القدر في كل شتوة

وله أيضا (237)

لأنا عبدنا الله له نرج غيره  
نبي له في قومه إرث عزّة

وله أيضا (238)

سألت بك ابن الزبير فلم  
خيتا تطيف بك المنديات  
تجست تهجو رسول المليون  
تقول الخنى ثم ترمى به

وله أيضا (239)

إذا قالت لنا النذر استعدوا  
لتظهر دينك اللهم إنا

وله أيضا (240)

رئيسهم النبي وكان صلحا  
رشيد الأمر ذو حكم وعام  
نطع نبينا ونطع ربا  
فإن تلقوا إلينا السلام نقبل  
وإن تابوا نجاهدكم ونصبر  
نجاهد ما بقينا أو تذبوا  
لأمر الله والاسلام حتى

رجاء الحنان إذ أتانا زعيمها  
وأعراق صدق هذبتنا أرومها

أنبأك في القوم إلا هجيننا  
مقيما على اللوم جينا فجيننا

كقاتلك الله جلفا لجينا  
نقى الثياب نقيا أمينا

توكلنا على رب العباد  
بكفك فاهدنا سبل الرشاد

نقى القلب مصطبرا عز وفا  
وحلم لم يكن نزقا خفيفا  
هو الرحمن كان بنا رؤوفا  
ونجحك لنا عضدا وريفا  
ولايك أمرنا رعشا ضعيفا  
إلى الاسلام اذعانا مضييفا  
يقوم الدين معتدلا حيفا

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