

# ON THE PAPYRUS OF WAHB B. MUNABBIH

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*In memory of my teacher D. Z. H. Baneth*

The recently edited fragments of the *Sīra* of Wahb b. Munabbih<sup>1</sup> are probably the earliest extant document of *sīra*-literature. R. G. Khoury painstakingly performed the laborious task of deciphering the extremely difficult text of the papyrus, and has prepared a careful edition of it. There remain, however, some misreadings which may lead to an erroneous understanding of the text. These are corrected in the present paper.

A closer study of the text may elucidate some obscure passages, expose some aspects which have been overlooked by the editor, and help to establish the purport of the fragments.

## I

### PB 5 (34)

PB 5 (34) contains the report of a letter which al-Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith wrote to Ja'far b. Abi Ṭālib, intending to send it to the latter to Abyssinia.

*Line 4:* probably, يا ركب البحر الأجاج (instead of التحم).

*Line 5:* الم بها ان جيت ذاك جعفرنا محبرا يا مربا فابشرا is translated by Khoury: 'Mach dich damit vertraut, wenn du kommst, dieser ist Ĝa'far, Schmuckstück (der Versammlung) oder auftretend wie ein Herr; so freue dich'. Both reading and translation are erroneous. The correct reading is: الم بها ان جئت ذاك جعفرنا محبرا بأمرنا فابشرا and should, accordingly, be translated: 'Communicate that through it (i.e. the letter), when you come, Ja'far, informing (him) about our matter and give good tidings'.

*Lines 6-8:* بعض واد عددا ومحضرا قد بايعوا بيعة من لا يغدرا  
ولا يشب معروفه بمنكر او الاوس والخزرج والسنورا  
دون النبي كالاسود الغبر امن شك في ذلك يصلنا شفرا

6 'über das Ansehen eines Tales, das auf der Zahl seiner Männer und Versammlung beruht, welche (Muḥammad) huldigten, wie einer, der kein falsches Spiel treibt.

7 Denn in seine Wohltätigkeit noch in die der Aus, der Ḥazrağ und der Oberhäupter der Stämme, mischte sich keine verwerfliche Handlung.

8 Hinter dem Propheten (stehen sie) wie staubfarbene Löwen. Wer daran zweifelt, wird der Klinge des Schwertes ausgesetzt'.

The text has been misunderstood by the editor. The second hemistich of l. 5

<sup>1</sup> R. G. Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih: der Heidelberger Papyrus PSR Heid. Arab. 23*, Wiesbaden, 1972, 118-81 ('Biographie und Mağāzi des Propheten Muḥammad').

is connected with l. 6 and the first hemistich of l. 7. The second hemistich of l. 7 reads *والأوس*; the *alif* of *او* should be joined to the first hemistich; the second hemistich of l. 7 is connected with the first hemistich of l. 8 and forms a separate sentence. The passage should, then, be translated as follows:

5 . . . and give good tidings

6 about the excellence of the valley with regard to the number (of its men) and to (its) assembly who gave the oath of allegiance like that of a man who does not betray

7 and does not mix good deeds with reprehensible (actions). The Aws and the Khazraj and the armour

8 stand behind the Prophet (scil. in order to defend him) like dust-coloured lions.

*Line 8, second hemistich:* read: *من شك في ذلك يوصلا سقرا* and translate: 'He who doubts in it will enter Hell'.

*Lines 11-12:*

قريش ويقول لم يرضا محمد بمن معكم في البر  
حتى يريد ان يستجيش عليكم بمن ورك النجد لين لم تداركونه من

are rendered by Khoury:

11 'von Quraiš herumgehen und sagte: "Muhammad war nicht zufrieden mit denen, die mit euch im Lande sind.

12 Er will sogar gegen euch die im Nağd Sesshaften mobilisieren. Wenn ihr ihm nicht'.

The correct reading is: *حتى يريد أن يستجيش عليكم بمن ورى البحر* . . . which should be translated:

11 . . . Muhammad was dissatisfied with those who stay with you inland,

12 so that he intends to levy a military force against you from behind the sea.

It is evident that Abū Jahl accuses the Prophet in this sentence of planning to bring a military force from Abyssinia to fight Quraysh. Neither Najd nor its people are here mentioned at all.

*Line 15:* Ḥanifa b. Nujaym is incorrect. Read: 'Ḥanifa b. Lujaym'. The marginal note *يعني من رهط مسيلمة الكذاب* refers to this line, not to l. 16. Iblīs appeared in the garb of a man from the tribe of Ḥanifa b. Lujaym; to this tribe belonged Musaylima.

*Line 16* *لهم في صورة ض[ح]لا[ك] بن قيس من اهل [ت]هامة* should read: *لهم في صورة ض[ح]لا[ك] بن قيس من اهل [ر]جل من قيس*. Nowhere in the literature of the *Sīra* is al-Ḍahhāk b. Qays mentioned as having appeared in the garb of Iblīs; that would be an impossibility, as he was not yet born at the time of the Hijra; he was seven years old at the death of the Prophet.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo, n.d., II, 744-6, no. 1253; and see on him EI, second ed., article 'al-Ḍahhāk b. Qays al-Fihri' (A. Dietrich).

Line 18: *اني read : اني معكم على الامر الذي اتم ع[ل]يه و[ف]يه اشد اجتهاد[ا]دا وانا* معكم على الأمر الذي أتم عليه أ[نا] به أشد اجتهادا.

Line 19: perhaps *وعد[د] رجال* (instead of *رجال وعن[دي]*).

## PB 6 (35)

Line 3: *read, أن نصيّرهُ* (instead of *أن نصيده*): 'that we put him in a house . . . '.

Line 8: *كفاكم موته* is translated by Khoury: 'so erspart er euch seinen Tod'. The correct reading is: *كفاكم موته*, which should, then, be translated: 'he would rid you of the trouble caused by him (viz. he would deal with him sufficiently for you)'.<sup>3</sup>

Line 12: *ان يقوم م[ن] كل بطن من قريش رجل ممران احدث حدثا او انا* is translated by Khoury: 'dass vo[n] jedem Stamm von Quraiš ein kampfgeübter Mann aufsteht, der etwas zustandegebracht, oder'. Read correctly: *أن يقوم من كل بطن من قريش رجل مَمَّن إن أحدث حدثا . . .* This should be rendered: 'that a man from every tribal unit of Quraysh, from among such a people who, if he commits a misdeed or performs a grievous action, his people would not extradite him . . . '.

Line 23: *جانا رسول الله*; read: *حلنا رسول الله*.

Line 24: *قال محمد بن بحر ومن حديث*; read: *قال محمد بن بحر وخبر حديث*.

## PB 7 (36)

Line 16: *قال فقلت ابشر بخزي الله اباك واشياعك [ق]ال [ث]م اتيت* is translated by Khoury: 'Abū Bakr sagte: "Ich antwortete ihm: 'Freue dich nur. Möge Gott deinen Vater und deine Anhänger in Schande bringen'. Er [sa]gte: '[Da]nn kam ich' ". The correct reading is: *ابشر بخزي الله اباك واشياعك* and the translation: 'Get good tidings about the shame which God will bring upon you and your followers'. It is obvious that Iblis has no father and Abū Bakr could hardly curse his father.

Line 18: *فقال لي يابا بكر ان اردت ذلك فاعد لك لحاقيقا من اليقين* is translated by Khoury: 'Da erwiderte er: "Abū Bakr, wenn du es wünschst, so werde ich dir eine Fülle von sicheren Beweisen vorbereiten'. The correct reading is: *تجايفيا من اليقين*; the sentence must be translated: 'O Abū Bakr, if you so desire, prepare coats of certainty . . . '.

<sup>3</sup> See M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*, 5. Lief., Wiesbaden, 1964, p. 278, ll. 11-12, p. 279, ll. 22-3, 27-8.

*Line 22:* رَشَادَا إِذَا الْمَرُّ اسْتَبَانَ الْكَلْبُ وَالْأَكْبَابُ is rendered by Khoury: 'Ihn zu begleiten ist Pietät und das Äusserste, was ihm an Rechtleitung widerfahren kann, wenn der Mensch die [Ster]ne erblickt'. But the second hemistich reads: إِذَا الْمَرُّ اسْتَبَانَ الْكَلْبُ وَالْأَكْبَابُ and the verse has to be translated: 'His companionship is piety, the result of his affairs is straightforwardness, if a man wishes to perceive the results (scil. of his deeds—K.)'.

## PB 8 (37)

*Line 4:* Khoury's translation: '... es ist eine Nacht in der sie die Klingen glänzender Schwerter geschliffen haben', is erroneous. لَيْلَةٌ جَلْوَاءٌ means simply: 'a bright night, a night full of light'. This description of the night by the three adjectives (*jalwā'*, *gharrā'*, *zahrā'*) explains the following phrase, i.e. 'Alī was anxious about the Prophet lest his enemies would see him and assault him.

*Line 6:* 5 زَهْرًا وَأَنَا أَتَخَوَّفُ عَلَيْكَ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ فَقَالَ لِي يَا عَلِيُّ أَلَيْسَ تَعْلَمُ أَنَّ اللَّهَ  
6 مَعِي وَمَنْ بَيْنَ يَدَيَّ وَمَنْ خَلْفِي وَعَنْ يَمِينِي وَعَنْ شِمَالِي وَمَنْ فَوْقِي وَنَصْرَةَ

5 'glänzender Schwerter geschliffen haben, und ich fürchte für dich von seiten dieser Leute'. Er aber erwiderte mir: "O 'Alī, weisst du nicht, dass Gott 6 mit mir ist und dass er in meinen Händen, hinter mir, an meiner Rechten, an meiner Linken, oberhalb von mir und'.

But مَعِي وَمَنْ بَيْنَ يَدَيَّ cannot be translated 'in meinen Händen'; God cannot be in the hands of the Prophet. Translate: 'in front of me'.

*Lines 7–8:* When the Prophet left 'Alī followed him.

مِنْ تَحْتِي قَائِلًا [ل] ثُمَّ مَضَى صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ فَاتَّبَعْتَهُ أَنْظُرْ مَا يَكُونُ مِنْهُ  
وَسَلِّمْ فَقَالَ لِي يَا عَلِيُّ إِذَا جَاءَكَ أَبُو بَكْرٍ

which Khoury renders:

7 'unterhalb von mir eine Hilfe ist?' " 'Alī sag[te]: "Dann ging der Prophet—Gott segne ihn — und ich folgte ihm, um zu sehen, was mit ihm geschah.

8 Er verfärbte sich und sagte: 'Alī, wenn Abū Bakr zu dir kommt,'.

The reading of the first word of l. 8 is erroneous and the translation is misleading. The correct reading is:

7 . . . فَاتَّبَعْتَهُ أَنْظُرْ مَا يَكُونُ مِنْهُ  
8 وَمِنْهُمْ

which should be rendered: '... and I followed him looking (to see) what would happen between him and them ...'.

*Line 14:* read جَرْمِي (not بجرشي).

*Line 20*: Abū Bakr was stung by a scorpion. The Prophet put his hand on Abū Bakr's shank and pronounced the charm *قال فوضع يده على ساقه فقال بنسم* *الله ارقيك والله يشفيك* which is translated by Khoury: 'Da legte er seine Hän[de] auf meine Beine und sprach: "Durch den Atem Gottes wende ich bei dir den Zauber an, Gott heile dich'. But the Prophet did not charm by the 'breath of God'; he merely said: 'In the Name of God I charm you' (*باسم الله ارقيك*). The problem of the *ruqya* is dealt with in detail in early collections of *ḥadīth*. The Prophet forbade healing by the use of *ruqya* because of some expressions of paganism inherent in it; he allowed it, however, later and established the Islamic formula for it.<sup>4</sup>

## PB 9 (38)

The Qurashites who wanted to kill the Prophet were disappointed, because they found in the morning 'Ali on the bed of the Prophet. The causes of their behaviour are explained in ll. 2-3:

*Lines 2-3*: انت هوه فاين محمد قال وانما انتظر واتى الصبح لان قريشا كانت راقدا حتى يوقظه ولا يهجم عليه في الليل فقال لي ابو جهل فما فعل محمد

2 "Du bist es, wo ist denn Muḥammad?" 'Ali erzählte (weiter): "Abū Ḡahl indessen wartete bis zum Tagesanbruch — denn Quraiš schlie-  
3 fen — um Muḥammad aufzuwecken und ihn nicht in der Nacht zu überfallen.  
Dann fragte mich Abū Ḡahl: Was hat Muḥammad also getan?"'

The correct reading is:

2 وانما انتظروا بي الصبح لأن قريشا كانت [لا تهجم]  
3 راقدا حتى توقظه ولا تهجم عليه في الليل . . .

and the translation:

2 '... They waited (with their action) against me until the morning because Quraysh used [not to attack]  
3 a sleeping person until they awakened him, nor did they attack him at night ...'

*Line 6*, first hemistich: *ايسلني من جهله جارود معترض مثل اعتراض الحمار* is rendered by Khoury: 'Fragt mich Ḡārūd nicht aus Unwissen ...'. But no person named Jārūd is mentioned among the group who watched the Prophet in order to kill him. The correct reading is *حارس*, a guard: 'Does a guard ask me out of his coarseness ...?'

*Line 9*: *قد بتم ستاير اغوته في كل وجه كنعام نفار* is translated by Khoury:

<sup>4</sup> cf. Ibn Wahb, *Jāmi'*, ed. J. David-Weil, Cairo, 1939, I, 116-19, pp. 103-6; al-Ṭahāwī, *Muḥkhal al-āthār*, ed. Muḥammad Zuhri 'l-Najjār, Cairo, 1388/1968, IV, 329, ll. 12, 16; Ma'mar b. Rāshid, *al-Jāmi'*, MS Feyzullah 541, fols. 113b-114a; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *al-Ṭibb al-nabawī*, ed. 'Adil al-Azhari, Maḥmūd Faraj al-'Uqda, Cairo, 1377/1957, 136-46.

‘Ihr habt die Nacht verbracht, während Schleier Muhammad vor jedem Gesicht verhüllten, wie Strausse, die davonlaufen’. Both reading and translation are erroneous. The correct reading is: *قد بتم شتاً تراعونه في كل وجه كنعام نفار* which has to be rendered: ‘You spent the night watching him dispersed/ in every direction like scattered ostriches’.

*Line 8:* *باتوا جميعا كخيل مدار لا تسلونى واسلوا معشرا* is rendered by Khoury: ‘Fragt mich (danach) nicht, fragt vielmehr Leute, die alle wie dickbäuchige Pferde übernachteten’. The correct translation is: ‘Do not ask me, but ask people who all of them spent the night like running horses’.

*Lines 12-13:* *قال فقال ابو جهل لا تشغلوا انفسكم بمجاوزة هذا الغلام فان بني هاشم] م[ قوم خصمون سيفونكم ما تطلبون*

are rendered by Khoury:

12 ‘Er sagte: “Da sprach Abū Ġahl: ‘Beschäftigt euch nicht damit, das Mass bei diesem Jungen zu überschreiten, denn Banū Hāsi[m]

13 sind streitsüchtige Leute und werden euch erfüllen, was ihr wünscht’.

Both reading and translation are erroneous. The correct reading is:

12 . . . فقال أبو جهل لا تشغلوا أنفسكم بمحاورة هذا الغلام فان بني ها [شم]  
13 قوم خصمون سيفونكم ما تطلبون

and, accordingly, the translation should be:

12 ‘Abū Jahl said: Do not busy yourself with talk with this youth, because the Banū Hā[shim]

13 are contentious people, you will miss what you seek . . .’.

Abū Jahl ordered the pursuit of Muhammad and Abū Bakr.

*Lines 13-14:* *ارسلوا الى اهل المناة بينكم وبين يثرب ان محمدا وعتيقا قد اب[ق]ا منا فمن ردهما علينا فله مائة من*

are translated by Khoury:

‘Schickt den Leuten von Manāt von hier bis nach

14 Yaṭrib Nachricht, dass Muhammad und ‘Atīq uns entflohen] sind, und dass derjenige, der sie uns zurückbringt, hundert’.

Read, however, *13 . . . أرسلوا الى أهل المياه بينكم وبين يثرب . . .*

and render, accordingly: ‘Send to the people of the wells between you and Yathrib . . .’.

‘Ahl Manāt’ would be very surprising indeed!

*Lines 15-16:* *الابل قال ومضى امية بن خلف وابو جهل في طل[ب] ابى اسامة الفاي[ق] [ق] فجانا به فقالوا له اقف لنا هذه الاثر*

are rendered by Khoury:

15 'Kamele bekommt'. Und Umaiya b. Ḥalaf und Abū Ḡahl machten sich auf die Such[e] von Abū Usāma al-Fāyi[q].

16 Sie brachten ihn zu uns und sprachen zu ihm: "Folge dieser Spur für uns".

But Umayya b. Khalaf and Abū Jahl did not go out to look for Abū Usāma al-Fā'iḳ (الفائق); Abū Usāma was a *qā'if* (القائف) and his profession was to follow footprints; in our case he had to pursue the tracks of Muḥammad and Abū Bakr who fled from Mecca. And this is explicitly written in our text. Instead of فجانا (l. 16) read فجاءا (= فجاءا) 'they both brought him'.

*Line 17:* فلما نظر اليها قال ما اشبهها بالآثر الذي في المقام بقاءة [منه] is translated by Khoury: 'Als er sie betrachtete, sagte er: "Wie ähnlich sieht sie der Spur, [von der] es einen Re[s]t am Ort gibt!"'. This line was misread, misunderstood and mistranslated. The correct reading is: فلما نظر اليها قال ما اشبهها بالآثر الذي في المقام يعني قدم ابراهيم [الذي في المقام] which should be translated: 'When he looked at the footprint he said: How closely this track resembles the track in the Maqām, referring to the f[oot-print of Abraham]'. It is evident that we have here an allusion to the famous tradition that the size of the feet of the Prophet was identical with that of Abraham as seen on the Maqām Ibrāhīm.<sup>5</sup>

*Line 18:* قال ثم قفا اثره حتى مر بموضع الجرش فقال لقد مر في هذا [الموضع] is rendered by Khoury: 'Dann folgte er der Spur Muḥammads (weiter), bis er zur Stelle des Geräusches kam und sagte: "An dieser [Stelle] kam er vorbei"'. But the *qā'if* did not come to the 'place of the noise' ('zur Stelle des Geräusches'); he came to the 'place of the guard', where the guard (الحرس); not الجرش) of the Qurashites watched the Prophet when he went out from his abode intending to detain him, or to kill him. This is connected with the proper understanding of the next line.

*Line 19:* فقالوا ايهات لقد ضل رايبك ما مر بنا احد غ[ير] عتبة قال [ل] is translated by Khoury: 'Sie aber erwiderten: "Erstaunlich, du irrst! Niemand a[usser] 'Utba kam vorbei." ('Alī) erzäh[lte] (weiter):' The correct reading is 'Atīq (عتيق), not 'Utba. The guard saw merely 'Atīq, i.e. Abū Bakr.

*Line 22:* read جرشهم سمعت جرشهم not جرشهم.

<sup>5</sup> *Le Muséon*, LXXXIV, 3-4, 1971, p. 483, n. 33; and see al-Kāzarūnī, *al-Muntaqā fī siyar al-nabī 'l-muḥtafā*, MS Br. Mus., Add. 18499, fols. 70b, 89a; al-Ṭabarsī, *I'lām al-warā*, ed. 'Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, Tehran, 1379/1959, p. 73, l. 3; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkirā*, MS Br. Mus., Or. 3180, fol. 79a (the name of the *qā'if* here is Ma'qil Ibn Abi Kadar al-Khuzā'i); 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *al-Sira al-halabiyya*, Cairo, 1351/1932, I, 130; Daḥlān, *Sira* (on margin of the *Sira ḥalabiyya*) I, 329; al-Qummī, *Tafsīr*, n.p., 1313/1895, p. 253; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh*, Cairo, 1367/1947, II, 314; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-laduniyya*, Cairo, 1325/1907, I, 330 *sup.*

*Lines 23-4:* الله معنا وبعث الله عنكبوتا فنسجت في ساعة واحـ[دة] بسحر يمتع سنين

are translated by Khoury :

23 'Gott ist mit uns.' Und Gott schickte eine Spinne, die in einer einzi[gen] Stunde

24 durch Zauber wob, was sonst Jahre dauert '.

Read, instead: 23 . . . . . فنسجت في ساعة واحـ[دة]

24 نسج سبع سنين

and translate, accordingly: ' . . . and God sent a spider and it wove in one hour a web which would take seven years (to complete) '.

PB 11 (40)

Surāqa hands over an arrow to the Prophet granting him protection and safe-conduct.

*Line 12:* read وأتخوف (not والخوف).

*Line 13:* read ثم نكب (not نكت).

*Lines 14-15:* فاخرج منها سهبا فقال هـ[ذا] امارتي الى رعاة لي على الطريق فان تشا ظهرا فاركب وان تشا لبنا فاشرب

rendered by Khoury:

14 'nahm einen Pfeil daraus und sagte: "Die[s] ist mein Befehl an Hirten von mir auf dem Wege. Wenn du wünschst,

15 so reite mittags, und wenn du Milch willst, so trinke" '.

should be read: 14 . . . فقال هـ[ذا] امارتي الى رعاة لي على الطريق فإن تشا

15 ظهراً فاركب

and translated:

14 ' . . . this is my token (of protection) for shepherds of mine on the way; if you want

15 camels (then take them and) ride . . . '.

*Line 22:* . . . وقالت نحن قوم مستون

Khoury translates: ' . . . und sie sagte: "Wir sind Leute, die sich gerade im Winter befinden" '.

The correct reading is: مستون ' and she said: we are people suffering from drought '.

*Line 23:* في خيمتها فقال ما هـ[ذه] الشاة قالت خلفها الجهد عن الغنم is translated by Khoury: ' in ihrem Zelt und sagte: "Was ist mit di[es]em Mutterschaf?" Sie aber erwiderte: "Seine Anstrengung hat es die (anderen) Schafe überleben



lassen ”. But the right translation is: ‘ the exhaustion (of the ewe) caused it to be left behind the other sheep ’ (i.e. the ewe could not go out with the sheep to a distant pasturage).

## PB 12 (41)

*Line 4:* *عازبة والغنم* is translated by Khoury: ‘ wo doch die Schafe fern von der Weide sind ’. But the correct translation is: ‘ while the flock stays in remote pastures ’.

*Line 6:* probably *حسن الجسم* (not *حسن الخشم*).

## PB 13 (42)

*Line 3:* read *تسكعوا* (not *تشكعوا*).

*Line 6:* *وتسكعوا من يسعد الله يسعد* is translated by Khoury: ‘ Es soll Abū Bakr die Glückseligkeit seines Grossvaters und die Begleitung (des Propheten) Glück bringen. Wen Gott zum Glücke führt, der wird glücklich ’. But ‘ *sa’ādatu jaddihi* ’ does not mean ‘the happiness of his grandfather’. The first hemistich has to be rendered: ‘ May Abū Bakr be pleased by the happiness of his fortune ’.

*Line 7:* *ويهنى بني كعب مكان فئاتهم ومقعدها للمسلمين بمرصد* is rendered by Khoury: ‘ Und es möge Banū Ka‘b der Rang ihrer Tochter Glück bringen, denn er wird von den Muslimen geneidet ’. The correct translation is: ‘ May the Banū Ka‘b be pleased with the place of their woman: and with her sitting (and) watching the Muslims ’.<sup>6</sup>

*Line 11:* *بان الحق قد صدع السبيل* is translated by Khoury: ‘ “ So unterrichte Quraiš doch darüber, dass ich Klarheit bringe, dass die Wahrheit zum Durchbruch kam ’. Both reading and translation are erroneous. The text reads: *ألا فابلق قريشا حيث حلوا*, which should be translated: ‘ So, inform Quraysh wherever they alight ’.

*Line 14:* *الى ان وارت الارض الخجولا* is rendered by Khoury: ‘ Vier (Pferde)füsse sind in die Erde eingesunken, bis die Erde das beschämte (Pferd) verbarg ’. The proper reading is *الخجولا* (not *الخجولا*) and the verse should be rendered: ‘ Four legs (of the horse) sunk in the soil: until the earth covered the white spots above the hoofs of the horse ’. The verse does not refer to an ‘ ashamed horse ’.

<sup>6</sup> cf. the translation of A. Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad*, a translation of Ibn Ishāq’s *Sirat rasūl Allāh*, London, 1955, 225.

May the place of the Banū Ka‘b’s woman bring them luck  
For she was a look-out for the believers.

*Line 18:* read القائف (not الفائق).

*Line 22:* *فهلأ علي بصنعها كان من قبل* is rendered by Khoury: 'Sie schelten dich wegen einer Sache, hinter der ich Gott (spüre). Er zeigte sie mir: es ist Vorsehung(?)'. Both reading and translation are erroneous. Read: *فهلأ علي تضييعها<sup>7</sup> كان من قبل* and translate: 'They blame me because of an affair, which God brought to naught: But why did they not (scil. blame themselves—K.) because of their wastefulness before that?'

PB 14 (43)

*Line 8:* read قائفهم (instead of فائقهم).

*Line 16:* read فهلأ بنا ساخت (not فهلأ بنا ساخت).

*Line 17:* *ولو لم يزل عنها بليل لأصبحت* بوا[ة]يه فيها تصطرخن ومأتمه is translated by Khoury: 'Hätte er sich nicht von Mekka in einer Nacht entfernt, so hätte man das, was von ihm übrigge[blie]ben wäre, um Hilfe schreien hören und seinem Begräbnis beigewohnt'''. It should be read: *ولو لم يزل عنها بليل لأصبحت* and translated: 'Had he not left Mecca at night, women crying and mourning his death would have begun wailing and his funeral procession (would have taken place)'

*Lines 20-1:* *أبا حكيم لو كنت شاهد موقفي* على فرسي إذ قد تسوخ قوامه  
تجد<ا>مثل الترس حتى تغيب علمت بان الحق لا شي هادمه  
are rendered by Khoury:

20 ' " Abū Ḥakam! Wärest du Zeuge meiner Lage gewesen auf meinem Pferd, als unter ihm seine Füße in den Boden einsanken,  
21 während es sich bemühte wie ein Schild (dagegen) anzukämpfen(?), bis es versank, so würdest du wissen, dass es nichts gibt, das die Wahrheit vernichten kann '.

The correct reading is *بجذاء* and the passage should be rendered: '. . . when its (i.e. the horse's) legs sunk in the ground: in a barren desert (flat) like a shield, until they disappeared . . . '.

PB 15 (44)

*Line 5:* *وبادر براس الامر قبل انبلاقه* و[ة]ل تستوي اعجازه وقوامه is rendered by Khoury: 'Geh an den Anfang der Sache eilends heran, bevor sie zum Durchbruch kommt, und [sa]ge; das Ende gleicht dem Beginn'. Read, instead:

<sup>7</sup> In text *تضييعها*; compare PB 9 (38), l. 10 where *بتضييعكم* has to be read *بتضييعكم* according to the metre of the verse.

and translate : and وبادر برأس الأمر قبل ائتلافه : و[ه]ل تستوي أعجازه وقواده  
 ‘ And hurry to seize the head (i.e. beginning) of the matter before it is joined  
 together :  
 for are the hindparts and the foreparts equal ? ’.

*Line 6 :* والله ما يحدو {عتيق وخادمه} غالب is rendered by  
 Khoury : ‘ Es ist für die Sache Gottes, was ihr, o Leute von Ghālib, getan  
 habt, und auch, was ‘Atīq und sein Dienstbote antreiben ’ ’. It should read :  
 والله ما يحدوا عتيق وخادمه : and, accordingly, trans-  
 late :  
 ‘ As by God, how great is what you forfeited, O people of Ghālib :  
 and by God, how great is that which is driven by ‘Atīq and his servant ’.

Āl Ghālib points to Quraysh, stressing what they lost by the Hijra of the  
 Prophet ; the second hemistich emphasizes the virtuous deed of Abū Bakr and  
 his servant, who led the riding beast of the Prophet.

*Lines 7, 9 :* apparently ربيع الآخر (not ربيع الأحد).

*Line 15 :* read لا يخفر (instead of لا يحقر).

*Line 15 :* read لا ينهر (instead of لا يقهر).

*Line 22 :* read فان لبنا المجد [ء] (instead of فان لبنا المجد).

## PB 16 (45)

*Line 3 :* فاجتمعنا عليك بملاتنا is translated by Khoury : ‘ ... und haben uns  
 ungeachtet unserer Bekenntnisse um dich geschart ’. The correct reading is  
 بملاتنا : ‘ and we united together around you with our chief men ’.

*Line 10 :* ونزل على ايجار به ; ونزل على ; but the phrase should probably be read : ونزل على  
 الحال به.

## PB 17 (46)

*Line 21 :* محمد قالوا فينا اخو مح[مد قال] فليبرز الي ولا يقبل الرجال فيما بيننا is  
 translated by Khoury : ‘ Muḥammad ? ’ Sie erwiderten : “ Bei uns befindet  
 sich Muḥa[mmads] Bruder.” [Er sprach] : “ Er soll gegen mich auftreten und  
 niemand zwischen uns zulassen ! ” ’. The proper reading is : ... قالوا فينا اخو  
 . . . قالوا فينا اخو مح[مد قال] فليبرز الي ولا يقتل الرجال فيما بيننا  
 which should be rendered : ‘ ... and  
 let men not be killed on account of something (e.g. a quarrel) between us ’.

*Line 24 :* من خشم ينظر ذيا معلما is rendered by Khoury : ‘ (einen Gebieter)  
 aus Ḥaṭ‘am, welcher einen wohlbekanntnen Wolf erwartet ’. The correct

reading is: *من خثعم ينصر ديننا معلما* and the translation: '(A chief) from Khath'am bearing a distinctive mark in battle, who defends a faith'.

## PB 18 (47)

*Line 9*: second hemistich: *كانت شفائي وح [د] كربتي*; read correctly: *كانت* *كربتي* *شفائي وح [لا]* and translate: 'and dispelled my grief' (not 'setzte meinem Kummer ein Ende').

*Line 15*: first hemistich: *كنني بالله ربي أقسم* is rendered by Khoury: 'Rede mich mit meinem Beinamen an, so schwöre ich bei meinem Herrn'. Read properly: *قاسم [ل] كنني بالله ربي أقسم*: 'But I swear by God, my Lord'.

## PB 20 (49)

*Line 5*: *بنصر سبع قد أذقت [م]رو [عا] كامن [بالث]مام (?) ييدو مترعا* is translated by Khoury: '“Ich habe [Mu]rwi['] den Todesstoss versetzt mit Hilfe eines Löwen, der [im G]ras lauert und zum Springen bereit aussieht'. The conjectured reading is:

*بنصر سيني قد أذقت [م]رو [عا]: كاس [الح]مام [من يدي] (?) مترعا*  
which has to be rendered:

'With the aid of my sword I gave [M]irw[a'] to taste:  
The cup of death, from my hand, filled up'.

*Line 11*: *أنا الغلام الهاشمي انا الغنم الهاشمي* read correctly:

From my corrections of the fragments published by G. Mélamède (*Le Muséon*, LXXVI, 3-4, 1963, 403-6), I should like to repeat the following:

## PB 2 (31)

*Line 16*: read *اذ مرّ* (not *اذ صرّ*).

*Line 20*: read correctly *فأناخ العباس ر [ا] حلتته* (not *فاباح العباس رحلتته*).

## PB 4 (33)

*Line 8*: read properly *ينزل بكم ف [لا] ن* (not *ينزل بكم قلا [ق] ن*).

## II

The material concerning the life of the Prophet found in this papyrus can be divided into two main parts: (1) events connected with the Prophet himself (the meeting of the 'Aqaba, the story of the *dār al-nadwa* and the Hijra), and (2) the expedition of 'Alī against the Khath'am. Khoury describes the second as 'der beste und eigenständigste Teil des Stückes', and stresses that it is nowhere echoed in the literature of the *maghāzī*.<sup>8</sup> This statement, however, is not accurate.

<sup>8</sup> Khoury, op. cit., 181 313.

The story of the expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsil is recorded in two contradictory traditions: a Sunnī and a Shī'ī one. According to the Sunnī version, 'Amr b. al-Āṣ was sent by the Prophet on an expedition at the head of a group of warriors; when he came back, 'Amr b. al-Āṣ asked the Prophet who was most loved by him; the Prophet answered that the person most loved by him from among the women was 'Ā'isha, from among the men Abū Bakr.<sup>9</sup> This tradition, which obviously aims at emphasizing the position of 'Ā'isha and Abū Bakr, is severely criticized by Ibn Abī Ḥātim.<sup>10</sup> Shī'ī tradition rejected this ḥadīth completely.<sup>11</sup> The expedition is mentioned in connexion with the important subject concerning the colour of the banners of the Prophet,<sup>12</sup> with the argument as to whether a person in an official mission is allowed to accept gifts,<sup>13</sup> and with the question of whether in cold weather *tayammum* from ritual impurity is allowed.<sup>14</sup> Ibn Hishām's combined tradition contains in fact three reports: one about the sending of the expedition, another about Abū Bakr's conversation with a convert to Islam—concerning the obligations of a Muslim and the attitude towards the acceptance of an official appointment, and the third one as to whether acceptance of a reward for distributing a slaughtered camel among people by drawing lots is allowed. The circumstances of the expedition are described as follows: the Prophet sent 'Amr b. al-Āṣ to convoke the Bedouin tribes for the war against Syria. He sent 'Amr b. al-Āṣ because the mother of al-Āṣ b. Wā'il was from Balī and the object was to gain their sympathy for this aim. When 'Amr reached a well in the territory of Judhām called al-Salsal he became frightened and asked for additional forces. The Prophet sent Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ with some of the first Muhājirūn, among whom were Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and bade them to refrain from arguments. When Abū 'Ubayda arrived, 'Amr claimed the status of commander-in-chief, considering Abū 'Ubayda merely as leader of the auxiliary force. Abū 'Ubayda agreed reluctantly and 'Amr b. al-Āṣ in the capacity of commander-in-chief led the prayer.<sup>15</sup> Ibn Hishām's narrative does not mention any military action, nor does he give any details about spoils or captives.

Ibn Sa'd's account is different. The Prophet sent 'Amr b. al-Āṣ against a force of Quḍā'a who intended to start a military action against the Prophet; 'Amr b. al-Āṣ's force numbered 300 men (among them Muhājirūn and Anṣār)

<sup>9</sup> Ma'mar b. Rāshid, op. cit., fol. 156a; cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, Beirut, 1377/1957, III, 176; Sa'id al-Afghānī, *Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī wa-risālatuhū fī 'l-muḥādāla bayna 'l-ṣahāba*, Damascus, 1359/1940, 261; Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsīn wa 'l-masāwī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1380/1961, I, 55; and see Yūsuf b. Mūsā al-Ḥanafī, *al-Mu'taṣar min al-mukhtaṣar*, Hyderabad, 1362/1943, II, 354.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *ʿIlal al-ḥadīth*, MS Chester Beatty 3516, fols. 288b, 290a.

<sup>11</sup> See Sulaymān b. Qays, *al-Saqifa*, al-Najaf, n.d., 138.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Yazīdī, *Amālī*, Hyderabad, 1367/1948, 83.

<sup>13</sup> Al-Muttaqī 'l-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, Hyderabad, 1374/1954, v, 510, l. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-aṣṭār*, Cairo, 1380/1961, I, 302-3.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Hishām *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'l-Saqqā, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ Shalabī, Cairo, 1355/1936, IV, 272-4; cf. al-Kalā'ī, *al-Iktifā'*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāhid, Cairo, 1389/1970, II, 421-4; and see Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1964, VI, 319-20, 41 *inf.*

and 30 horses; the Prophet handed them a white flag and a black banner. He ordered them to request the help of Balī, 'Udhra, and Balqayn, by whose territory they would pass on their way. When 'Amr drew near the Quḍā'a, he realized the strength of their contingents and sent to the Prophet requesting an auxiliary force. The Prophet indeed sent 200 men, among them Abū Bakr and 'Umar, under the command of Abū 'Ubayda. When 'Amr b. al-Āṣ declared himself commander-in-chief, Abū 'Ubayda complied reluctantly. The united troops penetrated the territory of Balī, 'Udhra, and Balqayn and subdued it. The Quḍā'a forces were attacked and dispersed and the expedition returned safely.<sup>16</sup>

'Abd al-Razzāq records the report of al-Zuhrī. The Prophet sent two forces in the direction of Syria against the Kalb, al-Qayn, Ghassān, and other polytheists from among the Bedouin dwelling in the borderland of Syria. He appointed to command one of the forces Abū 'Ubayda, to the other one 'Amr b. al-Āṣ; in the force of Abū 'Ubayda were Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The two commanders were warned by the Prophet not to provoke discord: 'Amr b. al-Āṣ nevertheless demanded the leadership for himself and Abū 'Ubayda obeyed in spite of the protests of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,<sup>17</sup> who urged him not to accept the leadership of Ibn al-Nābigha.<sup>18</sup> The advancing Muslim force was victorious and returned with many Bedouin captives.<sup>19</sup>

Al-Wāqidī records a combined tradition about the expedition. He mentions by name a few among the 300 men of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār sent with 'Amr. The task of the expedition was to act against a force of Balī and Quḍā'a who plotted against the Prophet. The Prophet enjoined them to gain the succour of the tribes of Balī, 'Udhra, and Balqayn through whose territory they had to pass. When 'Amr drew near to the forces of the enemy, he realized that his contingent was too small to face them and sent to the Prophet asking for reinforcements. He prohibited the lighting of fires in his camp for fear that the enemy would be able to assess the small number of his men in spite of the protests of some of the Muhājirūn who complained of cold. The Prophet sent the auxiliary force of 200 men under Abū 'Ubayda. The story of the conflict and its solution is related as in the other sources. The important difference is al-Wāqidī's remark that there was no serious battle but merely some slight skirmishes; the Bedouin made off in face of the advancing Muslim army and the Muslim force returned with no spoils. Only some camels and sheep were

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *op. cit.*, II, 131.

<sup>17</sup> The record of Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-athar*, Cairo, 1356/1937, II, 158, mentions that Mughira b. Shu'ba urged Abū 'Ubayda to reject the leadership of 'Amr b. al-Āṣ. According to this report, quoted on the authority of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, 'Amr was entrusted with the command of the Bedouin and Abū 'Ubayda with that of the Muhājirūn.

<sup>18</sup> The disrespectful nickname of 'Amr b. al-Āṣ; cf. Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Šiffīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo, 1382/1962, 508 *inf.*, 543; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dīmashq*, MS Zāhiriyya, Tar. 23, VII, fol. 183a-b; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Maḥāsīn wa 'l-masāwī*, I, 148; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ*, al-Najaf 1383/1964, 204-5.

<sup>19</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, MS Murad Molla 604, fol. 90a.

seized by force from the tribes in order to feed 'Amr's army.<sup>20</sup> The record of al-Wāqidi contains the story about the conversation Abū Bakr had with the convert to Islam, the story about the distribution of the camel by drawing lots, and the story of the ritual impurity of 'Amr.

Al-Balādhuri's account, although concise, contains some important details. The expedition was sent in Jumādā II of the year A.H. 8. 'Amr was appointed by the Prophet as commander of the army: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, Abū 'Ubayda, and chiefs of the Muhājirūn and Anṣār were sent with him. In the encounter with the united forces of Quḍā'a, 'Āmila, Lakhm, and Judhām the Muslims defeated the enemy, killed many of them, and returned with spoils.<sup>21</sup>

These and other fragmentary narrations<sup>22</sup> still leave unanswered many questions about the true aim of the expedition and its results. One can only deduce from the divergent and contradictory versions that the purpose of the expedition was to conclude some agreement with the tribes on the way to Syria and to put the territory under the control of Muḥammad; at the same time the centres of resistance had to be eradicated. It is therefore understandable that the Prophet sent on the expedition the most honourable among his Companions, that 'Amr's family relations with Balī are underlined, and that there are clear statements about the absence of spoils. Those versions in which the taking of spoils or captives is mentioned are vague and do not contain details about the expedition.

It is evident that the leadership of this expedition is counted as one of the outstanding merits of 'Amr in the *fadā'il* literature. When, in the struggle against 'Alī, Mu'āwiya tries to gain 'Amr as his ally he addresses the latter: 'To 'Amr b. al-Āṣ the Companion of the Prophet, his trusted Companion, the amīr of his forces at Dhāt al-Salāsil . . .'.<sup>23</sup> (The letter is, of course, not necessarily authentic.) Pro-Umayyad tradition stresses 'Amr's ideological motivation and his devotion to the Prophet and Islam. When the Prophet summoned him to go out with the expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsil, foretelling that he would return safely with spoils, 'Amr replied that he did not embrace Islam because of wealth and possessions, but because of his longing for Islam and so as to be in the company of the Prophet. The Prophet nevertheless remarked: 'How good is wealth righteously gained for a righteous man'.<sup>24</sup> His appointment by the Prophet as leader of the expedition was considered a token of the Prophet's love for him, although 'Amr himself remarked with some reservation that he was not sure whether the Prophet loved him or merely asked for his aid.<sup>25</sup> 'The people of Syria pride themselves on that expedition saying: "The

<sup>20</sup> *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. J. Marsden B. Jones, London, 1966, II, 769-74.

<sup>21</sup> Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamidullah, Cairo, 1959, I, 380-1, no. 810.

<sup>22</sup> cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo, 1366/1947, I, 41, no. 42, and III, 151, no. 1968.

<sup>23</sup> Akḥṭab Khwārizm, *al-Manāqib*, al-Najaf, 1385/1965, 129.

<sup>24</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ed. As'ad Ṭālas, Cairo, 1962, III, 44; Ibn 'Asākir, op. cit., MS, VII, fol. 186a inf.

<sup>25</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām*, III, 45.

Prophet appointed 'Amr as commander of the forces in which Abū Bakr was enlisted''', records al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in the account of Rāfi' b. Abī Rāfi', the guide of the expedition.<sup>26</sup> This remark points clearly to the sources from which this tradition was disseminated; Syria was the centre of Umayyad activity, wherefrom *ḥadīths* favourable to the Umayyad rulers and their adherents were circulated.

This tradition about the expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsīl under the command of 'Amr b. al-Āṣ is matched by a Shī'ī tradition, recorded in a number of versions, according to which the command of the army was entrusted by the Prophet to 'Alī. The papyrus of Wahb presents us with one such version of Shī'ī tradition. It is possible to show that it should be traced to Shī'ī sources.

Furāt (d. c. 310/922) records four reports about this expedition. According to the report traced back to Ibn 'Abbās, the Prophet summoned Abū Bakr to go out with the expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsīl and handed him the banner, which he, however, returned. The same happened with 'Umar. Then Khālid b. al-Walid took the banner, (went out—K.) but returned. The Prophet summoned 'Alī, handed the banner over to him and sent him at the head of the forces: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and Khālid were among the warriors in this army. Having advanced some distance, 'Alī drew near the enemy; only a mountain separated 'Alī's forces from those of the enemy. 'Alī ordered his army to alight in a *wādī* at the foot of the mountain. Khālid agitated against 'Alī; Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and Khālid approached 'Alī three times pointing out that the *wādī* was swarming with wild beasts and venomous reptiles endangering the lives of the men and of the riding beasts; 'Alī insisted that the Prophet had enjoined them to obey him. He spent the night in prayer. In the morning he ordered the force to climb the mountain, took the muzzles off the snouts of the riding beasts (as the beasts had been muzzled for the night—K.), and the army launched a victorious attack on the enemy, pouring down from the top of the mountain; the troops of the enemy fled, some of their warriors were killed and their families were captured. Jibrīl descended to the Prophet and brought him the good tidings of the victory in the verses of sūra 100; *wa 'l-ādīyātī dabḥan . . .*

This account is rather vague: no name is given for the enemy tribe nor for the warriors killed or captured.<sup>27</sup>

Another account is given by Furāt on the authority of Abū Dharr and 'others'. The expedition was sent against the Banū Sulaym. The Prophet cast lots among the *ahl al-ṣuffa* and sent 80 from amongst them to wage war. They went out but returned defeated. Then 'Alī, 'the man who knows to attack and does not turn away from battle', was sent by the Prophet with the forces. 'Alī went out in the direction of al-'Irāq and advanced at night, hiding during the day. When he came close to the enemy he ordered his troops to climb the mountain,

<sup>26</sup> *Mūḍīh awḥām al-jam' wa 'l-tafrīq*, Hyderabad 1379/1960, II, 99 sup.

<sup>27</sup> This report (with some variants) is recorded by al-Rāwandī, *al-Kharā'ij wa 'l-jarā'ih*, n.p., 1301/1883, 14–15.



vigorously attacked the enemy camping below, and defeated them. At the head of the enemy forces was al-Ḥārith b. Bishr; 120 girls were captured. Then God sent down the revelation: *wa 'l-'ādiyāti dabhan . . .*<sup>28</sup>

Furāt's fourth narrative (we leave the third one aside for the moment) is recorded on the authority of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and it is of the type of the legendary stories exhaustively surveyed by R. Paret. Twelve thousand riders from the people of Wādī Yābis assembled and took a solemn oath to fight a desperate battle until they should kill Muḥammad and 'Alī. Jibrīl revealed to the Prophet this plot and ordered him to send against them Abū Bakr with a force of 4,000 riders. The Prophet enjoined Abū Bakr to summon the enemy to embrace Islam; if they refused, he was ordered to fight them, kill their men, capture their children, and lay their territory waste. When Abū Bakr drew near the enemy with his army a contingent of 200 fully armed men approached him. Abū Bakr summoned them to embrace Islam and threatened them with war if they refused. They, however, answered that they wanted to kill Muḥammad and 'Alī only, and advised Abū Bakr to depart with his troops if he wanted to save his life; they would spare him, they said, only because of their kinship ties with him. The warriors in Abū Bakr's force tried to persuade him to attack the enemy, but Abū Bakr decided to return without fighting because the enemy was superior in numbers and the Muslim force was too far from its home base.

Jibrīl revealed to the Prophet Abū Bakr's disobedience and ordered him to send 'Umar. The Prophet ascended the *minbar* and announced these facts to the assembled Muslims. But 'Umar when sent to the enemy behaved exactly like Abū Bakr and returned having disobeyed the orders of the Prophet, i.e. to convert the people to Islam or else to fight them.

Jibrīl revealed to the Prophet the action of 'Umar and ordered him to send 'Alī. 'Alī set out and fought bravely and courageously against the enemy and defeated them. Never had spoils and booty been taken in such quantity, except in the expedition of Khaybar. The Prophet and the people of Medina

<sup>28</sup> Furāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Kūfi, *Tafsīr*, al-Najaf, n.d., 221-2. A more detailed version of this report is given by al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (*al-Irshād*, al-Najaf, 1382/1962, 86-8): A Bedouin came to the Prophet and informed him that Bedouin in Wādī 'l-Raml were gathering troops in order to attack the Prophet. The Prophet cast lots among the people of the *ṣuffa*, chose 80 from among them, and sent them against the Banū Sulaym, who pitched their tents in the vicinity of the Ḥarra (i.e. Ḥarrat Banī Sulaym—K.); as leader the Prophet appointed Abū Bakr. This force was defeated by the Banū Sulaym and many Muslims were killed. The Prophet then sent 'Umar with a group of warriors and he too was defeated. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ offered himself as commander and was accepted by the Prophet. He went out, but was defeated and a group of Muslims were killed in the attack of the Banū Sulaym. Then 'Alī was sent to replace them. During the advance of the force and when they encamped for the night, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ agitated against 'Alī, plotting with Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The Muslims, however, refused to follow the agitators and remained loyal to 'Alī. In the morning 'Alī carried out the planned attack, and defeated the enemy. Sūra 100 was then revealed to the Prophet. A large and moving reception was arranged by the Prophet and the believers for 'Alī and his troops and warm words were uttered by the Prophet in praise of 'Alī. Compare al-Ḥilli's *Kashf al-yaqīn fī faḍā'il amīr al-mu'minīn*, n.p., 1298/1880, 33-4; and see al-Ḥasan b. Abī 'l-Ḥasan al-Daylamī, *Irshād al-qulūb fī manāqib amīr al-mu'minīn*, al-Najaf, 1342/1923, II, 71-3; and see Ja'far al-Naqdī, *al-Anwār al-'alawīyya*, al-Najaf, 1382/1962, 205-6; cf. H. Laoust, 'Le rôle de 'Alī dans la *sīra* chiīte', *REI*, xxx, 1, 1962, 18.

came out and welcomed 'Alī and the victorious forces.<sup>29</sup> This last version forms the interpretation of Sūra 100 in the *Tafsīr* of al-Qummī.<sup>30</sup>

The third version recorded is in fact an enlargement of the story recorded in the papyrus of Wahb. The tradition, recounted on the authority of Salmān al-Fārisī, says that when the Prophet was with his Companions, a Bedouin from the Banū Lujaym entered and informed the Prophet that the Khath'am were gathering troops against him. They took solemn oaths by al-Lāt and 'Uzzā that they would not return until they had killed the Prophet and his men; they were led by al-Ḥārith b. Makīda who headed a contingent of 500 Khath'amīs. The Prophet was deeply affected and tears flowed from his eyes; his Companions wept with him. The Prophet asked twice who would go out against the enemy and promised the man who would do so 12 palaces in Paradise, but none responded. Then 'Alī entered the assembly. A moving scene, in which 'Alī dried the Prophet's tears, is described. Upon hearing about Khath'am's warlike preparations and about the Prophet's promise, 'Alī volunteered to lead the expedition; he merely asked for the description of the palaces, which the Prophet would give him; the Prophet then described vividly and in detail the beautiful gardens, rivers, and edifices and the graceful hours. 'Alī prepared to go out with a force of 500 Muhājirūn and Anṣār. Al-'Abbās addressed the Prophet saying that the number of men in the army was not sufficient against the forces of the Bedouin, as al-Ḥārith b. Makīda alone could be considered equal to 500 riders. The Prophet asserted that even if the forces of the enemy were infinite in number, 'Alī would gain victory and return with captives. Blessed by the Prophet, 'Alī went forth. At night, having arrived at the valley of Dhū 'l-Khushub, 'Alī went astray. He prayed to God and suddenly the horses began to strike fire from the stones with their hoofs and the army was able to find its way by the light of this fire. The next morning a sūra (i.e. Sūra 100) was revealed to the Prophet in connexion with it; *wa 'l-'ādīyāti dabhan—wa 'l-mūriyāti gadhan—wa 'l-mughīrāti ṣubhan . . .* 'by the snorting chargers, by the strikers of fire, by the dawn-raiders . . .'. The expression *wa 'l-mughīrāti ṣubhan* in the sūra refers to the attack 'Alī launched in the morning after the *adhān*. The *adhān* in the troops of 'Alī surprised the forces of the polytheists from Khath'am. Both forces stood facing each other. The battle started with a series of duels fought by 'Alī. From this passage on, the narrative closely resembles the version of the papyrus, only diverging in some details. 'Alī fought bravely, killing every adversary that came forth to fight him and finally launched his victorious attack. He returned with the captives and spoils. The Prophet and his Companions came out to a distance of three miles from Medina in order to welcome 'Alī. The Prophet wiped the dust from 'Alī's face, praised God, and stressed that his love for 'Alī was by order of God. 'He who loves 'Alī loves the Prophet and he who loves the Prophet loves

<sup>29</sup> Furāt, op. cit., 226–9.

<sup>30</sup> N.p., 1313/1895, 733–4; and see 'Abbās al-Qummī, *Muntahā al-āmāl*, n.p., 1353/1934, I, 81.

God and deserves to gain his abode in Paradise. He who hates 'Ali hates the Prophet, and he who hates the Prophet hates God and deserves to be placed in Hell.'<sup>31</sup>

All four versions were copied by al-Majlisī.<sup>32</sup>

It is noteworthy that the story of the expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsīl was turned into a commentary on Sūra 100 in Shī'ī compositions and became part of the popular Shī'ī biography of 'Ali.

It may be remarked that in some Shī'ī versions Dhāt al-Salāsīl is not recorded as the name of a place; it is said that the expedition was named *Dhāt al-Salāsīl* because the captives were chained.<sup>33</sup> In some versions the tradition is stripped of all notions of place and time and becomes a typical Shī'ī heroic tale with legendary features.

The appearance of this tradition in the third century as recorded in the papyrus of Wahb and in Furāt's *Tafsīr* is not surprising. It corresponds to similar accounts about encounters and duels in al-Minqarī's *Waq'at Siffīn* and in al-Shaykh al-Mufīd's *al-Jamal aw al-nuṣra fī ḥarbi 'l-Baṣra*.<sup>34</sup> Both contain similar descriptions of 'Ali and other personages as heroes fighting bravely, reciting verses of *rajaz*, boasting of their tribes or praising their bravery, courage, and faith. The settings and the stylistic features recall those of the traditions recorded by Wahb<sup>35</sup> as reflected in this papyrus.

If it is accepted that this tradition was in fact transmitted by Wahb, it would bear evidence to the wide dissemination of the Shī'ī legendary stories at the end of the first century A.H. Paret has already dwelt upon the fact that such Shī'ī traditions were given currency and were quite popular.<sup>36</sup> The papyrus confirms the assumptions of Sellheim who, with deep insight and penetrating analysis, outlined the origin and formation of the *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq and the position of 'Ali in it.<sup>37</sup> It is evident that the legendary *sīra* with its miraculous stories and wealth of popular verses was already fully developed at the end of the first century, as asserted by Becker<sup>38</sup> and Horovitz.<sup>39</sup> And it was Becker

<sup>31</sup> Furāt, op. cit., 222-6.

<sup>32</sup> *Bihār al-anwār*, Tehran, 1384/1964, XXI, 66-90; cf. *ibid.*, XLI, 92-3, 66; and see Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abi Tālib*, al-Najaf, 1376/1956, II, 328-30; and see a legendary story about Dhāt al-Salāsīl, *ibid.*, 129. (The verse attributed to al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, *Diwān*, ed. Shākīr Hādī Shukr, Beirut, n.d., 199, is copied from Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., II, 330.)

<sup>33</sup> Compare al-Tabarsī, *Majma' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Beirut, 1380/1961, xxx, 212.

<sup>34</sup> Al-Najaf, 1368/1948 (cf. p. 168 f. . . . *thumma' khtulifat baynahumā darbatāni . . . fa-qāma maqāmahu rajul yuqālu lahu . . . fa-nādā hal min mubārizin . . .*); and see al-Majlisī, op. cit., xxxviii, 20-4 (from Abū Mikhnaf's *Waq'at al-jamal*) and 24-6 (from Minqarī's *Waq'at Siffīn*), 82, 86-99.

<sup>35</sup> Compare e.g. PB 5 (34), l. 3: *wa-kataba fī ākhiri 'l-kitābi* in al-Minqarī, op. cit., 368 (*wa-kataba fī ākhiri 'l-kitābi*), 56, 72, 367, 411 (*wa-kataba fī asfali 'l-kitābi*); Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, op. cit., x, 232-44, xvi, 186 (*wa-kataba fī asfali 'l-kitābi*); Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, op. cit., 83, 84, 87.

<sup>36</sup> *Die legendäre Maghāzī Literatur*, Tübingen, 1930, 206-8; and see an interesting specimen of a Shī'ī legendary report about the conquest of Khaybar, MS Br. Mus., Or. 3908, fols. 27b-32b.

<sup>37</sup> R. Sellheim, 'Prophet, Chalif und Geschichte', *Oriens*, xviii-xix, 1967, esp. pp. 52-3.

<sup>38</sup> *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, 1906, I, 8-9; it is repeated by Houry, op. cit., 313, who does not, however, mention Becker or Horovitz.

<sup>39</sup> 'Alter und Ursprung des Isnād', *Der Islam*, VIII, 1917, 41-2; and see Horovitz, 'The

who with sound judgement stated that the papyrus is much closer to the miraculous stories of popular *sīra* in later periods than to Ṭabarī and Ibn Hishām.<sup>40</sup>

The study of the papyrus of Wahb ibn Munabbih shows how Becker, Horovitz, Fück, Paret, and Sellheim paved the way for further research.

### III

The story of the Hijra recorded in the papyrus of Wahb differs from the accepted tradition about this event. The scrutiny of some details in Wahb's version of the Hijra may provide us with a clue to the better understanding of the intent, and the tendency of this source.

According to Ibn Hishām's account<sup>41</sup> the Prophet was ordered not to sleep in his bed during the night of the Hijra. He therefore enjoined 'Alī to sleep in his bed and to wrap himself in the mantle in which he (i.e. the Prophet) used to sleep. When Quraysh assembled at the door of his house in order to fall upon him and kill him, the Prophet went out, and sprinkled dust on their heads; they lost their sight and he left the house. The group of Quraysh watching the house waited until morning; then they realized that it was 'Alī who slept in the bed of the Prophet. The Prophet, meanwhile, went to the house of Abū Bakr, who was already informed about the plan, and they both left by a window at the back of Abū Bakr's house. They reached the cave in the mountain of Thawr, where they stayed for three days. Nobody in Mecca knew about the plan of the Hijra except 'Alī and Abū Bakr and his family. 'Āmir b. Fuhayra would come to them in the evening with his flock and they would milk it and slaughter (a sheep); 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr would also come in the evening with news about the people of Mecca and his daughter Asmā' bint Abī Bakr would bring them food at night. They left on two camels bought by Abū Bakr, the Prophet riding on the better one, Abū Bakr and 'Āmir b. Fuhayra behind him, on the other one. They were guided by 'Abdallāh b. Arqaṭ (or Urayqit). 'Alī stayed behind so that he might return to the owners goods deposited with the Prophet.

Some passages in Wahb's papyrus (PB 8 (37), ll. 8-9, 13-16) which differ from the accepted versions of the Hijra deserve closer study. The Prophet, says the story, charged 'Alī to sleep in his bed and to inform Abū Bakr, when the latter should come, that he was in the cave of the mountains of Thawr. Abū Bakr indeed came after the departure of the Prophet, and 'Alī told him that the Prophet had gone to the cave of Thawr. Abū Bakr followed the Prophet and passed on his way the Qurashites who were keeping watch (on the house). The Prophet heard the sound of Abū Bakr's steps, thought him to be one of the enemy, made haste (to flee) and stumbled; his foot started to bleed. Abū Bakr coughed so that the Prophet might recognize him. The Prophet, in fact,

earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors', *Islamic Culture*, I, 4, 1927, 559; J. Fück, *Muḥammad b. Ishāq. Literarische Untersuchungen*, Frankfurt am Main, 1925, 3.

<sup>40</sup> C. H. Becker, *op. cit.*, 8-9.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, II, 123 f.

began to walk more slowly and Abū Bakr reached him; they both entered the cave.

This account can be divided into two parts: (1) the Prophet charges 'Alī to tell Abū Bakr about the direction of his flight; and (2) the description of Abū Bakr's joining the Prophet.

It is evident that the passage concerning the order given to 'Alī is of considerable importance and throws a rather different light on the part played by Abū Bakr during the Hijra. The Prophet himself did not inform Abū Bakr of his decision to hide at Thawr: he went out alone. It was 'Alī who enabled Abū Bakr to join the Prophet.

Another version of the episode is recorded by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in a tradition traced back to Ibn 'Abbās, who defends 'Alī against calumniations and reviling, stressing his virtues and merits. 'Alī, according to Ibn 'Abbās, slept in the bed of the Prophet. Abū Bakr arrived, entered the house and saw 'Alī (scil. wrapped in the mantle of the Prophet—K.); he thought him to be the Prophet and addressed him: 'O Messenger of God'. 'Alī said: 'The Prophet has already gone out to Bi'r Maymūn, so (go and—K.) join him'. Abū Bakr went hastily, reached him, and they both entered the cave.<sup>42</sup>

This version differs in two essential points from the one recorded in our papyrus: (1) 'Alī ordered Abū Bakr to join the Prophet (*fa-adrik-hu*); and (2) Abū Bakr thought 'Alī to be the Prophet and greeted him with the greeting reserved for the Prophet. One can thus deduce that the Prophet did not disclose to Abū Bakr that 'Alī would sleep in his bed, and did not bid him come and join him; the Prophet's command to 'Alī to direct Abū Bakr is not mentioned at all. Abū Bakr came incidentally, was told by 'Alī about the whereabouts of the Prophet, and ordered to join him. It is plausible that in this concise narrative concerned with the virtues and merits of 'Alī, no further details about the events that occurred on Abū Bakr's way were given.

This tradition is recorded by Furāt,<sup>43</sup> al-Nasā'ī,<sup>44</sup> al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī,<sup>45</sup> al-Ganjī,<sup>46</sup> Mughultāy,<sup>47</sup> Akḥṭab Khwārizm,<sup>48</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī,<sup>49</sup> and al-Majlisī.<sup>50</sup>

A remarkable additional version of these events is mentioned by Mughultāy on the authority of Sulaymān al-Taymī: Abū Bakr came and asked 'Alī about the Prophet: 'Alī replied: 'If you need the Prophet, meet him in the cave of

<sup>42</sup> Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, op. cit., v, 26, no. 3062; al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, Beirut, 1967, ix, 119-20.

<sup>43</sup> Furāt, op. cit., 125, 160.

<sup>44</sup> Al-Nasā'ī, *Khaṣā'iṣ amīr al-mu'minīn*, ed. Muḥammad Hādī 'l-Amīnī, al-Najaf, 1388/1969, 61-4 (and see the references of the editor, p. 64, n. 3).

<sup>45</sup> *Al-Mustadrak*, Hyderabad, 1342/1923, iii, 132-4.

<sup>46</sup> *Kifāyat al-ṭālib fī manāqib 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*, ed. Muḥammad Hādī 'l-Amīnī, al-Najaf, 1390/1970, 241-4 (and see the references of the editor, p. 244, n. 809).

<sup>47</sup> *Al-zahr al-bāsim fī sirat Abī 'l-Qāsim*, MS Leiden, Or. 370, fols. 186b, 189b.

<sup>48</sup> *Manāqib*, 73.

<sup>49</sup> *Tadhkirat al-khawāṣṣ*, 34.

<sup>50</sup> *Biḥār al-anwār*, xxxviii, 242; xl, 50 inf.

Thawr'.<sup>51</sup> Mughultāy confined himself to adducing only this exchange between 'Alī and Abū Bakr. But even this laconic passage indicates that, according to this tradition, Abū Bakr was not informed about the Prophet's plans and 'Alī was not ordered by the Prophet to direct Abū Bakr to his hiding-place; 'Alī merely informed him about the place to which the Prophet went with the peculiar reservation 'if you need the Prophet'. It may be remarked that Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān (d. 143/760), a very pious *muḥaddīth*, on whose authority this fragment is recorded, was described by Ibn Sa'd as a man with 'Alid inclinations.<sup>52</sup>

Noteworthy is the tradition recorded by al-Fākihi. He transmits it from 'Alī b. al-Mundhir<sup>53</sup> who, in his turn, brings it from Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān:<sup>54</sup> both are classified as Shi'ites. Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl gives as his *isnād*: Ibn al-Kalbī > Abū Ṣāliḥ > Ibn 'Abbās.<sup>55</sup> The Prophet, says the tradition, was ordered by the angel Jibril to leave (Mecca): that very day he went to the cave. The Prophet ordered *his people* to inform Abū Bakr, should he come, that he was in the cave in the lower part of Mecca.<sup>56</sup> Abū Bakr came, in fact, and the people of the Prophet (*ahlu rasūli 'ulāhi*) informed him about it according to the order of the Prophet. 'Alī's name is not mentioned here, nor is it said that he slept in the bed of the Prophet; but the content of this part of the tradition corresponds to the tradition recorded by our papyrus.

The second part of this tradition, as recorded by Fākihi, tallies with the story in the papyrus; Abū Bakr reached the Prophet when he was on his way to the cave. The Prophet thought him to be one of the enemy and made haste; Abū Bakr, anxious not to drive the Prophet into distress, made him recognize his voice. The Prophet waited for a while until Abū Bakr joined him and they both entered the cave.<sup>57</sup> This report does not contain the passage about the stumbling of the Prophet and the bleeding of his toe, but it closely corresponds to the version of the papyrus and it can be considered as the earliest report corresponding to that of the papyrus (the date can be established to be in the seventies of the third century A.H.).

Al-Ṭabarī introduces his version of the passage containing the Prophet's order to 'Alī to sleep in his bed by the words: 'Some people added to this story at this point' (*zāda ba'duhum fī hādhihi 'l-qisṣati fī hādihā 'l-mawḍi'*). The passage relates the Prophet's ordering 'Alī to inform Abū Bakr, if he came to

<sup>51</sup> *Al-Zahr al-bāsim*, fol. 189b (*aḡbala Abū Bakrīn hattā sa'ala 'Aliyyan 'ani 'l-nabiyyi ṣallā 'Ulāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam, fa-qāla: in kānat laka bihi ḥājatun fa-lḡahu bi-ghāri thawrin*).

<sup>52</sup> cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, iv, 202, ll. 4-5.

<sup>53</sup> On whom see Ibn Ḥajar, op. cit., vii, 386, no. 626; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1382/1963, iii, 157, no. 5949.

<sup>54</sup> On whom see Ibn Ḥajar, op. cit., ix, 405-6, no. 658; al-Dhahabī, op. cit., iv, 9, no. 8062.

<sup>55</sup> On this *isnād* (*silsilat al-kahhīb*) see Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, transl. C. R. Barber, S. M. Stern, II, London, 1971, p. 228, n. 2.

<sup>56</sup> . . . *wa-qāla li-ahlīhi: in jā'a Abū Bakrīn (r) fa-akhbirūku annī fī 'l-ghāri min asfalī Makkata . . .*

<sup>57</sup> Al-Fākihi, *Ta'rīkh Makka*, MS Leiden, Or. 463, fol. 483a (and see other stories about the Hijra, *ibid.*, fols. 483a-484a).

him, that the Prophet had gone to Thawr and to bid him join the Prophet. 'Alī was requested by the Prophet to send him food, to hire for him a guide for the journey, and to buy for him a riding beast.<sup>58</sup> Another passage, introduced by the expression 'and some people claimed' (*wa-qad za'ama ba'duhum*), is actually a continuation of the report included in this passage. 'Alī told Abū Bakr where the Prophet had gone and advised him<sup>59</sup> to join him. This is followed by the account of how Abū Bakr hurried, met the Prophet, who thought him however to be one of the enemy, made haste, stumbled and his toe was wounded and started bleeding. In the morning they both entered the cave.<sup>60</sup> It is evident that the two passages of al-Ṭabarī, which complete each other, correspond closely to the account of our papyrus. The two passages preceded by expressions of reservation, 'some people claimed', 'some people added',<sup>61</sup> present, in fact, a version diverging from the accepted and authorized Sunnī one. Ibn Kathīr, while mentioning the above-quoted version from al-Ṭabarī, remarks rightly that this report contradicts the known one, according to which the Prophet and Abū Bakr went out together to the cave.<sup>62</sup>

The details of the story of the Hijra were essential in the evaluation of the role played by Abū Bakr and 'Alī respectively in this crucial event. The fact that 'Alī endangered his life for the Prophet by sleeping in his bed was compared with Abū Bakr's sharing in the hardships suffered by the Prophet during the Hijra. Sunnī and Shi'ī opinions on the respective value of those acts were, as is to be expected, contradictory.<sup>63</sup>

In this controversy the version found in Wahb's papyrus, and transmitted, as usual, with some variants, was one of the main sources for the arguments of the Shi'a. Ibn Ṭāwūs in his *al-Iqbāl bi-ṣāliḥ al-a'māl*<sup>64</sup> adduces explicitly the reports recorded by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and al-Ṭabarī, basing on them his arguments which deny all virtue and merit to Abū Bakr in connexion with the Hijra. The man who accompanied the Prophet to the cave was not fit to be a companion in the circumstances of the Hijra, argues Ibn Ṭāwūs. In danger he behaved like weak women or youths who cry and flee; he was unable to defend the Prophet or drive disaster away from him. The Prophet took with him Abū Bakr (when he met him on his way—K.) to the cave because he was afraid that Abū Bakr might disclose his place of refuge should he leave him; Abū Bakr was, as a matter of fact, a coward who annoyed the Prophet in the cave with his grief and anxiety.

<sup>58</sup> *Ta'rīkh al-umam wa'l-mulūk*, Cairo, 1357/1939, II, 99 *inf.*

<sup>59</sup> It is noteworthy that here, as also in Mughultāy's compilation, the expression used by 'Alī is 'if you need the Prophet' (*in kāna laka fihi ḥājatan*; see above, p. 566, n. 51).

<sup>60</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, II, 100 *inf.*—101 *sup.*

<sup>61</sup> It is significant that the report recorded by al-Fākihī, mentioned above, also begins with an expression of doubt and reservation: . . . *fa-balaghānī, wa-'llāhu a'lamu, anna . . .*

<sup>62</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīra al-nabawīyya*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Cairo, 1384/1964, II, 235 *inf.*—236, l. 1.

<sup>63</sup> *cf.* al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-'Uthmāniyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo, 1374/1955, 43–5 (and the Shi'ī answer, *ibid.*, 321 f.); and see Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *op. cit.*, XIII, 258–65, 303–6.

<sup>64</sup> Quoted by al-Majlisī, *op. cit.*, XIX, 92–8.

Ibn Ṭāwūs adduces the *ḥadīth* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in another of his compilations<sup>65</sup> and concludes that the Prophet did not inform Abū Bakr about his plan of the Hijra, he did not take him as companion for the Hijra, and Abū Bakr did not enter the cave by permission of the Prophet. Ibn Ṭāwūs stresses the fact that the Shi'a consider the version recorded by Ibn Ḥanbal to be a fair one; <sup>66</sup> Ibn Ṭāwūs, however, refutes the soundness of the phrase *fa-adrik-hu*. 'Alī, says Ibn Ṭāwūs, did not advise Abū Bakr to join the Prophet (he merely informed him where he was—K.). The Shi'a, states Ibn Ṭāwūs, have a contradictory story about it.<sup>67</sup>

Some 150 years earlier another Shi'i scholar, al-Karājaki (d. 499/1105), used the same arguments in the discussion of this problem. Abū Bakr, argues Karājaki, did not go out with the Prophet for God's sake, nor was his aim to gain reward for the Hijra as a good deed. Abū Bakr did not fix the meeting with the Prophet, nor did the Prophet wish to have him as companion; the help of the angels of God and their aid were sufficient for the Prophet. The Prophet merely met Abū Bakr when he went out from the house of Umm Hāni' at daybreak on his way to the cave. In order to assure the secrecy of his destination, he was compelled to take Abū Bakr with him, as Abū Bakr could have disclosed the secret of the Hijra to the Qurashites. The fact that Abū Bakr was bitten by a snake in the cave does not indicate that he defended the Prophet; it was probably a punishment for his disobedience—expressed by his grief—for which he was reproached. 'Alī was the one who proved his devotion to the Prophet by his readiness to sacrifice his life for him.<sup>68</sup>

Other versions about the role of 'Alī during the Hijra seem to have been current. Mughultāy records a fragmentary report on the authority of Abū Dharr; the Prophet was hiding in Thabīr, 'Alī in al-Ṣafā. They used to meet at night. When the Prophet received the revelation about his Hijra, he informed 'Alī and expressed his hope that 'Alī would be his companion: his wish would not be fulfilled, however, if God's decree should outstrip him (*wa-mā arāka illā*

<sup>65</sup> *Ṭarā'if 'Abd al-Mahmūd*, Tehran, n.d., 124.

<sup>66</sup> cf. Mughultāy, op. cit., fol. 189b, ll. 6-7: *wa-kāna Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī yaqūlu: yu'jibuhum an yattakhidhū* (in text *أحمد*) *al-faḍl' il min riwāyati Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, wa-ḥādḥā min riwāyati Aḥmada*.

<sup>67</sup> cf. the arguments of Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭāwūs about the role of 'Alī during the Hijra in comparison with the role of Abū Bakr in his *Binā' al-maqāla 'l-Fāṭimiyya fi naqd al-maqāla 'l-Uthmāniyya*, MS Tehran, Ḥuqūq 70d, pp. 33-5.

<sup>68</sup> Al-Karājaki, *Kanz al-fawā'id*, Mashhad, 1322/1904, 205-8; and see *ibid*, 202-3, the story of the dream of al-Mufid in which he refuted the arguments about the superiority of Abū Bakr advocated by 'Umar; cf. al-Majlisī, op. cit., xxxviii, 288-94; and see the arguments of Ibn Ḥazm about the grief of Abū Bakr in his *Mufāḍala*, ed. Sa'id al-Afghānī, Damascus, 1359/1940, and the discussion of *lā taznan* in al-Suhayli: *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Wakil, Cairo, 1387/1967, iv, 215-16, 254-8; and see the remark of Mughultāy, op. cit., fol. 190a, about the promise of the Prophet to 'Alī that his enemies will not afflict him: *fa-in ṣahḥat ḥādhihi 'l-laḥḥatu khadashat fi manqibati 'Aliyyin raḍiya 'llāhu 'anhu*. On the different readings of *fa-anzala 'llāhu sakīnatahu 'alayhi* see al-'Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Hāshim al-Rasūli 'l-Mahallāti, Qumm, 1380/1960, ii, 88-9, no. 58; al-Majlisī, op. cit., xix, 71, 80, 88; al-Suhayli, op. cit., iv, 213-14; Mughultāy, op. cit., fol. 190b (*fa-anzala 'llāhu sakīnatahu 'alayhimā*: see *ibid*, discussion on this reading).



*sāhibī illā an yasbiqanī 'l-qadā'u*). On that night they departed. On the next night 'Alī looked for the Prophet, but found that he had already left. When he came home, his mother expected him. The rest of the tradition has not been transmitted by Mughultāy. He merely states that it is a lengthy *ḥadīth* and contains details concerning which 'God knows whether they are true'.<sup>69</sup> Although the end of the report is missing, one can assess it as a Shī'ī story probably matching the Sunnī one, which stresses the companionship of Abū Bakr.

Another miraculous Shī'ī story is recorded by al-Majlisī. When the Prophet climbed up the mountain to enter the cave, 'Alī followed, being anxious about him. The Prophet was on the mountain of Ḥirā', 'Alī on the mountain of Thabīr. The Prophet ordered him to stretch out his hand, both mountains drew near to each other, the Prophet and 'Alī shook hands, and the two mountains parted again.<sup>70</sup> Although Thabīr and Ḥirā' were not mentioned in connexion with the Hijra as places of refuge of the Prophet, this story was included by al-Majlisī in the chapter on the Hijra.

It is of interest that some traditions about the 'Aqaba meeting and the persecution of the Muslims on the night of the Hijra were included in the *Kitāb al-Mubtada'* of Ibn Ishāq.<sup>71</sup>

Of considerable importance was the problem of who cared for the Prophet during his stay with Abū Bakr in the cave. Sunnī tradition mentions 'Āmir b. Fuḥayra, 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, and Asmā' bint Abī Bakr as the persons who looked after their provisioning. Shī'ī tradition states that it was 'Alī who looked after it and hired the riding beasts.<sup>72</sup> Some Shī'ī versions say that 'Alī and Hind b. Abī Hāla used to come to the cave visiting the Prophet and Abū Bakr and supplying them with provisions.<sup>73</sup> The papyrus of Wahb, PB 10 (39), ll. 11-12, has a unique version; 'Alī and Asmā' both visited the Prophet and Abū Bakr in the cave. This is apparently a version bridging Shī'ī and Sunnī tradition.

The version of the papyrus according to which 'Abdallāh b. Urayqīṭ embraced Islam (PB 10 (39), ll. 15-17) can be traced in Majlisī's compilation.<sup>74</sup> That this version was well known can be gauged from later Sunnī sources. Al-Suhaylī refutes it, stating that 'Abdallāh b. Urayqīṭ was at the time of the Hijra a polytheist and he did not find a sound transmission stating that he

<sup>69</sup> Mughultāy, op. cit., fols. 189b-190a.

<sup>70</sup> Al-Majlisī, op. cit., XIX, 70.

<sup>71</sup> Quoted by Mughultāy, op. cit., fols. 178a ('Aqaba), 190a (the persecution); cf. al-Majlisī, op. cit., XIX, 35-6, 91.

<sup>72</sup> Al-Majlisī, op. cit., XIX, 84, no. 35; al-Ṭabarsī, *I'lām al-warā'*, 73, 191.

<sup>73</sup> Ibn Shahrāshūb, op. cit., I, 158-9; al-Majlisī, op. cit., XIX, 62; al-Shirāzī 'l-Ḥusaynī, *al-Darajāt al-rafi'a*, al-Najaf, 1382/1962, 411; cf. al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamid, Cairo, 1357/1938, II, 174. A remarkable version, recorded by al-Majlisī, says that the Prophet told Hind b. Abī Hāla and Abū Bakr where they should wait for him. He left Mecca, met them, and they accompanied him. When they reached the cave the Prophet sent Hind b. Abī Hāla back and entered the cave with Abū Bakr (ibid., XIX, 61).

<sup>74</sup> *Bihār*, XIX, 74-5.

embraced Islam later.<sup>75</sup> To whom this remark alludes can be deduced from the commentary of al-Zurqānī; quoting the opinions of the scholars who stated that 'Abdallāh was a polytheist, al-Zurqānī adduces the opinion of al-Wāqidi that Ibn Urayqit embraced Islam. Al-Zurqānī adds that it is well known that al-Wāqidi is considered a weak transmitter, especially when he is the only one to transmit a tradition.<sup>76</sup>

The story of the Prophet's bleeding foot, as reported in PB 8 (37), l. 15, is told differently in Sunnī compilations. The feet of the Prophet started to bleed when he walked with Abū Bakr to the cave,<sup>77</sup> and Abū Bakr carried him on his back. Later sources discuss this problem of the Prophet's bleeding feet and try to establish its cause since the distance from the house of Abū Bakr to the cave was a short one.<sup>78</sup> The version of the papyrus nevertheless persisted, as mentioned above, in Shī'ī compilations and was copied in later Sunnī compilations. Al-Ḥalabī copies this version from a compilation of Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī.<sup>79</sup> Later compilers were compelled to explain the tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in the spirit of the papyrus of Wahb; the order of 'Alī *fa-adrik-hu* (or *fa-'tba'hu*) was given according to the injunction of the Prophet.<sup>80</sup>

The account of the papyrus about the alighting of the Prophet at the house of Khālīd (i.e. Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī—K.)<sup>81</sup> and his entering into the house on the day of the arrival of 'Alī tallies with the Shī'ī tradition about this event. The Prophet, says the Shī'ī tradition, stayed at Qubā': Abū Bakr tried to persuade him to move to Medina, but the Prophet refused and decided to stay at Qubā' until the arrival of 'Alī. When 'Alī arrived the Prophet moved to Medina, alighted at the house of Abū Ayyūb, and entered it with 'Alī.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Al-Suhayli, op. cit., iv, 225; and see Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Wafā*, i, 239; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo, 1325/1907, iv, 33, no. 4517 (see the discussion about whether he embraced Islam).

<sup>76</sup> Al-Zurqānī, op. cit., i, 239; cf. 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, op. cit., ii, 36.

<sup>77</sup> Al-Maqrizī, *Imtā' al-asmā'*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo, 1941, i, 40; al-Suhayli, op. cit., iv, 213; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Wafā*, i, 237; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh*, i, 192; al-'Iṣāmī, *Simt al-nujūm al-'awālī*, Cairo, 1380/1960, i, 295; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo, 1314/1896, iii, 241, l. 7, 242, l. 25; al-Muṭawwa'i, *Man ṣabara zaḥira*, MS Cambridge, Or. 1473 (10), fol. 110a *inf.*—110b *sup.*; al-Fākihī, op. cit., fol. 483a; al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān, al-Madīna, 1389/1969, ii, 210.

<sup>78</sup> Al-Zurqānī, op. cit., i, 334 *inf.*—335; 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, op. cit., ii, 36 *inf.*—37; Daḥlān, op. cit., i, 333. Cf. the story of the bleeding feet of the Prophet in Ṭā'if: al-Majlisī, op. cit., xix, p. 6, l. 16, p. 7, l. 1, p. 17, l. 16; al-Dimyāṭī, *Kitāb mukhtaṣar fī sirat al-nabī ṣallā 'llāh 'alayhi wa-sallam*, MS Chester Beatty 3332, fol. 33a. And see the story of the swollen feet of 'Alī when he arrived in Medina, al-Ṭabarsī, *I'lām al-warā*, p. 192; al-Majlisī, op. cit., xix, 85.

<sup>79</sup> 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn, op. cit., ii, 38, ll. 21–5; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, iii, 240, ll. 9–11.

<sup>80</sup> Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf b. Mūsā 'l-Ḥanafī, op. cit., ii, 342 *inf.*—343.

<sup>81</sup> According to the correction '*alā 'l-ḥālī*' in PB 16 (45), l. 10.

<sup>82</sup> cf. al-Majlisī, op. cit., xix, 64, 116; al-Kulīnī, *al-Kāfī*, ed. 'Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, Tehran, 1377/1957, viii, 339–40. It may be remarked that the passage published by Khoury ('Un fragment astrologique inédit attribué à Wahb b. Munabbih', *Arabica*, xix, 1972, 144) can be traced in Majlisī's *Biḥār al-anwār*, LVIII, 346–7; it is quoted from *Kitāb Dāniyāl* and recorded on the authority of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. It thus turns out to be also Shī'ite in character. The late Professor M. Plessner drew my attention to the fact that G. Furlani published a part of this passage in *ZA*, xxxiii, 1921, 166 (G. Furlani, 'Eine Sammlung astrologischer Abhandlungen in arabischer Sprache').

The report of the papyrus is thus a version combining the Shi'i traditions with the Sunni ones. If it is accepted as a fact that the papyrus records the tradition as transmitted by Wahb, it can be seen to shed new light on the tradition of the Shi'a at the end of the first century A.H. and to mirror the first extant attempt at combining the contradictory Shi'i and Sunni versions of the story of the Hijra.