

## NOTES ON THE PAPYRUS ACCOUNT OF THE 'AQABA MEETING

The four pages of the Schott-Reinhardt Papyrus containing the account by Wahb b. Munabbih about the meeting at al-'Aqaba<sup>1</sup> form one of the earliest documents dealing with the crucial event of the alliance between Muḥammad and his followers from al-Madīna. This document edited by Gertrude Mélamède with great care and accuracy<sup>2</sup> contains, however, some words or phrases which the editor was unable to decipher<sup>3</sup>, and others which she misread. In the first section of this article an attempt has been made to decipher some words and phrases important for the understanding of the text; in the second and third some traditions about the attendance of al-'Abbās at the meeting of al-'Aqaba are discussed.

### I

Papyrus p. 2, 1.8 = p. 48, 1.4 = transl. p. 49, 1.6 : فلقني رسول  
 « And the Messenger of Allah met some of them and they ..... a number of their people. »  
 The correct reading is not بمقدم القوم but بمقدم; the undeciphered word is فأخبره; thus the text reads as follows : فلقني رسول الله من  
 « And the Messenger of Allah met one of them, and he informed him about the arrival of the people and about their number. »

Papyrus p. 2, 1.12 = p. 48, 1.8 : the word undeciphered is probably : حقا

<sup>1</sup> C. H. BECKER, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt I*, Heidelberg 1906, p. 8-9; see Nabia ABBOTT, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri I*, Chicago 1957, pp. 61-64; comp. WATT, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, pp. 146-148.

<sup>2</sup> M. O., 1934, pp. 17-58.

<sup>3</sup> See the remark of G. MÉLAMÈDE, *op. cit.*, p. 20 : « The writing is often very indistinct and sometimes impossible to decipher. »

Papyrus p. 2, 1.16 = p. 48, 1.10 = transl. P. 50, 1.21 : (؟) إذ ضم  
 بيناهم كذلك إذ مر : بهم العباس The reading is with all probability : بهم العباس  
 بهم العباس « When (as) they were in this situation al-‘Abbās passed  
 by ». The reading of the missing word in the next line is evidently  
 [لاء الناس] فمن هو « who are these men ». The answer of the  
 Prophet : « these are my maternal uncles and your maternal  
 uncles »<sup>4</sup> is elucidated by a tradition quoted by al-Dhahabī<sup>5</sup> :  
 al-‘Abbās taking the oath of allegiance from the Anṣār stressed  
 that the mother of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was from the people of  
 al-Madīna, from the Banu al-Najjār. She was in fact from the  
 Banu al-Najjār; her name was Salmā bint ‘Amr b. Zayd b. Labīd  
 b. Khidāsh b. Ghanm b. ‘Adiyy b. al-Najjār<sup>6</sup>.

Papyrus p. 2, 1.18 = p. 48, inf. = transl. 49 penult. قال أخوالي  
 وأخوالك من الأوس والخزرج قد آمنوا بالله ورسوله وزعموا وهم فاعلون  
 .. أنهم «-My maternal uncles and your maternal uncles, the Aus  
 and the Khazradj have believed in Allah and His Messenger. And  
 they thought that when they acted in this way they would ..... ».  
 The translation quoted above is inaccurate. The undeciphered word is  
 ينجدونني; the correct translation is as follows : « My maternal  
 uncles and your maternal uncles, the Aus and the Khazradj have  
 believed in Allah and His Messenger. They asserted, and they are  
 about to act as they asserted, that they would aid me ... etc. » —  
 The phrase وهم فاعلون is a « ḥāl » clause.

Papyrus p. 2, 1.20 = p. 50, 1.1 = transl. p. 51, 1.1 قال فأباح  
 رحلته «(He said) : and al-‘Abbās permitted him to leave »  
 The reading and the translation are both erroneous : Al-‘Abbās

<sup>4</sup> See note 24.

<sup>5</sup> Tārikh I, 178; it is quoted on the authority of Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, probably from his Maghāzī.

<sup>6</sup> Muṣ‘ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh* (ed. LEVI-PROVENCAL), p. 15; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat Ansāb al-‘Arab* (ed. LEVI-PROVENCAL), p. 12; comp. the story of the death of Āmina, the mother of the prophet on her way back to Mecca from a visit of her maternal uncles of the al Najjār : Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, I, 177; and see Muḥ. b. Ḥabīb, *Ummahāt al-Nabī*, p. 2 a, l. 7-11 (Baghdād 1952).

could not permit the Prophet to leave or forbid him. The correct reading is : « قال فأناخ العباس راحلته » (He said) : and al-'Abbās made his camel kneel down ». He then alighted and delivered his speech.

Papyrus p. 2, l. 21 : The correct reading is : أحب الناسي كلهم  
instead of : منهم

Papyrus p. 2, l. 22 = p. 50, l. 3 : the undeciphered word is لدي  
« (and the most distinguished) in my opinion ».

The following passage, of special importance for the understanding of the role of al-'Abbās at the meeting, was partly undeciphered or misunderstood : Papyrus p. 2, l. 22 = p. 50, l. 3-4 = transl. 50, l. 5 : وما أنفعهم (?) فإن كنتم قد آمنتم به وصدقتموه فإنه ابن أخي : 5  
« And if you believe in him and consider that he is speaking the truth then he... my brother's son... trustworthy, and Allah is a witness » etc. The correct reading is : وما أتبعه [ه] فإن كنتم  
وما أتبعه [ه] فإن كنتم which has to be translated as follows : « ..... but I do not follow him. If you have arrived at believing in him and consider that he is speaking the truth, then give my brother's son [your] assurance of allegiance by which his soul will be quietened and Allah is... » etc.

Papyrus p. 2 penult. = transl. 51, l. 7 : The undeciphered word is : ولا تغدرون به

Papyrus p. 2, ult. = transl. p. 51, l. 8 : وهم له أعدى... وهم عليه  
« And they are most hostile to him ». The correct reading is : وهم له أعدى ولم يزل يتخوفهم عليه « And they are his enemies. And he did not cease to rouse<sup>7</sup> their fears about him (i.e. about the Messenger of Allah). »

Papyrus p. 3, l. 18 = p. 52, l. 1. = trans. 53, l. 4 : وأما قولك إنه : وأما قولك إنه : « and the most respected by your أكرم الناس عليك وأفضلهم لربك

<sup>7</sup> In text يتخوفهم ; but the verb is not found in the dictionaries in this connotation in the V form.

Lord. » Asʿad could not possibly say to the pagan al ʿAbbās that the Prophet was the most respected by « his Lord ». The correct reading is : *« وأما قولك إنه أكرم الناس عليك وأفضلهم لديك »* As regarding your statement that he is the noblest person in your eyes and the most distinguished one in your opinion — we cherish... » etc. (comp. Pap. 2, 1.22).

Papyrus p. 3, 1.8 = trans. 51, 1.19 : *لا يستطيع أن يرؤس علينا* « and it is not possible that any man without our will should rule over us when his people has isolated him ». The correct translation is : « and a man not from us (i.e. not from our community), isolated by his people and abandoned by his uncles (i.e. relatives) would not be able to rule over us » ... etc.

Papyrus p. 4, 1.8 = p. 52, 12 = trans. p. 53, 1.3 : *قال فإن كنتم* « He said : And if you leave him or abandon him because of something that might happen to you ... » The undeciphered word is *فَالآن*; the translation is as follows : « He said : And if you are about to leave him or to abandon him because of a mishap which might strike you — so [leave him] now. »

## II

The papyrus gives us a most interesting version of the events at the meeting of al-ʿAqaba, different from the hitherto known versions which occur in the literature of the Sira or in other sources. Peculiar details are given about the role of al-ʿAbbās at this meeting and about the dispute between the Anṣār and al-ʿAbbās. The role of al-ʿAbbās at this meeting has been subject to discussion and scholarly controversy<sup>8</sup>, and it may be useful to quote some divergent or additional reports :

Al-Balādhurī<sup>9</sup> quoting from the account of Wāqidī : The Anṣār

<sup>8</sup> See Th. NÖLDEKE, *Zur tendenziösen Gestaltung der Urgeschichte des Islams*, ZDMG, 1898, pp. 21-27; T. BUHL, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, p. 187; M. WATT, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>9</sup> Ansāb I, 253-4, ed Muḥ. ḤAMĪDULLAH, Cairo 1959.

when arrived at Mecca asked about the Prophet and were informed that he was with his uncle, al-'Abbās; some of the Anṣār betook themselves to his abode and fixed with the Prophet the meeting. Al-'Abbās attended the talk between them and advised them to be cautious, because they were in the company of pagan pilgrims from al-Madīna. The oath of allegiance was taken by al-'Abbās. Al-Balādhurī also quotes two traditions attesting that al-'Abbās attended the meeting and took the oath of allegiance; both traditions are transmitted on the authority of men of the 'Aqaba: one on the authority of Jābir b. 'Abdallah, the second one on the authority of Abū Mas'ūd<sup>10</sup>. Similar traditions in the form of short statements about the attendance of al-'Abbās at the meeting — but devoid of further details about his activity and role at this meeting — are quoted by al-Balādhurī in his *Ansāb* on the authority of Abū Rāfi'<sup>11</sup> and on the authority of Ibrahīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī<sup>12</sup>.

'Urwa in his concise report<sup>13</sup> does not mention the rôle of al-'Abbās at the meeting. Al-Balādhurī quotes however a tradition on the authority of 'Urwa, stating that al-'Abbās took the hand of the Prophet when the 70 Anṣār came to him; he took their oath of allegiance on behalf of the Prophet<sup>14</sup>.

Another tradition about the meeting at the 'Aqaba in which al-'Abbās was not mentioned, supplemented by a tradition stressing the rôle of al-'Abbās, is found in al-Dhahabī's «Tā'rīkh»<sup>15</sup>: the tradition of the 'Aqaba meeting told on the authority of Jābir b.'Abdallāh, does not mention al-'Abbās; it is supplemented by an

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 253; about Abū Mas'ūd see al-Iṣāba n° 5599.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 253; about Abū Rāfi' see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lam al-Nubalā*, II, 8; it is noteworthy that Abū Rāfi' stressed in his tradition in the *Ansāb*, that al-'Abbās embraced secretly Islam; about this problem see NÖLDEKE, *op. cit.* Abū Rāfi' is also the transmitter of the story about the protection of al-'Abbās given to Abū Dharr, when attacked by the pagans of Mecca. (*Siyar* II, 37). Comp. the story of the Prophet attacked by pagans and rescued by al-'Abbās - al-Suyūti: *Al-Durr al-Manthūr*, III, 298 (on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās). Abū Rāfi' is said to have been a slave of al-'Abbās; he was presented as a gift to the Prophet by al-'Abbās.

<sup>12</sup> *Ansāb* Ms. 266 b; about al-Taymī see al-Iṣāba n° 5.

<sup>13</sup> Al-Ṭabarī II, 95 (ed. Cairo, 1939); see WATT, *op. cit.*, p. 145; *M. O.* 1934, p. 19.

<sup>14</sup> *Ansāb* Ms. 267 b.

<sup>15</sup> I, 178; see *Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal* III, 339; comp. *M. O.* 1934, p. 24.

inserted tradition on the authority of Yaḥyā b. Sulaym<sup>16</sup> explaining the role of al-ʿAbbās.

Ibn Hishām : the account is given on the authority of Kaʿb<sup>17</sup>, who attended the meeting. Kaʿb and other Anṣār did not know the Prophet before then; when arrived at Mecca they asked about the Prophet and were informed that he was sitting with his uncle al-ʿAbbās at the Kaʿba. Al-ʿAbbās attended the meeting, and delivered his famous speech; he was then a pagan : he attended the meeting in order to get assurances of allegiance for the Prophet<sup>18</sup>.

The story of the attendance of al-ʿAbbās at the meeting and of his taking the oath of allegiance on behalf of the Prophet also served as an argument in the dispute between the ʿUlamā on whether or not al-ʿAbbās secretly embraced Islam<sup>19</sup>. This is evident from a remark on the tradition of Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh, made by al-Ḥākim<sup>20</sup> : Jābir reports that he left with his uncle Jadd b. Qays<sup>21</sup> among a group of 70 Anṣār<sup>22</sup> for Mecca; he was then not able to

<sup>16</sup> See about him Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb XI, 226.

<sup>17</sup> See about him Anṣāb I, 248; Iṣāba n° 7427.

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Hishām II, 82 (ed. Saqqā, Abyārī, Shalabī, Cairo 1936); see al-Tabarī II, 90, 91.

<sup>19</sup> Comp. the comprehensive chapter of « Manaḡib al-ʿAbbās » in al-Zurqānī's « Sharḡ al-Mawāhib » III, 278-85; an interesting tradition in al-Muḡabbar 162 : the Meccans on their march to Badr refused to eat the meat offered by al-ʿAbbās suspecting him to have sympathy for Muḡammad; ʿAbbās was one of the Muṡ'imūna : see NÖLDEKE, *op. cit.* and GOLDZIEHER, *Zauberelemente im isl. Gebet, Or. Stud. Nöldeke I*, 309.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Mustadrak III, 322.

<sup>21</sup> See Iṣāba n° 1106; this tradition is here repeated.

<sup>22</sup> About the number of 70 Anṣār see STEINSCHNEIDER, *Die kanonische Zahl der Muḡam. Sekten*, ZDMG, 1850, pp. 152-3; the translation of a passage connected with the number of 70, given by G. MÉLAMÈDE, *M. O.* 1934, p. 36, rem. I, is inaccurate. Her translation is as follows : « Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Wāqidi has a similar story, but I do not believe in other names than those about which our adherents agree ». This quotation is a part of the tradition given by al-Balādhuri, Anṣāb I, 252 inf. (ed. ḤAMĪDULLAH); the tradition runs as follows : « Muḡ. b. Sa'd on the authority of Ibn al Kalbi : People came to Mecca and missed the ʿAqaba meeting; their relatives claim, however, that they are ʿAqaba-men »; each claimant drops an « ʿAqaba-man » and puts (his) man on this place in order not to increase their number above 70; this is transmitted on their authority and so controversy (about it) results. He said : (i.e. Ibn Sa'd) : Abū ʿAbdallah al-Wāqidi told me a similar story. I did not put (in the list of the men of al-ʿAqaba-scil.) except names about which our friends (i.e. transmitters and men of Akhbār) agreed. »

throw a stone<sup>23</sup>. The Prophet came with his uncle al-'Abbās and asked him to take the oath of allegiance from « his maternal uncles »<sup>24</sup>. Al-Ḥākim remarks : « There does not exist a sounder tradition about the early embracing of Islam by al-'Abbās than this tradition ».

Another way to prove the attendance of al-'Abbās at this meeting was to deduce it from a story of dispute between the Aus and the Khazradj on the question of who was the first of them to swear allegiance to the Prophet; both groups agreed that the best informed man about it was al-'Abbās<sup>25</sup>, and asked him about it.

Traditions on the authority of Jābir b. 'Abdallāh about the attendance of al-'Abbās at the meeting and his role are found also in Ṭabarāni's « al-Mu'jam al-Ṣaghīr »<sup>26</sup>, in Mu'arrij al-Sadūsī's : al-Ḥadhf min nasab Quraysh<sup>27</sup>, and in al-Ḥākim's « Mustadrak »<sup>28</sup>. Special chapters devoted to the meeting, in which traditions about the role of al-'Abbās are collected, are found in Samhūdī's « Wafā al-Wafā »<sup>29</sup>, in al-Dhababī's « Tārīkh »<sup>30</sup>, in Ibn Kathīr's « Al-Bidāya »<sup>31</sup> and in Zurqānī's « Sharḥ al-Mawāhib »<sup>32</sup>.

Classifying the traditions about the meeting at al-'Aqaba we find :

a) Traditions in which al-'Abbās was not mentioned; the transmitter was concerned with special aspects of the story; these traditions are, however, supplemented by traditions stressing the attendance of al-'Abbas and supplying details about his rôle.

b) Short communications of transmitters attesting that al-'Abbās attended the meeting or took the oath of allegiance on behalf of the Prophet.

c) Traditions stating that he took an active part in the prepara-

<sup>23</sup> It means : he was very young; Jābir is said to have been the youngest among the Anṣār : see Ansāb I, 248; comp. Papyrus p. 21, l. 8.

<sup>24</sup> See note 4 (page 404 of this paper).

<sup>25</sup> Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib* I, 317.

<sup>26</sup> Page 223.

<sup>27</sup> Page 7 (ed. MUNAJJID).

<sup>28</sup> II, 624.

<sup>29</sup> I, 162-66.

<sup>30</sup> I, 177-82.

<sup>31</sup> III, 158-164.

<sup>32</sup> I, 316-17.

tion of the meeting, attended it and received the oath of allegiance on behalf of the Prophet. Nowhere is a dispute between the Anṣār and al-ʿAbbās recorded.

The tradition of Wahb is quite different : the time of the meeting was not fixed by al-ʿAbbās; he could not have had any knowledge about it and about the contacts between the Prophet and his followers from al-Madīna. His appearance at al al-ʿAqaba was unexpected and by mere chance. It is clearly stated — according to the correction — that al-ʿAbbās was a pagan. Attending the meeting, he had to act as the protector of the Prophet : he took the oath of allegiance. This was in the spirit of the Jāhiliyya : he was the uncle of the Prophet and it was his duty to obtain the assurance, the « mauthiq »<sup>33</sup>.

This fact caused a change in the description of the preparations of the meeting. Wahb states that the Prophet came to the meeting accompanied by ʿAlī, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar<sup>34</sup>. It is noteworthy that in the part of the papyrus which has been published there is no mention of the rôle played by these three Companions.

It is the more striking to find a quite early tradition in Ibn Saʿd's « Ṭabaqāt », stating plainly, that « nobody else accompanied the Prophet at the meeting of ʿAqaba except al-ʿAbbās »<sup>35</sup>. The two traditions are contradictory; the expression of Ibn Saʿd « nobody else accompanied him » shows plainly that he intended to deny a tradition — probably current — stating that there were other Companions with the Prophet. It is plausible that the tradition referred to by Ibn Saʿd was the tradition of Wahb.

This tradition (of Wahb) seems, however, to have been fallen into oblivion. The current tradition in the ʿAbbasid period was that the only man who accompanied the Prophet was al-ʿAbbās. The dispute between the Anṣār and al-ʿAbbās, containing harsh reproaches, was omitted in the collections of Ḥadīth and books of history; it did not fit the spirit of the « Manāqib al-ʿAbbās ». It would be quite plausible to accept the opinion of Watt, that the tradition of Wahb is a document of anti-ʿAbbasid propaganda<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Papyrus p. 2, l. 22.

<sup>34</sup> Ib., l. 10.

<sup>35</sup> I, p. 149; al-Nuwayrī XVI, 313.

<sup>36</sup> WATT, *op. cit.*, p. 147 (« ... an anti-ʿAbbasid reply to ʿAbbasid propaganda »); for an ʿAbbasid account see *Arabsky Anonym XI weka*, 238 a-b (ed. S. A. GRAZEWITSH, Moskwa 1960).



Becker has no reservations about the isnād of the tradition and considers the papyrus as a part of the genuine work of Wahb<sup>37</sup>. It may be repeated that this tradition is not found in the collections of the Sīra or in the orthodox collections Ḥādīth.

This instance too confirms Becker's view that some of the elements of the biography of the Prophet which have been elaborated by the end of the first century, were intentionally omitted from Ibn Ishāq's collection and only reemerge in late compilations<sup>38</sup>. N. Abbott's analysis confirms Becker's conclusion<sup>39</sup>. In fact we find in late compilations echoes of the discussion on who accompanied the Prophet at the meeting. It is not surprising that they try to harmonize the contradictory versions.

Al-Ḥalabī<sup>40</sup> mentions that the Prophet came with 'Alī, Abū Bakr and al-'Abbās — 'Umar is not mentioned! —; but 'Alī and Abū Bakr were ordered to guard the assembly at the entrance of the pass; thus it was only al-'Abbās who remained with the Prophet. Al-Ḥalabī adds cautiously : *وإنه أعلم*. Daḥlān explains in the same way the contradictory traditions<sup>41</sup>. Maqrīzī does not mention the contradictory reports : 'Abbās ordered 'Alī and Abū Bakr to guard the assembly : he remained with the Prophet<sup>42</sup>.

### III

A short time ago I succeeded in tracing a tradition closely connected with the unique tradition contained in the text of the papyrus. This tradition is quoted in Abū Nu'aym's « Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa »<sup>43</sup> on the authority of al Shā'bi, of 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālīb and al-Zuhrī. The differences in the tradition of the « Dalā'il » are of the highest importance : 1) The setting of the tradition is different; 2) The fact that al-'Abbās was a pagan is omitted; 3) Consequently the passages relating to the answer of the Anṣār attending the meeting have been altered

<sup>37</sup> Papyri Schott-Reinhardt p. 9.

<sup>38</sup> *Ib.* p. 8-9

<sup>39</sup> *Pap., op. cit.*, pp. 5-31 (esp. p. 6-8 26, 30-31).

<sup>40</sup> II, 17.

<sup>41</sup> On the margin of the Halabiyya, I, 309.

<sup>42</sup> Al-Imtā' I, 35.

<sup>43</sup> P. 105 inf. (ed. Hyderabad 1320 A.H.).

According to the tradition of the « Dalā'il », the Prophet asked al-'Abbas to go with him to 'Ukāz and to guide him to the encampments (manāzil) of the Arab tribes there, since he wanted to call them to accept Islam. It was at the time, when the persecutions by the pagans were becoming more violent; the Prophet told 'Abbas, that God would aid his religion through a people, who could easily resist Quraish. Al-'Abbas went with the Prophet to 'Ukāz and guided him to the encampments of the tribes. The Prophet started with Thaḳīf, and then in the course of the year met the different tribes. The following year, the Prophet, when ordered to promulgate the call of Islām, met six men from the Aus and the Khazraj (As'ad b. Zurāra, Abu l-Haytham b. al-Tayyahān, 'Abdallah b. Rawāḥa, Sa'd b. al-Rabi', al-Nu'mān b. Ḥāritha, 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit). The Prophet met them at al-'Aqaba, recited to them a Sūra of the Qur'an and invited them to embrace Islām, to which they responded. At that moment al-'Abbās passed by.

From this point the tradition of the « Dalā'il » corresponds exactly to the tradition contained in the papyrus. The expression that 'Abbās was a pagan was, however, omitted; on account of which the harsh expressions of the papyrus, p. III, 15-20, « we believed whereas you (i.e. 'Abbās) denied his prophecy » etc., was also left out.

It is obvious, that we have here an 'Abbāsīd version of the tradition of the papyrus. It may be mentioned, that al-Sha'bi<sup>44</sup>, al-Zuhri<sup>45</sup> and 'Aqil b. abi Ṭālib<sup>46</sup> collaborated with the Umayyād rulers, and the original version of the tradition must have been like the tradition of the papyrus, and was only altered later. In fact the phrase : « Ayyuhā l-mu'tariḍ lanā bi-l-qaul » has remained in the text of the Dalā'il while the reproach of 'Abbas has been replaced by the expression « wa-'llāhu a'lamu ma aradta bi dhālika »<sup>47</sup>. A further important difference is that according to the text in the « Dalā'il » the six men, after swearing allegiance to the Prophet, went back to Madīna, acted there as missionaries, and came back the following year, in a group of 70 men, to meet the Prophet. The « Dalā'il » tradition is thus a record of the first

<sup>44</sup> See Ibn 'Asākir VII, 138-154.

<sup>45</sup> See E. I. « al Zuhri » and A. A. Duri : Al-Zuhri, BSOAS, 1957, p. 1-12.

<sup>46</sup> E. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 337.

<sup>47</sup> *Dalā'il*, p. 106 ult., p. 107 sup.

meeting of the 'Aqaba not the record of the second meeting as in the papyrus.

The tradition of the « Dalā'il » is reprinted in the Appendix and may be compared with that of the papyrus of Wahb.

(ثنا) محمد بن جعفر بن الهيثم قال ثنا محمد بن احمد بن ابي العوام حدثني ابي ثنا محمد بن ابراهيم بن يسار عن ابي اسحاق السبيعي عن الشعبي وعبد الملك بن عمير عن عبد الله بن عمرو عن عقيل بن ابي طالب. وعن محمد بن عبد الله بن اخي الزهري عن الزهري قال : لما اشتد المشركون على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال لعنه العباس بن عبد المطلب : يا عم ان الله عز وجل ناصر دينه بقوم يهون عليهم رغم قريش عزا في ذات الله تعالى فامض بي الى عكاظ فارني منازل احياء العرب حتى ادعوم الى الله عز وجل وان يمنعوني ويؤووني حتى ابلغ عن الله عز وجل ما ارسلني به. قال فقال العباس يا ابن اخي امض الى عكاظ فانا ماض معك حتى ادلك على منازل الاحياء. فبدأ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بثقيف ثم استقرى القبائل في سنته. فلما كان العام المقبل وذلك حين امر الله تعالى ان يعلن الدعاء لقي الستة نفر الخزرجيين والاوزيين اسعد بن زرارة وابو الهيثم بن التيهان وعبد الله بن رواحة وسعد بن الربيع والنعمان بن حارثة وعبادة بن الصامت. فلفيهم النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في ايام منى عند جرة العقبة ليلا ، فجلس اليهم فدعاهم الى الله عز وجل والى عبادته والموازرة على دينه الذي بعث به انبياءه ورسله ، فسألوه ان يعرض عليهم ما اوحى اليه فقرأ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم سورة ابراهيم واذا قال ابراهيم رب اجعل هذا البلد آمنا الى آخر السورة.

فرق القوم واختبوا حين سمعوا واجابوه. — فمر العباس بن عبد المطلب وهو يكلمهم ويكلمونه فعرف صوت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال : ابن اخى ، من هؤلاء الذين عندك قال يا عم سَكَان يثرب الاوس والخزرج قد عوتهم الى ما دعوت اليه من قبلهم من الاحياء فاجابوني وصدقوني وذكروا انهم يخرجونني الى بلادهم. فنزل العباس ابن عبد المطلب وعقل راحلته ثم قال لهم : يا معشر الاوس والخزرج ، هذا ابن اخى وهو احب الناس الي فان كنتم صدقتموه وآمنتم به واردم اخراجه معكم فاني اريد ان آخذ عليكم موثقاً تطمئن به نفسى ولا تخذلوه ولا تغروه ، فان جيرانكم اليهود واليهود له عدو ، ولا آمن مكرم عليه. فقال اسعد بن زرارة ، وشق عليه قول العباس حين اتهم عليه سعدا واصحابه ، قال : يا رسول الله ائذن لنا فلنجبه غير مخشنين بصدرك ولا متعرضين لشيء مما تكره الا تصديقا لاجابتنا اياك وايماننا بك. فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : اجيبوه غير متهمين فقال اسعد ابن زرارة واقبل على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بوجهه فقال : يا رسول الله ان لكل دعوة سبيلا ان لين وان شدة ، وقد دعوت اليوم الى دعوة متجهمه للناس ، متوعرة عليهم ، دعوتنا الى ترك ديننا واتباعك على دينك. وتلك رتبة صعبة ، فاجبتنا الى ذلك : ودعوتنا الى قطع ما بيننا وبين الناس من الجوار والارحام القريب والبعيد ، وتلك رتبة صعبة ، فاجبتنا الى ذلك ، ودعوتنا ونحن جماعة في دار عز ومنعة لا يطمع فيها احد ان يرأس علينا رجل من غيرنا قد افرده قومه واسلمه اعمامه وتلك رتبة صعبة فاجبتنا الى ذلك. وكل هؤلاء الرتب مكروهة عند الناس الا من عزم الله على رشده والتمس

الخير في عواقبها وقد اجبتنا الى ذلك بالسنتنا وصدورنا وايدينا ايها  
 بما جئت به وتصديقا بمعرفة ثبتت في قلوبنا. نبايعك على ذلك  
 ونبايع ربنا وربك ، يد الله فوق ايدينا ، ودماؤنا دون دمك ، وايدينا  
 دون يدك ، نمنعك مما نمنع منه انفسنا وابناءنا ونساءنا ، فان نفى  
 بذلك فله نفى ؛ وان نغدر فبالله نغدر ، ونحن به اشقياء. هذا الصديق  
 منا يا رسول الله والله المستعان. ثم اقبل على العباس بن عبد المطلب  
 بوجهه فقال : واما انت ايها المعارض لنا بالقول دون النبي صلى الله  
 عليه وسلم ، والله اعلم ما اردت بذلك ، ذكرت انه ابن اخيك واحب  
 الناس اليك فنحن قد قطعنا القريب والبعيد وذا الرحم ونشهد  
 انه رسول الله ، الله ارسله من عنده ، ليس بكذاب ، وان ما جاء به لا  
 يشبه كلام البشر. واما ما ذكرت انك لا تطمن اليها في امره حتى  
 تاخذ موثيقنا فهذه خصلة لا تردنا على احد ارادها لرسول الله صلى الله عليه  
 وسلم فخذ ما شئت. ثم التفت الى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال :  
 يا رسول الله خذ لنفسك ما شئت واشترط لربك ما شئت. فقال النبي  
 صلى الله عليه وسلم : اشترط لربي عز وجل ان تعبدوه ولا تشركوا  
 به شيئا ولنفسى ان تمنعوني مما تمنعون منه انفسكم وابنائكم. قالوا  
 فذلك لك يا رسول الله فقال العباس : عليكم بذلك عهد الله مع عهدكم  
 وذمة الله مع ذمتكم في هذا الشهر الحرام والبلد الحرام ، تبايعونه  
 وتبايعون الله ؛ الله ربكم ، يد الله فوق ايديكم ، لتجدن في نصركم ولتشدن  
 له من آزره ولتوفن له بعهدته بدفع ايديكم وصرح التتكم ونصح صدوركم ،  
 لا يمنعكم من ذلك رغبة اشرفتم عليها ولا رهبة اشرفت عليكم ولا يوتى  
 من قبلكم. قالوا جميعا : نعم. قال : الله عليكم بذلك راع ووكيل.

قالوا : نعم. قال اللهم انك سامع شاهد ، وان هذا ابن اخى قد استرعاه ذمته واستحفظهم نفسه ؛ اللهم فكن لابن اخى عليهم شهيدا. فرضى القوم بما اعطاهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من نفسه ورضى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بما اعطوه من انفسهم وقد كانوا قالوا له : يا رسول الله اذا اعطيناك ذلك فما لنا. قال : رضوان الله والجنة. قالوا قد رضينا. وقبلنا. فاقبل ابو الهيثم بن التيهان على اصحابه فقال : الستم انتم تعلمون ان هذا رسول الله اليكم وقد امتمم به وصدقتموه. قالوا بلى. قال : اولستم تعلمون انه في بلد الله الحرام ومسقط رأسه ومولده وعشيرته : قالوا : بلى قال فان كنتم خاذليه او مسلميه يوما من الدهر لبلاء ينزل بكم فالآن ، فان العرب سترميكم فيه عن قوس واحدة ؛ فان طابت انفسكم عن الانفس والاموال والاولاد في ذات الله عز وجل فما لكم عند الله عز وجل من الثواب خير من انفسكم وأموالكم واولادكم. فاجاب القوم جميعا : لا بل نحن معه بالوفاء والصدق. ثم اقبل على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال يا رسول الله لعلك اذا حاربنا الناس فيك وقطعنا ما بيننا وبينهم من الجوار والحلف والارحام وحملتنا الحرب على سبائنا فكشفت لنا عن قناعها لحقت ببلدك وتركتنا ، وقد حاربنا الناس فيك. فتبسم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ثم قال : الدم والهدم والهدم. قال عبد الله بن رواحة خل بيننا ، يا ابا الهيثم حتى نبايع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم. فسبقهم ابو الهيثم الى بيعته فقال : ابايعك يا رسول الله على ما بايع الاثنا عشر نقيبا من بنى اسرائيل موسى بن عمران. فقال عبد الله بن رواحة : ابايعك يا رسول الله على ما بايع عليه الاثنا عشر من الحواريين عيسى بن مريم.

وقال اسعد ابن زرارة : اباع الله واباع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم على ان اتم عهدى بوفائي واصدق قولى بفعلى ونصرتك. وقال النعمان بن حارثة : اباع الله يا رسول الله واباعك على الإقدام فى امر الله لا اراقب فيه القريب والبعيد ، فان شئت والله يا رسول الله ملنا باسيافنا هذه على اهل منى. فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم : لم اوامر بذلك. وقال عبادة بن الصامت : اباعك يا رسول الله على ان لا تاخذنى فى الله لومة لائم. وقال سعد بن الربيع : اباع الله يا رسول الله واباعك على ان لا اعصيكما ولا أكذبكما حديثا. فانصرف القوم بلادهم راضين مسرورين فسروا يا اعطاهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من الوحي وتحسن اجابة قومهم لهم حتى وافوه من قابل وهم سبعون رجلا.

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