

You have won, but without intelligence or dignity.
 Did you not deal falsely with the prophet?
 Yet of old have you behaved infamously.
 You are not like the guest of Abū Duwād
 Nor al-Asadī the guest of Abū'l-'Alā';
 But your shame is a disease of long standing.
 Take note that the disease of treachery is the most deadly.

When the words of Ḥassān and Ka'b reached Rabī'a b. 'Āmir (Abū'l-Barā')] he attacked 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl and stabbed him with his spear in his thigh; he failed to kill him¹ but he fell from his horse saying, 'This is the work of Abū'l-Barā'; if I die my blood (I give) to my uncle and he is not to be sued for it: if I live I will see to what has to be done myself.'

Anas b. 'Abbās al-Sulamī, maternal uncle of Ṭu'ayma b. 'Adiy b. Nafīl who killed Nāfi' b. Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'i that day, said:

I left Ibn Warqā' dead on the ground
 With the dust wind blowing o'er him.
 I remembered Abū'l-Rayyān³ when I saw him
 And made sure that I was avenged.

Abū'l-Rayyān was Ṭu'ayma b. 'Adiy.

'Abdullah b. Rawāḥa mourning Nāfi' b. Budayl b. Warqā' said:

God have the mercy on Nāfi' b. Budayl
 That belongs to those who seek the reward of *jihād*!
 Enduring, truthful, faithful,
 When men talked too much he spoke to the point.⁴

Ḥassān b. Thābit, mourning the slain at Bi'r Ma'ūna and especially at Mundhir b. 'Amr, said:

Weep for the slain at Ma'ūna
 With everflowing tears,
 For the apostle's horsemen the day
 They met their death by God's decree.
 They met their end because a people
 Were false to their covenant and treacherous.
 Alas for Mundhir who died there
 And hastened to his end steadfastly!
 How many a noble welcoming man
 Of 'Amr's best people was done to death! (678)

¹ T. has 'the spear was deflected so that it did not kill him'.

² i.e. 'I forgive him'.

³ W. has Abū'l-Zabbān.

⁴ These lines are attributed to Ḥassān. Cf. *Dīwān* xl.

THE DEPORTATION OF THE B. AL-NAḌĪR, A.H. 4

According to what Yazīd b. Rūmān told me the apostle went to B. al-Naḍīr to ask for their help in paying the bloodwit for the two men of B. 'Āmir whom 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī had killed after he had given them a promise of security. There was a mutual alliance between B. al-Naḍīr and B. 'Āmir. When the apostle came to them about the bloodwit they said that of course they would contribute in the way he wished; but they took counsel with one another apart, saying, 'You will never get such a chance again. Who will go to the top of the house and drop a rock on him (Ṭ. so as to kill him) and rid us of him?' The apostle was sitting by the wall of one of their houses at the time. 'Amr b. Jihāsh b. Ka'b volunteered to do this and went up to throw down a rock.¹ As the apostle was with a number of his companions among whom were Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Alī, news came to him from heaven about what these people intended, so he got up (Ṭ. and said to his companions, 'Don't go away until I come to you') and he went back to Medina. When his companions had waited long for the prophet, they got up to search for him and met a man coming from Medina and asked him about him. He said that he had seen him entering Medina, and they went off, and when they found him he told them of the treachery which the Jews meditated against him. The apostle ordered them to prepare for war and to march against them (679). Then he went off with the men until he came upon them (680).

The Jews took refuge in their forts and the apostle ordered that the palm-trees should be cut down and burnt, and they called out to him, 'Muhammad, you have prohibited wanton destruction and blamed those guilty of it. Why then are you cutting down and burning our palm-trees?'

Now there was a number of B. 'Auf b. al-Khazraj among whom were 'Abdullah b. Ubayy b. Salūl and Wadī'a and Mālik b. Abū Qauqal and Buwayd and Dā'is who had sent to B. al-Naḍīr saying, 'Stand firm and protect yourselves, for we will not betray you. If you are attacked we will fight with you and if you are turned out, we will go with you.' Accordingly they waited for the help they had promised, but they did nothing and God cast terror into their hearts. They asked the apostle to deport them and to spare their lives on condition that they could retain all their property which they could carry on camels, except their armour, and he agreed. So they loaded their camels with what they could carry. Men were destroying their houses down to the lintel of the door which they put upon the back of their camels and went off with it. Some went to Khaybar and others went to Byria. Among their chiefs who went to Khaybar were Sallām b.

¹ I think it is clear that another and later story has been attached to this incident. Obviously if the prophet had overheard their designs there was no need of a supernatural communication from heaven. Further, it should be noted that in this later story the apostle is called 'the prophet'. This is a term which I.I. uses most sparingly, though it is fairly frequently employed by his editor I.H.

Abū'l-Ḥuqayq, Kināna b. al-Rabī b. Abū'l-Ḥuqayq, and Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab. When they got there the inhabitants became subject to them.

654 'Abdullah b. Abū Bakr told me that he was told that they carried off the women and children and property with tambourines and pipes and singing-girls playing behind them. Among them was Umm 'Amr, wife of 'Urwa b. al-Ward al-'Absī, whom they had bought from him, she being one of the women of B. Ghifār. (They went) with such pomp and splendour as had never been seen in any tribe in their days.

They left their property to the apostle and it became his personal property which he could dispose of as he wished. He divided it among the first emigrants to the exclusion of the Anṣār, except that Sahl b. Ḥunayf and Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharasha complained of poverty and so he gave them some. Only two of B. al-Naḍīr became Muslims: Yāmīn b. 'Umayr Abū Ka'b b. 'Amr¹ b. Jihāsh and Abū Sa'd b. Wahb who became Muslims in order to retain their property.

One of Yāmīn's family told me that the apostle said to Yāmīn, 'Have you seen the way your cousin has treated me and what he proposed to do?' Thereupon Yāmīn gave a man money to kill 'Amr b. Jihāsh and he did kill him, or so they allege.

Concerning B. al-Naḍīr the *Sūra* of Exile came down in which is recorded how God wreaked His vengeance on them and gave His apostle power over them and how He dealt with them. God said: 'He it is who turned out those who disbelieved of the scripture people from their homes to the first exile. You did not think that they would go out and they thought that their forts would protect them from God. But God came upon them from a direction they had not reckoned and He cast terror into their hearts so that they destroyed their houses with their own hands and the hands of the believers.'² That refers to their destroying their houses to extract the lintels of the doors when they carried them away. 'So consider this, you who have understanding. Had not God prescribed deportation against them,' which was vengeance from God, 'He would have punished them in this world,' i.e. with the sword, 'and in the next world there would be the punishment of hell' as well. 'The palm-trees which you cut down or left standing upon their roots.' *Līna* means other than the best kind of dates. 'It was by God's permission,' i.e. they were cut down by God's order; it was not destruction but was vengeance from God, 'and to humble evil-doers' (681). 'The spoil which God gave the apostle from them,' i.e. from B. al-Naḍīr. 'You did not urge on your cavalry or riding camels for the sake of it, but God gives His apostle power over whom He wills and God is Almighty,' i.e. it was peculiar to him (682), 'The spoil which God gave the apostle from the people of the towns belongs to God and His apostle.' What the Muslims gallop against with horses and camels and what is captured by force of arms belongs to God and the apostle. 'And is for the next of kin and orphans and the poor and the wayfarer so that it should not

¹ W. has 'a cousin of 'Amr'.

² *Sūra* 59.

circulate among your rich men; and what the apostle gives you take and abstain from what he forbids you.' He says this is another division between Muslims concerning what is taken in war according to what God prescribed to him.¹

Then God said, 'Have you seen those who are disaffected,' meaning 'Abdullah b. Ubayy and his companions and those who are like-minded 'who say to their brothers of the scripture people who disbelieve,' i.e. the B. al-Naḍīr, up to the words 'like those who a short time before them tasted the misery of their acts and had a painful punishment,' i.e. the B. Qaynuqā'. 'Then as far as the words 'Like Satan when he said to man Disbelieve, and when man disbelieved he said, I am quit of you. I fear Allah the Lord of the worlds and the punishment of both is that they will be in hell everlastingly. That is the reward of the evildoers.'

656 Among the verses composed about B. al-Naḍīr are the following from I. Luqaym al-'Absī. (Others say Qays b. Baḥr b. Ṭarīf was the author (683).)

My people be a ransom for the immortal man
Who forced the Jews to settle in a distant place.²
They pass their siesta with live coals of tamarisk.
Instead of the young shooting palms they have the bare hills of 'Ūdī.³
If I am right about Muhammad
You will see his horses between al-Ṣalā and Yaramram
Making for 'Amr b. Buhtha. They are the enemy.
(A friendly tribe is not the same as an evil one.)
On them are heroes, firebrands in war,
Brandishing spears directed at their enemies.
Every fine sharp Indian blade
Inherited from the days of 'Ād and Jurhum.
Who will give Quraysh a message from me,
For is there one honoured in glory after them?

¹ In al-Balādhuri's *Futūḥul-Buldān*, ed. De Goeje, 18 f., this passage reads as follows: '... from Ibn Abū Zā'ida from Muhammad b. Ishāq concerning God's word "The spoil which God gave the apostle from them", i.e. from B. al-Naḍīr, "you did not urge cavalry... whom He wills." He taught them that it was peculiar to the apostle and to none else. So the apostle divided it among the emigrants except that Sahl b. Ḥunayf and Abū Dujāna complained of poverty and so he gave them some [v.s.]. As to His words "The spoil which God gave the apostle from the people of the towns belongs to God and His apostle" to the end of the verse He says this is another division between Muslims according to what God described.'

It does not necessarily follow that this is what I.I. wrote, though the arrangement of the matter is certainly more systematic. That may be due to al-Balādhuri. On the other hand, the mention of the *first* emigrants (v.s.) seems somewhat strange. The exclusion of the Anṣār may well have been ignored by the later writer as foreign to his purpose. On the other hand, the clumsy Arabic 'concerning what is taken in war' does not appear here. The change of 'prescribed' into 'described' is not an oral mistake but a misreading and incidentally is one of countless proofs that tradition in early days was written down. A confusion between *waḍa'hu* and *waṣafahu* in speech is utterly impossible: in writing it might well be impossible to determine which alternative to adopt.

² The meaning is obscure. I have followed S.

³ A. Dh. says that this is the name of a place. Yāqūt does not mention it.

ME

THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD

A TRANSLATION OF IBN ISHAQ'S
SIRAT RASUL ALLAH

A. GUILLAUME

RD

