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 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 contains, however, some words or phrases which the editor was unable to decipher, 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:

\begin{align*}
\text{And the Messenger of Allah met some of them and they ... a number of their people.} \\
\text{The correct reading is not but the undeciphered word is;} \\
\text{thus the text reads as follows:}
\end{align*}

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


2 M. O., 1934, pp. 17-58.

3 See the remark of G. MÉLAMÈDE, op. cit., p. 20: « The writing is often very indistinct and sometimes impossible to decipher. »
The reading is with all probability: «When (as) they were in this situation al-‘Abbās passed by.» The reading of the missing word in the next line is evidently «who are these men». The answer of the Prophet: «these are my maternal uncles and your maternal uncles» is elucidated by a tradition quoted by al-Dhahabi: al-‘Abbās taking the oath of allegiance from the Ansār 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. Labīd b. Khidāsh b. Ghanm b. ‘Adīyy b. al-Najjār.

The translation quoted above is inaccurate. The undeciphered word is páli; 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 ḫāl is a «ḥāl» clause.

The reading and the translation are both erroneous: Al-‘Abbās

See note 24.

Tārikh I, 178; it is quoted on the authority of Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, probably from his Maghāzi.

Muṣ’ab al-Zubayrī, Nasab Quraysh (ed. LEVII-PROVENCAL), p. 15; Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat Ansāb al-Arab (ed. LEVII-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 Ḥishām, 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: «(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 الناس كلهم منهم instead of: منهم

Papyrus p. 2, 1.22 = p. 50, 1.3: the undeciphered word is لذي «(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, 1.22 = p. 50, 1.3-4 = transl. 50, وما (؟) أندعهم (؟) فإن كنتم قد أثنتم به وصد قتموه فإنه ابن أخي: 5

Mo'atta «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 أنتبه [إن كنتم قد أثنتم به وصد قتموه فإنه ابن أخي موّتاقا تطمن إليه... 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, 1.7: The undeciphered word is: ولا تغدرون به

Papyrus p. 2, ult. = transl. p. 51, 1.8: وهم له أعداء وهم عليه: «And they are most hostile to him». The correct reading is: وهم له أعداء ولم يزل يخونهم عليه «And they are his enemies. And he did not cease to rouse7 their fears about him (i.e. about the Messenger of Allah).»

Papyrus p. 3, 1.18 = p. 52, 1.1 = trans. 53, 1.4: وأما قولك إنه: أكرم الناس عليك وأفضلهم لربك «and the most respected by your

7 In text يخونهم; but the verb is not found in the dictionaries in this connotation in the V form.
Lord. » As'ad could not possibly say to the pagan al 'Abbās that the Prophet was the most respected by «his Lord». The correct reading is: «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 يرأس علينا : رجل من غيرنا قد أفرده قومه «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 : تاركك أو خاذلك لشيء من الأمر ينزل بكم «He said: And if you leave him or abandon him because of something that might happen to you ... » The undeciphered word is قالآن; 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-'Aqaba, 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-'Abbās at this meeting and about the dispute between the Anṣār and al-'Abbās. The role of al-'Abbās at this meeting has been subject to discussion and scholarly controversy, and it may be useful to quote some divergent or additional reports:

Al-Balādhwī 9 quoting from the account of Wāqidī: The Anṣār


9 Ansāb I, 253-4, ed Muḥ. Ḥamīdullāh, 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-Balādhūrī 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. 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-Balāadhūrī in his Ansāb on the authority of Abū Rāfi’. and on the authority of Ibrahim b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī.

‘Urwa in his concise report does not mention the rōle of al-‘Abbās at the meeting. Al-Balāadhūrī 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.

Another tradition about the meeting at the ‘Aqaba in which al-‘Abbās was not mentioned, supplemented by a tradition stressing the rōle of al-‘Abbās, is found in al-Dhahābī’s «Tārīkh»: the tradition of the ‘Aqaba meeting told on the authority of Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh, does not mention al-‘Abbās; it is supplemented by an

10 Op. cit., I, 253; about Abū Mas‘ūd see al Iṣāba n° 5599.
11 Op. cit., I, 253; about Abū Rāfi’ see al Dhahābī, Siyār Aḥām al-Nubālāh, 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. (Siyār II, 37). Comp. the story of the Prophet attacked by pagans and rescued by al-‘Abbās - al-Suyūtī: Al-Durr al-Manṭūr, 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.
12 Ansāb Ms. 266 b; about al-Taymī see al-Iṣāba n° 5.
13 Al-Ṭabarī II, 95 (ed. Cairo, 1939); see Watt, op. cit., p. 145; M. O. 1934, p. 19.
14 Ansāb Ms. 267 b.
inserted tradition on the authority of Yahyā b. Sulaym 16 explaining the role of al-‘Abbās.

Ibn Hishām: the account is given on the authority of Ka‘b 17, who attended the meeting. Ka‘b 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-‘Abbās at the Ka‘ba. Al-‘Abbās 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 18.

The story of the attendance of al-‘Abbās 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 ‘Ulama on whether or not al-‘Abbās secretly embraced Islam 19. This is evident from a remark on the tradition of Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh, made by al-Ḥakīm 20: Jābir reports that he left with his uncle Jādd b. Qays 21 among a group of 70 Anṣār 22 for Mecca; he was then not able to

---

16 See about him Tahdhib al-Tahdhib XI, 226.
17 See about him Anṣār I, 248; Isāba no 7427.
18 Ibn Hishām II, 82 (ed. Saqqā, Abyāri, Shalabī, Cairo 1936); see al-Ṭabarī II, 90, 91.
19 Comp. the comprehensive chapter of Mu‘aqib al-‘Abbās in al-Zurqānī’s Sharḥ al-Mawāhib III, 278-85; an interesting tradition in al-Muḥabbar 162: the Meccans on their march to Badr refused to eat the meat offered by al-‘Abbās suspecting him to have sympathy for Muḥammad; ‘Abbās was one of the Muṭ‘imūnā: see Nöldeke, op. cit. and Goldziher, Zauberememte im isl. Gebet, Or. Stud. Nöldeke I, 309.
20 Al-Mustadrak III, 322.
21 See Isāba no 1106; this tradition is here repeated.
22 About the number of 70 Anṣār see Steinschneider, Die kanontische Zahl der Muham. Secten, 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 ‘Abdallāh al-Wāqīḍī 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-Balādhurī, Anṣār I, 252 inf. (ed. Ḥamdullāh); the tradition runs as follows: ‘Muḥ. b. Sa‘d on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī: People came to Mecca and missed the ‘Aqaba meeting; their relatives claim, however, that they are ‘Aqaba-men’; each claimant drops an ‘Aqaba-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 ‘Abdallah al-Wāqīḍī told me a similar story. I did not put (in the list of the men of al-‘Aqaba-scil.) except names about which our friends (i.e. transmitters and men of Akhbār) agreed.’
throw a stone. The Prophet came with his uncle al-‘Abbās and asked him to take the oath of allegiance from «his maternal uncles». 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, and asked him about it.

Traditions on the authority of Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh about the attendance of al-‘Abbās at the meeting and his role are found also in Ṭabarānī’s «al-Mu’jam al-Ṣaghīr» in Mu’arrij al-Sadūṣī’s: al-Ḥadīf min nasab Quraysh, and in al-Ḥākim’s «Mustadrak» Special chapters devoted to the meeting, in which traditions about the role of al-‘Abbās are collected, are found in Samhāḍī’s «Wafā al-Wafā» in al-Dhabābī’s «Ṭārīkh» in Ibn Kathīr’s «Al-Bidāya» and in Zurqānī’s «Sharḥ al-Mawāhib»

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-‘Abbās 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-

23 It means: he was very young; Jābir is said to have been the youngest among the Ansār: see Ansāb I, 248; comp. Papyrus p. 21, l. 8.
24 See note 4 (page 404 of this paper).
26 Page 223.
27 Page 7 (ed. MUNAJJID).
28 II, 624.
29 I, 162-66.
30 I, 177-82.
31 III, 158-164.
32 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 Anšār and al-‘Abbās recorded.

The tradition of Wahb is quite different: the time of the meeting was not fixed by al-‘Abbās; 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-‘Aqāba was unexpected and by mere chance. It is clearly stated — according to the correction — that al-‘Abbās 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 » 33.

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 ‘Alī, Abū Bakr and ‘Umar 34. 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 Sa’d’s « Tabaqāt », stating plainly, that « nobody else accompanied the Prophet at the meeting of ‘Aqāba except al-‘Abbās » 35. The two traditions are contradictory; the expression of Ibn Sa’d « 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 Sa’d was the tradition of Wahb.

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

33 Papyrus p. 2, l. 22.
34 Ib., l. 10.
35 I, p. 149; al-Nuwayri XVI, 313.
36 WATT, op. cit., p. 147 (« ... an anti-‘Abbasid reply to ‘Abbasid propaganda »); for an ‘Abbasid account see Arabsky Anonym XI weka, 238 a-b (ed. S. A. GRAKOWITSH, 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. It may be repeated that this tradition is not found in the collections of the Sīra or in the orthodox collections Ḥadīth.

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 Isḥāq's collection and only reemerge in late compilations. N. Abbott's analysis confirms Becker's conclusion. 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 mentions that the Prophet came with 'Alī, Abū Bakr and al-ʿAbbās — '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-ʿAbbās who remained with the Prophet. Al-Ḥalabī adds cautiously: َوالله أعلم. Dahlíān explains in the same way the contradictory traditions. Maqrīzī does not mention the contradictory reports: 'Abbās ordered 'Alī and Abū Bakr to guard the assembly; he remained with the Prophet.

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 Nuʿaym's «Dalāʾīl al-Nubuwwa» on the authority of al Shāʾbī, of ʿAqīl b. Abī Ṭālīb and al-Zuhrī. The differences in the tradition of the «Dalāʾīl» are of the highest importance: 1) The setting of the tradition is different; 2) The fact that al-ʿAbbās was a pagan is omitted; 3) Consequently the passages relating to the answer of the Anṣār attending the meeting have been altered

37 Papyri Schott-Reinhardt p. 9.
38 Ib. p. 8-9
39 Pap., op. cit., pp. 5-31 (esp. p. 6-8 26, 30-31).
40 II, 17.
41 On the margin of the Halabiyya, I, 309.
42 Al-Imtāʿ I, 35.
According to the tradition of the «Dalâ’il», the Prophet asked al-‘Abbâs to go with him to ‘Ukâz and to guide him to the encampments (manâzil) of the Arab tribes there, since he wanted to call them to accept Islâm. It was at the time, when the persecutions by the pagans were becoming more violent; the Prophet told ‘Abbâs, that God would aid his religion through a people, who could easily resist Quraish. Al-‘Abbâs went with the Prophet to ‘Ukâz and guided him to the encampments of the tribes. The Prophet started with Thaqîf, and then in the course of the year met the different tribes. The following year, the Prophet, when ordered to promulgate the call of Islâm, met six men from the Aus and the Khazraj (As‘âd b. Zurâ‘ra, Abu l-Haytham b. al-Tayyâhān, ‘Abdallâh b. Rawâhâ, Sa‘d b. al-Râbî’, al-Nu‘mân b. Hârîthâ, ‘Ubâdâ b. al-Šâmit). The Prophet met them at al-‘Aqâba, recited to them a Sûra of the Qur‘an and invited them to embrace Islâm, to which they responded. At that moment al-‘Abbâs passed by.

From this point the tradition of the «Dalâ’il» corresponds exactly to the tradition contained in the papyrus. The expression that ‘Abbâs 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. ‘Abbâs) denied his prophecy» etc., was also left out.

It is obvious, that we have here an ‘Abbâsid version of the tradition of the papyrus. It may be mentioned, that al-Shâ‘bî 44, al-Zuhri 45 and ‘Aqîl b. abi Ẓâlib 46 collaborated with the Umayyâd 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: «Ayyuhal-mu’tarîd lâna bi-l-qaul » has remained in the text of the Dalâ’il while the reproach of ‘Abbâs has been replaced by the expression «wa-Tlahu a’lamu ma aradta bi dhâlîka» 47. A further important difference is that according to the text in the «Dalâ’il» the six men, after swearing allegiance to the Prophet, went back to Madîna, acted there as missionaries, and came back the following year, in a group of 70 men, to meet the Prophet. The «Dalâ’il» tradition is thus a record of the first

46 E. I2, p. 337.
47 Dalâ’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‘īl» is reprinted in the Appendix and may be compared with that of the papyrus of Wahb.

(then) محمد بن جعفر بن الهيثم قال ثنا محمد بن أحمد بن أبي العوام
حدثني أبي ثنا محمد بن ابراهيم بن يسار عن أبي اسحاق السباعي
عن الشعبي وعبد الملك بن عبير عن عبد الله بن عمرو عن عقيل
بن أبي طالب. وعن محمد بن عبد الله بن اخي الزهري عن الزهري
قال: لما اشتد المشركون على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال لعمه
العباس بن عبد المطلب: يا عم ان الله عز وجل ناصر دينه يقوم
بهم عليهن رغم قريش عزة في ذات الله تعالى فامض بي الى عكاظ
فأرزى منازل احياء العرب حتى ادعوهم الى الله عز وجل وان يتعووني
ويؤثوني حتى ابلغ عن الله عز وجل ما ارسلني به. قال فقال العباس يا ابن
أخي امض الى عكاظ فانا ماض معك حتى ادخل على منازل الاحياء.
فبدأ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يتفحف ثم استقر القبائل في
سته. فلما كان العام المقبل وذلك حين امر الله تعالى ان يعلن الدعاء
لقي السنة نفر الخزرجين والواسيين اسعد بن زارة وابو الهيثم بن
التيهان وعبد الله بن رواحة وسعد بن الربع والثعاب بن حارثة
وعباد بن الصامت. فلقيهم نبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في ايام منى
عند جرة العقبة ليلا، فجلس اليهم فدعهم الى الله عز وجل والي
عبادته والوازارة على دينه الذي بعث به انيباء ورسله، فقالوه ان
يعرض عليهم ما اوحي اليه فقرأ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم سورة
ابراهيم واذ قال ابراهيم رب اجعل هذا البلد آمنا الى آخر السورة.
فرق القوم واختُتوا حين سمعوا وأجابوه. — فلم فر المطلب
وهو يكلمهم ويكملونه فعرف صوت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال:
ابن أخي، من هؤلاء الذين عندك قال يا عم سكن يتر المال
والتخريج قد عوتهم إلى ما دعوت إليه من قبلهم من الأحياء فاجابوهم
صدقوني وذكروا أنهم يترجوني إلى بلادهم. فنزل الديس ابن عبيد
المطلب وعقل راحله ثم قال لهم: يا فشئة الأوس والخزرج، هذا
ابن أخي وهو احب الناس الي فان كنت صدقتوه وأستمتب به واردتم
اخره معكم قاتي أريد أن أخذ عليه مؤمنًا تطمئن له نفس ولا تخذلوه
ولا تغزوا، فان جيرانك اليهود واليهود له عدو، ولا آمن مكرمه
عليه. فقال سعد بن زاراة، وشق عليه قول الديس حين اتهم عليه
سعدا واحمده، قال: يا رسول الله ائذن لنا فلاجено غير خنشين بصدرك
ولا متعرضين له، ما تكره الا تصديفا لاجابتنا ماك واياما بك.
قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: اجيبوه غير متبهم فقال سعد
ابن زاراة واقبل على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بوجهه فقال:
يا رسول الله ان لكل دعوة سيلان ان نين وان شدة، وقد دعوت
اليوم إلى دعوة متجهة للناس، متوورة عليهم، دعوتنا إلى ترك
دیننا واتباعك على دينك. وذلك رتبة صعبة، فاجنباك إلى ذلك:
ودعوتنا الى قطع ما بيننا وبين الناس من الحجار والارهام القريب
والبعيد، وذلك رتبة صعبة، فاجنباك إلى ذلك، ودعوتنا وحن جاعة
في دار عز ومنعة لا يطبع فيها أحد ان يرأس علينا رجل من غيرنا
قد افرده قومه واسلمه أعماه وذلك رتبة صعبة فاجنباك إلى ذلك. وكل
هؤلاء الرتب مكروهة عند الناس الا من عزم الله على رشد بالنفس
الخير في عوائقها وقد اجتناك إلي ذلك بالسنتنا وصدورنا وأيدينا أيننا بما جفت به وصديقا بمعرفة ثبتت في قلوبنا. نابعك على ذلك ونباع رينا وربك، يد الله فوق أيدينا، ودماونا دون دمك، وأيدينا دون يدك، نحنك ما تمنع منه انسنا وابننا ونسنا، فنان فني بذلك فلله نفي، ونان نقدر فلله نقدر، وسح به أشقياء. هذا الصدق منا يا رسول الله وله المستعان. ثم أقبل على الباشريس بن عبد الطلب بوجهه فقال: وأما انت انيها العرض لنا بالقول دون النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم، والله علمنا ما اردت بذلك، ذكرنا ابن اخيك واحب الناس الابن فحن قد قطعنا التويب والبعيد وذا الرحم وشهد انه رسول الله، الله ارسله من عنه، ليس بكذاب، ونان ما جاء به لا يشبه كلام البشر. وأما ما ذكرت انك لا تظلم اليني في أمره حتى تأخذ مواعيقتنا هذه خصلة لا تردده على احد ارادها لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فخذ ما شيئا. ثم انتف إلى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال: يا رسول الله خذ لنفسك ما شئت واشترط لربك ما شئت. فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم: اشترط لرب غز وجل ان تعبدوه ولا تشركوا به شيئا ولنفسى ان نتمتعي ما نتمتعن منه انفسكم وأيضاكم. قالوا بذلك لك يا رسول الله فقال الباشريس: علىكم بذلك عهد الله مع عهودكم وذمة الله مع ذمتكم في هذا الشهر الحرام والبلد الحرام، تابعونه وتبايعون الله؛ الله ربك، يد الله فوق أيديكم، لتجدن في نصركم وتشدن له من آزره ولتونه له بهذه بدفع أيديكم وصرف النكت ونصب صدوركم، لا يمتعكم من ذلك خيبة اشرفت عليها ولا راهبة أشرفت عليها ولا يوتي من قبلكم. قالوا جميعا: نعم. قال: الله عليكم بذلك راع ووكيل.
قالوا: نعم. قال الله ﷺ إنك سامع شاهد، وأن هذا ابن أخي قد استرعتهم ذمته واستحفظهم نفسه; اللهم فكن لابن أخي عليهم شهيداً.

فرضي القوم بما اعترف رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من نفسه ورضي النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بما اعترف من أنفسهم وقد كانوا قالوا له: يا رسول الله إذا اعترفنا ذلك فإنا قلنا: رضوان الله والخليفة. قالوا قد رضينا. وقيلنا: قلباً أبو الهيثم بن التهبان على أصحابه فقال: الستم انتم تعلمون أن هذا رسول الله ﷺ وقد استمتم به وصدتموه. قالوا بلى.

قال أولئك تعلمون أنه في بلد الله الحرام ومسقط رأسه ومولده وعشيرته. قالوا: بل قال فان كنت خاذليه أو مسلميه بوبا من الدهر ليلاه ينزل بك Alan، فإن العرب سترميكم فيه عن قوس واحدة؟ فان طابت انفسكم عن الانفس والأموال والأولد في ذات الله عز وجل فإنا لكم عند الله عز وجل من الثواب خير من أنفسكم وأمولكم وأولدكم.

فاجاب القوم جمياً: لا بل نحن معه بالوفاء والصدق. ثم اقبل على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال يا رسول الله ﷺ لعلك إذا حاربنا الناس فيك وقطعنا ما بيننا وبينهم من الحوار والخلاف والارهاب وحجرنا الحرب على سيسائنا فكشفت لنا عن قناعها حقت بلدك وتركتنا، وقد حاربنا الناس فيك. فقسم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ثم قال: الدم الدم والمهد المهد. قال عبد الله بن رواحة خل بينا، يا أبا الهيثم حتى نابع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم. فسبقهم أبو الهيثم إلى بيته فقال: اباعبك يا رسول الله ﷺ على مسابع الاتعاش تقيا من بني إسرائيل موسى بن عمران. فقال عبد الله بن رواحة: اباعك يا رسول الله على ما بانع عليه الاثنا عشر من الحواريين عيسى بن مريم.
وقال اسعد ابن زرارة : ابابع الله وابايع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم على ان اتم عهدي بوتفاني واصدقي قولى بنعل ونصرتك. وقال السائل بن حارثة : ابابع الله يا رسول الله وابابعك على الإقدام في امر الله لا اراقب فيه القريب والبعيد، فانت شئت والله يا رسول الله متنا باسفافنا هذه على اهل منى. فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم : لم اسر بذلك. وقال عبادة بن الصامت : ابابعك يا رسول الله على ان لا تاخذني في الله لومة لائم. وقال سعد بن الربيع : ابابع الله يا رسول الله وابابعك على ان لا اعصيك ولا أكذبك حديثا. فانصرف القوم بلادهم راضين مسرورين فسروا يا اعطام رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من الوحى وحسن اجابة قومهم لهم حتى وافوه من قابل وهم سبعون رجلاً.

Jerusalem, The Hebrew University.

M. J. Kister.