

THE LOCUST'S WING:
SOME NOTES ON LOCUSTS IN THE *ḤADĪTH*

To Prof. Moshe Gil with esteem.

The question whether one may eat locusts seems to have been a controversial issue already in the first period of Islam. In the following lines we shall attempt to examine the various opinions of the scholars of Islam, as reflected in the collections of *ḥadīth*, *fiqh* and *adab*.

Several traditions in the early collections of *ḥadīth* relate that some of the Companions of the Prophet gave their tacit consent to consume locusts. The Companion of the Prophet, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī¹ is said to have seen his sons and his family consuming locusts and did not tell them to desist. He himself, however, refrained from eating locusts. His wife Zaynab bint Kaʿb b. ʿUjra² assumed that he abstained from eating locusts because he considered them unclean³. Abū Hurayya behaved in the same way, as attested by members of his family: he himself did not eat locusts, but did not forbid his family to eat them⁴. As to ʿUmar, it is explicitly said that he ate locusts⁵. He explained that it is permitted to eat locusts because they are not being slaughtered.

ʿUmar indeed had a great liking to a locusts meal. Ibn ʿUmar once saw his father with his mouth flowing with saliva. He asked him about it; ʿUmar explained that he was longing for a meal of fried locusts⁶. In a tradition of Ibn Musayyib⁷ there is a fairly large number of Companions who used to eat locusts: he saw ʿUmar, Ṣuhayb and Salmān eating

¹ D. anno 74 or 64 H; see on him: Ibn Ḥajar AL-ʿASQALĀNĪ, *al-Iṣāba fi tamyīzi l-ṣaḥāba*, ed. ʿA. M. AL-BIJĀWĪ, Cairo, 1970, III, 78-80, no. 3198.

² See on her: Ibn Ḥajar AL-ʿASQALĀNĪ, *al-Iṣāba* VII, 679, no. 11246; KHATṬĀB, *Faṭḥu l-maliki l-maʿbūd, takmilatu l-manḥali l-ʿadhbi l-maurūd, sharḥ sunani l-imām abī dāwūd*, Riyād, 1394/1974, IV, 346.

³ AL-BAYHAQĪ, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, Hyderabad, 1355, IX, 258; Ibn Ḥajar AL-ʿASQALĀNĪ, *al-Maʿālibu l-ʿāliya bi-zawāʿidi l-masānidi l-thamāniya*, ed. Ḥ. l-Raḥmān AL-AʿZAMĪ, Beirut, 1392, II, 312, no. 2341, and see M. COOK, *Early Islamic Dietary Law*, in *JSAI*, 7 (1986), p. 267 (hereafter: COOK).

⁴ Ibn Ḥajar AL-ʿASQALĀNĪ, *al-Maʿālibu l-ʿāliya*, II, 312, no. 2340.

⁵ ʿAbd AL-RAZZĀQ, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥ. l-Raḥmān AL-AʿZAMĪ, Beirut, 1391/1972, IV, 532, no. 7858.

⁶ Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar b. Iṣḥāq b. ʿAlī AL-MAUṢILĪ *Aḥādīth*, MS. Hebrew University, Yahūda 409, fol. 22 a ult.-22 b. sup.; Ibn Ḥajar AL-ʿASQALĀNĪ, *al-Maʿālibu l-ʿāliya*, II, 312, no. 2343.

⁷ See on him: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, Beirut, 1374/1957, V, 119-143; d. 94 AH.

locusts⁸. 'Umar, as mentioned, liked the meal of locusts; when he heard about locusts which appeared in Rabadha he said he wished he had a basket or two of locusts⁹.

Anas b. Mālīk, the servant of the Prophet, relates that a group of companions of the Prophet went out to Khaybar; among them was 'Umar. 'Umar put a basket of locusts behind his saddle (*ihtaqaba*), and he used to take out a handful of them and hand it over to the men of the group. The Prophet watched the deed (and did not disapprove of it — K.). Anas adds that when the group returned to Medina they used to buy locusts, dry them on the roofs (*ajājir*) and consume them¹⁰.

'Abdallah b. Abī Aufā¹¹ relates that he fought on the side of the Prophet in six or seven raids (*ghazawāt*) and the warriors used to eat locusts as their food¹². A significant version recorded by al-Damīrī¹³ has an additional sentence: "and the Prophet too ate locusts" (... *na'kulu l-jarād ... wa-ya'kuluhu rasūlu llāhi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam*).

Another tradition, which seems to point vaguely to the fact that the Prophet used to eat locusts, is recorded in 'Alī b. Balabān's *al-Ihsān bi-tartībi ṣaḥīḥi bni ḥibbān*¹⁴. The tradition of Ibn Abī Aufā about the six or seven raids with the Prophet says: "and we used to eat locusts with him" (*wa-kunnā na'kulu ma'ahu l-jarāda*).

Al-Shaukānī, commenting on this tradition in his *Naylu l-auṣār, sharḥ muntaqā l-akhbār min aḥādīthi sayyidi l-akhyār*¹⁵, expresses doubt over the question whether the tradition referring to the Prophet — "we ate the locusts with him (*ma'ahu*) — denotes that the Prophet ate the locusts

⁸ 'Abd AL-RAZZĀQ, *al-Muṣannaf*, IV, 532, no. 7859.

⁹ AL-BAYHAQĪ, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, IX, 258; 'Abd AL-RAZZĀQ, *al-Muṣannaf*, IV, 530, no. 8751.

¹⁰ AL-BAYHAQĪ, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, IX, 258.

¹¹ See on him: Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣāba*, IV, 18-19, no. 4558.

¹² 'Abd AL-RAZZĀQ, *al-Muṣannaf*, IV, 532, no. 8762; AL-BAYHAQĪ, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, IX, 257, sup.; IBN KATHĪR, *Tafsīr*, Beirut, 1385/1966, III, 211; Nūr al-Dīn AL-HAYTHAMĪ, *Majma' al-zawā'id wa-manba' al-fawā'id*, Beirut, 1967, IV, 39; AL-JAṢṢĀS, *Aḥkāmū l-qur'ān*, Qustantīniyya, 1335, reprint Beirut, I, 110; AL-ḤUMAYDĪ, *al-Musnad*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān AL-A'ZAMĪ, Beirut-Cairo, 1382, II, 311, no. 713 — and see the references of the editor; AL-QURTUBĪ, *Tafsīr = al-Jāmi' li-aḥkāmī l-qur'ān*, Cairo, 1387/1967, VII, 268 inf.; AL-'AYNĪ, *Umdatū l-qārī, sharḥ ṣaḥīḥi l-bukhārī*, al-Munīriyya print., 1348, repr. Beirut, XXI, 109-110, no. 27; Ibn Hajar AL-'ASQALĀNĪ, *Taghliqū l-ta'liq 'alā ṣaḥīḥi l-bukhārī*, ed. S. 'Al-Rahmān Mūsā L-QAZAQĪ, 'Ammān, 1405/1985, IV, 511-512; Ibn Hajar AL-'ASQALĀNĪ, *al-Maṭālibu l-'āliya*, II, 312, no. 2344; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Hādī al-Maqdisī AL-ḤANBALĪ, *al-Muḥarrar fi l-ḥadīth*, ed. Y. 'Abd al-Rahmān AL-MAR'ASHLĪ, M. S. I. SAMĀRA, J. H. AL-DHAHABĪ, Beirut, 1405/1985, II, 430, no. 761.

¹³ *Ḥayātu l-ḥayawān*, Cairo, 1383/1963, I, 189.

¹⁴ Ed. K. Y. AL-ḤŪT, Beirut, 1407/1987, VII, 337, no. 5233.

¹⁵ Cairo, 1380/1960, VIII, 153.

with us or whether it says merely that the Prophet was in our company while we ate the locusts.

The son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, used to eat a meal of locusts prepared for him by Umm Fāṭima¹⁶. It is said of the wives of the Prophet that they used to eat locusts and to send each other trays of locusts as gifts¹⁷. 'Ā'isha reports that she used to eat locusts and attests that the Prophet also used to eat them¹⁸.

In contrast, there are traditions stating that the Prophet permitted the believers to eat locusts, but he himself abstained from eating them¹⁹. This very tradition about the permission granted the believers to eat locusts, coupled with the tradition that the Prophet abstained from eating them, is recorded by Ibn Kathīr in his *Tafsīr*²⁰, it is however followed by a clear explanation of the reasons: the Prophet abstained from eating locusts because he disliked (*kāna ya'āfu*) them, in the same way that his noble soul disliked to eat lizards (*al-dabb*), although he permitted the believers to eat it.

A similar explanation is recorded on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās: the Prophet abstained from eating locusts, kidneys and lizards. However, he did not forbid the believers to eat this food. He did not eat locusts because they point to chastisement and pain²¹, he refrained from eating kidneys because of their location near the (organs of - K.) urination, he did not eat lizards because he was afraid that they might be metamorphosed creatures²².

It is obvious that there was a lively discussion between scholars who considered the eating of locusts permissible and those who abstained

¹⁶ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *al-Ta'rikh al-kabīri*, Hyderabad, 1384/1964, IV, 215, no. 2548.

¹⁷ 'Abd AL-RAZZĀQ, *al-Muṣannaf*, IV, 533, no. 8763; IBN KATHĪR, *Tafsīr*, Beirut, III, 211, penult.; AL-BAYHAQĪ, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, IX, 258; al-Khaṭīb AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Muḍīhu auhām*, II, 131, 132, 259; AL-DAMĪRĪ, *Ḥayātu l-hayawān*, I, 189; AL-QURTUBĪ, *Tafsīr = al-Jāmi' li-ahkāmī l-qur'ān*, Cairo, 1386/1967, VII, 269.

¹⁸ AL-JASSĀS, *Ahkāmu l-qur'ān*, I, 110: ... 'an 'ā'ishata annahā kānat ta'kulu l-jarāda wa-taqūlu: kāna rasūlu llāhi ṣallāllāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam ya'kuluhu.

¹⁹ See M. M. L-ZABĪDĪ, *Uqūdu l-jawāhiri l-munīfa*, ed. W.G. L-ALBĀNĪ, Beirut, 1406/1985, II, 124, ult.: *aktharu jundi llāhi ta'ālā fi l-arḍi l-jarādu lā ākuluhu wa-lā uḥarrimuhu*. And see AL-JASSĀS, *Ahkāmu l-qur'ān*, I, 110; M. N. L-DĪN AL-ALBĀNĪ, *Silsilat al-ahādīthi l-mawḍū'a*, al-Riyād, 1408/1988, IV, 43-44, no. 1533; and see a tradition permitting the believers to eat lizards with a peculiar addition: *wa-l-jarādu mithlu dhālika*: Ibn 'Adīyy AL-JURJĀNĪ, *al-Kāmil fi ḍu'afā'i l-rijāl*, Beirut, 1405/1985, II, 521; and see COOK, p. 267, note 413.

²⁰ III, 211.

²¹ This seems to refer to the plague of locusts in Egypt, as reported in the Qur'ān - K.

²² IBN KATHĪR, *Tafsīr*, III, 211; and see AL-ZURQĀNĪ, *Sharḥu l-mawāhibi l-laduniyya*, Cairo, 1327, IV, 329 ult. - 330: the Prophet disliked to eat kidneys because they are placed near the organs of urination.

from eating them. In this context the utterance of Muḥammad b. Sīrīn²³ "Somebody better than me and you used to eat locusts"²⁴ gets its meaning.

People who abstained from eating locusts acted according to the opinion of the Prophet who refrained from eating them because they are unclean (because they contain filthy material in their intestines - K.) and intimate chastisement and suffering²⁵. The traditions on the authority of ʿĀʾisha, which say that the Prophet rebuked the boys (*ṣibyānanā*) for eating locusts, fit in with the latter traditions²⁶. Mālik b. Anas was against "hunting" locusts in Medina; he remarked, however, that there was nothing bad in driving the locusts away from the palm trees²⁷. Al-Suyūṭī records in his *al-Raḥma fī l-tibb wa-l-ḥikma* two efficient charms to expel (*tarḥīl*) the locusts; if the charms are written according to prescription, the locusts will leave the place²⁸.

Al-Zamakhsharī recorded the following thought about locusts: they are beneficial because they are eaten and help people to make a living (*yuʿāshu bihi*), if the locusts hit a cultivated land the owner of that land will be rewarded if he perseveres patiently²⁹. This idea is reflected in the story of the inscription on the wings of the locust. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī sat at a table in the company of his brother Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and his cousins ʿAbdallah, Qutham and al-Faḍl, the sons of al-ʿAbbās. A locust fell on the table and ʿAbdallah asked al-Ḥasan concerning the inscription on its wings. The latter answered that he had asked his father, ʿAlī, about it; ʿAlī in turn had asked the Prophet, who disclosed to him the text of the inscription: "I am God and there is no god except Me. I am the Lord of the locust granting sustenance to it. If I wish (*in shiʿtu*)

²³ See on him: IBN ḤAJAR, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Hyderabad, 1326, IX, 214-217, no. 336.

²⁴ AL-BUKHĀRĪ, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, IV, 216, no. 2553 and p. 372, sup.; the saying of Ibn Sīrīn points evidently to the Prophet; it represents the opinion of the scholars who considered the eating of locusts permissible.

²⁵ See Qurʾān, *sūrat al-aʿrāf*, verse 133.

²⁶ Yaḥyā b. MAʾĪN, *al-Taʾrīkh*, ed. A. M. Nūr SAYF, Mecca al-mukarrama, 1399/1979, I, 279, no. 4592-4593 and IV, 321; AL-ʿAYNĪ, *ʿUmdat al-qārī*, XXI, 110; and cf. ʿAbd AL-RAZZĀQ, *al-Muṣannaf*, IV, 410, no. 8249: ... *ʿani l-walīdi bni ʿabdillāh qāla: raʿaytu saʿīda bna jubayrin bi-makkata yakhruju fa-yarā fī aydi l-ṣibyāni l-jarāda fa-yaflituhu; — in text: fa-yaqtuluhu; the correction is of the editor — min aydihim, wa-kāna yarāhu ṣaydan.*

²⁷ ʿAbdallah b. Abī Zayd AL-QAYRAWĀNĪ, *al-Jāmiʿ fī l-sunan wa-l-ādāb wa-l-maghāzī wa-l-taʾrīkh*, ed. M. Abū L-AJFĀN and ʿU. BIṬṬĪKH, Beirut, 1402/1982, p. 142.

²⁸ Cairo, n.d., p. 255; cf. AL-DAMRĪ, *Ḥayāu l-ḥayawān*, I, 189.

²⁹ AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ, *Rabīʿu l-abrār wa-nuṣūṣu l-akhbār*, ed. S. AL-NUʿAYMĪ, Bagdad, 1982, IV, 459.

I send the locust as sustenance for certain people (*rizqan li-qaumin*), and if I wish I send it as a trial of misfortune for other people". 'Abdallah confirmed that that was indeed a piece of hidden knowledge³⁰.

There is a tradition that goes together with the idea that the locust was created by God and that God determines whether it harms or not: the Prophet prohibited the killing of locusts; *lā taqtulū l-jarāda fa-innahū jundu llāhi l-a'zamu*, said the Prophet³¹. According to a tradition of the Prophet there is an inscription on the locust's chest that says: "The greatest army of God" (*jundu llāhi l-a'zam*)³². Al-Tha'labī records a tradition concerning the origin of this expression: when God expelled Iblīs from Paradise He asserted that He would establish a force of locusts (*wa-anā muttakhidhun min khalqī jundan huwa l-jarādu*). Iblīs replied that his army would consist of women, who would make up a net (such as used by a hunter or a fisherman - K.) which will never fail³³.

Qurtubī records the arguments of those scholars who hold the view that one should abstain from killing locusts even though they cause harm and destroy plants and trees. The opponents stressed that the locusts must be driven away from the cultivated fields which they destroy, and must even be fought against and killed³⁴. A peculiar tradition attributed

³⁰ AL-DAMIRĪ, *Hayātu l-ḥayawān*, I, 188; Abū Bakr al-Bakrī b. Muḥammad Shattā al-Dimyāṭī AL-MAKKĪ, *l'ānātu l-ḥalībīn 'alā ḥalli alfāzi fathī l-mu'īn*, n.p., 1319, repr. Beirut, II, 353, AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-Durr al-manthūr fi l-tafsīri bi-l-ma'thūr*, Cairo, 1314, repr. Tehran, III, 110 reports about two versions of the inscription, one in Syriac and one in Hebrew; AL-BARQĪ, *al-Maḥāsin*, ed. M. S. Baḥr AL-'ULŪM, Najaf, 1384/1964, pp. 399-400, nos. 501-502; but in this version the inscription was in Syriac and was recorded in Arabic as follows: *innī anā llāhu qāṣimu l-jabbārīn, khalaqtu l-jarāda wa-ja'altuhu jundan min junūdi, uhluku bihi man shi'tu min khalqī*; Anonymous, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, MS. Leiden Or. 14027, fol. 16 b.; AL-MAJLISĪ, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran, 1392, LXV, 192-193, nos. 7-9, 206, no. 34, 212-213, nos. 59-60; AL-MUTTAQĪ L-ḤINDĪ, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, Hyderabad, 1390/1970, XVII, 146-147, nos. 481-483.

³¹ AL-ṬABARĀNĪ, *Musnad al-shāmiyyīn*, ed. Ḥ. 'Abd al-Majīd AL-SILAFĪ, Beirut, 1409/1989, II, 438, no. 1656; and see *ibid.* the references of the editor; AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *Jam' u l-jawāmi'*, Cairo, 1978, I, 899; IBN KATHĪR, *Tafsīr*, III, 212 with the version *lā tuqātilū l-jarād*; Shīrawayh b. Shahrīdār AL-DAYLAMĪ, *Firdaus al-akhbār*, ed. F. A. AL-ZIMIRĪ and M. al-Mu'taṣim bi-llāhi L-BAGHDĀDĪ, Beirut, 1407/1987, V, 192, no. 7577; and see *ibid.* the references of the editor; Nūr al-Dīn AL-HAYTHAMĪ, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, IV, 39; AL-MUNĀWĪ, *Fayḍu l-qadīr*, VI, 416, no. 9842; see the explication of Munāwī *ibid.*; AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, III, 109 *inf.*; N. al-Dīn AL-ALBĀNĪ, *Ṣaḥīḥu l-jāmi' l-ṣaḥīr*, Beirut, 1406/1986, II, 1232, no. 7388; AL-MAJLISĪ, *Biḥār al-anwār*, LXV, 192, no. 8.

³² AL-THA'LABĪ, *Qīṣaṣu l-anbiyā'*, Cairo, n.d., p. 256.

³³ In catching by seduction the sinner - K.; AL-THA'LABĪ, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, p. 256.

³⁴ AL-QURTUBĪ, *Tafsīr*, VII, 268; and see AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, III, 109, *inf.*; AL-SAMARQANDĪ, *Bustān al-'arīfīn*, p. 126, *inf.*

to the Prophet and apparently given circulation by the scholars who advocated abstention from the killing of locusts, says: "He who kills a locust is like a man who kills a dweller of the low land"³⁵. The sin of killing a locust is thus equated with that of murder.

Finally, let us quote an anecdote of Bedouin character, typical of the sense of honour of the Arab nomad. It tells of a group of Bedouins who came to one of their neighbours informing him that a swarm of locusts had invaded his land. He was their *jār* (granting them protection - K.) and they came asking his permission to kill the locusts in order to eat them. The Bedouin, however, refused. He argued that as a *jār* he was obliged to protect his guest. He went out from his tent with a sword and attacked the crowd, thus securing the immunity of the locusts³⁶.

Some traditions emphasize the qualities of the locusts and display an appreciation for them: God, according to one tradition, created the locust from the clay which remained after He created Ādam³⁷. A tradition reported on the authority of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and attributed to the Prophet says that the first creature to perish will be the locust³⁸. This tradition is embedded in an utterance of the Prophet containing predictions about the End of the World: God created a thousand kinds of creatures (*alf ummatin*), six hundred of them live in the seas and four hundred on the land; the first of these kinds to perish will be the locust. When the locust perishes all the other kinds will follow to their doom like a string of pearls which breaks up³⁹.

It thus happened that in one of the years of ʿUmar's rule he noticed that no information was forthcoming about appearances of the locusts in the Muslim empire. He became concerned about that and sent

³⁵ AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, III, 109, penult.: *man qatala jarādatan fa-kannamā qatala ghauriyyan*.

³⁶ Ibn AL-ʿARABĪ, *al-Waṣāyā*, Beirut, n.d., pp. 55 inf.-56 sup. The Bedouin allowed however to go after them when they were in the air: AL-DAMIRĪ, *Ḥayātu l-ḥayawān*, I, 190; he was nicknamed *mujīru l-jarād*, "the protector of the locusts"; his name was Mudlij b. Suwayd al-Ṭāʿī; see on him and on the proverb *aḥmā min mujīri l-jarād*: Ḥamza AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, *al-Durra al-fākhira fī l-amthāli l-sāʿira*, ed. ʿAbd AL-MAJĪD QUṬĀMISH, Cairo, 1966, I, 166, no. 191; AL-MAYDĀNĪ, *Majmaʿ al-amthāl*, ed. M. Muḥyī l-Dīn ʿAbd AL-ḤAMĪD, Cairo, 1379/1959, I, 221, no. 1184.

³⁷ AL-DAMIRĪ, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, I, 188; AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, III, 110; and see COOK, p. 267, sup.

³⁸ Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, *al-Awāʿil*, ed. M. b. Nāṣir AL-ʿAjāmī, al-Kuwayt, 1405, p. 90 ult.-91, no. 111; and see the references of the editor.

³⁹ AL-QURTUBĪ, *Tafsīr*, VII, 269; AL-DAMIRĪ, *Ḥayātu l-ḥayawān*, I, 188; AL-ZAMAKH-SHARĪ, *Rabīʿu l-abrā*, IV, 459; AL-THAʿLABĪ, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʿ*, p. 256.

messengers to the Yemen⁴⁰ and to Syria to get information about locusts. The messenger that was sent to the Yemen came back with a handful of locusts. 'Umar exclaimed three times *allāhu akbar* and quoted the prediction of the Prophet as to the locust being the first creature to perish, with all other creatures following in its suit⁴¹.

The virtue of the locust was enhanced by stories according to which prophets, saints and ascetics used to eat locusts.

One such story is told about Zaynab⁴². One day she was serving her guests, Wahb b. 'Abdallah al-Ma'āfir⁴³ and 'Abdallah b. 'Umar, roasted locusts in butter (*samn*). She said: "O Egyptian⁴⁴, you probably prefer the meal of salted fish. But eat, o Egyptian, (scil. the locusts - K.) because one of the prophets asked God to grant him the meat of a bird which was not slaughtered; and God granted him locusts and fish⁴⁵. Yaḥyā b. Zakariyā is said to have had as food locusts and the marrow of trees⁴⁶. Maryam, the mother of Jesus, asked God to feed her with a kind of meat that did not contain blood; God nourished her with locusts⁴⁷. There is indeed a tradition that records a supplication by Maryam in which she invoked God to grant life and sustenance to locusts⁴⁸.

⁴⁰ About the prediction concerning the devastation of lands and countries see AL-QALYŪBĪ, *al-Nawādir*, Cairo, 1374/1955, p. 114: Mecca will be destroyed by the Abyssinians, Medina and Bukhārā through hunger, Kūfa and 'Irāq will be destroyed by the Turks, Yemen will be destroyed by locusts...; a list of other cities and countries which will be destroyed and the information as to who will carry out the destruction is provided in the passage.

⁴¹ IBN 'ARĀQ, *Tanzih al-sharī'ati l-marfū'a 'ani l-akhbāri l-shanī'ati l-maudū'a*, ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Abd AL-LATĪF and 'A. M. AL-ṢIDDĪQ, Beirut, 1399/1979, I, 189; M. b. Ḥibbān al-Tamīmī AL-BUSTĪ, *Kitāb al-majrūḥin*, ed. M. I. ZAYID, Beirut, 1396, II, 256-257, and see the references of the editor; AL-SHAUKĀNĪ, *al-Fawā'idu l-majmū'a fī l-ahādīthi l-maudū'a*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Yaḥyā AL-MU'ALLAMĪ L-YAMĀNĪ, Beirut, 1392, pp. 458-459, no. 1302; cf. Ibn Ḥamza al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī AL-DIMASHQĪ, *al-Bayān wa-l-ta'rīf fī asbābi wurūdi l-ḥadīthi l-sharīf*, ed. H. 'Abd AL-MAJĪD HĀSHIM, revised by 'Abd AL-ḤALĪM MAḤMŪD, Beirut, 1400/1980, II, 202-203, no. 988 — and see the references given by the author; AL-SAMARQANDĪ, *Bustān al-'arīfīn*, on margin of Samarqandī's *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn*, Cairo, 1347, p. 127.

⁴² Most likely the wife of the Prophet - K.

⁴³ His correct name is Wāhib b. 'Abdallah al-Ma'āfirī; see on him: Ibn Ḥajar AL-'ASQALĀNĪ, *Tahdību l-tahdhīb*, Hyderabad, 1327, XI, 105, no. 188.

⁴⁴ She addressed Wāhib b. 'Abdallah, who lived in Egypt - K.

⁴⁵ AL-BAYHAQĪ, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, IX, 258.

⁴⁶ AL-DAMĪRĪ, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, I, 188.

⁴⁷ IBN KATHĪR, *Tafsīr*, III, 212, sup.; Nūr al-Dīn AL-HAYTHAMĪ, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, IV, 39; AL-BAYHAQĪ, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, IX, 258; Ibn Ḥajar AL-'ASQALĀNĪ, *Lisān al-mizān*, Hyderabad, 1331, VI, 163-164, no. 574; AL-DHAHABĪ, *Mizān al-i'ndā*, ed. 'A. M. AL-BU'AWĪ, Cairo, IV, 259, no. 9071; AL-'AYNĪ, *Umdat al-qārī*, XXI, 110; AL-THA'LABĪ, *Qīṣaṣu l-anbiyā*, p. 256; M. N. I-DĪN AL-ALBĀNĪ, *Silsilatu l-ahādīthi l-qa'ifa*, IV, 456-457, no. 1533.

⁴⁸ Ibn AL-ATHĪR, *al-Nihāya fī gharībi l-ḥadīth*, ed. M. M. AL-TANĀHĪ and T. A. AL-ZĀWĪ, Cairo, 1383/1963, II, 520; L'A, s.v. "shy".

The literature contains some very complimentary descriptions of the locust. The components of its body share in the qualities of ten of the strongest beasts: its face is like that of a horse, its eye like that of an elephant, its neck like that of a bull, its horn (*qarn*) like that of a deer, its chest like that of a lion, its belly like that of a snake, its wings like that of an eagle, its thighs like that of a camel, its legs like that of an ostrich and its tail like that of a scorpion⁴⁹. Early poetry contains many verses where attractive descriptions of locusts and their swarms are given⁵⁰. A tradition reported by Abū Hurayra on the authority of the Prophet says that when Ayyūb was one day washing his naked body he was faced by a swarm of golden locusts; Ayyūb tried hastily to catch the locusts and put them in his garment. When asked by God whether he did not get enough from God's bounty so as to be in no need of additional wealth, Ayyūb replied that he wanted to have more of God's blessing (*baraka*). Al-Shāfi'ī is said to have commented on this tradition: *ni'ma l-mālu l-ṣālīḥ ma'a l-'abdi l-ṣālīḥ*⁵¹.

A tradition recorded in some commentaries of the Qur'an says that during his *isrā'* the Prophet saw the farthest Lote-tree⁵² under which a swarm of golden locusts sought refuge⁵³. In one of his speeches 'Alī gives a lovely description of the elaborate and fine creation of the body of the locust⁵⁴. The role of the locusts in the rescue of the prophet Muḥammad is depicted in a miraculous story recorded in the commentary of the Qur'an of al-Katakānī⁵⁵. It was an unusual kind of locusts which annihilated the enemies of the Prophet, while the locusts sent by God against the Copts in Egypt did not harm the Copts and their families and only devastated their property⁵⁶.

⁴⁹ AL-QALYŪBĪ, *al-Nawādir*, p. 119; and see *ibid* three verses on these similarities; AL-DAMĪRĪ, *Ḥayātu l-ḥayawān*, I, 188, and see *ibid* two verses on this subject.

⁵⁰ See e.g. IBN QUTAYBA, *Kitābu l-ma'ānī l-kabīr*, Ḥyderabad, 1368/1949, II, 610-615, I, 45; Abū Hilāl AL-'ASKARĪ, *Dīwān al-ma'ānī*, Cairo, 1352, II, 151; AL-JAHĪZ, *al-Ḥayawān*, V, 558-561.

⁵¹ AL-DAMĪRĪ, *Ḥayātu l-ḥayawān* I, 187; see the tradition *ni'ma l-mālu l-ṣālīḥ* in AL-DAYLAMĪ, *Firdausu l-akḥbār*, V, 14, no. 7023.

⁵² *Sūratu l-najm*, verses 14-15: *wa-laqaḍ ra'āhu nazlatan ukhrā * 'inda sidrati l-muntahā*.

⁵³ AL-ṬABARĀNĪ, *Musnad al-shāmiyyīn*, II, 420; AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, VI, 126.

⁵⁴ AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ, *Rabī'u l-abrār*, IV, 459; Ibn Abī L-HADĪD, *Sharḥ nahji l-balāgha*, ed. M. Abū L-FADL IBRĀHĪM, Cairo, 1964, XIII, 65 ult. -66; AL-MAJLISĪ, *Bihār al-anwār*, LXIV, 44-45.

⁵⁵ *Al-Burhān fī tafsīri l-qur'ān*, Qumm 1393, II, 30-31.

⁵⁶ See e.g. MUJĀHĪD, *Tafsīr*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad AL-SŪRĀṬĪ, Islāmabād, n.d., repr. Beirut, I, 244; IBN KATHĪR, *Tafsīr*, III, 212.

When the Prophet was on one of his journeys, on his return from Syria to Mecca, he was followed by two hundred Jews who intended to kill him in order to prevent him from destroying the power of the Jews. He was in a caravan and they did not have the courage to carry out their plan. When, however, he went out in a distance for his natural needs, the Jews surrounded him and drew their swords against him. Then God sent, from a sand-hill at the feet of the Prophet, a swarm of locusts that surrounded the Jews and attacked them; they were prevented from launching their attack by the distraction caused by the stings of the locusts. When the Prophet had been through with his natural needs, he returned to the caravan and was asked about the fate of the group who had followed him. The Prophet said that they had been annihilated by the locusts. The people of the caravan went out and found that the Jews had been eaten by the locusts.

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The legal licence to eat even dead fish and dead locusts is based on a widely circulated utterance of the Prophet: "You have been permitted to eat two species of dead and two kinds of blood: fish and locusts, liver and spleen"⁵⁷. There are some reports saying that the Prophet was reluctant to eat spleen and was followed in this matter by 'Alī⁵⁸. But the *ḥadīth* giving permission to eat liver and spleen caused Zayd b. Thābit to show ostentatiously that he ate spleen in order to manifest that there is nothing bad in eating it⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn al-Naqqāsh AL-MAGHRIBĪ, *Iḥkāmū l-aḥkāmī l-ṣādirati min hayni shafatay sayyidi l-anām*, ed. R. F. 'Abd AL-MUṬṬALIB, Cairo, 1409/1989, p. 630, no. 948; AL-'AYNĪ, *'Umdatū l-qārī*, XXI, 110; AL-MUNĀWĪ, *Fayḍu l-qadīr*, I, 200, no. 273; IBN KATHĪR, *Tafsīr*, III, 211; Ibn AL-'ARABĪ, *Aḥkāmū l-qur'an*, ed. 'A. M. AL-BUĀWĪ, Cairo, 1387/1967, I, 52, and see ib. the evaluation of the utterance; AL-QURṬUBĪ, *Tafsīr*, VII, 268; AL-DĀRAQUTNĪ, *Sunan*, ed. 'A. H. Y. AL-MADANĪ, al-Madīna al-munawwara, 1386/1966, IV, 271-272; A. b. 'Abdallah b. Mūsā l-Kindī AL-SAMDĪ L-NAZWĪ, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. 'Abd AL-MUN'IM 'ĀMIR and J. AḤMAD, 'Umān, printed in Cairo, 1980, III, 97; AL-SHAUKĀNĪ, *Naylu l-auṭār, sharḥ muntaqā l-akḥbār min aḥādīthi sayyidi l-akhyār*, Cairo, 1380/1961, VIII, 152; Ibn Qayyim AL-JAUZIYYA, *Zādu l-ma'ād fi ḥadīy khayri l-'ibād*, Beirut, n.d., III, 170, 188; Murtaḍā L-ZABĪDĪ, *Ithāfu l-sādati l-muttaqīn bi-sharḥi asrāri ihyā'i 'ulūmi l-dīn*, Cairo, 1311, repr. Beirut, VII, 122; Ibn Qayyim AL-JAUZIYYA, *al-Ṭibbu l-nabawī*, ed. 'Abd al-Ghanī 'Abd AL-KHĀLIQ, 'Ādil AL-AZHARĪ, M. F. AL-'UQDA, Cairo, 1377/1957, p. 298.

⁵⁸ 'Abd AL-RAZZĀQ, *al-Muṣannaf*, IV, 536, no. 8773: *kāna rasūlu llāhi ya'afū l-tiḥāl* and no. 8774: ... *anna 'aliyyan kāna yakrahu mina l-shāti l-tiḥāl* ...; cf. AL-ZABĪDĪ, *Ithāfu l-sāda*, II, 121, inf.

⁵⁹ 'Abd AL-RAZZĀQ, *al-Muṣannaf*, IV, p. 536, no. 8776; Murtaḍā L-ZABĪDĪ, *Ithāfu l-sāda*, VII, 122, inf.

That game hauled from the sea need not be ritually slaughtered is expressed by the following tradition: “God has already slaughtered the game of the sea for mankind”, said the Prophet⁶⁰.

Based on the Prophet’s saying to the effect that the locust was a creature originating in the sea, the locust, like the fish, was allowed to be consumed either alive or dead. The legal definition stated that water was not polluted by the death of fish, and dead fish was thus allowed to be consumed. The Prophet is said to have defined it succinctly: “Its water is pure, its dead creatures (like fish and locusts - K.) may be consumed”⁶¹.

The commentators of the Qur’ān assume in various traditions that the permission regarding game from the sea includes dead fish brought to shore by the sea. Such an interpretation was given on the authority of ‘Umar: Abū Hurayra told ‘Umar that he had given such a decision when asked concerning this matter by the people of Baḥrayn during his stay in that province. ‘Umar approved of his verdict, as it conformed with the injunctions of the quoted verse⁶². Locusts were included in the category of “game from the sea” and consequently, it was permissible for pilgrims to consume them without any reservation. The case of Ka’b al-Aḥbār was an instructive precedent in this case: he was appointed by ‘Umar to proceed with a group of pilgrims from Syria to Mecca. On their way they were faced by a swarm of locusts; Ka’b issued a decision according to which they could catch the locusts and consume them. When asked by ‘Umar about the reason for his decision, Ka’b answered that the locust is a creature that originates from the sneeze of a fish; the

⁶⁰ AL-SHAUKĀNĪ, *Naylu l-auṣār*, VIII, 152, inf.: *inna llāha dhabaha mā fī l-baḥri li-banī ādam*; according to another version *ibid*, p. 154 inf.: “everything in the sea is (already) slaughtered”, *kullu shay’in fī l-baḥri madhbūh*. And see this tradition: Ibn Hajar AL-‘ASQALĀNĪ, *Taghīṭu l-ta’līq ‘alā ṣaḥīḥi l-bukhārī*, ed. S. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Mūsā AL-QAZAQĪ, ‘Ammān, 1405/1985, IV, 505 penult.-506 sup.

⁶¹ *Huwa l-ḥāru mā’uhu l-ḥillu maytatuhu*. Seel AL-BAYHAQĪ, *al-Sunanu l-kubrā I*, 254; Ibn AL-‘ARĀBĪ, *Tafsīr*, I, 52 ult.-53; AL-QURṬUBĪ, *Tafsīr*, VI, 319, and see *ibid*. pp. 318, 320: locusts and fish may be considered as if they have been ritually slaughtered, *al-jarādu wa-l-ḥītānu dhakiyyun kulluhu*; ‘Abd AL-RAZZĀQ, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, I, 532, no. 8761: ... *al-jarādu wa-l-ḥītānu dhakiyyun*. And see the utterance of Abū Bakr: *inna llāha ta’ālā dhabaha lakum mā fī l-baḥri fa-kulūhu kullahu*: AL-DĀRAQUṬNĪ, *Sunan*, IV, 270, no. 16; AL-KHAṬĪBU L-BAGHDĀDĪ, *Talkhīṣu l-mutashābih fī l-rasm*, ed. S. AL-SHIHĀBĪ, Damascus, 1985, II, 723; AL-NAZWĪ, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, III, 110; and see *ibid*: ... *wa-ajma’u anna mauta l-samaki fī l-mā’i lā yunajissuhu wa-anna l-mauta l-ḥāšila fī l-samaki lā yūjibu fīhi tanjīsan*; ... Nūr al-Dīn AL-HAYTHAMĪ, *Majma’ al-zawā’id*, IV, 39.

⁶² AL-ṬABARĪ, *Tafsīr* = *Jāmi’u l-bayān ‘an ta’wīl āyi l-qur’an*, ed. M. M. SHĀKIR and A. M. SHĀKIR, Cairo, 1957, XI, 61, no. 12687.

fish sneezes twice a year⁶³. 'Umar himself is further said to have faced a swarm of locusts while in a state of *ihrām* and to have attacked them, killing many of them. He argued that the locusts belonged to the category of game coming from the sea (*ṣaydu l-baḥri*), and the struggle against them was therefore permitted⁶⁴. Finally, certain traditions claimed that the Prophet himself confirmed that locusts belong to the category of game from the sea⁶⁵. This utterance is clearly exposed in the story of Abū Hurayra⁶⁶. Abū Hurayra went out for a *ḥajj* or an *'umra* with a group of believers. On their way they faced a swarm of locusts. They hit them with sticks; the Prophet expressed his approval by saying that locusts belonged to the category of game from the sea⁶⁷.

A further proof for the assertion that locust is of the same category as game from the sea is found in another *ḥadīth* of the Prophet. The Prophet is said to have invoked against locusts. When asked about his invocation against an army of the armies of God (*tad'ū 'alā jundin min ajnādī llāhibi-qa'ī dābirihī?*) he replied that the locust had been created from the sneeze of a fish in the sea⁶⁸.

The scholars of Law and *ḥadīth*, however, were not unanimous about the method of preparing and consuming locusts; the majority of scholars were of the opinion that there was no need to establish the cause of death of a locust. But some of them considered it necessary to know the cause of death of a locust: it may be consumed only if killed by cutting the head, or the feet, or the wings, or by boiling, or roasting. They considered locusts as creatures of the land and were of the opinion that eating dead locusts, without knowing the cause of death, is not allowed⁶⁹.

⁶³ M. b. al-Ḥasan al-SHAYBĀNĪ, *Kitābu l-ḥujja 'alā ahli l-madīna*, ed. M. H. AL-KĪLĀNĪ AL-QĀDIRĪ, Beirut, 1403/1983, II, 169-170; AL-MUTTAQĪ L-HINDĪ, *Kanzu l-'ummāl*, V, 146, no. 1051; M. al-Dīn AL-TABARĪ, *al-Qirā li-qāṣidi ummi l-qurā*, ed. M. L-SAQQA, Cairo, 1390/1970, p. 231; 'Abd AL-RAZZĀQ, *al-Muṣannaf*, IV, 531, no. 8752.

⁶⁴ AL-SUYŪTĪ, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, II, 332.

⁶⁵ AL-BAGHAWĪ, *Maṣābiḥu l-sunna*, ed. Y. 'Abd al-Raḥmān AL-MAR'ASHLĪ, M. S. I. SAMĀRA, J. H. L-DHAHABĪ, Beirut, 1407/1987, II, 287, no. 1966; and see *ibid.* the references of the editors.

⁶⁶ It was Abū Hurayra who transmitted this tradition in the *Maṣābiḥ*.

⁶⁷ Muḥibb al-Dīn AL-ṬABARĪ, *al-Qirā*, p. 230; AL-SUYŪTĪ, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, II, 333; IBN KATHĪR, *Tafsīr*, III, 212; AL-'AYNĪ, *Umdat al-qārī*, XXI, 110.

⁶⁸ Ibn Ḥanẓala AL-ḤUSAYNĪ, *al-Bayān wa-l-ta'rīf*, II, 265-266, no. 936; AL-QURTUBĪ, *Tafsīr*, VII, 268; IBN KATHĪR, *Tafsīr*, III, 212; AL-MUNĀWĪ, *Fayḍu l-qadr*, III, 355, no. 3615-3616; Ibn al-Dayba' AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, *Tamyīzu l-tayyib mina l-khabith fimā yadūru 'alā alsinati l-nāsi mina l-ḥadīth*, Cairo, 1382/1963, p. 62.

⁶⁹ AL-QURTUBĪ, *Tafsīr*, VII, 269; and see Ibn AL-'ARABĪ, *Aḥkāmū l-qur'ān*, I, 53; Ibn ḤAZM, *al-Muḥallā*, ed. A. M. SHĀKIR, Cairo, n. d., VII, 437, no. 1042; and see Ibn Qayyim AL-JAUZIYYA, *Zādu l-ma'ād*, III, 189: ... *wa-fi ibāḥati maytatihī bilā sabab*

A concise definition of the problem discussed by scholars is given by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashqī al-ʿUthmānī al-Shāfiʿī in his *Raḥmatu l-umma fī khtilāfi l-aʿimma*⁷⁰. ... *wa-minhā l-jarādu wa-yuʿkalu maytan ʿalā kulli ḥālin; wa-qāla mālik: lā yuʿkalu minhu mā māta ḥatfa anfihi min ḡhayri sababin yuṣnaʿu bihi*.

Some scholars held the view that locusts are coming from the sea as well as from the land⁷¹. ʿUmar is said to have objected to Abū Hurayra's position that locusts originated from the sneeze of a fish⁷². Consequently ʿUmar imposed special payments for killing locusts by the pilgrims to Mecca⁷³.

Scholars of Muslim law were often questioned as to the ways of preparing locusts for food. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is said to have permitted to cook living locusts in boiling water and salt or to throw living locusts into the fire in order to have them roasted⁷⁴. Some scholars, however, did not permit boiling or roasting living locusts⁷⁵. Locusts were consumed hot or cold, cooked, fried or prepared on burning coals; they were sometimes arranged on strings. A food much sought after were the eggs of locusts. Locusts were sometimes served as condiment (*idām*), sometimes as dessert (*nuql*). Bedouin locusts (*al-aʿrābī*) were considered best⁷⁶.

qaulāni, wa-lā khilāfa fī ibāḥatihi idhā māta bi-sababin ka-l-kabs wa-l-taḥrīq. wa-l-jumhūr ʿalā ḥillihī, wa-ḥarramahū mālik; and see Ibn Qayyim AL-JAUZIYYA, al-Ṭibb al-nabawī, p. 298, inf.

⁷⁰ Beirut, 1407/1987, p. 120.

⁷¹ Muḥibb al-Dīn AL-ṬABARĪ, *al-Qirā*, p. 232: ... *wa-ʿani l-ḥasani annahu qāla: al-jarādu min ṣaydi l-barri wa-l-baḥri*.

⁷² Muḥibb al-Dīn AL-ṬABARĪ, *al-Qirā*, p. 231: ... *fa-kariha ʿumarū qaulahu...*

⁷³ ʿAbd AL-RAZZĀQ, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, IV, 410-411; AL-MUTTAQĪ L-HINDĪ, *Kanzu l-ʿummāl*, V, 138, no. 1006; Muḥibb al-Dīn AL-ṬABARĪ, *al-Qirā*, pp. 231-232; AL-JARRĀHĪ, *Kashfu l-khafāʾi wa-muzilu l-ilbās ʿammā shahara mina l-aḥādīthi ʿalā alsinati l-nās*, Beirut, 1351, I, 317, no. 1019; AL-ZURQĀNĪ, *Sharḥ muwaṭṭaʾi l-imāmi mālik*, ed. I. ʿA. ʿAWAD, Cairo 1381/1961, III, 245; AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, II, 328.

⁷⁴ Aḥmad b. ḤANBAL, *Masāʾil aḥmad b. ḥanbal, riwāyatu bnihi ʿabdi llāh*, ed. ʿA. S. AL-MUHANNĀ, al-Madīna al-munawwara, 1406/1986, III, 883-884, no. 1189 — and see the references of the editor; Aḥmad b. ḤANBAL, *Masāʾil aḥmad b. ḥanbal, riwāyat ibnihi abī l-ḥafḥ ṣāliḥ*, ed. F. l-Raḥmān Dīn MUHAMMAD, Delhi, 1408/1988, II, 245, no. 839 — and see the references of the editor; Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad Shaṭṭā AL-DIMYĀTĪ, *Iʿānātu l-tālibin*, II, 354.

⁷⁵ Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥulwānī al-Khalījī AL-KHALWATĪ, *al-Wasm fī l-washm*, Cairo, 1323, pp. 34-35.

⁷⁶ AL-JĀHIZ, *Kitābu l-ḥayawān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām HĀRŪN, Cairo, 1386/1966, V, 565-567, IV, 43; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr AL-QURṬUBĪ, *Bahjat al-majālis wa-unsu l-mujālis*, ed. M. M. L-KHŪLĪ and ʿAbd al-Qādir AL-QIṬṬ, Cairo, 1967, II, 81-82, quoted from al-Jāhiz.

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The three treatises mentioned by the late L. Kopf in EI-2 in the article *djarād* are not extant; a fourth one collected by Ibn ʿAsākir under the title *Juzʿ fī l-jarād* seems also to be lost⁷⁷.

Joseph Qāfīḥ gives in his book, *Halikhot teyman*, Jerusalem, 1978⁷⁸, a detailed description of the custom of collecting locusts by the Jewish population in the Yemen and the ways of cooking and frying them.

Important facts concerning the international campaigns for fighting the invasions of locusts into the different regions of the Arab peninsula are given in the publication of the Naval Intelligence Division, *Geographical Handbook Series, Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, June 1946, pp. 495-498. In some regions of Arabia locusts provide food for the poorer nomads, having been collected and then cooked, dried, or roasted⁷⁹.

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⁷⁷ See IBN KATHĪR, *Tafsīr*, III, 211, 1. 10 bot.

⁷⁸ ed. Israel Yeshayāhu, pp. 218-221.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 424.