

Notes about Censorship and Self-Censorship in the Biography of the Prophet Muḥammad*

Notas sobre censura y auto-censura en la biografía del Profeta Muḥammad

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The study of the medieval literary output about Muḥammad's life should go hand in hand with the study of his history, for which we have rich evidence in a variety of sources. Ibn Ishāq's biography of Muḥammad and its epitome by Ibn Hishām were products of their time. A case of self-censorship applied by one of Ibn Ishāq's informants and two cases of censorship applied by Ibn Hishām, who omitted many of his predecessor's materials, contribute to a better understanding of the social and political context of the biography.

Key words: Muḥammad; *Sīra*; Biography; Abbasids; Umayyads; Medina; Ḥira; Censorship; *Ḥadīth*.

El estudio de la producción literaria medieval sobre la vida de Muḥammad debe ir de la mano del estudio de su historia, empresa para la que disponemos de rica información en una variedad de fuentes. La biografía de Muḥammad por Ibn Ishāq y su epitome por Ibn Hišām fueron productos de su época. Un caso de auto-censura aplicado por uno de los informantes de Ibn Ishāq y dos casos de censura aplicados por Ibn Hišām, quien omitió muchos de los materiales de su predecesor, contribuyen a una mejor comprensión del contexto social y político de la biografía del Profeta.

Palabras clave: Muḥammad; *Sīra*; biografía; 'abbāsies; omeyas; Medina; Ḥira; censura; hadiz.

The most popular medieval biography of the prophet Muḥammad was compiled by Ibn Ishāq (d. ca. 151/768) and is known to us through its epitome by Ibn Hishām (d. ca. 218/833). As a history book it is not free of weaknesses, among them editorial practices. The following article deals with rather elusive editorial practices, namely censorship and self-censorship. Both deprive us of certain details or accounts – unless they can be found elsewhere in the vast Islamic literature. But at the same time censorship and self-censorship reveal the attitudes of

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those who applied them and shed some light on the social and political context in which Muḥammad's biography emerged. The biography was a product of its time, and as such it reflected the concerns and sensitivities of Muḥammad's companions, their descendants and all those who contributed to its compilation.

The first case to be discussed is one of self-censorship. It relates to an act of disobedience to Muḥammad. The account about it survived, but the identity of the two perpetrators was not disclosed to Ibn Ishāq and remained secret, no doubt in order to spare their families the embarrassment. The other two cases represent two different categories of the materials that Ibn Hishām expunged from the biography due to the censorship he applied to Ibn Ishāq's biography of Muḥammad. One of the two censored accounts implies that before his Mission, Muḥammad was an idol worshipper, while the other relates to a harlot in pre-Islamic Yathrib (Medina) whose *jinnī* announced the advent of Muḥammad's Mission.

The two who disobeyed Muḥammad

The following act of disobedience to Muḥammad occurred during the Tabūk expedition (9/630):¹

When the Messenger of Allāh passed al-Ḥijr, he alighted in it and the men got water from its well. When they returned in the evening, the Messenger of Allāh said, 'Do not drink any of its water nor use it for ablution. If you have used any of it to prepare dough, then feed it to the camels and eat none of it. Let none of you go out at night alone without a companion'. The men did as they had been told, except two men of the Banū Sā'ida: one went out to relieve himself, and the other to look for a camel of his. The one who went to relieve himself was choked where he was relieving himself and the one who went to look for a camel of his was carried away by the wind, which cast him on the two mountains of Ṭayyi'. The Messenger of Allāh was told of this and said, 'Have I not forbidden you to go out without a companion?' Then he prayed for the man who was choked where he was relieving himself and he recovered; the other who landed in the two mountains of Ṭayyi' was delivered to the Messenger of Allāh by the Ṭayyi' as a gift when he came to Medina. The story about the two men comes from 'Abdallāh ibn Abī Bakr, from 'Abbās ibn Sahl ibn Sa'd al-Sā'idi. 'Abdallāh ibn Abī Bakr told me that 'Abbās

¹ The account discussed here did not escape Josef Horovitz: see Horovitz, *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their Authors*, p. 44.

had revealed to him the names of the two men but he [‘Abbās] asked that they be kept secret, so ‘Abdallāh refused to tell me their names.²

Ibn Ishāq’s immediate informant, ‘Abdallāh ibn Abī Bakr (d. 130/747-748 or 135/752-753),³ belonged to the Khazraj, more precisely to the Najjār branch of Khazraj.⁴ ‘Abdallāh received the account from ‘Abbās ibn Sahl ibn Sa’d (d. ca. 120/738), who belonged to the Sā’ida branch of Khazraj. The two unspecified protagonists of the account were also from the Sā’ida, which explains why ‘Abbās asked ‘Abdallāh not to disclose their identity: he spared the perpetrators’ offspring the embarrassment.

Further details about the account are relevant for us here. ‘Abbās ibn Sahl ibn Sa’d al-Sā’idī probably received it from a close relative of his. A variant found in Wāqidi’s *Kitāb al-maghāzī* links it to another event that is similarly related to the Tabūk expedition.⁵ It concerns a woman’s orchard in Wādī l-Qurā which Muḥammad and his companions visited on their way to Tabūk. Muḥammad’s companion Abū Ḥumayd al-Sā’idī⁶ transmitted to ‘Abbās the account about the orchard,⁷ and one assumes that he also transmitted to him the account about the disobedience discussed here. ‘Abbās must have had a special interest in the Tabūk expedition because his father, Sahl ibn Sa’d, had participated in it. According to Sahl’s own testimony, he was then the youngest participant (*kuntu aṣghar aṣḥābī*). Muḥammad prohibited the drinking of the water, but allowed the warriors to feed the camels with dough paste that had been prepared with this water before he gave his

² Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammeds nach Muhammed ibn Ishāk, bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik ibn Hishām*, pp. 898-899; below, Appendix I; Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ibn Ishāq’s Sirat Rasūl Allāh*, p. 605.

³ Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā: al-qism al-mutammim li-tābi’i ahl al-Madīna wa-man ba’dahum*, ed. Ziyād Muḥammad Maṣṣūr, p. 283; Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I, p. 284; Horowitz, *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet*, Index.

⁴ Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-‘arab*, p. 348.

⁵ Al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, III, pp. 1005-1006; below, Appendix II.

⁶ There are several versions concerning his name, probably because he was better known through his agnomen Abū Ḥumayd than through his own name and that of his father.

⁷ See e.g. Ibn Zanjawayh, *Kitāb al-amwāl*, III, pp. 1076-1077, no. 2001; below, Appendix III. In Muslim’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* the account is combined with several other accounts revolving around the Tabūk expedition. Again the *isnād* includes ‘Abbās ibn Sahl ← Abū Ḥumayd, which is the part that concerns us here; Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, pp. 1785-1786 (*Kitāb al-jaḏā’il*, no. 11); below, Appendix IV.

order. The emaciated camels that Sahl fed that dough became the weakest in the herd.⁸

The companion Abū Ḥumayd al-Sā'idī, who died at the end of Mu'āwiya's reign (41/661-60/680) or the beginning of Yazīd I's reign (60/680-64/683),⁹ is said to have been Sahl's paternal uncle. While their precise family link cannot be established with any certainty, we may assume that they were closely related and that the two who disobeyed Muḥammad were not only fellow Sā'idīs but also their family members.

Let us turn now to the two cases of editorial censorship applied by Ibn Hishām in his epitome of Ibn Ishāq's biography. The relevant accounts are found in the recension (i.e. version or textual tradition,¹⁰ Arabic: *riwāya*) of Yūnus ibn Bukayr (d. 199/815). Part of Ibn Bukayr's recension is available to us through fragments published independently by Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh in 1976 and by Suhayl Zakkār in 1978. Each of the two editions includes two fragments found in the Qarawīyyīn library in Fez and a single fragment found in the Zāhiriyya library in Damascus. While the two fragments belong to Ibn Bukayr's recension, the single fragment belongs to that of Muḥammad ibn Salama (d. 192/807). The Qarawīyyīn fragments, unlike the Zāhiriyya one, are not homogeneous and include many items from authorities other than Ibn Ishāq.¹¹ The two fragments also include accounts that are not linked

⁸ Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, III, p. 1007. When Muḥammad died, Sahl was fifteen years old; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, III, p. 200.

⁹ See e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, VII, pp. 94-95.

¹⁰ The term textual tradition was used by Jones, "The *Maghāzī* literature," p. 346. He used it side by side with the term recension. Jones used the term version with reference to Ibn Hishām: "Ibn Hishām's version of the text".

¹¹ Out of 473 articles in Ḥamīdullāh's edition some 180 go back to sources other than Ibn Ishāq; Muranyi, "Ibn Ishāq's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* in der Riwāya von Yūnus b. Bukair: Bemerkungen zur frühen Überlieferungsgeschichte," p. 218. Al-Suhaylī quoted Ibn Bukayr's version 52 times, but only 15 of his references are found in the edited fragments; Jarrar, *Die Prophetenbiographie im islamischen Spanien: Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungs- und Redaktionsgeschichte*, pp. 207-208. Ibn Bukayr was himself a compiler of a *Maghāzī* book; Jarrar, *Die Prophetenbiographie im islamischen Spanien, passim*. Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mohammeds*, pp. 50-51 suggested that this type of transmitter/author (Überlieferer/Verfasser) be referred to as adaptor (Bearbeiter). See also Schoeler, *The Genesis of Literature in Islam from the Aural to the Read*, p. 77. Surprisingly, Ibn Ishāq, *Sirat Ibn Ishāq al-musammāt bi-kitāb al-mub-*

to Muḥammad's biography, such as those concerning the marriages of 'Alī's daughters Umm Kulthūm and Zaynab.¹² However, such accounts probably existed in other recensions of Ibn Ishāq's biography as well.¹³ Alfred Guillaume observed regarding the Qarawiyyīn manuscript: "The importance of this manuscript lies in those passages which restore to us material that Ibn Hishām omitted from his text for the reasons which he has given in his Introduction to his edition" (see below).¹⁴ Sadun Mahmud al-Samuk pointed out the manuscript's unorthodox approach regarding Muḥammad's life before the Mission.¹⁵

The differences in Ibn Ishāq's recensions notwithstanding, one assumes that the two problematic accounts from Ibn Bukayr's recension that are discussed here were also included in Ziyād al-Bakkā'ī's (d. 183/799) recension on which Ibn Hishām based his epitome. Ibn Hishām stated that in certain cases he had applied censorship. The first paragraph in his epitome purports to provide the pedigree of Muḥammad going back to Adam, while the second paragraph reads as follows:

tada' wa-l-mab'ath wa-l-maghāzī, p. 1 starts with the following *isnād*: *qāla Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām hādihā kitāb sirat rasūli llāh ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama*. But the *isnād* and the following passage which concerns Muḥammad's pedigree are missing in Zakkār's edition and probably do not belong to the manuscript to which they were attached. It should be added that a comparison between the Fez manuscript and Ibn Hishām's book has also been carried out by 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūri in his *Dirāsa fī sirat al-nabī wa-mu'allifihā Ibn Ishāq*, Baghdad, 1965. The book is unavailable to me.

¹² Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, pp. 50-52.

¹³ Al-Bakkā'ī's full recension included Ibn Ishāq's *Kitāb al-khulafā'*; al-Samuk, *Die historischen Überlieferungen nach Ibn Ishāq. Eine synoptische Untersuchung*, p. 85, n. 4.

¹⁴ Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, p. 10. Cf. Raven, "Sira and the Qur'an," p. 33: "Ibn Hishām made judgments about the theological 'purity' in the texts he selected and left out passages that he found offensive... Two striking stories that Ibn Hishām had not included are those about Muḥammad's intended suicide (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. de Goeje *et alii*, I, p. 1147) and the 'satanic verses'; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, I, pp. 1192-1196". But al-Ṭabarī's text relating to the intended suicide is not from Ibn Ishāq. On the topics of suicide and the "Satanic Verses" see Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder: The Life of Muḥammad as Viewed by the Early Muslims*, pp. 113-114 and pp. 156-166, respectively.

¹⁵ Al-Samuk, *Die historischen Überlieferungen nach Ibn Ishāq*, pp. 97-98: "Muḥammad wird... – besonders für die Zeit vor seiner Berufung – mit den nach Ibn Ishāq wiedergegebenen Überlieferungen sehr menschlich beschrieben, hier ist der Prophet nicht schon in Mekka – wie nach vielen anderen Quellen – als ein Mensch mit übernatürlichen Eigenschaften dargestellt". Also al-Samuk, *Die historischen Überlieferungen nach Ibn Ishāq*, p. 159: "Das Bild des Propheten vor seiner Berufung wird hier in den Überlieferungen Ibn Ishāq's nicht 'überhöht' gezeichnet oder legendär verklärt, es finden sich im Gegenteil Berichte, die von anderen Überlieferern – wohl aus Gottesfurcht – fortgelassen worden waren".

I begin this book, Allāh willing, with the mention of Ishmael son of Abraham and those of his offspring who bore the Messenger of Allāh and their descendants, first things first, from Ishmael to the Messenger of Allāh. [I also mention] their story to the extent that it is available, leaving out the other offspring of Ishmael for the sake of brevity until [I arrive at] the account of the biography of the Messenger of Allāh, leaving out some of what Ibn Ishāq mentioned in this book. To wit, matters in which the Messenger of Allāh is not mentioned, [matters] concerning which no Qurʾān verses were revealed, and those that are not the cause, the explanation or the proof of something in this book. The reason is the above mentioned wish for brevity. [Also left out are] verses which he [Ibn Ishāq] mentioned but none of the connoisseurs of poetry I met was acquainted with, things that are either disgraceful to talk about (*yashnuʿu l-ḥadīth bihi*), or such that may distress certain people (*yasūʿu baʿda l-nās dhikruhu*), or such that were not confirmed to us by al-Bakkāʿī. Allāh willing, I shall fully adduce all the rest within the limits of the available transmission and knowledge.¹⁶

Two of the above mentioned categories clearly indicate censorship, namely the disgraceful and distressing matters. Johann Fück recorded Ibn Hishām’s own reports regarding the omission of improper verses and verses which assault the Prophet. Fück correctly included the verses in the category of things that are disgraceful to talk about. He also included in the same category the affair of the Satanic Verses (or “the Gharānīq episode” as he called it). As to the second category, that of things which may distress certain people, Fück referred to Ibn Hishām’s omission of the account about the capture of Muḥammad’s uncle ʿAbbās in the battle of Badr.¹⁷

¹⁶ Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammads*, p. 4; below, Appendix V; Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, pp. 3, 691.

¹⁷ Fück, *Muhammad ibn Ishaq: Literarhistorische Untersuchungen*, p. 35: “... anstössige Stellen; solche, die einige Menschen verletzen könnten”. The verses of the former category are improper verses omitted by Ibn Hishām according to his own statement: Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammads*, pp. 170, l. 3; 274, l. 18; 523, l. 13; 524, l. 9; 572, l. 15; 581, l. 16; 644, l. 9; 939, l. 4; also verses in which the Prophet is attacked, such as 532, l. 16. In 517, l. 20 Ibn Hishām changed an insulting word (in fact he changed two words). See also Horovitz, *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet*, p. 81 (“... besides allegations whereof the mention was malicious, or likely to be disagreeable to certain people”); Schoeler, *Charakter und Authentie*, p. 50; Schoeler, *The Genesis of Literature in Islam*, p. 77 (“indecent passages; passages that might be injurious to certain individuals”); al-Samuk, *Die historischen Überlieferungen nach Ibn Ishāq*, p. 157: “... Dinge und Ereignisse, von denen zu berichten hässlich ist, oder die andere Menschen verletzen könnten”. Nöldeke, “Die Tradition über das Leben Muhammads,” p. 166, n. 2 has already noticed Ibn Hishām’s occasional omission of verses of both the Muslims and their opponents. Regarding ʿAbbās’s capture in Badr, see Nöldeke, “Die Tradition über das Leben Muhammads,” pp. 167-168. A remark about technology can be made at this point. In order to trace Ibn Hishām’s omissions of verses which he considered as improper

Other examples of accounts and problematic expressions that were expunged by Ibn Hishām can be mentioned briefly. Muḥammad, when he was still a young shepherd, intended to obtain illicit sexual pleasure, but Allāh protected him from it.¹⁸ During the lapse of revelation (*fatrat al-wahy*) Muḥammad said to himself: “I am afraid my associate [i.e. the angel] has become hateful of me (*qalānī*) and has deserted me (*wadda’anī*)”.¹⁹ A subtler case of censorship concerns Muḥammad’s worship of idols (on which see more below). In a passage summarizing Muḥammad’s early years with his uncle Abū Ṭālib we find that he grew up protected by Allāh from the filth of the *Jāhiliyya* and its vices, “while he was still following the religion of his tribe” (*wa-huwa ‘alā dīn qawmihi*). Ibn Hishām adduced this account without this crucial statement.²⁰ This very expression, *wa-huwa ‘alā dīn qawmihi*, appears in an account about Muḥammad’s *wuqūf* in Mt. ‘Arafāt which is found in Ibn Hishām with a less problematic phrasing: *qabla an yanzila ‘alayhi l-wahy* or before the revelation.²¹ Yet another small editorial change by Ibn Hishām can be added. Al-Samuk noticed the difference between Ibn Bukayr and Ibn Hishām regarding ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s action upon Muḥammad’s birth. The former said that ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib took the newborn child to the idol Hubal inside the Ka’ba (*fa-adkhalahu ‘alā Hubal fī jawfi l-Ka’ba*), while the latter omitted Hubal’s mention: ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib merely took the child to the Ka’ba (*fa-dakhala bihi l-Ka’ba*).²² Other cases of Ibn Hishām’s censorship include the

one can nowadays employ an electronic version of his book (using the Internet, or electronic text repositories such as *al-Maktaba al-shāmīya* or *al-Jāmi’ al-kabīr*) and look for the Arabic verb *aqdha’a*, “to revile, vilify” that appears eight times, and for its feminine form *aqdha’at* that appears once. But of course Fück has already pointed out these verses.

¹⁸ Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder*, pp. 86-87; Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, ed. Ḥamidullāh, pp. 58-59, no. 57; Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, ed. Zakkār, pp. 79-80.

¹⁹ Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder*, pp. 116-117; Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, ed. Ḥamidullāh, p. 115, no. 166; Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, ed. Zakkār, p. 135.

²⁰ Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder*, pp. 87, 89; Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, ed. Ḥamidullāh, p. 57, no. 54; Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, ed. Zakkār, p. 78; Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammads*, p. 117.

²¹ Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, ed. Ḥamidullāh, p. 76, no. 92; Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, ed. Zakkār, p. 98; Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammads*, p. 129. Cf. Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder*, pp. 88-89 (who may have overlooked the account in Ibn Hishām). Rubin adduced from other sources several alternatives to the problematic phrase.

²² Al-Samuk, *Die historischen Überlieferungen nach Ibn Ishāq*, p. 95; Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, ed. Ḥamidullāh, p. 22, no. 28; Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, ed. Zakkār, p. 45; Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammads*, p. 103.

above mentioned account on the “Satanic Verses” (Ibn Ishāq’s account does not include the “Satanic Verses” themselves);²³ and an account about the evil eye with which Muḥammad was inflicted (*tuṣībuhu l-‘ayn*) in Mecca before *and after* the revelation.²⁴ Also an account about the rumours that Muḥammad’s son Ibrāhīm was fathered by a cousin of the child’s mother, Māriya the Copt. ‘Alī was ordered to kill the cousin if he found him with her. But the cousin managed to prove that he was gelded, thereby saving his life.²⁵ Finally, an account about ‘Umāra ibn al-Walīd’s overtures to ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ’s wife, followed by ‘Amr’s terrible revenge.²⁶

Muḥammad and the holy man

The following account (Ibn Bukayr ← Ibn Ishāq) is missing in Ibn Hishām’s epitome because it concerns a thing that is, according to Ibn Hishām, disgraceful to talk about. It describes a meeting between Muḥammad, accompanied by his adopted son Zayd ibn Ḥāritha, and the *ḥanīf* or “seeker of true religion” Zayd ibn ‘Amr ibn Nufayl:²⁷

Aḥmad [ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-‘Uṭāridī] ← Yūnus ← Ibn Ishāq: It was transmitted to me that the Messenger of Allāh said referring to Zayd ibn ‘Amr ibn Nufayl, He was the first to blame me for worshipping idols and forbade me to worship them.²⁸

²³ Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, ed. Ḥamīdullāh, pp. 157-158, no. 219; Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, ed. Zakkār, pp. 177-178; Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, pp. 38-39; Ahmed, “Satanic Verses”.

²⁴ Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, ed. Ḥamīdullāh, p. 104, no. 143; Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, ed. Zakkār, p. 124; Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, pp. 29, 59.

²⁵ Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, ed. Ḥamīdullāh, p. 252, no. 412; Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, ed. Zakkār, p. 271.

²⁶ Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, ed. Ḥamīdullāh, pp. 148-50, no. 211; Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, ed. Zakkār, pp. 167-170; Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, pp. 36-37.

²⁷ See his long entry in Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. al-‘Amrawī, XIX, pp. 493-516. See also Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder*, pp. 47-48, 77-81, 88. Rubin discussed various aspects relating to the versions of Zayd’s meeting with Muḥammad. The evidence regarding Zayd is unique and calls for a separate analysis.

²⁸ The partial parallel text in al-Rabī’ ibn Ḥabīb al-Azdī al-Baṣrī, *al-Jāmi’ al-ṣaḥīḥ musnad al-imām al-Rabī’ ibn Ḥabīb*, ed. Muḥammad Idrīs & ‘Ashūr ibn Yūsuf, p. 44 is even more explicit at this point through the addition of one word: ‘*āba ‘alayya ‘ibādāta l-aṣnām*; below, Appendix VI. The contemporary editors of this *Musnad* could not accept the account at face value and denied that Muḥammad had taken part in his tribe’s idol wor-

I had come from Tā'if with Zayd ibn Ḥāritha and passed by Zayd ibn 'Amr while he was in Upper Mecca (*a'lā Makka*).²⁹ The Quraysh had rendered him notorious for abandoning their religion, until he went forth from among them and lived in Upper Mecca. I sat near him with a leather bag (*sufra*) carried by Zayd ibn Ḥāritha that contained meat from our sacrifices to our deities. I offered it to him – I was a young lad (*ghulam shābb*) at that time³⁰ – and said, Have some of this food, uncle. He said, Nephew, perhaps it is from the animals that you sacrifice to your idols? I said, Yes. He said, Nephew, had you asked 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's daughters [i.e. Muḥammad's paternal aunts³¹], they would have told you that I never eat of these sacrifices and do not need them. Then he denigrated the idols and those who worshipped them and sacrificed to them. He said, They are nothing but falsehood and do neither harm nor good, or words to that effect. The Messenger of Allāh said, After that I never stroked any of the idols (to draw blessing from it), having become aware of them,³² nor did I sacrifice to them until Allāh to Him belongs glory and power honoured me with his Mission.³³

Half a century ago Guillaume correctly described the account as one of outstanding importance and added that it had been expunged from Ibn Hishām's recension. He also remarked that “[i]t is the only extant evidence of the influence of a monotheist on Muḥammad by way of admonition,”³⁴ implying that it is factual. But it appears – and further research on this matter is needed – that those who were interested in glorifying the holy man, above all his descendants, were prepared to achieve their goal, so to speak, at Muḥammad's expense.

ship: *qawluhu 'āba 'alayya bi-tashdīd al-yā' ay dhakara 'ayb dhālika 'indi wa-lam yakun danā mina l-aṣnām shay'an wa-lā dhabaḥa 'alayhā wa-lākin kāna qawmuhu yaf'alūna dhālika fa-zanna Zayd ibn 'Amr anna l-sira wāhida wa-dhālika qabla l-nubuwwa fa-li-hādihā dhakara 'aybahā 'indahu wa-huwa ṣl'm lam yazal musaddadan muwaffāqan.*

²⁹ The place is also called al-Ma'lāt. Cf. Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, p. 27: “on a high ground above Mecca”. The borders of al-Ma'lāt and al-Masfala are defined in al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka wa-mā jā'a fihā min al-āthār*, ed. Rushdī Malḥas, II, p. 266. Mt. Ḥirā' is in A'lā Makka; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, XIX, p. 495. Incidentally, according to some, Zayd was buried at the bottom of Mt. Ḥirā'; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, XIX, p. 516.

³⁰ This indicates that the event is supposed to have taken place many years before the Mission.

³¹ The mention of the aunts is yet another indication of Muḥammad's young age. The tone is rather offensive.

³² The phrase '*alā ma'rifa bihā* is obscure.

³³ Ibn Ishāq, *Sira*, ed. Ḥamidullāh, p. 98, no. 133; Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, ed. Zakkār, p. 118. The text and its omission by Ibn Hishām were discussed in Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder*, pp. 79-81. See the parallel text in Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, XIX, p. 507; below, Appendix VII.

³⁴ Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, pp. 27-28, 59.

Medieval scholars considered the account problematic. Al-Ḥarbī (d. 285/898) expressed unease about the reports that Muḥammad had consumed the meat of animals sacrificed to an idol. Perhaps Zayd ibn Ḥāritha sacrificed the animal at his own initiative, or Zayd innocently slaughtered it where an idol happened to be located. Allāh forbid, al-Ḥarbī said, that we should adopt the outward meaning of the account.³⁵ Al-Suhaylī (d. 581/1185) wondered how Allāh guided Zayd to refrain from eating what had been sacrificed to idols, while Muḥammad had the better right to such guidance.³⁶ There is perhaps evidence of contemporary censorship regarding this matter. In the manuscript of al-Khargūshī's *Sharaf al-muṣṭafā* quoted by M.J. Kister we find Zayd ibn Ḥāritha's following statement: "The Prophet slaughtered a ewe for a certain idol; then he roasted it and carried it with him".³⁷ The printed edition of this book has a milder version, according to which it was not Muḥammad who roasted the ewe but his companions.³⁸

³⁵ *Fa-ammā zāhir mā jā'a bihi l-ḥadīth fa-ma'ādha llāhi*; al-Ḥarbī, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, ed. Sulaymān ibn Ibrāhīm al-'Āyid, s.v. *n.s.b.*, II, pp. 791-792. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arnāwūṭ *et al.*, I, p. 127 denied that Zayd had followed Ibrāhīm's *sharī'a* properly or met someone who could initiate him into it: *wa-qāla llahumma innī 'alā dīn Ibrāhīm, wa-lākin lam yazfar bi-sharī'at Ibrāhīm 'alayhi l-salām kamā yanbaghī wa-lā ra'ā man yūqifuhu 'alayhā*. Al-Dhahabī also argued (pp. 130-131) that Muḥammad had eaten the sacrifices of his tribe before the first revelation, when it was still permitted, exactly as wine had been lawful before it was forbidden.

³⁶ Al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuḥ*, ed. Ṭāhā 'Abd al-Rā'ūf Sa'd, I, p. 256; Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, pp. 27-28. Kister ("A bag of meat": A study of an early *ḥadīth*," pp. 274-275) concluded that the discussion concerned "the essential problem of the *'iṣma* of the Prophet before he was granted prophethood. The main effort of the Muslim scholars was to prove that the Prophet did not eat meat slaughtered for idols, nor did he slaughter it, as he was granted immunity from sin before he received prophethood". Kister (p. 275) remarked regarding a detailed account in the same vein found in al-Khargūshī's *Sharaf al-muṣṭafā*: "The tradition of al-Khargūshī based on the idea that the Prophet had no *'iṣma* before his Mission belongs to the earliest layer of *ḥadīth* - traditions which fell later into oblivion or were re-shaped or expunged". See al-Khargūshī, *Sharaf al-muṣṭafā*, ed. Nabil Āl Bā'alawī, I, pp. 455-460, no. 174.

³⁷ Kister, "A bag of meat," p. 270, quoting MS British Museum 3014: *dhabaḥa rasūlu llāh ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama shātan li-nuṣub mina l-anṣāb, qāla: thumma shawāhā fa-ḥtamalahā ma'ahu*.

³⁸ Al-Khargūshī, *Sharaf al-muṣṭafā*, I, pp. 456-457: *kharaja bī l-nabī ṣl'm wa-huwa murdīfī ilā nuṣub mina l-anṣāb fa-dhabahñā lahu shātan fa-andajñāhā*. The edition is based on "three copies from remote countries;" al-Khargūshī, *Sharaf al-muṣṭafā*, I, p. 6.

The harlot from Yathrib and her *jinnī*

The following account (Ibn Bukayr ← Ibn Ishāq) was expunged from Ibn Hishām's epitome because it concerns a thing that may, according to Ibn Hishām, distress certain people:

Aḥmad [ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Uṭāridī] ← Yūnus ← Ibn Ishāq: The Anṣār used to say about what they would hear from the Jews concerning the Messenger of Allāh: The first mention [of the Mission] in Medina before the Mission of the Messenger of Allāh was this: Fāṭima mother of al-Nu'mān ibn 'Amr of the Banū l-Najjār was one of the harlots (*baghāyā*) of the *Jāhiliyya*. She had a *jinnī* (*tābi'*) and used to say that whenever he came to her, he would storm (*iqtaḥama*) into the room in which she was, regardless of the others who were in it [for whom he was invisible].³⁹ [This went on] until he came to her one day, collapsed on the wall and did not do what he usually did [i.e. have intercourse with her]. She said to him, What's the matter with you today? He said, A prophet was sent prohibiting harlotry.⁴⁰

The *jinnī*'s admission of defeat means that the prohibition of harlotry went into force with immediate effect, and hence he could no longer continue his former way of life. The story shows that in pre-Islamic Medina a love affair between a *jinnī* male and a woman was not unthinkable. Obviously the woman in question gained special spiritual powers through her *jinnī*.⁴¹ The account was included in Ibn Ishāq's biography of Muḥammad not because of the light that it sheds on pre-Islamic Medinan society, but because it belongs to the *dalā'il al-nubuwwa* or the proofs of Muḥammad's prophethood. More specifically, it belongs to the *dalā'il* subgroup that includes testimonies of *jinnīs* who realized through the loss of their special status and powers that the world had changed for good.

³⁹ Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, p. 26: "[Whenever] he came to her, the house became intensely dark to those who were in it". Guillaume opted for the reading *iftaḥama* instead of *iqtaḥama*, although he admitted that the former could not be found in the lexicons.

⁴⁰ Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, ed. Ḥamīdullāh, p. 92, no. 122; Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, ed. Zakkār, p. 113; Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, pp. 25-26; below, Appendix VIII.

⁴¹ *Jinnī* females were said to have married humans: 'Amr ibn Yarbū' ibn Ḥanzala of the Tamīm had a *jinnī* wife; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 154. In Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, n. 1, with regard to the kidnapping of Sinān ibn Abī Ḥāritha by the *jinn* to be used as "stallion," there is a misprint: read *istafḥalathu* instead of *istafḥathu*; see. e.g. Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, XVI, pp. 338-339.

Fāṭima's occupation is a background detail, and as such it is trustworthy. Her pedigree which is found in an entry about her son, al-Nu'(ay)mān ibn 'Amr runs as follows: Fāṭima bint 'Amr ibn 'Aṭīyya ibn Khansā' ibn Mabdhūl ibn 'Amr. The pedigree shows that she belonged to the Najjār branch of the Khazraj, more precisely to the Māzin ibn al-Najjār subsection.⁴² Her husband belonged to another subsection of the Najjār, namely Ghanm ibn Mālik ibn al-Najjār. His pedigree is: 'Amr ibn Rifā'a ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Sawād ibn Ghanm ibn Mālik ibn al-Najjār. Their son al-Nu'(ay)mān was a companion of Muḥammad with a penchant for practical jokes and a drinking problem.⁴³

There are two other versions regarding the harlot's identity. While confirming that she was from the Najjār, they offer no pedigree and probably aim at obscuring her identity so as to protect her family's reputation. One source calls her Fukayha of the Najjār,⁴⁴ while another source, which similarly states her Najjārī affiliation, calls her Fāṭima bint al-Nu'mān.⁴⁵ According to al-Suhaylī, the woman was referred to as Fāṭima bint al-Nu'mān in a recension of Ibn Ishāq's biography other than al-Bakkā'ī's.⁴⁶ Beside the woman's name there are several

⁴² Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut, III, p. 493.

⁴³ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut, III, pp. 493-494. When he was drunk, he killed a fellow member of the Najjār; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, LXII, p. 148. It may be of interest that he had nine children born by different slave girls and only one born by a freeborn woman; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut, III, p. 493. One or two years before Muḥammad's death he reached Buṣrā with Abū Bakr and another Qurashī called Suwaybiṭ on a trading mission, which is why Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, LXII, pp. 139-149 included him in his History of Damascus. For entries on Suwaybiṭ see e.g. Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh Dimashq li-Ibn 'Asākir*, ed. Rūḥiyya al-Naḥḥās *et alii*, X, pp. 213-214; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, s.v., III, pp. 222-223. Guillaume argued (*New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, p. 25, n. 3) that the harlot's son was a Jew who was hostile to Muḥammad. He concluded (*New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, p. 26) that Jews were regarded as members of the Najjār, the tribe of the prophet's maternal relations. But the Jew al-Nu'mān ibn 'Amr belonged to the Qaynuqā'; Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammads*, pp. 352, 383.

⁴⁴ Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Akram Diyā' al-'Umari, p. 87.

⁴⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, I, Beirut, p. 167; below, Appendix IX. Ibn Sa'd quotes a series of *dalā'il al-nubuwwa* accounts including this one from 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Madā'ini. Three of al-Madā'ini's accounts go back to 'Alī ibn Mujāhid who at some time officiated as the *qāḍī* of Rayy. According to some, he had a bad reputation as a *ḥadīth* transmitter and compiled a book entitled *Kitāb al-maghāzī*; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, XXI, pp. 117-120. Two of the three accounts go back to Muḥammad ibn Ishāq. See also al-Damirī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, I, p. 294; below, Appendix X.

other differences between the text that al-Suhaylī quoted from the unspecified recension of Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Bukayr's text. This shows that at least two recensions of Ibn Ishāq's biography contained this account.

Harlotry must have been common in pre-Islamic Arabia, especially in connection with its markets and fairs. But the case of Fāṭima is of special interest, because harlots were usually slave girls, not freeborn women.⁴⁷

A similar account of a *jinnī* relates to an unspecified woman in Mecca who belonged to the Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā branch of the Quraysh tribe. Her *jinnī* informed her of an unbearable grave matter that had occurred, namely that Aḥmad (i.e. Muḥammad) had prohibited harlotry. When Allāh brought Islam, they (i.e. the *jinnīs*) were barred from eavesdropping,⁴⁸ i.e. they could no longer listen and uncover the goings on in Heaven.⁴⁹

Ibn Ishāq's account about the harlot from Yathrib/Medina could indeed distress certain people, i.e. her direct descendants and her other family members.

According to an account found in Abū l-'Arab's *Kitāb al-miḥan*, Ibn Ishāq was flogged twice by the governor of Medina for disclosing faults in the genealogy of his fellow Medinans: "He was an expert on genealogy and no family in Medina was spared the faults that he discovered in its genealogy. Hence the people of Medina treated him with hostility". The governor of Medina had him flogged once, but he did

⁴⁶ Al-Suhaylī, *Rawḍ*, I, p. 239; below, Appendix XI. The story of Fāṭima bint al-Nu'mān is also found in Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Wafā bi-ahwāl al-muṣṭafā*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāhid, p. 154 where it is preceded by an account along the same lines (← Jābir) in which the woman's name and tribal affiliation are unspecified and the *jinnī* has the form of a bird.

⁴⁷ Cf. the so-called "harlots of Ḥaḍramawt". Upon hearing of Muḥammad's death, twenty-odd harlots (*baghāyā*) emulated six women from the Kinda and Ḥaḍramawt; the latter rejoiced by dyeing their hands with henna and playing on tambourines. A parallel text refers to these women as singing girls (*qiyān*) from the Kinda and prostitutes (*'awāhir*) from the Ḥaḍramawt who dyed their hands, exposed their charms and played on tambourines. In fact they were respectable women of various Kindite and Ḥaḍramite clans; Lecker, "Judaism among Kinda and the *ridda* of Kinda," pp. 646-649.

⁴⁸ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, I, Beirut, p. 167; below, Appendix XII.

⁴⁹ Chabbi, "Jinn".

not give up his genealogical research and was flogged again.⁵⁰ Ibn Ishāq comes through as a man who did not shy away from treading on people's toes and had no fear of the Umayyad governor. Ibn Ishāq's character and, as it were, his origin – his grandfather was Jewish⁵¹ – are comparable to those of another famous *mawlā*, namely Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā (d. 210/825) who was similarly of Jewish descent. The latter made himself extremely unpopular by specializing, among other topics, in *mathālib* or “faults,” often those linked to genealogy.⁵²

Ibn Hishām, who must have been a more conventional person, omitted many of his predecessor's materials, which probably contributed to the popularity of his epitome. Beside improper verses he also expunged details and accounts that were incongruous with Muḥammad's image, or could offend the offspring of Muḥammad's companions. Censorship and self-censorship applied in Ibn Ishāq's biography of Muḥammad and in its epitome belong to the social and political context of both books.

Appendices

Appendix I: Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammads*, 898-899

قال ابن اسحاق وقد كان رسول الله صلعم حين مر بالحجر نزلها واستقى الناس من بيرها فلما راحوا قال رسول الله صلعم لا تشرّبوا من مائها شيئا ولا تتوضؤوا منه للصلاة وما كان من عجين عجنتموه فاعلفوه الإبل ولا تأكلوا منه شيئا ولا يخرجن أحد منكم الليلة إلا ومعه صاحب له ففعل الناس ما أمرهم به رسول الله صلعم إلا أنّ رجلين من بني ساعدة خرج أحدهما لحاجته وخرج الآخر في طلب بعير له فأما الذي ذهب لحاجته فإنه خُنق على مذهبه وأما الذي ذهب في طلب بعيره فاحتملته الريح حتى طرحته بجبليّ طيء فأخبر بذلك رسول الله صلعم فقال ألم أنحكم أن

⁵⁰ Abū l-'Arab al-Tamīmī, *Kitāb al-miḥan*, ed. Yaḥyā Wahīb al-Jabbūri, pp. 377-378.

⁵¹ Lecker, “Muḥammad ibn Ishāq *ṣāḥib al-maghāzī*: was his grandfather Jewish?” (forthcoming).

⁵² Lecker, “Biographical notes on Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā”.

يخرج منكم أحد إلا ومعه صاحبه ثم دعا للذي أصيب على مذهبه فشفى وأما الآخر الذي وقع بجبلي طيء فإن طينا أهدته لرسول الله صلعم حين قدم⁵³ المدينة. والحديث عن الرجلين عن عبد الله بن أبي بكر عن عباس بن سهل بن سعد الساعدي وقد حدثني عبد الله بن أبي بكر أن قد سمى له العباسُ الرجلين ولكنه استودعه إياهما فأبي عبد الله أن يسميهما لي.

Appendix II: Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, III, 1005-1006

قال أبو حميد الساعدي خرجنا مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إلى تبوك فلما جئنا وادي القرى مررنا على حديقة لامرأة فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم اخرصوها فخرصها رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وخرصناها معه عشرة أوساق ثم قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم احفظي ما خرج منها حتى ترجع إليك. فلما أمسينا بالحجر قال إنها ستهبّ الليلة ريح شديدة فلا يقوم أحد منكم إلا مع صاحبه ومن كان له بعير فليوثق عقاله قال فهاجت ريح شديدة ولم يقم أحد إلا مع صاحبه إلا رجلين من بني ساعدة خرج أحدهما لحاجته وخرج الآخر في طلب بعيره فأما الذي ذهب لحاجته فإنه خُنق على مذهبه وأما الذي ذهب في طلب بعيره فاحتلمته الريح فطرحته بجبلي طيء فأخبر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم خبرهما فقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ألم أنهكم أن يخرج رجل إلا ومعه صاحب له ثم دعا الذي (!) أصيب على مذهبه فشفى وأما الآخر الذي وقع بجبلي طيء فإن طينا أهدته للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم حين قدم المدينة.

⁵³ Add وفدها?

Appendix III: Ibn Zanjawayh, *Amwāl*, III, 1076-1077, no. 2001

أخبرنا حميد أنا ابن أبي أويس أنا أخي عن سليمان بن بلال عن عمرو بن يحيى المازني عن عباس بن سهل الساعدي عن أبي حميد صاحب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم خرج إلى تبوك قال أبو حميد وخرجنا معه فلما جئنا الوادي مررنا على حديقة لامرأة فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم احرصوها فحرصناها وحرصها رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عشرة أوسق ثم قال لها احتفظي بما يخرج منها حتى نرجع إليك فلما رجعنا مررنا على المرأة فسألها رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عما خرج من حديقته فقالت خرج منها عشرة أوسق.

Appendix IV: Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV, 1785-1786 (*Kitāb al-faḍā'il*, no. 11)

حدثنا عبد الله بن مسلمة بن قعنب حدثنا سليمان بن بلال عن عمرو بن يحيى عن عباس بن سهل بن سعد الساعدي عن أبي حميد قال خرجنا مع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم غزوة تبوك فأتينا وادي القرى على حديقة لامرأة فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم احرصوها فحرصناها وحرصها رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عشرة أوسق وقال أحصيتها حتى نرجع إليك إن شاء الله وانطلقنا حتى قدمنا تبوك فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ستهب عليكم الليلة ريح شديدة فلا يقيم فيها أحد منكم فمن كان له بعير فليشد عقاله فهبت ريح شديدة فقام رجل فحملته الريح حتى ألقته بجبلي طيء وجاء رسول ابن العلماء صاحب أيلة إلى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بكتاب وأهدى له بغلة بيضاء فكتب إليه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وأهدى له بردا ثم أقبلنا حتى قدمنا وادي القرى فسأل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم المرأة عن حديقته كم بلغ ثمرها فقالت عشرة أوسق.

Appendix V: Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, 4

وأنا إن شاء الله مبتدئ هذا الكتاب بذكر إسماعيل بن إبراهيم ومن ولد رسول الله صلعم من ولده وأولادهم لأصلابهم الأول فالأول من إسماعيل إلى رسول الله صلعم وما يعرض من حديثهم وتارك ذكر غيرهم من ولد إسماعيل على هذه الجهة للاختصار إلى حديث سيرة رسول الله صلعم وتارك بعض ما ذكره ابن إسحاق في هذا الكتاب مما ليس لرسول الله صلعم فيه ذكر وما نزل فيه من القرآن شيء وليس سببا لشيء من هذا الكتاب ولا تفسيراً له ولا شاهداً عليه لما ذكرت من الاختصار وأشعاراً ذكرها لم أر أحداً من أهل العلم بالشعر يعرفها وأشياء بعضها يشنع الحديث به وبعض يسوء بعض الناس ذكره وبعض لم يقر لنا البكائي بروايته ومستقص إن شاء الله تعالى ما سوى ذلك بمبلغ الرواية له والعلم به.

Appendix VI: Al-Rabī' ibn Ḥabīb, *Musnad*, 44

قال الربيع قال أبو عبيدة⁵⁴ بلغني عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال إن كان زيد بن عمرو لأول من عاب علي عبادة الأصنام والذبح عليها وذلك أني أقبلت من الطائف ومعني زيد بن حارثة ومعنا خبز ولحم وكانت قريش أدت زيد بن عمرو حتى خرج من بين أظهرنا فمررت به وعرضت عليه السفارة فقال يا ابن أخي أنتم تذبحون على أصنامكم هذه فقلت نعم فقال لا أكلها ثم عاب الأصنام والأوثان ومن يطعمها ومن يدنو منها⁵⁵ قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم والله ما دنوت من الأصنام شيئاً حتى أكرمني الله بالنبوة.

⁵⁴ I.e. Abū 'Ubayda Muslim ibn Abī Karīma al-Tamīmī. See on him Francesca, "The formation and early development of the Ibādī *madhhab*," p. 262, n. 13; Francesca, "Khārījīs".

⁵⁵ Kister, "A bag of meat," p. 270: "approached them with reverence".

Appendix VII: Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, XIX, 507

نا أحمد نا يونس عن ابن إسحاق قال فحدثت أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال وهو يحدث عن زيد بن عمرو إن كان لأول من عاب عليّ الأوثان ونهاني عنها أقبلت من الطائف ومعني زيد بن حارثة حتى مررت بزيد بن عمرو بن نفيل وهو بأعلى مكة وكانت قريش قد شهرته بفراق دينها حتى خرج من بين أظهرهم وكان بأعلى مكة فجلست إليه ومعني سفرة لي فيها لحم يحملها زيد بن حارثة من ذبائحننا على أصنامنا فقربتها له وأنا غلام شاب فقلت كل من هذا الطعام أي عم قال فلعلها أي ابن أخي من ذبائحكم هذه التي تذبحون لأوثانكم فقلت نعم فقال أما إنك يا ابن أخي لو سألت بنات عبد المطلب لأخبرنك أنني لا أكل هذه الذبائح فلا حاجة لي بها ثم عاب الأوثان ومن يعبدها ويذبح لها وقال إنما هي باطل لا تضر ولا تنفع أو كما قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فما تمسحت بوثن منها بعد ذلك على معرفة بها ولا ذبحت لها حتى أكرمني الله تعالى برسالته صلى الله عليه وسلم.

Appendix VIII: Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, ed. Ḥamīdullāh, 92, no. 122

حدثنا أحمد نا يونس عن ابن إسحاق قال وكان هذا الحي من الأنصار يتحدثون مما كانوا يسمعون من يهود من ذكر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أن أول ذكر وقع بالمدينة قبل مبعث رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم أن فاطمة أم النعمان بن عمرو أخي بني النجار وكانت من بغايا الجاهلية وكان لها تابع فكانت تحدث أنه كان إذا جاءها اقتحم البيت الذي هي فيه اقتحاما على من فيه حتى جاءها يوما فوقع على الجدار ولم يصنع كما كان يصنع فقالت له ما لك اليوم قال بعث نبي بتحريم الزنا.

Appendix IX: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, I, 167

أخبرنا علي بن محمد عن علي بن مجاهد عن محمد بن إسحاق عن عاصم بن عمر بن قتادة عن علي بن حسين قال كانت امرأة في بني النجار يقال لها فاطمة بنت النعمان كان لها تابع من الجن فكان يأتيها فأتاها حين هاجر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فانقض على الحائط فقالت ما لك لم تأت كما كنت تأتي قال قد جاء النبي الذي يحرم الزنا والخمر.

Appendix X: al-Damirī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, I, 294

وفيه أيضا أن فاطمة بنت النعمان النجارية قالت قد كان لي تابع من الجن فكان إذا جاء اقتحم البيت الذي أنا فيه اقتحاما فجاءني يوما فوقف على الجدار ولم يصنع كما كان يصنع فقلت ما بالك لم تصنع ما كنت تصنع صنيعةك قبل فقال إنه قد بعث اليوم نبي يحرم الزنا.

Appendix XI: al-Suhaylī, *Rawḍ*, I, 239

وفي غير رواية البكائي عن ابن إسحاق أن فاطمة بنت النعمان النجارية كان لها تابع من الجن وكان إذا جاءها اقتحم عليها في بيتها فلما كان في أول البعث أتاها فقعد على حائط الدار ولم يدخل فقالت له لم لا تدخل فقال قد بعث نبي بتحريم الزنا فذلك أول ما ذكر النبي صلعم بالمدينة.

Appendix XII: Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, I, 167

أخبرنا علي بن محمد عن عبد الله بن محمد القرشي من بني أسد بن عبد العزى عن الزهري قال كان الوحي يستمع وكان لامرأة من بني أسد تابع فأتاها يوما وهو يصيح جاء أمر لا يطاق أحمد حرم الزنا فلما جاء الله بالإسلام منعوا الاستماع.

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