

FĀTIHA, "the opening (Sūra)", or, more exactly, *Fātiḥat al-Kitāb* "(the Sūra) which opens the scripture (of revelation)", designation of the first Sūra of the Qurʾān. Occasionally the terms *umm al-kitāb* (according to Sūra III, 7; XIII, 39; XLIII, 4) and *al-sabʿ al-mathānī* (according to Sūra XV, 87) are also found. With reference to the last-named term one must count the Basmala which comes before the Sūra as a verse on its own, to make up the total of seven verses (= *mathānī*).

While the other Sūras are arranged fairly accurately according to length (that is to say, the longer they are the nearer the beginning they are to be found, the shorter they are, the nearer the end) the Fātiḥa, despite its shortness, is prefaced to the Qurʾān as a sort of introductory prayer. Like the last two Sūras (*al-muʿawwidhatān*), it is said not to have been preserved originally in the Codex of Ibn Masʿūd. It is markedly liturgical in character, as is also shown by the use of the first person plural (verses 5 and 6). Its chronological position (within the Mecca period) cannot be established more precisely.

The Fātiḥa is an indispensable component of the prayer-ritual. It must be recited at the beginning of every *rakʿa*, that is to say at least seventeen times a day (twice at the morning *ṣalāt*, three times at the sunset *ṣalāt*, and four times at each of the other three hours of prayer). It is often said at other times too. "With this recitation a seal is put on almost all important resolutions, almost all prayer formulae at the holy places are closed, and all joyful news is welcomed: while tradesmen who cannot come to terms over the price of goods seek in the united recitation of the fātiḥa new strength for a decision" (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 1931, 29). On many tombs there is an inscription asking the traveller visiting the spot to pray a *fātiḥa* for the soul of the dead man (H. Ritter, *Meer der Seele*, 1955, 317). In some respects, therefore, the *fātiḥa* may be compared with the Lord's Prayer in Christian practice. However, H. Winkler's attempt to show that the one is derived from the other must be said to have failed (ZS, vi, 1928, 238-46). M. Gaster's guess that the Fātiḥa is an imitation of the Samaritan Enšira (ET¹, iv, art. Samaritans) is equally unconvincing.

Bukḥārī and Muslim tell of a sick man who was cured by exorcism with the *umm al-kitāb*. There are numerous examples of the *fātiḥa* being used as a powerful prayer in the making of amulets. The *sawāḥiṣṣ al-fātiḥa*, that is, the seven letters which are significant by their absence from the *fātiḥa*, play an important part in this. Al-Būnī gives the requisite instructions in his book of magic *Shams al-maʿārif*.

In certain Arab countries, particularly in North Africa, the term *fātiḥa* (or *fatha*) is used to mean a prayer ceremony in which the arms are stretched out with the palms upwards, but without any recitation of the first Sūra (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 1931, 29, note; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, 1926, i, 186, note). Philipp Vassel gives as a translation "prayer with open hands" (MSOS, v, 1902, ii, 188). But it seems probable that even this prayer-ceremony is called after the first Sūra, and that originally it involved a recitation of the *fātiḥa* which only subsequently and as a result of much repetition disappeared to be replaced by a silent prayer.

Bibliography: Bukḥārī, *Idjāra*, 16; *Tafsīr al-Kurʾān*, 1; *Faḍāʾil al-Kurʾān*, 9; *Tibb*, 33 f.; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, 34-44; *Ṣalām*, 65 f.; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, 1321, i, 35-66; Zamakhsharī, *Kaṣṣhāf*, Cairo 1373/1953, i, 1-15; Suyūṭī, *Itkān*, Cairo 1317, i, 54 f.; ii,

152; *Gesch. des Qur.*, i², 1909, 110-7; Blachère, *Le Coran*, i, 1949, 125-7; A. Jeffery, *A variant text of the Fātiḥa*, in *MW*, xxix (1939), 158-62; al-Būnī, *Shams al-maʿārif*, Cairo 1319, 68 f., 71, 95-9; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 159, 211 ff.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, 1931, *passim*; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, i and ii, 1926, *passim*; J. Jomier, *La place du Coran dans la vie quotidienne en Égypte*, in *IBLA*, xv (1952), 131-65, 149; H. Winkler, *Fātiḥa und Vaterunser*, in *ZS*, vi (1928), 238-46.

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AL-FĀTIK [see NADJĀH, BANŪ].

FĀTIMA, daughter of Muḥammad and Khadija, wife of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, mother of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, was the only one of the Prophet's daughters to enjoy great renown. She became the object of great veneration by all Muslims. This may be because she lived closest to her father, lived longest, and gave him numerous descendants, who spread throughout the Muslim world (the other sons and daughters of Muḥammad either died young or, if they had descendants, these soon died out); or it may be because there was reflected upon her, besides the greatness of her father, the historical importance of her husband and her sons; or because, as time went on, the Muslims attributed to her extraordinary qualities. Throughout the Muslim world, as is well known, it is customary to add to her name the honorific title al-Zahrāʾ, "the Shining One", and she is always spoken of with the greatest respect; but it was above all the Shiʿis who surrounded her with a halo of beliefs and glorified her some centuries after her death. That Fātima—a woman who, unlike other women associated with the Prophet, remained on the fringe of the great events of the early years of Islam and hence receives little attention in the historical sources—should be exalted to the level of legend, presents no problem to the believer: Western scholars, on the other hand, have set themselves to recover the real Fātima from the haze which envelops her. Did she really possess merits so special as to explain her posthumous fame, or is this fame to be attributed to a complex of circumstances which includes the human tendency to render extreme veneration to Woman? Two eminent European orientalists, Father Henri Lammens and Louis Massignon, have presented diametrically opposed judgements of Fātima.

The former, in *Fātima et les filles de Mahomet*, has sketched, in sparkling and lively style, ingeniously but not without malice, a thoroughly gloomy portrait of the daughter of the Prophet: as he describes her, Fātima becomes a woman devoid of attraction, of mediocre intelligence, completely insignificant, little esteemed by her father, ill-treated by her husband, "caractère chagrin et perpétuellement voilé de deuil", "ombre gémissante de femme", anaemic, often ill, prone to tears, who died perhaps of consumption. It is profitable to read the criticism of this thesis by G. Levi Della Vida, in *RSO*, vi (1913), 536-47 and C. H. Becker, *Grundsätzliches zur Leben-Muhammad-Forschung, in Islamstudien*, i, 520-7 = *Prinzipielles zu Lammens' Sirastudien, in Isl.*, iv (1913), 263-9.

Massignon, on the other hand, has made Fātima sublime, elevating her to a position often reminiscent of that which the Virgin Mary holds among Christians. He accuses Lammens of having contented himself with putting together isolated fragments of anecdotes without attempting to arrange them in plausible patterns so as to bring them to life. "Yet it

is only this method", he says, "which allows us to understand how Fāṭima's intuitive actions (hardly consciously performed) have, throughout the collective history of Islam, penetrated the tangle of deceptions, accommodations and theories". Fāṭima, as he conceives her, is the Woman whose soul was unappreciated during her lifetime, who enjoyed privileges (*khaṣā'is*) accorded her by her father; she is Mistress of the Tent of hospitality, the Hostess of the Prophet's freedmen and of the non-Arab converts, and, as such, she represents the beginnings of universal Islam (*La notion*, 118 f.). To avoid any misrepresentation of Massignon's conception, we reproduce verbatim some of the concluding sentences of his *Mubāhala*. According to him, Fāṭima had a "vie secrète . . . voilée bien au delà de la jalousie de 'A'isha, par une autre Jalousie, celle de Dieu. Vie de compassion intérieure, de larmes, prières pour les morts (à Uḥud) et dans les cimetières, vœux de jeûne, choses de peu de poids pour des théologiens philosophes ou canonistes. Vie qui les survole et les surplombe en Islam, comme une menace, de plus en plus imminente, de la Grâce de Dieu: du Vœu secret de la Femme, Vierge ou Mère qui transcende tous les axiomes et serments des hommes. L'hyperdulie des âmes en douleur, en Islam, pour Fāṭima, n'est selon le Coran lui-même qu'une figure de l'hyperdulie mariale . . .". This interpretation of the figure of Fāṭima will doubtless satisfy the mystic who lives in a world of extraordinary religious experiences and, perhaps, the scholar concerned with religious problems, because it gives a psychologico-religious explanation for the origin and development of the legend of the daughter of the Prophet and bridges the gap between legend and reality, as Lammens's book fails to do; but it cannot escape the objections of the historian, who will consider that the author subordinates the facts to beliefs about Fāṭima which appeared only later.

In the following survey will be found, placed in chronological order, arranged schematically, and accompanied sometimes by a commentary, the references to Fāṭima which can be collected from the sources belonging to the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries and the first half of the 4th/10th century (particularly al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, Ibn Sa'd and collections of *ḥadīths* regarded as canonical by the Sunnis, for Ibn Hishām and the historians had little occasion to concern themselves with Fāṭima, so obscure was the life that she led; later sources such as Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *Istī'āb*, Ibn al-Aṭhīr's *Usd al-ghāba*, Ibn Ḥaǧǧar's *Isāba*, the *Sira al-Halabiyya* and the *Ta'rikh al-khamis*, have purposely been ignored, the aim being to get as near as possible, if not to the reality, at least to the time when Fāṭima lived). In the survey some apparently trivial facts have been mentioned: this is because they had, particularly among the *Shī'is*, unforeseen developments; Fāṭima's trousseau, for example, became the subject of Persian religious dramas, the famous *ta'ziyas*.

THE HISTORICAL FĀṬĪMA

Birth and childhood. The date of Fāṭima's birth is uncertain; however that indicated as most probable is the year of the re-building of the Ka'ba, i.e., five years before the beginning of the Prophet's mission. This implies, as will appear, that the girl was married when she was over 18, a rather unusual age for an Arab bride. But if we take her birth as being a few years later (see al-Ya'qūbī, ii, 19) we encounter another difficulty—that when she was born her

mother Khadija would have been over fifty. The question of Fāṭima's age is treated at some length in Lammens's book (8-14). There is also some uncertainty as to Fāṭima's place in the sequence of Muḥammad's daughters, who are generally listed in the order: Zaynab, Ruḳayya, Umm Kulthūm, Fāṭima. Of her childhood and her life at Mecca two episodes only are related: (1) she was overcome by grief at her mother's death, and the Prophet consoled her by saying that Djibril had come down to tell him that God had built for Khadija in Paradise a pavilion of brilliant pearls (*kaṣab*; see Lane, s.v., 2529 f.), free of weariness and noise (al-Ya'qūbī, ii, 35); (2) she removed the refuse which 'Uḳba b. Abī Mu'ayt, one of the Quraysh most hostile to Islam, had flung over the Prophet while he was at prayer, and her indignation led her to curse the offender (al-Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, ii, 300).

Journey from Mecca to Medina and betrothal. After the Hīǧra, Muḥammad moved his daughters Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm and his wife Sawda bint Zama'a from Mecca to Medina, charging his adopted son Zayd b. Hāritha [*q.v.*] and Abū Rāfi' to go and fetch them, giving them two camels and a sum of money. There is however a completely different version of this: al-'Abbās escorted these women to Medina and the departure was not a peaceful one, for al-Ḥuwayrith b. Nuḳayz b. Wahb prodded their camels, causing them to be thrown to the ground, for which act, it is said, he was killed after the occupation of Mecca. On the betrothal of Fāṭima and 'Alī the sources give much information, but, as usual, they do not completely agree. Both Abū Bakr and 'Umar had asked for Fāṭima's hand, but Muḥammad had refused, saying that he was waiting for the moment fixed by destiny (*ḥaḍā*: Ibn Sa'd, viii, 11). 'Alī did not dare to put forward his proposal because of his poverty, and it was Muḥammad who made his task easier; he reminded him that he owned a breast-plate which, if sold, would provide him with enough money for the bridal gift (*mahr*). 'Alī, adding to the breast-plate some other objects and a camel or a ewe, raised the very modest sum of 480 dirhams or thereabouts. Of this money he spent, on Muḥammad's advice, one-third or two-thirds on perfumes, and the rest on objects necessary for the household. When Muḥammad informed his daughter of the promise which he had made to 'Alī, Fāṭima (according to Ibn Sa'd) said nothing, and her silence was interpreted by the Prophet as consent (according to other sources, she protested and her father had to console her by saying that he had married her to that member of the family who was the most learned and wise, and who had been the first to embrace Islam).

Marriage. The accounts are at variance concerning the year and the month of the marriage and its consummation: the first or second year of the Hīǧra, more likely the latter. According to some sources the consummation was postponed for a few days or for a few months, and some say that it did not take place until 'Alī's return from the expedition of Badr. To celebrate their marriage, the bridegroom prepared a feast, Muḥammad having told him that this was necessary; the Anṣār gave their contributions in *dhura*, and 'Alī killed a sheep. Two wives of the Prophet, 'Ā'isha and Umm Salama, arranged the house and prepared the wedding-feast. It is said that at this time 'Alī was 25 and Fāṭima between 15 and 21. The sources give a rather long account of a rite inaugurated by the Prophet: having warned the bridal pair to expect him, Muḥammad went to their

house on the wedding-night, asked for water in a jar, washed his hands in it (or spat in it, or spat back into it the water he had used to rinse his mouth) and sprinkled with it the breast (the shoulders and the forearms) of 'Alī and of Fāṭima; finally he invoked God's blessing on them.

Poverty of the household. At night the newly-married pair lay on the fleece of an untanned sheepskin, which contained camel fodder during the day; for a covering they used an old piece of striped Yemenī cloth, which was not large enough to cover both feet and head. The pillow was of leather stuffed with *lif* (palm fibres); the trousseau was indeed meagre: a goatskin bottle, a sieve, a duster, a cup. Muḥammad had made some wedding-gifts: a velvet garment (*ḥamla* or *ḥamil*), two pitchers, a leather bottle, a pillow and some bunches of fragrant herbs. Fāṭima, having no maid-servants, ground the corn herself, which gave her blisters; 'Alī, to earn a little money, drew water from the wells and watered other people's land; because of this hard work he complained of pains in the chest. One day, the Prophet having received some slaves, 'Alī sent Fāṭima to ask for one, and, as his wife lacked the courage to make this request, he went with her himself but met with a refusal. "I cannot allow the *ahl al-ṣuffa* [q.v.] to be tormented with hunger", exclaimed the Prophet, "I shall sell the slaves and spend the money to help them". To console his daughter and son-in-law, Muḥammad went later to their house and taught them some litanies (so many repetitions of *Allāh akbar*, so many of *al-ḥamdu li'llāh*, so many of *subḥān Allāh*), and 'Alī did not fail to repeat them every night before going to sleep.

There seems no reason to reject the *ḥadīth*s which speak of the poverty of the household of 'Alī and Fāṭima; only its duration must be limited to the first years of their marriage; many members of the community were just as poor and it was only after the occupation of Khaybar that the situation improved for 'Alī and Fāṭima, as for a good number of Muslims, for they then received shares in the produce of the rich oasis and 'Ā'isha could exclaim: "Now we shall eat our fill of dates".

Fāṭima's house after the marriage. 'Alī built a dwelling not far from that of the Prophet but, as Fāṭima wanted to live nearer to her father, the Medinan al-Ḥāritha b. al-Nu'mān gave up his own house to them.

Sons of 'Alī and Fāṭima. Al-Ḥasan was born in 2/624 (but in this case the consummation of the marriage cannot have taken place after Badr!) or in 3/625, in Ramaḍān; al-Ḥusayn was conceived 50 days after the birth of al-Ḥasan and born in 4/626, in the first days of Sha'bān. Besides these two sons and a third, Muḥassin (or Muḥsin), still-born, Fāṭima had two daughters, who were called by the names of two of their aunts: Umm Kulthūm and Zaynab [see further 'ALIDS].

Disputes between 'Alī and Fāṭima, and Muḥammad's intervention. 'Alī and Fāṭima did not always live in harmony. 'Alī treated his wife with too much harshness (*shidda*, *ghilāṣ*), and Fāṭima went to complain to her father. There are some *ḥadīth*s which are real vignettes of family life, describing in a vivid and fresh manner how the Prophet intervened and how his face shone with satisfaction after the reconciliation of those dear to him. The most serious disputes between the pair arose when the Banū Hishām b. al-Mughīra of the Kuraysh suggested to 'Alī that he should marry one of their women. 'Alī did not reject the proposal, but

Muḥammad, when some of the tribe came to sound him on the matter, came to the defence of his daughter. "Fāṭima", he said, "is a part of me (*baḍ'ā minnī*) and whoever offends her offends me" (al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, i, 403; al-Tirmidhī, ii, 319, etc.) or "what angers her angers me also" (this *ḥadīth* has many variants which, however, do not much change the meaning). It seems that at the same time 'Alī was asking in marriage a daughter of Abū Ḍiḥl nicknamed al-'Awra' (the One-eyed). Muḥammad protested from the *minbar* against 'Alī, who proposed to shelter under one roof the daughter of the Apostle of God and the daughter of the enemy of God (i.e., Abū Ḍiḥl). On this occasion also the Prophet pronounced the phrase: *Innahā baḍ'ā minnī* ("she is indeed a part of me"), and added that if 'Alī wanted to accomplish his project he must first divorce Fāṭima (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, iv, 326; al-Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, ii, 440, etc.). Some authors have deduced from this that monogamy was one of the *ḥaṣā'is* of the daughter of the Prophet.

The name Abū Turāb, "the man of dust", given to 'Alī has, among other explanations, one connecting it with the disputes between 'Alī and Fāṭima: instead of answering his wife in anger, 'Alī would go out of the house and put dust on his head; Muḥammad, seeing him do this, gave him the famous nickname.

Historical events in which Fāṭima was involved during the life of Muḥammad. The following is all that can be collected: (1) After the battle of Uhud Fāṭima tended Muḥammad's wounds and was charged by him and by 'Alī to clean their bloodstained swords; after this it became her custom to go to pray on the graves of those killed in this battle; (2) Abū Sufyān, foreseeing the occupation of Mecca, sought her and 'Alī's intercession with Muḥammad (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1623); (3) she received a share of the products of Khaybar and 'Alī another, separate, share; (4) she went to Mecca while the town was being occupied, and on this occasion Abū Sufyān begged her to give him her protection, but she refused and refused also to allow her child to do so, the Prophet having prohibited this (al-Wākidī, 324); in 10/632 she performed the *umra*; (5) with her husband and her sons, Fāṭima played an important part in the *mubāhala*, an episode which had strong repercussions among the *Shi'a* [see MUBĀHALA].

Fāṭima as one of the five members of the *Ahl al-bayt*. A verse of the Qur'ān (XXXIII, 33) says: "God wishes only to remove from you the uncleanness, O People of the House" (*Ahl al-bayt* [q.v.]). The preceding verses contain instructions to the wives of the Prophet, and there the verbs and pronouns are in the feminine plural; but in this verse, addressed to the People of the House, the pronouns are in the masculine plural. Thus, it has been said, it is no longer a question of the Prophet's wives, or of them alone. To whom then does it refer? The expression *Ahl al-bayt* can only mean "Family of the Prophet". The privilege accorded by God to the latter (originally entirely spiritual, but later not merely so) naturally led all the relatives of Muḥammad—those nearest to him, those belonging to the collateral branches of the family, and beyond this such groups of the community as the Anṣār, or indeed the whole of the community—to claim a place in the *Ahl al-bayt*. But there is a story given in many traditions according to which Muḥammad sheltered under his cloak (or under a covering or under a sort of tent), in varying circumstances

(including the occasion when he was preparing for the *mubāhala*), his grandchildren al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, his daughter Fāṭima and his son-in-law 'Alī; and so it is these five who are given the title *Ahl al-kisā'* [q.v.] or "People of the Mantle". Efforts have been made to include among the latter Muḥammad's wives; in general however the number of the privileged is limited to these five. Now according to the Shī'a, without exception, but also according to the pro-'Alid Sunnis, the *Ahl al-bayt* are identical with the *Ahl al-kisā'*. The verse quoted above (XXXIII, 33) is associated with Fāṭima and 'Alī on one other occasion: it is related that Muḥammad, rising early in the morning to perform the *ṣubḥ*, was in the habit of knocking on their door and using this verse to remind them of the duty of prayer.

During the Prophet's illness, Fāṭima, who loved her father greatly, was much grieved by his illness and wept and lamented. During this period she received a confidence from Muḥammad. It is 'A'ishā who relates the episode in many *ḥadīths*: she saw Fāṭima weep when her father spoke to her in secret and then smile. After the Prophet's death, she asked her what her father had said to her on that occasion; Fāṭima replied that Muḥammad had told her that Djibrīl came down once a year to bring him the *Qur'ān*, but that, as he had recently come down twice, he deduced that the end of his life was near, then he had added that she, Fāṭima, would be the first member of the family to join him in the next world. Then Fāṭima had wept. But Muḥammad had said to her: "Are you not pleased to be the *sayyida* of the women of this people?" (or "of the women of the Believers", or "of the women of the world", or "of the women of Paradise"—all these variants are found in the *ḥadīths*). Then Fāṭima had smiled. As will be seen, this story is interesting because of the developments it underwent among the Shī'a.

After the death of the Prophet, Fāṭima, a timid woman who had never taken part in political matters, found herself indirectly involved in some of the events which followed the death of the Prophet. After his election, Abū Bakr made his way with some companions towards Fāṭima's house, where a number of Anṣār and of 'Alī's supporters had assembled. The newly-elected *Khalīfa* wanted to obtain the homage of these dissidents also, but 'Alī went forward to meet him with sword drawn, and Fāṭima, when her husband had been disarmed by 'Umar and the party was preparing to enter the house, raised such cries and threatened so boldly to uncover her hair that Abū Bakr preferred to withdraw (al-Ya'qūbī, ii, 141). There are other accounts of the same episode: Fāṭima saw in 'Umar's hand a brand, and asked him if he intended to set fire to her door because of his hostility to her (al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, i, 586). In one book, *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa* (which is certainly very early, even though the attribution to Ibn Kufaybā is wrong), the episode is related with more serious details: 'Umar really had evil intentions; he had wood brought and threatened to burn the house with everything in it. When he was asked, "Even if Fāṭima is there?", he replied in the affirmative. Then those who were in the house came out and rendered the homage demanded—except for 'Alī. Fāṭima, appearing at the door, reproached them: "You have left the body of the Apostle of God with us and you have decided among yourselves without consulting us, without respecting our rights!" When Abū Bakr and 'Umar repeated their attempts to make 'Alī comply, she is said to have cried out,

"O father! O Apostle of God! What evils we have suffered at the hands of 'Umar and Abū Bakr after your death!" When they came back to her house and asked permission to enter, she again refused, and it was 'Alī who let them in. Fāṭima turned her face to the wall. If one is to believe another account preserved in the same book (12), Fāṭima played an active part at the time when the decision was being made on the choice of a successor to the Prophet in the capacity of head of the community: she went on horseback with 'Alī to the meeting-places of the Anṣār to ask them to support her husband; but the Anṣār replied that 'Alī had come to them too late, when they were already committed to Abū Bakr. We have spent some time on these episodes because (1) even if they have been expanded by invented details, they are based on fact; (2) they represent Fāṭima's only political action; (3) to the motives for the hatred felt by the Shī'a for 'Umar they add one more, true or false: his treatment of the daughter of the Prophet.

Fāṭima's claim to Muḥammad's estate. After the death of her father, Fāṭima asked Abū Bakr to hand over the possessions of Muḥammad which he was holding. It is not clear whether these possessions included the property which Mukhayrik, the Jew converted to Islam, had given to the Prophet at Medina on the land of the Banu 'l-Naḍir; probably there was no dispute about this. It was over the land of Fadak [q.v.] and over the share of Khaybar [q.v.] that Abū Bakr met Fāṭima's claims with a flat refusal, asserting that he had heard the Prophet say that he had no heirs and that everything that he left would be *ṣadaqa* [q.v.]. Nor is it known whether the claim to the inheritance was put forward by Fāṭima alone or together with al-'Abbās; the examination of many *ḥadīths* leads us to believe that the attempt to gain possession of this property was made twice and with different arguments, on the first occasion probably by both of them, on the second by Fāṭima alone. This dispute between such a prominent person as Abū Bakr and the daughter of the Prophet has always been disagreeable to Muslims; consequently they have tried to minimize its gravity by maintaining, for example, that Fāṭima claimed Fadak intending to give the rents of it to the poor (Shī'i sources add: to the *mawālī*); they like to depict Abū Bakr as grieved by the duty of refusing a request of the daughter of the Prophet, but forced to act thus by the conduct of Muḥammad himself. The Shī'a naturally do not forgive the Caliph for having disbelieved Fāṭima, who maintained that she had received Fadak as a gift from her father, and have continued for centuries to argue about this question.

Illness and death of Fāṭima. Fāṭima fell ill soon after her father's death. According to some sources she was reconciled during her illness with Abū Bakr, who had asked to visit her, but, according to the majority she remained angry to the end. There is an oft-repeated story about the last moments of her life: she prepared for death by washing herself, putting on coarse garments and rubbing herself with balm, and she charged her sister-in-law, Asmā' b. 'Umays, the widow of Dī'fār b. Abī Ṭālib, who was helping her with these tasks, that no-one should uncover her after her death; then she lay down on a clean bed in the middle of the room and awaited the end. As she had complained about the custom of covering the dead with a material which revealed their forms, Asmā' prepared for her a bier made, in the manner of the Abyssinians, of wood and fresh palm-leaves.

Fāṭima was content with this. Unfortunately these accounts which would allow us to assume that Fāṭima was gentle, modest, and calm in the face of death are contradicted by others: according to al-Yaʿqūbī (ii, 128-30), she rebuked severely the Prophet's wives and the women of the *Kuraysh* who came to visit her during her illness; through Asmā' she prevented 'Ā'ishā from entering; her anxiety to hide her form from people's gaze was prompted by shame at her extreme thinness (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2436); it was 'Alī who washed the body, or it was she herself who begged her husband to perform this task. It is difficult, if not impossible, to choose among these different accounts.

There is the same uncertainty over the date of her death as surrounds other events of her private life: it was certainly the year 11, but the month is doubtful; the commonest report is that she died six months after the Prophet. Her death was kept secret and her burial took place by night. According to most versions, neither Abū Bakr nor 'Umar was informed; but there are accounts which relate that Abū Bakr recited the ritual prayers over Fāṭima's grave. Nearly all the sources agree that Fāṭima was buried in the Baḳī', and some specify the place of her grave: near the mosque called, from the name of the woman who built it, Masjdīd Ruḳayya, at the corner of the *dār* of 'Aḳīl ('Alī's brother), seven cubits from the road etc., but according to other sources, either immediately after the burial or some time later, the exact position of the grave was no longer known. Al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 165) asserts that there was a tomb which bore an inscription giving as the names of those buried there Fāṭima and three 'Alids (he is however the only one to give this detail), but al-Mukaddasī (*BGA*, iii, 46) includes the tomb of the daughter of the Prophet in the list of places on which there is disagreement, for it was also possible that Fāṭima had been buried "in the room" (*fi l-hudjra*). Nowadays *Shī'ī* pilgrims, to pay homage to the *sayyidat al-nisā'*, visit three places: her house, the Baḳī' and the space in the Great Mosque between the *rawḍa* and the tomb of the Prophet. For a small *maḥṣūra* which may mark her place of burial and "Fāṭima's Garden", also in the Great Mosque, see *EL*¹, art. al-Madīna, 90 f.

Physical and moral attributes. Fāṭima had a very strange *kunya*: Umm Abihā, "mother of her father". The explanations given for this name make us suspect that it originated among the *Shī'a*, all the more so that it is apparently mentioned only in the more recent sources, e.g., the *Usd al-ghāba*. An Imāmī source says that she was called "mother of her father" because she learned through a revelation that the name of her very last descendant would be Muḥammad, like that of her father. There are other explanations, for which see below, sections on The celestial apple and Fāṭima's names. Given the connexions between the cult of Mary among Christians and that of Fāṭima among Muslims (to which Massignon has drawn attention), it is possible that the title arose as a counterpart to that of "Mother of God".

Fāṭima was certainly not a beautiful woman, for the sources are silent about her appearance, whereas they mention the beauty of her sister Ruḳayya; they confine themselves to reporting that she resembled the Prophet in her gait. In any case she cannot have appeared the weak and sickly woman which Lammens took her to be on the strength of two *hadīths*, which may refer to purely temporary situations, for there are other facts (her

bearing five children; her discharge of arduous household tasks, her two journeys to Mecca) which prove that Fāṭima enjoyed fairly good health.

In attempting to form a judgement on the moral qualities of Fāṭima we encounter many obstacles. When some accounts permit us to attribute to her a certain characteristic, there are others which contradict it. It seems certain that she was hard-working, content to perform her domestic work diligently and patiently. She appears to have taken pleasure in helping others, and the Prophet's wives used her as a spokesman to express their resentment over the preference which he showed for 'Ā'ishā; we can easily imagine, however, that she performed this service willingly, for she herself had no great fondness for 'Ā'ishā. On this occasion she proved incapable of defending the case for which she had approached her father, for when he asked her: "Do you not love what I love?" (meaning 'Ā'ishā), she quickly agreed that she too loved her; so the Prophet's wives had to choose a less timorous advocate from among their number to maintain their rights. Are we then to conclude from this and other accounts that Fāṭima was timid? On the day of her marriage she stumbled on the hem of her garment, but we see her support her husband so boldly against Abū Bakr that there is no question of timidity, and she appears as a woman of quite different calibre. There is no doubt that she was meek and submissive towards the Prophet, but what was her attitude to her husband? It was really she who prevented 'Alī from taking a second wife, and in the affair of the inheritance, when it was a question of defending the interests of the family, although she was obliged to yield to the wishes of the head of the State, she did it unwillingly, refusing to acknowledge the validity of Abū Bakr's decision.

THE FĀṬĪMA OF LEGEND

As no systematic study of this subject exists, we have limited ourselves to selecting the main themes of the Fāṭima legend from three early *Shī'ī* works (see *Bibl.*) in which some chapters are devoted to the daughter of the Prophet. The authors are: (1) Ibn Rustam al-Ṭabarī who, according to the editor of his *Dalā'il al-imāma*, lived in the 4th/10th century (siglum: IRT); (2) Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, who began to write in 448/1056-7 the work which we have used and which was one of the sources of al-Maḳḳilī's *Bihār al-anwār* and of al-Bahrānī's *Madīnat al-ma'ādīz*; he presents some stories about Fāṭima which differ strikingly from those of the other sources (siglum: H'AW); (3) Ibn Shahrāshūb, who died in 588/1192. Of the three works, his *Manāḳib Al Abī Ṭālib* yields the most information and quotes from the largest number of sources (siglum: ISh).

Khādīja's pregnancy and accouchement. *Khādīja* was despised by the *Kuraysh* because of her marriage with a poor man from a social class lower than her own (IRT, 8). On going in to her, Muḥammad told her that *Ḍiḡḡil* had informed him that she would bear a daughter, a pure and blessed soul, and that from this daughter would spring his posterity and the *imāms* destined to be the rulers on earth when his own inspiration ended (IRT, 8). Fāṭima, while still in her mother's womb, conversed with her (IRT, 8; H'AW, 48, 51; ISh, 119). Because of their contempt for *Khādīja*, the women of the *Kuraysh* refused to help her during her confinement. So four women came down from Paradise to assist her: Sāra, Āsiya, Mary and Ṣafūrā, daughter of *Shu'ayb* and wife of Mūsā. Ten hours came with a bowl and a jug filled with water from the Kawthar, and the first of

them washed the new-born child, wrapped her in perfumed fine linen, and handed her, pure, purified, fortunate, blessed also in her posterity, to Khadīja, who suckled her (IRT, 9; H'AW, 48; ISh, 119). Fāṭima grew as much in a month as other children in a year (IRT, 9; ISh, 119). The women who had come to assist her mother departed as soon as they had completed their task, but before they went the new-born child greeted them by their names (H'AW, 48). At the moment of Fāṭima's birth, light spread over the sky and the earth, to the West and to the East (hence her title *al-Zahrā'*) (IRT, 9; ISh, 119). Immediately after her birth Fāṭima uttered the profession of faith, praised God, recognized the imamate of 'Alī, recited the *Kur'ān* and predicted future events (IRT, 9; H'AW, 48, 51; ISh, 119).

Betrothal. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf wished to marry Fāṭima and offered an enormous *mahr* (100 camels loaded with Coptic cloth, and 10,000 *dinārs*). 'Uthmān then offered the same *mahr*, and advanced the argument that he had embraced Islam earlier than 'Abd al-Rahmān. This flaunting of wealth angered Muḥammad, who threw at 'Abd al-Rahmān (or placed on the hem of his garment) pebbles which turned into pearls (a single one of them worth all the riches of 'Abd al-Rahmān). Djibril descended from heaven to announce that 'Alī was to be the husband of Fāṭima, for God had already commanded the angel Rīdwan to adorn the four Paradises and another angel to build a *minbar* of light (IRT, 12; ISh, 123).

Marriage of Fāṭima and 'Alī. The *Kuraysh* women criticized Fāṭima's marrying 'Alī, a poor man, but Muḥammad had destined her for him because he had learned through Djibril (or through an angel named Maḥmūd) not only that this was the will of God but that the marriage had already taken place in heaven, with God as *wali*, Djibril as *khaṭīb* and the angels as witnesses. The *mahr* had been half of the earth (or a fifth, or a quarter) and, in addition, Paradise and Hell (hence Fāṭima enables her supporters to enter the one and consigns her enemies to the other). The *mahr* on earth was only about 500 *dirhams* because it was to serve as *sunna* for the community. Perhaps in order to leave the *mahr* at this low figure, there are some references to a *niḥla* from 'Alī, consisting of a fifth of the earth, two-thirds of Paradise, and four rivers: the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Nile and the Oxus. The tree *Tūbā* or the *Sidrat al-muntahā*, at God's command, covered itself with robes, pearls and precious stones, and scattered them in vast quantities; the houris gathered these jewels and will keep them until the Day of Resurrection, for they are Fāṭima's *nithār*. The same tree, according to some accounts, let fall also missives written in light, which the angels gathered up because they are the safe-conducts of the supporters of the 'Alids (IRT, 12 f., cf. also 14, 18, 19 f., 23 f.; H'AW, 48 f.; ISh, 109, 123, 128, 134 f.). When Muḥammad learned this, he called to him 'Ammār b. Yāsir, Salmān, and al-'Abbās and in their presence told 'Alī what God's will was; on his advice, 'Alī sold his breast-plate to Dihya [*q.v.*], who then made him a present of it (Dihya = Djibril: IRT, 14). The marriage in heaven, according to two of our sources, took place forty days before the marriage on earth (or on the night of the *isrā'*). The angel Maḥmūd revealed also the reason for the union: light must be joined to light (*ibid.*).

Trousseau. Muḥammad charged Asmā' bint 'Umays, Umm Salama and a freedwoman, 'Ammār,

Abū Bakr and Bilāl to make the purchases necessary for the household of Fāṭima and 'Alī. The list of their purchases is recorded, in some cases with the prices (ISh, 123). Umm Salama bought the mattress-cover of Egyptian cloth which was to be filled with *lif*; Bilāl or 'Ammār saw to the perfumes (IRT, 14 f., 26).

The marriage ceremony. During the marriage ceremony on earth, Djibril cried from heaven "*Allāhu akbar*"; Muḥammad heard him, and he too, with his Companions, cried "*Allāhu akbar*". This was the first *takbīr* to be called during a wedding procession (*zifāf*) and from that day onwards it became *sunna* (H'AW, 51). But there is another and stranger story concerning this *takbīr*: Muḥammad mounted Fāṭima on his mule and pushed the animal, while Salmān led it; suddenly there was great confusion in the street: Djibril and Mikḥāl, each at the head of 70,000 angels, had come down for the ceremony and raised with Muḥammad the cry "*Allāhu akbar*!" (IRT, 23, 25).

Gifts from heaven. Djibril brought to Muḥammad a clove and an ear of corn from Paradise, announcing that God had commanded him to adorn Paradise for the marriage of Fāṭima and 'Alī (IRT, 14, 20). 'Alī, told by Muḥammad to look up into the sky, saw richly-clad maidens bringing presents: these were his own and Fāṭima's future servants in Paradise (IRT, 26). When 'Ammār brought to Fāṭima the perfume which Muḥammad had sent him to buy for her, Fāṭima announced that the angel Rīdwan had sent her some from heaven, brought by houris each of whom had in her right hand a fruit and in her left some basil; these gifts were intended for the people of her House and for her supporters (IRT, 26). Like Mary who, according to the *Kur'ān* (III, 32/37), received a necessary provision (*rizq*), Fāṭima received pomegranates, grapes, apples, quinces, etc., and ate besides things which other creatures had never tasted since the fall of Adam and Eve (ISh, 135). One day Muḥammad entered Fāṭima's house while she was at prayer, and saw behind her a steaming cauldron; he asked what this was and she replied: "Divine Providence" (ISh, 135). Another day 'Alī invited Salmān to the house because Fāṭima had received a gift from heaven and wished to share it with him. Three houris had brought it to her, with a message of sympathy from God while she was weeping for the death of her father. These three houris were called Dharrā, Mikdāda and Salmā, because they had been created for Abū Dharr [*q.v.*], Mikdād [*q.v.*] and Salmān [*q.v.*] respectively. The gift was a dish of white dates, cooled and so fragrant that Salmān was asked, as he was taking five of them home, whether he had perfumed himself with musk. The dates had no stones; God had created them for Fāṭima beneath His throne from the prayers which Muḥammad had taught her (IRT, 29). Fāṭima wished for a ring, and asked it of God during the night-prayer, Muḥammad having taught her that she should make her requests at those times. A mysterious voice informed her that the ring was under the prayer-rug. In a dream Fāṭima saw castles destined for her in Paradise and noticed that the ring had been made from the foot of a bed which was in one of these castles and which had only three feet; but next day Muḥammad told her that the family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib should set their attention on the next world and not on earthly things, and ordered her to put the ring back under the rug. In a dream Fāṭima saw the bed, which now again had four feet (ISh, 118). After the death of her father, Fāṭima

received from heaven a book with covers of red chrysolite and pages of white pearl, which contained nothing from the Kurʿān, but instruction on all that had been and would be until the Day of Resurrection (in IRT, 27, the source which speaks of this book, there is a summary of the information contained in it: it ranged from the numbers of the angels, the Prophets, etc. to the names of places on the earth, statistics of the believers, the events which would take place during 50,000 years, etc.). This book was brought to Fāṭima while she was at prayer, and the angels waited until she had completed her devotions before giving it to her and returning to heaven. Fāṭima read the book, and all—men, *qinns*, birds, beasts, prophets and angels—are bound to obey her. Later the book was handed on to ʿAlī, and after that to the *imāms* (IRT, 227 f.).

Physical privileges. Having been born pure and purified (she was a houri from heaven: HʿAW, 50), Fāṭima was exempt from the physiological troubles of women: she did not menstruate, and lost no blood during her confinements. She gave birth through the left thigh, while Mary gave birth through the right thigh (HʿAW, 48, 51). Her pregnancies lasted only nine hours.

Miracles. Several miracles were worked by Fāṭima: the stone for grinding corn turned without anyone moving it, an angel (Kūkabil or Djibril) rocked her baby's cradle. One of her garments, given as a pledge to a Jew by the wife of Zayd b. Ḥāritha, gave forth light, and the Jew and eighty other people, astonished at this miracle, embraced Islam (ISH, 16 f.). When, after the election of Abū Bakr, those who wanted to compel ʿAlī to offer the *bayʿa* made him leave the house, Fāṭima went to the mosque and, standing near her father's tomb, threatened to uncover her head; at that moment Salmān saw the walls of the mosque rise up: "My mistress and my patroness", he cried, "God sent your father in His mercy: you should not bring us misfortune!" The walls then returned to their place (ISH, 118). When Fāṭima was weeping for her father's death, it was Djibril himself who consoled her. The miracles continued even after Fāṭima's death, benefiting one of her servants and the descendant of one of her servants (ISH, 16 f.).

Fāṭima in Paradise. Fāṭima will be the first person to enter Paradise after the Resurrection (ISH, 110). All will have to lower their gaze when she crosses the Bridge (*ṣirāṭ*) which leads across Hell to Paradise. She will be escorted by seventy houris. In Paradise she will proceed, mounted on a wondrous camel with legs of emerald, eyes of ruby, etc., under a dome of light. It will be Djibril who leads the camel up to the throne of God. There she will descend and ask God to mete out justice to those who were guilty of the deaths of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. Then God will say to her, "My beloved, daughter of my beloved, ask of me what you will and I will grant it to you". Fāṭima will procure entry into Paradise for all her own people and all her supporters (ISH, 107-9). She is called al-Zahrāʾ because of the dome of rubies which hangs over her in Paradise—a wonderful dome of immense height (a whole year's journey), upheld in the sky neither suspended from above nor supported from below, with 10,000 doors and 100 angels at each one (ISH, 111). In Paradise Fāṭima will have a privilege: she will be the sole wife of ʿAlī, while other men will have as many houris as they please (ISH, 106); it was the houris who told her this (IRT, 26; ISH, 106), and it is out of respect for Fāṭima that there is no mention of houris in

Sūra LXXVI, where Paradise is described (ISH, 106).

The celestial apple. An early story, which goes back at least as far as al-Ḡhullābī (d. 298/910) runs as follows: Muḥammad, on being reproached for embracing Fāṭima but not his other daughters, told how Djibril had presented him with an apple of Paradise, which he had eaten and which had become water in his loins; he then placed it within Khadīja, who conceived Fāṭima. He finished by saying that he smelled in Fāṭima the fragrance of Paradise. Other similar accounts are given in the same source (HʿAW, 49 f.), with slight variants: Muḥammad ate the apple and a date in Paradise during the *miʿrādī* [q.v.]; both were transformed into water in his loins, etc. In ISH (135) Djibril gives Muḥammad a celestial date instead of an apple; the story then continues as above. A notable difference appears when there is introduced into the story the Light which forms the central point of other accounts; the themes then become interwoven: God created the light of Fāṭima and Fāṭima uttered His praises; then He placed the light of Fāṭima in a tree of Paradise, which shone with the splendour of it; Muḥammad, ascending to Paradise, was advised by God to pick the fruit of this tree. God caused its juice to pass into the throat of ʿAlī, and then placed Fāṭima in the loins of Muḥammad, who deposited her in Khadīja; the latter bore Fāṭima, who was of that light: she knew what was, what would be and what was not (HʿAW, 47). This last account (the Light of Fāṭima lodged in the loins of Muḥammad) would explain her *kunya* Umm Abihā.

The Light and Fāṭima. Muḥammad explained thus the reason for the preference accorded to the People of the House: God, he said, created me and ʿAlī as light, and separated off from our light that of my descendants; then He separated from our light the light of the Throne, and from that of my descendants the light of the sun and of the moon. We teach the angels the *tasbīḥ*, the *tahlīl* and the *taḥmīd* (i.e., the formulas for the praise of God). God then said to the angels: "By My power, My majesty, My generosity, My eminence, I will act", and He created the light of Fāṭima like a lamp, and it is through her that the heavens were illuminated. Fāṭima was called al-Zahrāʾ because the horizon took its light from her (HʿAW, 46). This story is of particular interest because, with its description of successive divine emanations, it contains some features characteristic of Ismāʿīlī beliefs. Another story collected by ISH (106) also speaks of light, but in a different way: God created Paradise from the light of His countenance; He took this light, and threw it; with a third of it He struck Muḥammad, with another third Fāṭima, and with the remaining third ʿAlī and the People of the House. Whoever is thus struck recognizes the *walāya* [q.v.] of the family of Muḥammad.

Fāṭima's names. Attempts have been made to see a significance in the name Fāṭima. As the root has the meaning of "weaning a child", "breaking someone of a habit", she has been said to be so called because she, and her descendants and supporters, will be spared from Hell, or because she was exempt from evil (ISH, 110, cf. 107), or because she was removed from polytheism (IRT, 10). The list of her names in IRT (10 f.) consists of nine: Fāṭima, al-Siddīka, al-Mubāraka, al-Tāhira, al-Zakiyya, al-Radiyya, al-Rādiyya, al-Muḥaddatha, al-Zahrāʾ. She was called al-Muḥaddatha because the angels spoke to her as to Mary, and she to them; they told her "God has chosen you and purified you; He

has chosen you from among the women of the world". According to H^{AW} (46), her names on earth are: Fāṭim (*sic*, in the masculine), Fāṭir, al-Zahrā', al-Batūl, al-Ḥaṣān, al-Ḥawrā', al-Sayyida, al-Šiddīka, and Maryam al-Kubrā. Ibn Bābūya (d. 381/991) knew of 16 names for Fāṭima on earth and three in heaven, and Ibn Šahrāshūb (133) who records them appends a list of 69 names and attributes which must have served as a litany, for they are linked by the rhymes in groups, usually of three. Among the names listed by H^{AW} should be noted Fāṭir, *i.e.*, Creator, for not only is it masculine, but it carried with it a glorification of Fāṭima which seems to be characteristic of the extreme Ismā'īlīs and of aberrant sects such as the Nuṣayrīs (Bausani, 189) rather than of the Imāmīs. Have we here a borrowing by the latter from the former? The belief that Fāṭima is Fāṭir, Creator, would also explain her *kunya* Umm Abihā.

References to Fāṭima in the Qur'ān; her other merits. The Qur'ān too is made to contribute to the glorification of Fāṭima, thanks to the exegesis of Shī'ī writers, who maintain that many verses allude to 'Alī and his wife. When the Book speaks of women in general, a hidden reference to Fāṭima is intended: thus in III, 193/195, "I shall not permit to be lost the work of one who works [well] among you, male or female", the "male" is 'Alī and the "female" Fāṭima at the time of the *hidjra*. Similarly they identify with 'Alī and Fāṭima the reference to the creation of man and woman in XCII, 3.

Twelve women are alluded to in the Qur'ān without their names being mentioned (*e.g.*, Eve, Sarah, Pharaoh's wife, etc.). There is such an allusion to Fāṭima in LV, 19, which speaks of two seas which God has caused to flow together: this confluence is the reconciliation of 'Alī and Fāṭima after a dispute, for he is the sea of knowledge and Fāṭima the sea of prophecy; the barrier between them, mentioned in the following verse, is the Apostle of God, who prevents 'Alī from distressing himself over the life of this world and Fāṭima from quarrelling with her husband over earthly things; the pearls and the coral of verse 22 are, since they come from these seas, allusions to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (IŠh, 101, 102 f.). Each of the women of the Qur'ān has a particular quality which is apparent from a phrase in the Book, *e.g.*, Eve has repentance (cf. Qur'ān, VII, 22/23), Pharaoh's wife desire (LXVI, 11), Fāṭima *'isma* (because of the *mubāhala*, III, 54/61). Ten of these women received a gift from God, Fāṭima's being knowledge. Support for all these, and other, assertions is found in verses of the Qur'ān (IŠh, 102-4). The best women of Paradise are Fāṭima, Khadīja, Āsiya bint Muzāḥim, Pharaoh's wife, and Maryam bint 'Imrān (= Mary), but Fāṭima is the *sayyida* par excellence (an angel had announced this to Muḥammad: H^{AW}, 51; IŠh, 104 f.). Fāṭima is often compared with Mary. On one occasion she asked the angels, "Is not Mary the chosen one?", to which the reply was "Mary is the *sayyida* of her world; God has made you the *sayyida* of the women of this world and the next" (IRT, 10); further, Fāṭima had the privilege of being married to a great man in this life and the next (IŠh, 105), and thus is superior. And although Mary preserved her virginity, so did Fāṭima, whence her title al-Batūl (also explained, however, as meaning that no woman comparable with her ever existed) (IŠh, 134 f.). Fāṭima is numbered among the four best known "returners to God" (*tawwāb* [q.v.]): Ādam,

Yūnus, Dāwūd and Fāṭima, and it is to her that the Qur'ān refers in III, 188/191; the best known "weepers" (*bakkā'* [q.v.]) number seven: Ādam, Nūḥ, Ya'qūb, Yūsuf, Šu'ayb, Dāwūd, Zayn al-Ābidīn, and she is the eighth; she had become so accustomed to weep at all times for the death of her father that the people of Medina urged her to devote herself to weeping either by night or by day (IŠh, 104).

Fāṭima in the *ta'ziyas*. The rich collection of *ta'ziyas* presented by Enrico Cerulli to the Vatican Library (of which E. Rossi and A. Bombaci have published the Index, and the latter proposes to publish resumés) presents several texts based on episodes of the Fāṭima legend, *e.g.*, her trousseau (Salmān and Abū Dharr are commissioned to make the purchases); her invitation to the wedding of a woman of the Quraysh, which led to the conversion of those present; her hard work to support herself; the misappropriation of Fadak and the violence shown by 'Umar to her and 'Alī; the visit of Abū Bakr and 'Umar during her last illness; her will; her death (a pomegranate is brought to her from heaven); her arrival at the camp of al-Ḥusayn on the 10th Muḥarram to visit the People of the Tent, and on the day following the massacre to see her son's body; various of her miracles, etc. In the introduction to the work mentioned above will be found references to other collections of these Persian sacred dramas, where too, very probably, Fāṭima plays the principal or a leading role.

The cult of Fāṭima today. Popular sympathy for Fāṭima among the Shī'a has caused several feasts to be dedicated to her: that of the *mubāhala* (21, 24 or 25 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja) is the only canonical one; others, held in private, celebrate her birth (20 Ramaḍān) or her death (3 Djumādā II and 2 Ramaḍān) or an episode of her life: the marriage to which she was invited and for which, she having no suitable garments, Djibrīl clad her in a sumptuous robe and put on her two ear-rings, the one green, foreshowing the poisoning of al-Ḥasan, the other red, a symbol of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn; on seeing her so beautiful the bride died of jealousy, but was at once restored to life by Fāṭima (on these feasts see Massignon, *La notion*, 107-11; on prayers to her, *ibid.*, 102-6). In his book *The wild rue*, Donaldson has introduced some popular tales which do not differ substantially from the accounts preserved in the Arabic and Persian texts. Only that on page 77 seems to offer some new details: after the Resurrection the earth will become a desert; Muḥammad, Fāṭima and the Imāms will appear, and Fāṭima will tell the women that all those who have wept for al-Ḥusayn and preserved their tears, thus acquiring great merit, will go to Paradise. Fāṭima will be clad in a garment with a magnificent fringe, the women will cling to it and pass over the Bridge with her in the twinkling of an eye. One further belief may be noted: the Shī'a believe that the "Five" are present at difficult moments of their lives and hear their prayers.

Fāṭima in the beliefs of the Ismā'īlīs. The study of the development of the Fāṭima legend among the Ismā'īlīs and the deviant sects of Islam is more difficult than among the Imāmīs because of their esotericism and because they are split up into numerous groups, each holding varying beliefs; and what is known of these beliefs has not yet been systematically assembled in any one study embracing all the material. Some information on Fāṭima can be drawn from the works of Massignon, and some more

from the writings of Ivanow and of Corbin. Here some general observations may be made: Among the Imāmis the Fāṭima of legend preserves almost always links with the Fāṭima of history, even in the more fantastic accounts (whose texts, furthermore, contain an admixture of *ḥadīths* having nothing of the fantastic about them, whether they are from Sunnī or from other collections). In the more extravagant exaltation accorded to Fāṭima by the Ismāʿīlis these links are often preserved; but in their systems of cosmogony she becomes a secondary element among a host of other gnostic or semi-gnostic elements, and she is then to some extent overshadowed by these and all links with her historical self are generally lost. Among the Ismāʿīlis and the deviant sects there appear other beliefs, of which we have found no trace in the Imāmī sources, e.g., the identification of Fāṭima with al-Masʿūdī al-Aḫṣā in Jerusalem, with the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, with the rock of Moses which gushed forth miraculous water (the ancestral motif of Water), and the idea that she conceived through the ear and gave birth through the navel, etc. Among the Ismāʿīlis and the deviant sects there has been a more extensive assimilation of the themes of the Christian devotion to Mary, the Mother of God. There is also, according to Massignon (*La notion . . .*, 113 f.), a tendency to identify the figures of Mary and Fāṭima in the style of depicting them in icons (Fāṭima enthroned in heaven, with a diadem, a sword, and ear-pendants).

Although the *Umm al-kitāb*, the curious holy book of groups of Ismāʿīlis of Central Asia (published and analysed by Ivanow, *REI*, 1932, 419-82; *Isl.*, xxiii (1936), 1-132), is of limited importance—it is almost unknown to the other Ismāʿīlis—we may summarize here its account of the Creation, noting that it bears a certain resemblance to that of Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb summarized above. God, a being of light (*shakhṣ nūrānī*) before the Creation, with five limbs: hearing, sight, the senses of smell and taste, and speech (which on earth were to become Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn), manifested Himself when the world began in ʿAlī, and then in successive theophanies; that of Fāṭima took place in Paradise after the creation of primordial men as a figure adorned with thousands of colours and seated on a throne with a crown on her head (Muḥammad), two ear-rings in her ears (al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn), and a sword carried in a shoulder-belt (ʿAlī); all the garden of Paradise shone upon the appearance of this radiant figure.

Conclusion. In preparing this article we have taken note of the gaps left unfilled, and therefore indicate here the course that should be followed by future students of the legend of Fāṭima. It would be advisable to collect all the references to the daughter of the Prophet in the Shīʿī *ḥadīth*-collections (e.g., that of al-Kulaynī) and in the *akhbār* Fāṭima, which Āghā Buzurg has listed in his *Dhārīʿa* (i, 243 f., 331) and, if they no longer survive, to reconstruct them, at least in part, from the numerous quotations from them in later texts; it will be necessary to establish, from al-Maḍīlisī, the beliefs accepted by the Ṣafawids, to collect together the ideas of the Ismāʿīlis, and finally, with the help of al-Kāḍī al-Nuʿmān or other authors, to establish the esoteric beliefs of the Fāṭimids. Use should be made of the Persian lithographs (excluded from this study as being confused and difficult to consult) as a source for other legendary themes, for it is very probable that the themes developed as time went on. Parallels in Shīʿī anecdotes should also be studied. Finally, the

investigator will have also to interpret the themes, and to trace what connexion they have either with beliefs which existed long before Islam, of which they could be a recrudescence, or with ideas which, although incompatible with Islam, survived in the countries conquered by the Muslims, or with details preserved in *ḥadīths* and with genuinely Islamic ideas. In our view the last is likely in most cases to prove to be the real connexion, even when the themes have expanded into stories which are completely fantastic.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, 121, 776 (Cairo ed. 1937, i, 206; iii, 407); Wāḳidī, ed. Wellhausen, 118 f., 143, 287, 324, 421, and index; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 11-20; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo 1959, 125, 269, 324, 390, 400, 402, 403, 404, 405, 414, 415, 559, 583, 586; idem, *Futūḥ*, 30-2; Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, Ḥaydarābād 1361/1942, 18 (Fāṭima's female ancestors) and index; Ṭabarī, i, 1128, 1140, 1272, 1273, 1367, 1426, 1431, 1623, 1624, 1751, 1825, 1869, 3470, iii, 2302 f., 2423, 2434-6, 2440, 2463; Yaʿqūbī, ii, 19, 35, 42, 91, 128 f., 141, 142; Ibn Kūṭayba (attrib.), *al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*, ed. Rāfiʿī, Cairo 1322/1904, 20-4 (2nd ed., Cairo 1377/1957, 12, 13 f.); idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1343-9/1925-30, iv, 70; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihī, *ʿIḥd*, Cairo 1293, ii, 3 f. For *ḥadīths*, numerous citations in A. J. Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, Leiden 1927, s.v. Fāṭima and also s.v. ʿAlī (the collections with the richest notices on Fāṭima are those of al-Tirmidhī and of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; the former devotes a chapter to *Faḍl Fāṭima bint al-nabi: Dīāmī*, [Cairo] 1292, ii, 319-21; in Bukhārī the following references are to be consulted: 56, 85, 163, 57, 1, 62, 12, 16, 29, 64, 24, 38, 83, 67, 123, 69, 6, 7, 76, 27, 79, 43, 80, 11, 85, 3); Masʿūdī, *Murādī*, iv, 146, 156, 157, 161, vi, 55, 56, 165; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Kutāb al-Istīʿāb*, Ḥaydarābād 1318-9, 770-3 = no. 3406; Ibn al-ʿAthīr, *Usd*, s.v. *Fāṭima bint Rasūl Allāh* = v, 519-25, for al-ʿAwraʾ v, 419; Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, 724-31 = no. 823, for al-ʿAwraʾ iv, 715 = no. 791; Diyārībakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-khāmīs*, [Cairo] 1302, i, 313-5, 407 f., 462-4; Halabī, *al-Sira al-Halabiyya*, Alexandria 1280, iii, 529, 607-9.

For the *mubāhala*: Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1958- , vi, 478-82; Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, Cairo 1308, i, 308 f., and the other *tafsīrs*; a short modern work: ʿUmar Abu 'l-Naṣr, *Fāṭima bint Muḥammad umm al-shuhadāʾ wa Sayyidat al-nisāʾ*, Cairo 1366/1947 (*al-shīʿa al-ūlā fi 'l-Islām*), 22-70; other citations in Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, v, 329. Shīʿī imāmī works: Kulaynī (Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb), *al-Kāfi fi ʿilm al-dīn*, Tehrān 1313/1895-6, 185-7; Ibn Rustam al-Ṭabarī, *Dalāʾil al-imāma*, Naḍjaf 1369/1949, 1-58; Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *ʿUyūn al-muʿdīṣāt*, Naḍjaf 1369/1950, 46-51; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāḳib Abi Tālib*, Naḍjaf 1956, iii, 101-40; Muḥammad Bākīr Maḍīlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, x-xiii, lith. Tehrān 1305 (the notices on Fāṭima collected officially by the Ṣafawids are in vol. x, *bābs* 1-6, pp. 2-65: (1) birth, (2) virtues and miracles, (3) habits, including domestic habits, (4) marriage, and relations with ʿAlī, (5) end of her life, (6) revenge and eschatological events. The popular version in Persian of these notices, regarded as canonical, is in: idem, *Dīlāʾ al-ʿuyūn*, Tehrān 1332/1953, *bāb* 2, 82-166—birth, virtues, life and miracles, habits, marriage, relations with ʿAlī, death, revenge); Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, (= al-Kāshī), *al-Wāfi*, Tehrān 1376/1957, 172 f. For the cano-

nical prayers of the Imāms in honour of Fāṭima: *Shaykh* 'Abbās Kūmmī, *Kullīyyāt-i mafāṭīḥ al-dīnān*, Tehrān 1316(s.)/1937-8, 41 f., 57, 301, 318, 322-4 (commentary: 244, 428, 429, 488). An Ismā'īlī work: al-Kāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, ed. A. A. Fyze, i, Cairo 1370/1951, 203 (*tasbīḥ* of Fāṭima), 285, and index). Modern authors: Abu 'l-Ḥasan Marandī, *Maḍīma' al-nūrayn wa multakā al-baḥrayn fī aḥwāl bad'at Sayyid al-ḥaḳalayn wa umm al-sibṭayn al-ṣiddīka al-kubrā al-baṭāl al-*adhrā'* al-Sayyida Fāṭima al-Zahrā'*, Tehrān 1328/1907, chaps. 1-23, 26-30, 35-7, 43-59 (cited by Massignon); 'Imād al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḍīmū'a-i zindigānī-i ḥāḥardāḥ ma'ṣūm*, Tehrān 1330 (solar), i, 221-358; Muḥsin al-Amin, *A'yān al-shi'a*, ii, 535-639; *Nāma-i Fāṭimī*, MS (Rieu, ii, 708: 'a *Shi'*ite poem on the life of Fāṭimah'); A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, i, 199, 203, ii, 462; L. Caetani, *Annali*, Intr. 160, 1 A.H., § 53, 2 A.H., §§ 17, 102, 3 A.H., § 11, 7 A.H., §§ 42, 47 no. 3, 8 A.H., §§ 80, 203, 11 A.H., §§ 19 n. 1, 37 n. 3, 59, 202-3, 203 n. 1, 205-8, 238; H. Lammens, *Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet. Notes critiques pour l'étude de la Sirā*, Rome 1912 (Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici); L. Massignon, *Der gnostische Kultus der Fatima im schiitischen Islam*, in *Eranos Jahrbücher*, 1938, 167 ff.; idem, *La Mubāhala de Médine et l'hyperdulie de Fatima*, Paris 1955; idem, *La notion du voeu et la dévotion musulmane à Fāṭima*, in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, Rome 1956, ii, 102-26; B. A. Donaldson, *The wild rue: a study of Muhammadan magic and folklore in Iran*, London 1938, 39, 55, 69, 109, 119; A. Bausani, *Persia religiosa*, Milan 1959, 188, 384-6, 390. For the *ta'ziyas*: E. Rossi and A. Bombaci, *Elenco di drammi religiosi persiani (fondo Mss. Vaticani Cerulli)*, Vatican 1961 (Studi e testi 209), index s.v. Fāṭima.

(L. VECCIA VAGLIERI)

FĀṬĪMIDS, dynasty which reigned in North Africa, and later in Egypt, from 297/909 until 567/1171.

'Ubayd Allāh (al-Mahdī), 297-322/909-34.

Al-Kā'im, 322-34/934-46.

Al-Mansūr, 334-41/946-53.

Al-Mu'izz, 341-65/953-75.

Al-'Azīz, 365-86/975-96.

Al-Ḥākim, 386-411/996-1021.

Al-Zāhir, 411-27/1021-36.

Al-Mustansir, 427-87/1036-94.

Al-Musta'li, 487-95/1094-1101.

Al-'Amir, 495-525/1101-30.

Al-Ḥāfiz, 525-44/1130-49.

Al-Zāfir, 544-9/1149-54.

Al-Fā'iz, 549-55/1154-60.

Al-'Āqid, 555-67/1160-71.

The dynasty takes its name from Fāṭima, for the Fāṭimid caliphs traced their origin to 'Alī and Fāṭima. It is also possible that another Fāṭima, the daughter of Ḥusayn, who transmitted some *ḥadīths* of her grandmother and had foreknowledge of the Mahdī, played a part in the attribution of this name (see L. Massignon, *Fāṭima bint al-Ḥusayn et l'origine du nom dynastique "Fāṭimītes"*, in *Akten des XXIV. intern. Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Munich 1957, 368). It should also be mentioned that the mother of 'Alī was a Hāshimite called Fāṭima bint Asad (Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1328, iv, 380) and that among the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ she is connected with the legend of Salmān (see al-Mokri, *Le "secret indicible..."*,

in *JA*, ccl (1962), 375), who plays an important part in Fāṭimid tradition.

According to W. Ivanow (*Ismaili traditions concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, Bombay 1942, Isl. Res. Ass. Series, no. 10, 80), the name Fāṭimīyyūn, which, according to al-Ṭabarī (iii, 2219, *sub anno* 289), had been adopted by the Bedouin Banu 'l-Aṣbagh of the Syrian desert whose leader was the Ḳarmaṭo-Ismā'īlī Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh, was the first name of the Ismā'īlīs. But Massignon (*op. cit.*) reminds us that the name is already found in Baḥshār b. Burd, used in a pejorative sense. The origin of the Fāṭimid movement, which in North Africa brought the Fāṭimids to power in the person of 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī, must be sought in Ismā'īlism [see ISMĀ'IL-ĪYYA], a *Shi'* doctrine which was at the same time political and religious, philosophical and social, and whose adherents expected the appearance of a Mahdī descended from the Prophet through 'Alī and Fāṭima, in the line of Ismā'īl, son of Dīa'far al-Ṣādīk.

GENEALOGY OF THE FĀṬIMIDS

The Fāṭimids trace their origin to Ismā'īl, but as they did not announce their genealogy publicly and officially for some time, and as, during the period of the Hidden Imāms, the *saṭr* (q.v.), the names of the imāms between Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī were intentionally left in the dark, several different genealogies became current; with the result that, even today, the origin of the Fāṭimids is still wrapped in obscurity. The enemies of the Fāṭimids denied their descent from 'Alī and declared that they were impostors. Following the ancient Arab habit of giving a Jewish origin to people they hate (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 204), 'Ubayd Allāh has even been presented as the son of a Jew.

According to the traditional Fāṭimid genealogy, 'Ubayd Allāh was the son of Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Dīa'far al-Ṣādīk. The general anti-Fāṭimid tradition has it that he was the son of Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Ḳaddāh, that he was really called Sa'īd, and that it was only in North Africa that he took the name of 'Ubayd Allāh (or 'Abd Allāh) and claimed to be of 'Alid descent and to be the Mahdī (on Maymūn al-Ḳaddāh and his son 'Abd Allāh and their relations with Dīa'far al-Ṣādīk and his grandson Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, see 'ABD ALLĀH B. MAYMŪN).

On the genealogy of the Fāṭimids, the different forms, both anti-Fāṭimid and Ismā'īlī, in which it has been presented, and the complex problems which it raises and which seem to defy a satisfactory solution, information is to be found in various works: S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, Göttingen 1881; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, Strasbourg 1902-3; De Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes*, Leiden 1886; P. H. Mamour, *Polemics on the origin of the Fatimi Caliphs*, London 1924. The question has been studied afresh in more recent works: W. Ivanow, *Ismaili traditions concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, 1942, 154 f., 223 f.; idem, *Ismailis and Qarmatians*, in *JBRAS*, 1940, 70 f.; idem, *The alleged founder of Ismailism*, Bombay 1946, 169 f. (Ism. Soc. Series, no. 1); B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismā'īlism*, Cambridge 1940 (Arabic translation, Baghdad 1947). Still more recently have appeared: Husayn F. al-Hamdani, *On the genealogy of Fatimid Caliphs*, Cairo 1958, and W. Madelung,