

Some notes on *ridda* verses

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The fragments of Wathīma's *Kitāb al-Ridda* contained in Ibn Ḥajar's *Iṣāba* have been carefully collected and edited with painstaking accuracy by W. Hoenerbach,¹ who provided them with a translation. Some printing errors in the original text of the *Iṣāba* as well as wrong readings or interpretations of some verses are pointed out in the following lines.

Text p. 4, l. 16; translation p. 245:

أَبْلِغْ عَيْيَنَةَ أَنْ عَرَّضْتُ لِدَارِهِ قَوْلًا

is translated by Hoenerbach:

“An ‘Uyayna lass gelangen dass ich seinem Hause vorbrachte eine Rede...”

The reading and the translation are both incorrect. The text should be read:

أَبْلِغْ عَيْيَنَةَ إِنْ عَرَّضْتَ لِدَارِهِ قَوْلًا

and should be translated:

Tell ‘Uyayna if you pass his abode: a pronouncement...

This reading of the first hemistich of the verse is supported by the version recorded by al-Wāqidi in his “*Kitāb al-Ridda*”:²

أَبْلِغْ عَيْيَنَةَ إِنْ مَرَرْتَ بِدَارِهِ قَوْلًا يَسِيرُ بِهِ الشَّفِيقُ النَّاصِحُ

The expression *abligh in ‘aradta* appears frequently in ancient poetry³ and is explicitly explained by the lexicographers.⁴

¹ W. Hoenerbach, *Waṭīma's Kitāb ar-Ridda aus Ibn Ḥaǧar's Iṣāba*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1951, Nr. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1951).

² Ms. Bankipore XV, 108–110, No. 1042, fol. 12a.

³ Comp. e.g. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. M. Schloessinger (Jerusalem, 1938), IV_B, p. 59, l. 5 أبلغ أمية عني أن عرضت لها 5; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rikh* (Tahdhīb), ed. Aḥmad ‘Ubayd, Damascus 1349, VI, 131; فيها راكباً إما عرضت فبلغن; al-‘Iṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nujūm al-‘awālī* (Cairo, 1380), I, 195: فبلغ إن عرضت بني كلاب وأبلغ إن عرضت بني نيمر (and see these verses in Labid, *Dīwān*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, al-Kuwayt 1962, p. 276; Yāqūt,

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The first hemistich of the following verse (text p. 4, l. 17; translation p. 245) is read by Hoenerbach:

. كَلْبٌ خُوَيْلِدِ بْنِ طَلِيحَةَ

and is translated:

“Wissen liess ich ihn, dass Ṭulaiḥa b. Ḥuwailid: ein Hund...”

The correct reading, according to the text recorded by al-Wāqidī is:

. كَلْبٌ خُوَيْلِدِ بْنِ طَلِيحَةَ إِنَّ عَيْنَ

and should be translated:

O ‘Uyayna, indeed Ṭulayḥa b. Khuwaylid: is a dog...

A-‘Uyayna (instead of *A-‘Uyaynatu*) is a *tarkhīm*.⁵

The third line of this poetical fragment is recorded by Hoenerbach as follows:

كَيْفَ الْبَقَاءُ إِذَا أَتَاكُمْ خَالِدٌ وَمُهَاجِرُونَ مَسُومُونَ سَوَابِحٌ

and is translated:

“Wie da bestehen, wenn euch ereilt Ḥālid und Muhāḡirs, markierte, mit ausgestreckten Vorderfüssen galoppierende [Pferde]!”

But the second hemistich does not refer to horses. The copyist erred and misread the last word of this hemistich (*sawābiḥu*), which can be corrected from the Ms. of al-Wāqidī and replaced by *شرايح*. The verse should accordingly be translated:

How [can] duration [be expected] when Khālid will come to you:
and [fighting] Muhājirūn, with badges on their garments, tall and strong men.⁶

Mu‘jam al-buldān (Beirut, 1375/1956), II, 68, s.v. Tayman dhī ḡilāl; Abū l-Baqā’ Hibatullah, *al-Manāqib al-mazydiyya*, Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 23296, fol. 139b); and see Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg 1921, p. 110. And see al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-wafā’*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1374/1955), III, 1047:

أَلَا أَبْلَغُ مَغْلَفَةَ بَرِيدَا: وَأَبْلَغُ إِنْ عَرَضْتَ أَبَا سَعِيدِ

⁴ See e.g. Lisān al-‘arab, s.v. ‘arḡ:

فَأَبْلَغُ يَزِيدُ إِنْ عَرَضْتَ وَمَنْدَرَا ، يَعْنِي إِنْ مَرَرْتَ بِهِ

⁵ See Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (Cambridge, 1951), II, 88 (§38, rem. C).

⁶ In al-Wāqidī’s version the verse runs as follows:

كَالطُّودِ وَالْإِنصَارِ تَحْتَ لَوَائِهِ: وَمُهَاجِرُونَ مَشَاوِنَ شَرَاحِ

It is evident that *مشاون* has to be replaced by *مشومون* because of the metre.

It may be useful to record here the report of al-Wāqidī with the additional verses referring to this story.

... ثمّ كتب أبو بكر رضي الله عنه إلى خالد بن الوليد يُخبره بما فعل الله بالفُجاءة ويأمره بالدخول إلى أرض بني أسد إلى طُلَيْحَةَ بن الحويلد (sic) وأصحابه . قال: فسار خالد بن الوليد رضي الله عنه بالناس حتى إذا صار بأرض بني أسد ندمت⁷ بنو غطفان على اتباعهم طُلَيْحَةَ بن خويلد ولم يُحبّوا أن يكونوا أذناناً لبني أسد . قال: وكان فيهم رجل يقال له زياد بن عبد الله الغطفاني فهرب في جوف الليل⁸ مع جماعة من بني عمّه إلى خالد بن الوليد . قال: فأكرمه خالد ورفع قدره ، ثمّ كتب إلى أبي بكر رضي الله عنه يُخبره ، وكتب الغطفاني إلى عِيَيْنَةَ بن حِصْنِ الفزاريّ بهذه الأبيات:

أَبْلَغُ عِيَيْنَةَ إِنْ مَرَّرْتَ بِدَارِهِ	قَوْلًا يَسِيرُ بِهِ الشَّفِيقُ النَّاصِحُ
أَعْيَيْنَ إِنْ طُلَيْحَةَ بنَ خُوَيْلِدٍ	كَلْبُ بِأَكْنَافِ البُزَاخَةِ نَابِحُ
إِنْ تَخَشَّه ⁹ تَسَلَّمَ فِزَارَةُ كَلَّتْهَا	وَيَقُمُ بِمَدْحِكَ يَا ¹⁰ بنَ حِصْنٍ مَادِحُ
أَوْ لَا فَانْكَ ¹¹ يَا بنَ حِصْنٍ هَالِكُ	خُذْهَا وَقِرْنُكَ يَا بنَ بَدْرِ نَاطِحُ ¹²
كَالطُّودِ وَالْأَنْصَارُ تَحْتَ لِوَائِهِ	وَمَهَاجِرُونَ مُسُومُونَ ¹³ شَرَامِحُ
بَاعُوا الإِلَهَ نَفُوسَهُمْ ¹⁴ طَلَبَ التِّي	فِيهَا النَّجَاةُ وَذَاكَ بَيْعُ رَابِحُ
فَهِنَاكَ تَقْشَعُ عَن طُلَيْحَةَ كِذْبُهُ	وَيَضِيقُ مُكْتَبِسُ وَيُصَلِّدُ ¹⁵ قَادِحُ
وَيَقُومُ بِالْأَمْرِ الجَلِيلِ نَوَائِحُ	هُتَكَ الجُيُوبِ بِنِ دَمَعٍ سَافِحُ

⁷ Reading uncertain.

⁸ Text: في جوف الليل.

⁹ Text: تخشّه; instead of تخشاه; see such a case reported in L. 'A., s.v. khs'a.

¹⁰ Text: ابن (instead of يابن).

¹¹ Text: بانك.

¹² Text: ناطحوا.

¹³ See note 6 above.

¹⁴ Text: بقوسهم.

¹⁵ Text: ومصلد.

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كَمْ مِنْ¹⁶ رَيْسٍ مِنْ فَزَارَةَ صَالِحٍ وَالنَّاسُ مِنْهُمْ صَالِحُونَ وَطَالِحٌ
 قَدْ قَادَ قَوْمَ طَلِيْحَةَ بِنِ خُوَيْلِدٍ وَالْقَوْمُ قَائِدُهُمْ كَذُوبٌ فَاصْحُ
 أَعْظَمٌ بِهَذَا فِي فَزَارَةَ سُبَّةٌ مَاذَا أَقُولُ فَأَنْتَ عَاتٍ¹⁷ جَامِحُ
 قال: فلما وصل هذا الشعر الى عَيْيْنَةَ بِنِ حِصْنِ الْفَزَارِيِّ أَقْبَلَ عَلَى قَوْمِهِ مِنْ
 بَنِي فَزَارَةَ فَقَالَ: اَعْلَمُوا أَنَّ مَا صَنَعْنَا شَيْئاً وَإِنَّا لَنَرَى النَّقْصَ وَالْعَارَ فِي مَسِيرِنَا
 هَذَا مَعَ طَلِيْحَةَ بِنِ خُوَيْلِدٍ وَلَسْنَا نَدْرِي كَيْفَ يَكُونُ الْأَمْرُ غَدًا لَنَا أَمْ عَلَيْنَا
 وَلَقَدْ لَبَسْنَا فِي مَسِيرِنَا هَذَا ثُوبَ الْخَازِي . قَالَ: فَبَيْنَمَا الْقَوْمُ كَذَلِكَ إِذَا هُمْ بِأَمَةٍ
 سُودَاءَ وَاقِفَةٍ عَلَى الْمَاءِ تَسْقِي غَنَمًا لَهَا وَهِيَ تَقُولُ:

بَنِي أَسَدٍ أَيْنَ الْفِرَارُ غُلِبْتُمْ¹⁸ إِذَا مَا أَنَاخَ بِكُمْ خَالِدُ
 نَمَاهُ الْوَلِيدُ وَمَنْ مِثْلُهُ إِذَا عُدَّ مِنْ قَوْمِهِ وَاحِدُ
 وَأَحْيَا الْمُغِيرَةَ مَا قَبْلَهُ فَأُنْجِبَهُ الْجَدَّ وَالْوَالِدُ¹⁹
 رَحِيبُ الذَّرَاعِ بِسَقِّكَ الدَّمَا أَلَا إِنَّهُ الْأَسَدُ اللَّابِدُ²⁰
 أَلَا إِنَّهُ اللَّيْثُ²¹ فِي غِيْلَةٍ أَلَا إِنَّهُ الْأَهْرَتُ²² الْحَارِدُ²³
 قال: فَقَالَ لَهَا عَيْيْنَةَ بِنِ حِصْنٍ: وَيْلَكَ²⁴ يَا سُودَاءَ مِنْ يَقُولُ هَذَا الشَّعْرَ؟
 فَقَالَتْ: لَا ، وَاللَّهِ مَا أَدْرِي غَيْرَ أَنِّي سَمِعْتُ دَوِيًّا مِنْ هَذَا الْغَدِيرِ وَقَائِلًا يَقُولُ
 هَذِهِ الْأَبْيَاتَ ، فَاعْتَمَّ عَيْيْنَةُ وَانْكَسَرَ لَذَلِكَ انْكَسَارًا شَدِيدًا ، ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ عَلَى
 طَلِيْحَةَ

16 Text: كمن .

17 Text: غاب .

18 The metre of this hemistich (*tawil*) does not suit the metre of the following verses (*mutaqārib*).

19 Text: والولد .

20 Text: للابيد .

21 Text: لبيت which should be altered for metrical reasons.

22 Text: اللاهوت .

23 Text: الجارد .

24 Text: وييلكي .

Al-Wāqidī's report helps us to gain a better insight into the situation prevailing among the rebelling Asad-Ghaṭafān while they were preparing for a struggle with the forces of Khālīd b. al-Walīd and points to the dissensions among them. It gives us a description of the split which took place when a clan loyal to Medīna left the tribe. It elucidates the setting of the three verses quoted by Ibn Ḥajar in his *Iṣāba* and indicates the source of Wathīma. It gives us some notion of the style and composition of al-Wāqidī's *Ridda*.

Text p. 16, penult.; translation p. 260:

ما²⁵ سعادُ الفؤادِ بنتُ الأثالِ طالَ لَيْليَ لِفِتْنَةِ الرَّحالِ

Hoenerbach remarks that the first hemistich of the verse does not make sense to him. ("Der erste Halbvers ist mir unverständlich"). This hemistich can be understood by comparison with expressions of this kind in ancient Arabic poetry. It is used by Ibn al-Dumayna when addressing his beloved: *yā umayma l-qalbi*,²⁶ "O Umayma of the heart", "O my beloved Umayma". Accordingly the first hemistich should be translated:

O my beloved Su'ād, the daughter of Uthāl.

The whole poetical fragment with the additional verses as quoted by al-Wāqidī and Ibn Ḥubaysh may here be recorded:

يا سعادَ الفؤادِ بنتَ أثال ²⁷	طالَ لَيْليَ ²⁸ لِفِتْنَةِ الرَّحالِ ³⁰
لِهَا يَا سعادُ مِنْ حَدَثِ الدَّهْ	رِ عَلَيْكُمْ ²⁹ كَفِتْنَةِ الدَّجَالِ
فَتَنَ القَوْمِ بالشهادةِ واللَّ	هُ عَزِيزُ ذُو قُوَّةٍ وَمِحالِ ³¹
لا يُساوي الَّذي يَقولُ مِنَ الأُمَّ	رِ قِبالاً ³² وما احتذى مِنْ قِبالِ ³³

²⁵ Ibn Ḥubaysh, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, Ms. Leiden Or. 343, p. 33: يا سعاد الفؤاد; this is also the version of al-Wāqidī's *Ridda*, fol. 17b, penult.

²⁶ Ibn al-Dumayna, *Dīwān*, ed. Aḥmad Rātib al-Naffāḥ (Cairo, 1378/1959), pp. 13 (= IV, 1), 21 (= VIII, 2), 112 (= L, 81), 165 (= IV, 1).

²⁷ Ms. al-Wāqidī: أثال.

²⁸ Ms. al-Wāqidī: ليل.

²⁹ Ms. Ibn Ḥubaysh: بفتنة.

³⁰ Ms. al-Wāqidī: الرجال.

³¹ Ms. al-Wāqidī: ومعالي.

³² Ms. al-Wāqidī: فتيلة.

³³ Ms. al-Wāqidī: وإنه ذو ضلال.

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مِ رِجَالٍ عَلَى الْهُدَى أَمْثَالِي إِنَّ دِينِي دِينُ النَّبِيِّ³⁴ وَفِي الْقَوِّ
 وَرِجَالٌ لَيْسُوا لَنَا بِرِجَالٍ أَهْلَكَ الْقَوْمَ مُحْكَمٌ بِنُ طُفَيْلٍ
 مَ فَلَنْ يُرْجِعُوهُ³⁶ أُخْرَى³⁷ اللَّيَالِي بَزَّهُمْ³⁵ أَمْرَهُمْ مُسَيِّمَةُ الْيَوْمِ
 رِ سَبَابٌ مَقَالَةَ الْأَنْذَالِ قُلْتُ لِلنَّفْسِ إِنْ تُعَاطِيكَ لِلْكَفْرِ
 رِ لَهُ³⁹ فُرْجَةٌ⁴⁰ كَحَلِّ الْعِقَالِ رَبَّمَا³⁸ تَجْزَعُ النَّفْسُ مِنْ الْأَمِّ
 هِ حَنِيفًا فَانْتِي⁴¹ لَا أَبَالِي إِنْ تَكُنْ مِيتِي عَلَى فِطْرَةِ اللَّهِ

Text p. 18, l. 2; translation p. 261, l. 20:

The second hemistich of the verse referring to Musaylima is read by Hoenerbach:

أَبْرَأُ إِلَيْكَ مِنَ الْجَحُودِ الْكَافِرِ

and translated:

“[Wahrlich] ich ward rein von dir vom Verdacht der Anteilungnahme an der ketzerischen Verleumdung”.

The correct reading is: الجَحُودِ and the hemistich should be translated:

I clear myself before you from the repudiator, the unbeliever.

Text p. 19, ll. 14–15; translation p. 263:

رِ عَظِيمٌ فِي سَالِفِ الْأَيَّامِ إِنَّ قَتْلَ الرَّسُولِ مِنْ حَادِثِ الدَّهْرِ
 نَ مَضَى أَوْ بَقِيَ عَلَى الْإِسْلَامِ بِئْسَ مَنْ كَانَ مِنْ حَنِيفَةٍ إِنْ كَا

are translated by Hoenerbach:

“Wahrlich der Mord, an einem Gesandten, eben geschehen, in den frühen Tagen teuer kam!

³⁴ Ms. al-Wāqidi: الوفي.

³⁵ Ms. al-Wāqidi: برهم.

³⁶ Ms. al-Wāqidi: يرجعوا.

³⁷ Ms. al-Wāqidi: باحدى.

³⁸ Ms. Ibn Ḥubaysh: قلب; the verse is missing in al-Wāqidi's *Ridda*.

³⁹ Ms. al-Wāqidi: و بها.

⁴⁰ Ms. al-Wāqidi: فرحة.

⁴¹ Ms. al-Wāqidi: وإنني.

Wie schlimm sind die Angehörigen der banī Ḥanīfa, gleich ob sie vordem dahingegangen oder dem Islam noch erlebt haben”.

But *ḥādithu l-dahri* does not mean “eben geschehen”. *Ḥādithu l-dahri* may be compared with *ḥadath al-dahri* mentioned above and denotes, like *‘aẓīm*, a serious affair, a grave event. The first verse should thus be translated:

Indeed the murder of the messenger is a serious event of fate: a grave deed in bygone time.

An emendation in the reading of two words in the second verse may be proposed: *مضى* may probably be replaced by *عصى* and the unusual *بِقَى* by *بغى*. The verse, according to this reading, should be translated:

What bad men are the Banū Ḥanīfa, those who rebelled or acted wrongfully against Islam.

Text p. 21, l. 4; translation p. 264:

كَيْفَ تَرَانِي وَأَخِي عَطَارِدَا نَذُودُ مِنْ حَنِيفَةَ الْمُرَاوِدَا

is translated by Hoenerbach:

“Wie siehst du mich und meinen Bruder ‘Uṭārid,
den Verlocker von den banī Ḥanīfa vertreiben”.

The correct reading is *الموارد* and the correct translation is:

How do you consider me and my brother ‘Uṭārid:
blocking the Banū Ḥanīfa from the roads which lead to water.

Text p. 23, ll. 15–16; translation p. 268, ll. 3–6:

جُزِي الْجَارُودُ خَيْرًا عَنِ أَبَانَ بْنِ سَعِيدِ
وَصَبَّاحٍ وَأَخُوهُ هَرَمِ خَيْرِ عَمِيدِ

is rendered by Hoenerbach:

“Möge Gott Ġārūd belohnen statt Abān b. Sa‘id (d.h. statt meiner; denn er kann es besser als ich) und Ṣubāḥ und sein Bruder Harim sind die beste Stütze”.

The correct translation is:

May God give al-Jārūd a [good] reward for [what he did for] Abān b. Sa‘id
And [reward] Ṣubāḥ; and his brother Harim is the best leader.⁴²

⁴² Al-Wāqidi, *op. cit.*, fol. 8a, sup.: خير حميد; five additional verses are recorded.

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Text p. 31 ult. – 32 ll. 1–2; translation p. 277 sup.

كُلَّ مَرَّةٍ وَإِنْ تَعَاظَمَ الصَّبُّ رُ عَلَيْهِ سِوَى النَّبِيِّ دَقِيقٌ
أَيُّهَا الْقَائِمُ الْمُعَصَّبُ بِالْأَمْرِ رِ الْمُصَدِّقُ الصَّادِقُ
إِنَّ ذَا الْأَمْرِ فِيكُمْ فَخُذُوهُ ثُمَّ قُودُوا إِلَى النَّجَاةِ وَسُقُوا

The three verses are translated by Hoenerbach as follows:

“Ein jeder — und sei meine Geduld gegen ihn noch so gross! — ausser dem Propheten ist gering.

O du Herr und Haupt des Befehls, du bist der bestätigte aṣ-Ṣiddīq!
Unter euch ist der Befehlsherr; nehmet ihn an und geleitet und führt zum Heil!”

Both the texts consulted by Hoenerbach in the first verse had كل أمر; this was altered by him into كل مرة. The correct reading is in fact كل أمر, “every calamity, disaster, grave event” and the verse should be translated:

Every disaster, even if the grief over it increases in my soul,
is paltry⁴³ in relation to that of the [death of the] Prophet.

The second verse should be rendered as follows:

O you the one who acts, the one chosen to rule
You are indeed the verifier [of the words of the Prophet], the Ṣiddīq.

The أمر in the third verse denotes, as in the second verse, “rule, power, authority”; the ذا is a demonstrative pronoun (see Wright, *op. cit.*, I, 265). The verse should be translated:

This authority is amongst you (i.e. belongs to you), therefore (you people) grasp it, and lead and drive towards salvation.

A prose passage (text p. 34, ll. 18–19; translation p. 279, ll. 25–26), may be elucidated:

إِنَّكُمْ الْآنَ تَزِدَادُوا مِنْ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ أَحْوَجُ إِلَى أَنْ تَنْقُصُوهُ

this is translated:

“Ihr sollt in dieser Sache nicht weiter, sondern eher zurückgehen”.

⁴³ Comp. antithetically: رزه جليل in Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd’s *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1964), I, 156; and comp. al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a’lām al-nubalā’*, ed. As’ad Ṭalas, Cairo, 1962, I, 149: عشية قيل قد قبض الرسول فقد عظمت مصيبتنا وجلت

The correct translation is:

You verily need more to increase in this matter (i.e. belief, faith, religion of Islam) than to decrease in it.

Text p. 38, l. 1; translation p. 282, l. 27:

فقالوا: التراب سفاهاً بفيك

is translated by Hoenerbach:

“Sie antworteten: Staub aus Torheit in deinem Munde”.

The late Professor D. Z. Baneth communicated to me the following correction:

So they said out of foolishness: Dust into your mouth.

The poem of Ḥassān, composed in connection with the marriage of Khālid b. al-Walīd with the daughter of Majjā'a, was edited by Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh in his *Majmū'at al-wathā'iq al-siyāsiyya li-l-'ahdi l-nabawiyyi*, Cairo 1376/1956, pp. 271–2, from al-Wāqidi's *Ridda* (fol. 25a). The missing last word in the first verse of the poem المبارد can be provided from the new edition of Ḥassān's *Dīwān* by Walīd N. Arafat, London 1971, p. 459 (CCLXXXIV, 1), quoted from Ibn Durayd's *Ishtiqāq*. The word يناجي in verse 3 has to be corrected into يناعي, as in Arafat's edition; in fact, this is how the word occurs in the Ms. of al-Wāqidi.

The version of verse 7 of the poem in al-Wāqidi's *Ridda* differs from that in Ibn Durayd's *Ishtiqāq* (verse 6 in Arafat's edition). The verse in the *Ishtiqāq* runs as follows:

وَكَيْفَ بِالْفِ قَدَ أُصِيبُوا كَأَنَّمَا دِمَاوَهُمْ بَيْنَ السِّبْفِ الْمَجَاسِدُ

Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh reads the verse in the Ms. of al-Wāqidi as follows:

فَكَيْفَ بِالْفِ قَدَ أُصِيبُوا وَنَيْفِ عَلَى الْمَاءِ بَيْنَ الْيَوْمِ أَوْ زَادَ زَائِدُ

But the correct reading is:

فَكَيْفَ بِالْفِ قَدَ أُصِيبُوا وَنَيْفِ عَلَى الْمَائَتَيْنِ أَوْ زَادَ زَائِدُ