

Tabari lists [chronologically (Tabari, 9. 120-141)¹] 21 formal wives of Muhammad. They were:

1. Khadijah bint Khuwaylid
2. Sawdah bint Jamah
3. Aisha bint Abu Bakr
4. Hafsa bint Umar (Hafsa found Muhammad and Mariyah in her bed and she became hysterical (footnote 884, Tabari 9. 131).
5. Umm Salamah
6. Juwayriyyah
7. Umm Habiba bint Abi Sufyan
- 8. Zaynab bint Jahsh**
9. Safiyyah bint Huyayy
10. Maymunah bint Al-Harith
11. Sana bint Asma or Saba bint Asma. She died before Muhammad consummated the marriage.
12. al-Shama bint Amr al-Ghifariyah. Muhammad divorced her for her doubting his prophethood.
13. Ghaziyyah bint Jabir. She was previously married and had a son named Sharik. She was beautiful but she refused to consummate the marriage. Muhammad found her old (ibid, p.139); so he returned her to her people.
14. Amrah bint Yazid. Some say she herself gave to Muhammad (33:50). Muhammad did not consummate the marriage.
15. Asma bint Al-Numan. Muhammad found her suffering from leprosy; so he divorced her giving her compensation.
16. Zaynab bint Khuzaymah—also called Umm al-Masakin (mother of the poor)
17. Al-Aliyah bint Zabyan. It is alleged that she peeped through her door at the people in the mosque. So Muhammad divorced her after paying her some compensation (ibid, footnote 919, p.138).
18. Qutaylah bint Qays—but Muhammad died before he could consummate his marriage with her. She and her brother apostatized from Islam.
19. Fatimah bint Shurayh (Sara).
20. Kawlah bint Hudhayl
21. Layla bt. Al-Khatim. She offered herself to Muhammad and Muhammad accepted her as his wife. Later, when her people admonished her for marrying Muhammad, she requested for a divorce and Muhammad divorced her.

List of women to whom Muhammad proposed but did not marry

1. Umm Hani bint. Abi Talib—she had a child. Previously Abu Talib had rejected Muhammad's proposal to marry her.
2. Dubbah bint Amir—she was too old.
3. Safiyyah bint Bashshamah—she was a captive.
4. Umm Habiba bint al-Abbas—fosterage.
5. Jamrah bint Al-Harith—was suffering from leprosy.
6. Khawlah bint Hakim.
7. Amamah bint Hamzah.

Muhammad's concubines were:

1. Mariyah bint Sham'un (Hafsa found Mariyah and Muhammad together in her bed and she was hysterical (Tabari, ix.131, footnote 884)
2. Rayhanah bint Zayd al-Quraziyyah.

Marriage not consummated:

1. Mulaykah bint Kab al-Laythi—Muhammad divorced her.
2. Bint Jundub.
3. Saba bt. Al-Salt

¹ al-Tabari, Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Jarir. *The Last Years of the Prophet*, vol. ix. Translated by Ismail K. Poonwala. State University of New York Press, Albany, 1990. ISBN 0-88706-692-5.



The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The Last Years of the Prophet

translated and annotated
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Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Sharīq: I heard my father saying: I have received an account on the authority of Abū Ḥamzah—Muṭarriḥ⁸⁶⁵—Abū Ishāq—Mujāhid: I heard Ibn 'Umar saying that the Messenger of God performed three *'umrahs*. When [this report] reached 'Ā'ishah, she said that Ibn 'Umar knew that he performed four, and that one of them was combined with the pilgrimage.

[1766] Ibn Humayd—Jarīr⁸⁶⁶—Manṣūr⁸⁶⁷—Mujāhid: Once 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr and I entered the mosque while Ibn 'Umar was sitting near 'Ā'ishah's room. We asked him, "How many *'umrahs* did the Prophet perform?" "Four," he replied, "One of them was in Rajab."⁸⁶⁸ We disliked contradicting and refuting him, but we heard the noise of 'Ā'ishah in the room cleaning her teeth with the *siwāk*.⁸⁶⁹ 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr said, "O my mother, O Mother of the Faithful, do you not hear what Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān says?" "What does he say?" she asked. He replied, "He says that the Prophet performed four *'umrahs*, and that one of them was in Rajab." She replied, "May God treat Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān with mercy! The Prophet did not perform any *'umrah* when he was not present, and he did not perform [any] *'umrah* in Rajab."

*Report about the Messenger of God's Wives,
Those Who Survived Him, Those Who Left Him,
the Reason for Which They Left,
and Those Who Died before Him*

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad:⁸⁷⁰ My father reported to me that the Messenger of God married fifteen women

865. Muṭarriḥ b. Ṭarīf al-Ḥārithī died between 133/750–51 and 143/760–61. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 172–73.

866. Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Dabbī died in 188/803–4. Ibid., II, 75–77.

867. Manṣūr b. al-Mu'tamir al-Kūfī died in 132/749–50. Ibid., X, 312–15.

868. *'Umrah* during the month of Rajab was considered solemn by the Quraysh. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 201.

869. A piece of stick (from a tree called *arāk*) with which the teeth are cleaned, the end of it being made like a brush by chewing it. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. s-w-k.

870. Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī died in 204/819 or 206/821 in al-Kūfah. Ibn Hajar, *Lisān*, VI, 196–97. The *isnād* implied here is: His father—Abū Sālih—Ibn 'Abbās. The same *isnād* is cited in Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*. See also *EP*, s.v. Kalbī, Hishām b. Muḥammad.

and consummated his marriage with thirteen. He combined eleven at a time and left behind nine.⁸⁷¹

He married Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā in pre-Islamic days when he was twenty and some years old.⁸⁷² She was the first [woman] whom he married. Before that she was married to 'Atīq⁸⁷³ b. 'Abid b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm. Her mother was Fāṭimah bt. Zā'idah b. al-Aṣamm b. Rawāḥah b. Ḥajar b. Ma'īṣ b. Lu'ayy. From 'Atīq she gave birth to a girl,⁸⁷⁴ after which he died. She was then married to Abū Hālah b. Zurārah b. Nabbāsh b. Zurārah b. Ḥabīb b. Salāmah b. Ghuzayy b. Jurwah b. Usayyid b. 'Amr b. Tamīm, who was of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. From Abū Hālah she gave birth to Hind bt. Abī Hālah,⁸⁷⁵ after which he died. When the Messenger of God married [Khadījah], she had Hind bt. Abī Hālah with her. She bore eight children with the Messenger of God: al-Qāsim, al-Ṭayyib, al-Ṭāhir, 'Abdallāh, Zaynab, Ruqayyah, Umm Kulthūm, and Fāṭimah.⁸⁷⁶

871. Ibn Hishām (*Sirah*, IV, 293): He married thirteen women and left behind nine. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 307), reporting on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī, gives the same account as that of Ṭabarī. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Sirah*, IV, 580. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 393–99, and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 223–33, give a comprehensive list. The latter tries to justify Muḥammad's nine wives (at the same time) by the Qur'ānic verse 4:3, by adding the numbers two, three, and four. The sequence of his marriages, as given by Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 227–50, is as follows: First Khadījah, then Sawdah, then 'Ā'ishah, then Ḥafṣah, then Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah, then Umm Ḥabibah, then Umm Salamah, then Zaynab b. Jaḥsh, then Juwayriyyah, then Saḥiyyah, and then Maymūnah.

872. Muḥammad's age at the time of his marriage with Khadījah is generally given as twenty-five, but some sources state that he was twenty-one, or thirty. Her age, on the other hand, is generally given as forty; however, according to some reports she was either twenty-eight or two years older than Muḥammad. She died in Ramaḍān, tenth year of the mission (or three years before the Emigration). Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, VIII, 7–27; Ibn Kathīr, *Sirah*, IV, 581.

873. Ibn Hishām: Utayyiq. Ibn Ishāq (*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 229): 'Atīq b. 'Ā'idh.

874. Ibn Hishām adds: And 'Abdallāh. Ibn Sa'd adds: Called Hind, hence she was called Umm Hind.

875. Ibn Hishām adds: And Zaynab bt. Abī Hālah. Ibn Ishāq (*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 229): [From Abū Hālah] she gave birth to a boy and a girl.

876. Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, I, 202, names three male children as al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, and al-Ṭayyib. Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 229, cites two reports: (i) it states that she gave birth to seven children, four female and three male, al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, and al-Ṭayyib; (ii) it states that she gave birth to six children, four female and two male, al-Qāsim, and 'Abdallāh. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 307, names eight children as given in Ṭabarī, but Ibn Sa'd lists seven and states that 'Abdallāh was

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: The Messenger of God did not marry another woman during the life of Khadījah until she passed away. When she died, the Messenger of God got married, but [opinions] differ as to whom he married first after Khadījah. Some say that it was 'Ā'ishah bt. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddiq, while others say that it was Sawdah bt. Zam'ah b. Qays b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Wudd b. Naṣr. As for 'Ā'ishah, when he married her she was very young and not yet ready for consummation,⁸⁷⁷ whereas Sawdah was already married before. Before the Prophet, her husband was al-Sakrān b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams. Al-Sakrān was one of the emigrants to Abyssinia [al-Ḥabashah], who became a Christian and died there. The Messenger of God married her while he was in Mecca.⁸⁷⁸

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] states: All those knowledgeable about the Messenger of God's life agree that the Messenger of God consummated his marriage with Sawdah before [consummating his marriage with] 'Ā'ishah.

also called Ṭāhir. Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 581–83, also names three male children: al-Qāsim, al-Ṭayyib, and al-Ṭāhir. They died in their infancy: al-Qāsim and Ṭāhir before the mission, while Ṭayyib after the mission. Some scholars state that Ṭāhir and Ṭayyib are names of 'Abdallāh. Zaynab, the eldest daughter, was married to her cousin Abū al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabī'ah before the mission. Her husband fought against the Muslims at Badr and was taken captive. She died in 8/629. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib married her daughter Amāmah after the death of Fātimah.

Both Ruqayyah and Umm Kulthūm were betrothed to Abū Lahab's sons before the mission, but were divorced after the revelation of *sūrah* 111. Ruqayyah was later married to 'Uthmān. After her death in Ramaḍān 2/624, Umm Kulthūm was married to 'Uthmān in Rabī' I, 3/624, and she died in Sha'bān 9/631. Fātimah, born five years before the mission, was the youngest daughter and survived her father for a few months. For details, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 7–27; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 396–407; Ṭabarī, *Dhuyūl*, 493–94, 498–99; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 233–36; *Et*, s.v. Khadījah.

877. She was six years old when the Prophet married her in Shawwāl, tenth year of the mission. The marriage was consummated in Shawwāl in Medina when she was nine years old. She died in Ramaḍān 58/678. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 39–56; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 409–21.

878. Ibn Ishāq [*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 238] states that the couple returned to Mecca and al-Sakrān died there while he was a professing Muslim. The Prophet married her in Ramaḍān, tenth year of the mission. At one time, during the later Medinan period, the Prophet divorced her, but she came back pleading and he agreed to take her back. She died in 23/644 or at a later date. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 35–39; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 407–8; *Et*, s.v. Sawda bint Zam'a.

The Reason Why the Messenger of God Asked for the Hands of Both 'Ā'ishah and Sawdah in Marriage and the Received Reports as to with Whom He First Contracted the Marriage

Sa'id b. Yahyā b. Sa'id al-Umawī⁸⁷⁹—his father⁸⁸⁰—Muḥammad b. 'Amr—Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥaṭīb⁸⁸¹—'Ā'ishah: When Khadījah died, Khawlah bt. Ḥakīm b. Umayyah b. al-Awqas, wife of 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'un, who was in Mecca, said [to the Messenger of God], "O Messenger of God, will you not marry?" He replied, "Whom?" "A maiden," she said, "if you like, or a non-maiden." He replied, "Who is the maiden?" "The daughter of the dearest creature of God to you," she answered, "'Ā'ishah bt. Abī Bakr." He asked, "And who is the non-maiden?" "Sawdah bt. Zam'ah b. Qays," she replied, "she has [long] believed in you and has followed you." [So the Prophet] asked her to go and propose to them on his behalf. [1768]

She went to Abū Bakr's house, where she found Umm Rūmān, mother of 'Ā'ishah, and said, "O Umm Rūmān, what a good thing and a blessing has God brought to you!" She said, "What is that?" Khawlah replied, "The Messenger of God has sent me to ask for 'Ā'ishah's hand in marriage on his behalf." She answered, "I ask that you wait for Abū Bakr, for he should be on his way." When Abū Bakr came, Khawlah repeated what she had said. He replied, "She is [like] his brother's daughter. Would she be appropriate for him?" When Khawlah returned to the Messenger of God and told him about it he said, "Go back to him and say that he is my brother in Islam and that I am his brother [in Islam], so his daughter is good for me." She came to Abū Bakr and told him what the Messenger of God had said. Then he asked her to wait until he returned.

Umm Rūmān said that al-Muṭ'im b. 'Adī had asked 'Ā'ishah's hand for his son, but Abū Bakr had not promised anything. Abū Bakr left and went to Muṭ'im while his wife, mother of the son for

879. Died in 249/863. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 97–98.

880. Yahyā b. Sa'id b. Abān b. Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ died in 194/809–10. *Ibid.*, XI, 213–14.

881. Died in 104/722–23. *Ibid.*, XI, 249–50.

[1769] whom he had asked 'Ā'ishah's hand, was with him. She said, "O son of Abū Quhāfah, perhaps we could marry our son to your daughter if you could make him leave his religion and bring him in to the religion which you practice." He turned to her husband al-Muṭ'im and said, "What is she saying?" He replied, "She says [what you have just heard]." Abū Bakr left, [realizing that] God had [just] removed the problem he had in his mind. He said to Khawlah, "Call the Messenger of God." She called him and he came. Abū Bakr married ['Ā'ishah] to him when she was [only] six years old.

Then Khawlah left and went to Sawdah, saying, "O Sawdah, what a good thing and a blessing has God brought to you!" She said, "What is that?" Khawlah replied, "The Messenger of God has sent me with a marriage proposal." Sawdah said, "I want you to go to my father and tell him about it." Khawlah states: He was a very old man and had stayed away from the pilgrimage. I went to him and greeted him with the pre-Islamic salutation and told him that Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had sent me to ask for Sawdah's hand in marriage. "A noble match," he replied, "What does your friend⁸⁸² say?" "She likes it," Khawlah replied. He said, "Call her to me." She was called and he said, "O Sawdah, [this woman] alleges that Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib has sent her to propose marriage to you, which is a noble match. Do you wish that I marry you to him?" "Yes," she replied. Then he called for him. [The Prophet] came and he married her to him. Her brother 'Abd b. Zam'ah came from the pilgrimage and [when he found out about the marriage] began to pour dust over his head. After he had embraced Islam he said, "I was a fool who poured dust over his head the day the Messenger of God married Sawdah bt. Zam'ah."

[1770] 'Ā'ishah states: We came to Medina and Abū Bakr took up quarters in al-Sunḥ among the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. The Messenger of God came to our house and men and women of the *Anṣār* gathered around him. My mother came to me while I was being swung on a swing between two branches and got me down. Jumaymah, my nurse, took over and wiped my face with some water and started leading me. When I was at the door, she stopped

882. As in IA [Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghābah*]. Text: His friend.

so I could catch my breath. I was then brought [in] while the Messenger of God was sitting on a bed in our house. [My mother] made me sit on his lap and said, "These are your relatives. May God bless you with them and bless them with you!" Then the men and women got up and left. The Messenger of God consummated his marriage with me in my house when I was nine years old. Neither a camel nor a sheep was slaughtered on behalf of me. Only Sa'd b. 'Ubadah sent a bowl of food which he used to send to the Messenger of God.

'Alī b. Naṣr—'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Wārith—'Abd al-Wārith b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad—his father—Abān al-'Aṭṭār—Hishām b. 'Urwah—'Urwah: He wrote to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān⁸⁸³ stating that he had written to him about Khadijah bt. Khuwaylid, asking him about when she died. She died three years or close to that before the Messenger of God's departure from Mecca, and he married 'Ā'ishah after Khadijah's death. The Messenger of God saw 'Ā'ishah twice—[first when] it was said to him that she was his wife (she was six years old at that time), and later [when] he consummated his marriage with her after coming to Medina when she was nine years old.

[The report goes back to Hishām b. Muḥammad. See above, I, 1766.] Then the Messenger of God married 'Ā'ishah bt. Abī Bakr, whose name is 'Atīq b. Abī Quhāfah, who is 'Uthmān, and is called 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Uthmān b. 'Amir b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murrah. [The Prophet] married her three years before the Emigration, when she was seven years old, and consummated the marriage when she was nine years old, after he had emigrated to Medina in Shawwāl. She was eighteen years old when he died. The Messenger of God did not marry any maiden except her.

Then the Messenger of God married Ḥafṣah bt. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Riyāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Qurṭ b. Ka'b.⁸⁸⁴ Before that she was married to Khunays b. Ḥudhāfah b.

883. He was the fifth Umayyad caliph (65–86/685–705). *EP*, s.v. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.

884. The Prophet married her in Sha'bān 3/February 625 before the battle of Uhud. She was his fourth wife. One day, when she returned from her father's house, she found the Messenger of God with Māriyah in her house and burst into hysterical behavior. The situation was further aggravated by 'Ā'ishah's chattering tongue. According to Ibn Ishāq [*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 240] the Prophet had divorced her once but then took her back. She died in Sha'bān 45/665. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*,

Qays b. 'Adī b. Sa'd b. Sahn⁸⁸⁵ who was a Badrī, for he was present at Badr with the Messenger of God. He was the only one from the Banū Sahn to be present at Badr, and she did not bear any children with him.

Then the Messenger of God married Umm Salamah, and her name is Hind bt. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm.⁸⁸⁶ Previously, she was married to Abū Salamah b. 'Abd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm,⁸⁸⁷ who was present at Badr with the Messenger of God. He was an intrepid warrior of his clan and died of wounds suffered on the day of Uhūd. He was the Messenger of God's cousin [son of the Prophet's paternal aunt] and foster brother, whose mother was Barraḥ bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. She bore with him 'Umar, Salamah, Zaynab, and Durrah.⁸⁸⁸ When Abū Salamah died, the Messenger of God said nine *takbīrahs* [during the prayer over him]. When he was asked whether he was distracted or had forgotten [the proper number], he replied, "I was neither distracted nor had I forgotten. Even if I had said a thousand *takbīrahs* [during the prayer] over Abū Salamah, he was worthy of it," and he prayed for the surviving members of his family. The Messenger of God married [Umm Salamah] in the year 3/624,⁸⁸⁹ before the battle of al-Aḥzāb. Salamah, son of Abū Salamah, married the daughter of Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.⁸⁹⁰

VIII, 56–60; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 423–27; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 230–31; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 317–20; *EP*², s.v. Ḥafṣa.

885. He died in 2/624. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 285–86; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 214–15.

886. Both she and her husband were early converts to Islam and had migrated to Abyssinia. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 60–67, gives an interesting conversation between her and the Prophet when the latter proposed marriage to her. According to some authorities, she died in Dhū al-Qa'dah 59/679, while according to others she died after the massacre of Karbalā'. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 429–32; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 308; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VIII, 221–25.

887. He died because of injuries suffered at Uhūd. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, III/1, 170–72.

888. Hisch., Ibn Hishām: Ruqayyah.

889. The date given by Ibn Sa'd and Balādhurī that the Prophet married her in Shawwāl 4/626 seems to be more likely, because the battle of Uhūd took place in Shawwāl 3/625 and Abū Salamah died thereafter.

890. On his conversion the uncle of the Prophet became one of the bravest champions of Islam. He was slain fighting heroically at Uhūd. *EP*², s.v. Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

Then the Messenger of God married Juwayriyyah⁸⁹¹ bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Dirār b. Ḥabīb b. Mālik b. Jadhīmah, who is al-Muṣṭaliq b. Sa'd b. 'Amr, in the year of al-Muraysī' [i.e., the expedition against the Banū Muṣṭaliq] [the year 5/626–27]. Previously, she was married to Mālik b. Ṣafwān Dhī al-Shafr b. Abī Sarḥ b. Mālik b. al-Muṣṭaliq, but did not bear any children with him. She was chosen (*ṣafiyyah*) by the Messenger of God for himself on the day of al-Muraysī' [from the captives and at which time], he freed her and married her.⁸⁹² She asked the Messenger of God to release what was in his possession from her people, and he did so.

Then the Messenger of God married Umm Ḥabībah⁸⁹³ bt. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb. She was [previously] married to 'Ubaydallāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mur b. Ṣabirah b. Murrah b. Kabīr b. Ghanm b. Dūdān b. Asad. Both she and her husband were among the emigrants to Abyssinia. Her husband embraced Christianity and tried to make her follow him, but she refused and maintained her religion. He died as a Christian, so the Messenger of God sent [his marriage proposal] to the Negus. The Negus said to [her husband's] companions, "Who is more entitled [to take care] of her?" They said, "Khālīd b. Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ." The Negus said [to Khālīd], "Marry her to your Prophet." He did so and the Negus gave her four hundred dinārs as dowry (*mahr*). It is, however, said that the Messenger of God asked 'Uthmān b. 'Affān for her hand in marriage, and after he allowed [the Prophet] to marry her, the Messenger of God sent to the Negus for her. The latter gave her dowry

891. Ibn Sa'd: Her name was Barraḥ and the Prophet gave her a new name, Juwayriyyah.

892. Both Ibn Hishām and Wāqidi state that she had fallen to the lot of Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās al-Anṣārī. She was very beautiful, and she haggled with him to write a written contract with her that she should pay a certain sum as the price of herself, and on the payment thereof be free. Probably, he was unwilling to part with her, hence she went to the Messenger of God asking for his help in the matter. He said, "Would you like something better than that?" "What is that?" she asked. "I will pay the sum on your behalf and marry you," he replied. "Yes," she answered, and he married her.

Another version of the story states that her father came to the Messenger of God with the ransom and accepted Islam. The Messenger of God gave her back to her father, she accepted Islam, and he asked her father for her hand in marriage. She died in 50/670 or 56/676. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, IV, 295–96; Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, I, 410–12; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 83–85; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 441–42.

893. Ibn Hishām and Ibn Sa'd add: Whose name was Ramlah.

on behalf of the Messenger of God and sent her back to him.⁸⁹⁴

[1773]

Then the Messenger of God married Zaynab bt. Jahsh b. Ri'ab b. Ya'mur b. Šabirah.⁸⁹⁵ Previously, she was married to Zayd b. Hārithah b. Sharāḥil, freedman of the Messenger of God, but she did not bear any children with him. [It was] about her that God revealed: "When you said to him whom God had blessed and you had favored, 'Keep your wife to yourself and fear God,' you concealed within yourself that which God was about to reveal. You feared other men, but it is more fitting that you should fear God. When Zayd had accomplished the necessary [formality of divorce] from her, We gave her in marriage to you, so that there should not be any fault for the believers in respect to the wives of their adopted sons, after they have performed the necessary formality [of divorce] from them. And God's command must be fulfilled."⁸⁹⁶ God married her to him and sent Gabriel concerning that matter. She used to boast to the other wives of the Prophet, saying, "I am the most honored among you because of the One who gave me in marriage and the one who was my intermediary [i.e., Gabriel] (*akramukunna waliyyan wa akramukunna safiran*)."⁸⁹⁷

Then the Messenger of God married Šafiyyah bt. Huyayy b. Akhtab b. Sa'yah b. Tha'labah b. Ubayd b. Ka'b b. al-Khazraj b. Abi Ḥabīb b. al-Naḍir. Previously, she was married to Sallām b. Mishkam b. al-Ḥakam b. Hārithah b. al-Khazraj b. Ka'b b. al-

894. The Prophet married her in 7/628-29 and she died in 44/664-65. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 68-71, provides more details of the marriage. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 438-40.

895. She was the Prophet's cousin and he married her in Dhū al-Qa'dah 5/627. She died in 20/641, and it is said that she was the first one to die from among his wives. For details see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 114; VIII, 71-82; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 433-37; Ibn Hajar, *Iṣābah*, VII, 667-70; Lings, *Muhammad*, 337.

896. Qur'an 33:37. This marriage of the Prophet has been discussed widely. According to some, it served as a legal test case against the prevailing notion of adoption. Andrae, *Mohammed*, 153-54; Rodinson, *Mahomet*, 238-41.

897. It refers to her marriage. She states that God was her *wali*, who gave her away in marriage, and that Gabriel was the intermediary (*safir*). Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 435.

Ibn Sa'd reports: One day Zaynab [bragging about herself] said to the Prophet, "I am not, O Messenger of God, like other wives of yours. All of them were married to you either by their fathers, brothers, or guardians except me. It was God who gave me in marriage to you." See also Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 309; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 226-27.

Khazraj. After his death she was married to Kinānah b. al-Rabī' b. Abi al-Ḥuqayq, who was killed by Muḥammad b. Maslamah at the Prophet's order. He was struck on the neck until he died. When the Prophet scrutinized the captives on the day of Khaybar, he threw his cloak over Šafiyyah. Thus she was his chosen one (*šafiyyah*)⁸⁹⁸ on the day of Khaybar.⁸⁹⁹ Then he proposed Islam to her and she accepted, so he freed her. That was in the year 6/627-28.

Then the Messenger of God married Maymūnah bt. al-Hārith b. Ḥazn b. Bujayr b. al-Huzam b. Ruwaybah b. 'Abdallāh b. Hilāl. Previously, she was married to 'Umayr⁹⁰⁰ b. 'Amr of the Banū 'Uqdah b. Ghiyarah b. 'Awf b. Qasī, who was [from] Thaḳīf. She did not bear any children with him, and she was the sister of Umm al-Faḍl, wife of 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The Messenger of God married her in Sarif during his Lesser Pilgrimage of Fulfillment (*'umrat al-qaḍā'*).⁹⁰¹ Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib married her to him.

The Messenger of God married all the women we have mentioned [above], and when he died all of them except Khadijah bt. Khuwaylid were alive.⁹⁰² [1774]

The Messenger of God married a woman of the Banū Kilāb b. Rabī'ah called al-Nashāt bt. Rifā'ah. The Banū Kilāb were the

898. See Ṭabarī, above, I, 1718, n. 509.

899. According to one report, she fell in the lot of Dihya al-Kalbī, and the Prophet bought her from him. She died in 50/670 or 52/672. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 85-92; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 442-44.

900. Ibn Hishām: She was married to Abū Ruhm b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 444): She was married to Abū Sabrah b. Abi Ruhm. Ibn Hishām further adds: It is said that it was she who gave herself to the Prophet because she received his marriage proposal while she was on her camel. She said, "The camel and what is on it belongs to God and His messenger." So God revealed: "A believing woman who bestows herself upon the Prophet, provided the Prophet wants to marry her." [Qur'an 33:50]. See also *El*, s.v. Maimūna.

It is said that the one who bestowed herself upon the Prophet was Zaynab bt. Jahsh, or Umm Sharik Ghaziyyah bt. Jābir. Others state that it was a woman from the Banū Sāmah b. Lu'ayy and that the Prophet postponed the matter.

901. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 94-100, gives a long report whether the Prophet was in the state of *iḥrām* or not when he married her. See also Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 247-48. She died in 61/680-81, and it is said that she was the last of the Prophet's widows to die.

902. Ibn Hishām: The Messenger of God consummated his marriage with eleven women, two of whom died before him: Khadijah bt. Khuwaylid and Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah.

allies of the Banū Rifā'ah of the Qurayzah. [The authorities] differ about her.⁹⁰³ Some call her Sanā and trace her lineage as Sanā⁹⁰⁴ bt. Asmā' b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulamīyah, while others say that she is Sabā bt. Asmā' b. al-Ṣalt of the Banū Ḥarām of the Banū Sulaym. They say that she died before the Messenger of God consummated his marriage with her. Some, ascribing her lineage, state that she is Sanā bt. al-Ṣalt b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥārithah b. Hilāl b. Ḥarām b. Sammāl b. 'Awf al-Sulamī.

The Messenger of God married al-Shanbā' bt. 'Amr al-Ghifāriyyah, whose tribe were also the allies of the Banū Qurayza. Some [authorities] allege that she was a Qurāziyyah, and that her lineage is not known because the Banū Qurayzah perished. It is also said that she was a Kināniyyah. She menstruated when she entered [the house of] the Messenger of God, and [the Prophet's son] Ibrāhīm died before she took her ritual purification bath. She said, "If he were a prophet, the person who is dearest to him would not have died," so the Messenger of God dismissed her by [giving her] divorce.⁹⁰⁵

[1775] The Messenger of God married Ghaziyyah⁹⁰⁶ bt. Jābir of the Banū Abī Bakr b. Kilāb. [The news of] her beauty and skill had reached the Messenger of God, so he sent Abū Usayd al-Anṣārī al-Sā'idī asking her hand in marriage. Being in a state of infidelity when she came to the Prophet, she said, "I was not consulted [about this marriage], and I seek refuge from you in the name of God." He replied, "One who seeks God's protection is inviola-

903. Her name is given differently by different authorities, such as Fātimah bt. al-Dahhāk, 'Amrah bt. Yazīd, al-'Alīyyah bt. Zabyān, and Sabā bt. Sufyān.

Ibn Hishām states: "[Among the women whom the Prophet married but did not consummate the marriage was] 'Amrah bt. Yazīd al-Kilābiyyah. Being recently in a state of infidelity, when she came to the Messenger of God she sought refuge from him. The Prophet replied, '[One who seeks God's protection] is inviolable,' and returned her to her folk." He further adds: "Others state that the one who sought God's refuge was a woman of Kindah, a cousin of Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān. It is said that when the Messenger of God summoned her, she said, 'We are a people to whom others come, we go to none.' The Messenger of God returned her to her people." Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 100-112, 159-60; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 454-55; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 587; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, VIII, 64.

904. Sabā, or Shanbā: in Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 309.

905. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 309; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 580. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd.

906. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 310): 'Adhiyyah, or 'Arabah. Ibn Sa'd: She is called Umm Sharik.

ble," and returned her to her people.⁹⁰⁷ It is said that she was from Kindah.

The Messenger of God married Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān b. al-Aswad b. Sharāhīl b. al-Jawn b. Ḥujr b. Mu'āwiyah al-Kindī. When he went to her he found that she was suffering from leprosy, so he gave her a compensation [for divorce], provided her [with some provision], and returned her to her people. It is also said that it was al-Nu'mān who sent her to the Messenger of God and that she defamed him.⁹⁰⁸ When she went to him she also sought refuge from him, so he sent her to her father saying, "Is she not your daughter?" He replied that she was. The Prophet said to her, "Are you not his daughter?" She replied that she was. Al-Nu'mān said, "Take her, O Messenger of God, she is . . .," and he praised her excessively. He replied that she would never be useful. The Messenger of God did with her what he did with al-'Āmiriyyah. It is not known whether it was because of her pronouncement or that of her father that the Messenger of God said that she would never be useful.

God granted Rayḥānah bt. Zayd of the Banū Qurayzah to his Messenger [as booty].⁹⁰⁹ Māriyah the Copt was presented to the Messenger of God, given to him by al-Muqawqis, the ruler of Alexandria, and she gave birth to the Messenger of God's son Ibrāhīm.⁹¹⁰ These were the Messenger of God's wives; six of them were from the Quraysh.⁹¹¹

907. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 110-12, gives quite a different account. It was she who gave herself to the Prophet and the Qur'ānic verse 33:50 refers to her. Because the Prophet did not marry her, she did not marry anyone else. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 422.

908. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 102-5, states that Nu'mān came to the Prophet, accepted Islam and offered his daughter in marriage. It was in Rabi' I, 9/630, but when the Prophet entered into her presence she sought God's refuge, so he divorced her. For a slightly different version, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 456-57.

909. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 92-94) and Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 453-54) state that the Prophet freed her after she accepted Islam and married her in Muḥarram 6/627. She died soon after the Prophet's return from the Farewell Pilgrimage. See also Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, III, 256.

910. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 153-56, and Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 448-53, for details about Māriyah and Ibrāhīm.

911. Ibn Hishām: Among the Prophet's wives, six were Qurayshite: Khadijah, 'Ā'ishah, Ḥafṣah, Umm Ḥabībah, Umm Salamah, and Sawdah. The Arab women and others were seven: Zaynab bt. Jahsh, Maymūnah bt. al-Ḥārith, Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah, Juwayriyyah bt. al-Ḥārith, Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān, and 'Amrah bt. Yazīd. Ṣāfiyyah bt. Ḥuyayy was a non-Arab.

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī] states: Among the marriages not mentioned by Hishām [b. Muḥammad] in this report is the one related from the Messenger of God according to which he married Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah. She is the one called *Umm al-Masākīn* (Mother of the Poor),⁹¹² [and was] from the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'ah. She is Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Manāf b. Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'ah. Previously, she was married to al-Ṭufayl⁹¹³ b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib, brother of 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith. She died in Medina while she was married to the Messenger of God. It is said that no one from the Messenger of God's wives died while he was alive except her, Khadijah, Sharāf bt. Khalifah (sister of Dihyah b. Khalifah al-Kalbī),⁹¹⁴ and al-'Āliyyah bt. Zabyān.⁹¹⁵

[1776]

Ibn 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam⁹¹⁶—Shu'ayb b. al-Layth⁹¹⁷—'Uqayl⁹¹⁸—Ibn Shihāb [al-Zuhri]: The Messenger of God married al-'Āliyyah,⁹¹⁹ a woman of the Banū Abī Bakr b. Kilāb. He gave her gifts [compensation for divorce] and left her. He [also] married Qutaylah bt. Qays b. Ma'dikarib, sister of al-Ash'ath b. Qays, but he died before consummating his marriage with her,⁹²⁰ and she

912. Ibn Hishām adds: Because of her kindness to them. Ibn Sa'd: She was called by that name in pre-Islamic days.

913. Ibn Hishām: Previously, she was married to 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf, and before that to Jahm b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith, who was her cousin. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 82): She was married to Ṭufayl, and after he divorced her she married 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith. The Prophet married her in Ramaḍān 3/625, and she died eight months later. Cf. Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 241; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 429.

914. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 115, lists her among those to whom the Prophet proposed but did not marry. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 460, states that she died before the marriage was consummated. Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 587, states that she was the maternal aunt of Khawlah bt. Hudhayl and that she died on her way to Medina.

915. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 310, states that the Prophet married her and then divorced her. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 586–87.

916. It could be either of the two brothers Muḥammad or 'Abd al-Rahmān. The former died in 268/881–82 and the latter in 257/870–71. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 208; IX, 260–62.

917. Died in 199/814–15. Ibid., IV, 355–56.

918. 'Uqayl b. Khālid b. 'Aqīl al-Umawī died ca. 141/758–59. Ibid., VII, 255–56.

919. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 455, states that al-'Āliyyah bt. Zabyān b. 'Amr of the Banū Kilāb was divorced because she used to peep through her door at the people in the mosque.

920. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 105–6, states that her brother al-Ash'ath b. Qays

apostatized from Islam with her brother. He [also] married Fāṭimah bt. Shurayh.⁹²¹ It is reported from Ibn al-Kalbī that the Messenger of God married Ghaziyyah bt. Jābir, who is [called] Umm Sharik. She was previously married and had a son called Sharik from [the first husband], so she was called by that surname [of relationship]. When the Prophet went to her he found her to be an old woman, so he divorced her.⁹²² She embraced Islam and used to call on the Qurashī women and invite them to Islam. It is said that he married Khawlah bt. al-Hudhayl b. Hubayrah b. Qabīṣah b. al-Ḥārith.⁹²³

The [above] is reported on the authority of al-Kalbī—Abū Ṣāliḥ⁹²⁴—Ibn 'Abbās. With the same chain of authority [it is reported] that Laylā bt. al-Khaṭīm b. 'Adī b. 'Amr b. Sawād b. Zafar b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj approached the Prophet while his back was to the sun, and clapped him on his shoulder. He asked who it was, and she replied, "I am the daughter of one who competes with the wind. I am Laylā bt. al-Khaṭīm. I have come to offer myself [in marriage] to you, so marry me." He replied, "I accept." She went back to her people⁹²⁵ and said that the Messenger of God had married her. They said, "What a bad thing you have done! You are a self-respecting woman, but the Prophet is a womanizer."⁹²⁶ Seek an annulment from him." She went back to the Prophet and asked him to revoke the marriage and he complied with [her request].⁹²⁷ [It is reported] without the above chain of authorities that the Prophet married 'Amrah bt. Yazīd,⁹²⁸ a woman of the Banū Ru'ās b. Kilāb.

[1777]

offered her in marriage to the Prophet while she was still in Ḥaḍramawt, but by the time she left the Yemen, the Prophet had died.

921. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 310): Fāṭimah bt. Sara'. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd.

922. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 110–12, gives a different account and lists her among the women to whom the Prophet proposed but did not marry. It was she who gave herself to the Prophet and the Qur'ānic verse 33:50 refers to her.

923. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 114–15, states that she died on her way to Medina. See also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 460; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 587.

924. Abū Ṣāliḥ Mizān al-Baṣrī. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 385–86.

925. Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 459): To her womenfolk.

926. Balādhurī: The Messenger of God has many wives. We fear that you will be jealous and he might invoke [God] against you and you will be ruined.

927. See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 107–8, for more details.

928. This name is given by Ibn Sa'd as one of the names of the Kilābī woman (see

*An Account of Those Women to Whom the Prophet
Proposed But Did Not Marry*

Among them was Umm Hānī' bt. Abī Tālib, whose name is Hind. The Messenger of God proposed marriage to her but did not marry her because she said that she was with child.⁹²⁹ He asked the hand of Dubā'ah bt. 'Amir⁹³⁰ b. Qurṭ b. Salamah b. Qushayr b. Ka'b b. Rabī'ah b. 'Amir b. Ša'sa'ah in marriage from her son Salamah b. Hishām b. al-Mughīrah. He said that he would seek her permission. [Salamah] came to her and told her that the Prophet had proposed to her. She said, "What did you tell him?" He replied, "I told him [to wait] until I sought your permission." She said, "Has permission to be sought for the Prophet? Go back and marry him [to me]." He went back but the Prophet did not say anything because he was informed that she was too old.⁹³¹ Reported, it is said that he proposed to Šafiyyah bt. Bashshāmah, sister of the one-eyed al-'Anbarī. She was taken as a captive, so he allowed her to choose between him and her husband. She chose her husband and he sent her back.⁹³² He proposed to Umm Ḥabīb⁹³³ bt. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, but discovered that al-'Abbās was his foster-brother; Thuwaybah had nursed them both. He asked for the hand of Jamrah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḥārithah⁹³⁴ in marriage, [but] her father—so it is reported—said

above). Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 456, and Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 580, give her name as 'Amrah bt. Yazīd al-Ghifāriyyah. The Prophet married her, but when he discovered that she had leprosy he divorced her. For a similar report see Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 248.

929. She said that because of her young child, she would not be able to do justice to her husband. For details, see Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, VIII, 108-9; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 459.

930. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 310): Sā'ah bt. 'Umar.

931. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, VIII, 109-10; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 460, states that in pre-Islamic days she had circumambulated the Ka'bah naked because she did not have the special clothes. In pre-Islamic days, if the Arabs did not have the garments of the *Ḥums*, then they would circumambulate the Ka'bah either in their ordinary clothes (which had to be discarded afterwards) or they would go round naked. Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 81-82; Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah*, I, 214-15.

932. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, VIII, 110; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 459.

933. Ibn al-Athīr (*Kāmil*, II, 310) and Ibn Kathīr (*Sīrah*, IV, 598): Umm Ḥabībah. Cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 462-63. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd. For a different version see Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 248-49.

934. See Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 462; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 310-11; Ibn Kathīr, *Sīrah*, IV, 598. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd.

that she was suffering from something, although [in reality] she was not. When he returned, he found that she had already been afflicted with leprosy.⁹³⁵

*An Account of the Messenger of God's
Slave Concubines*

They were Māriyah bt. Sham'un, the Copt, and Rayḥānah bt. Zayd al-Qurāziyyah, who, it is said, was of the Banū al-Naḍir. An [1778] account of them has been given above.

935. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, VIII, 106-7, 113-14, mentions Mulaykah bt. Ka'b al-Laythī, Bint Jundub, and Sabā bt. al-Šalt among the women whom the Prophet married but did not consummate the marriage and then divorced them. Khawlah bt. Ḥakīm and Amāmah bt. Ḥamzah were among the women to whom the Prophet proposed but did not marry.

'Ubaydah¹⁰⁶⁵—Abū Mūsā [al-Ash'arī]: The Messenger of God named himself to us [in various ways] from which we remember him saying, "I am Muḥammad the [one who is praised], Aḥmad [the most praiseworthy], *al-Muqaffī* [the follower], *al-Ḥāshir* [the gatherer], *Nabī al-tawbah wa'l-raḥmah*¹⁰⁶⁶ [the Prophet of repentance and mercy].

[Muḥammad] Ibn al-Muthannā—Abū Dāwūd¹⁰⁶⁷—Ibrāhīm [that is, Ibn Sa'd]¹⁰⁶⁸—al-Zuhri—Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im¹⁰⁶⁹—his father:¹⁰⁷⁰ The Messenger of God told me, "I have several names. I am Muḥammad, Aḥmad, *al-Āqib* [the last in succession], and *al-Māhī* [the obliterator]." Al-Zuhri states: *Al-Āqib* is the one after whom there is no one [i.e., no prophet], and *al-Māhī* is the one through whom God will efface infidelity.¹⁰⁷¹

Ibn al-Muthannā—Yazīd b. Hārūn¹⁰⁷²—Sufyān b. Ḥusayn¹⁰⁷³—al-Zuhri—Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im—his father: The Messenger of God said, "I am Muḥammad, Aḥmad, *al-Māhī*, *al-Āqib*, and *al-Ḥāshir*, who will gather mankind at his feet."¹⁰⁷⁴

Yazīd [b. Hārūn] states: I asked Sufyān [b. Ḥusayn] what *al-Āqib* meant, and he replied [that it meant] the last prophet.

1065. Abū 'Ubaydah b. Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān al-Kūfī. Ibid. XII, 159.

1066. As in Muslim (Ṣaḥīḥ, VII, 90), and Tabrizī (*Mishkāt*, III, 132; *Mishkat* [trans. Robson], II, 1239; transmitted on the authority of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī). Text, Ibn Ishāq (*Kitāb al-Mubtada'*, 123) and Ibn Shabbah (*Ta'rikh*, II, 632): *Wa'l-malḥamah* [one who predicts future events that were to happen before the Last Hour]. Another version in Ibn Shabbah reads: *Nabī al-raḥmah wa-nabī al-malḥamah*.

1067. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī died ca. 203/818–19. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 182–86.

1068. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd al-Zuhri died ca. 183/799. Ibid., I, 121–23.

1069. Ibid., IX, 91–92.

1070. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im b. 'Adī died ca. 58/677–78. Ibid., II, 63–64.

1071. Tabrizī, *Mishkāt*, 132; *Mishkat* [trans. Robson], II, 1239; transmitted both by Bukhārī and Muslim on the authority of Jubayr b. Muṭ'im. Cf. also Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 392.

1072. Died ca. 206/821–22. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 366–69.

1073. Ibid., IV, 107–9.

1074. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rikh*, II, 631; Tabrizī, *Mishkāt*, III, 132; *Mishkat* [trans. Robson], II, 1239.

The Messenger of God's Characteristics

[1789]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ibn Abī 'Adī—al-Mas'ūdī—'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Hurmuz¹⁰⁷⁵—Nāfi' b. Jubayr¹⁰⁷⁶—'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib: The Messenger of God was neither tall nor short. [He had] a large head and beard, the palms of his hands and his feet were calloused, [he had] large joints, his face [had] a reddish tinge, the hair of his breast was long, and when he walked he bent forward as if he were descending a slope. I have never seen anyone like him before or since.¹⁰⁷⁷

Ibn al-Muthannā—Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī¹⁰⁷⁸—Mujamma' b. Yahyā¹⁰⁷⁹—'Abdallāh b. 'Imrān¹⁰⁸⁰—a man of the *Anṣār* (whom 'Abdallāh b. 'Imrān did not name): I asked 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib while he was seated in the mosque of al-Kūfah, leaning his back against the wall and carrying his sword, "Describe for me the characteristics of the Messenger of God." He replied, "The Messenger of God was of a white complexion with a reddish tinge, [with] deep-black and large [eyes],¹⁰⁸¹ and long eyelashes. The hair of his breast was thin, his cheeks were smooth, and his beard was thick and long as if his neck were a silver pitcher. The hair from the upper part of his chest to his navel ran like a branch cut off from a tree. He did not have any other hair on his chest or in his armpits. The palms of his hands and his feet were calloused. When he walked, [he walked] as though he were descending a slope or as though he were falling from a rock. When he turned around he turned completely,¹⁰⁸² his turn was neither short nor long, and [he turned] neither like a weak nor like a mean person. The perspiration on his face [looked] as if it were pearls, and the fragrance

1075. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 133.

1076. Nāfi' b. Jubayr b. Muṭ'im b. 'Adī died in 99/717–18. Ibid., X, 404–5.

1077. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 386ff.; Tabrizī, *Mishkāt*, III, 135; *Mishkat* [trans. Robson], II, 1242. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 121; Gaudéroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 209–10.

1078. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr died in 203/818–19. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 254–55.

1079. Ibid., X, 47–48.

1080. Ibid., V, 343.

1081. Addition from Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 120.

1082. Ibn Sa'd: He was neither short nor long, neither weak nor mean.

of his sweat was better than musk.¹⁰⁸³ I have never seen anyone like him before or since."

[1790] Ibn al-Muqaddamī¹⁰⁸⁴—Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Qays, who is called Abū Zukayr,¹⁰⁸⁵ states: I heard Rabī'ah b. Abī 'Abd al-Raḥmān¹⁰⁸⁶ recalling from Anas b. Mālik that the Messenger of God was commissioned [by God] when he was at the beginning of his fortieth year. He remained in Mecca ten years and in Medina ten years, and died at the beginning of his sixtieth year, when there were not twenty white hairs in his head and beard. He was neither very tall nor very short; he was neither pure white nor of dark complexion; and his hair was neither curly nor long.¹⁰⁸⁷

Ibn al-Muthannā—Yazīd b. Hārūn—al-Jurayrī:¹⁰⁸⁸ I was with Abū al-Ṭufayl circumambulating the Ka'bah, and he said, "No one who saw the Messenger of God is alive except me." I asked him, "Did you see him?" He replied, "Yes." I asked, "What were his characteristics?" He answered, "He was white, good-looking, and of moderate stature."¹⁰⁸⁹

The Seal of Prophethood Which He Had

Ibn al-Muthannā—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Makhḥad¹⁰⁹⁰—'Azrah b. Thābit¹⁰⁹¹—'Ilbā'¹⁰⁹²—Abū Zayd:¹⁰⁹³ The Messenger of God said to me, "O Abū Zayd, come close to me and wipe my back," and¹⁰⁹⁴

1083. Ibn Sa'd, and Ibn Shabbah (*Ta'rikh*, II, 607): The pungent musk [or the musk of the utmost excellence].

1084. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Muqaddamī died in 234/848–49. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 79.

1085. Ibid., XI, 274–75.

1086. Died ca. 136/753–54. Ibid., III, 258–59.

1087. Tabrizī, *Mishkāt*, III, 133; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1240; transmitted both by Bukhārī and Muslim on the authority of Anas b. Mālik.

1088. Sa'id al-Jurayrī. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, XI, 366.

1089. Tabrizī, *Mishkāt*, III, 134; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1241; transmitted by Muslim. For further details, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 120–31; Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rikh*, II, 602–17.

1090. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Makhḥad b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Shaybānī died ca. 214/828–30. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 450–53.

1091. Ibid., VII, 192.

1092. 'Ilbā' b. Ahmar al-Yashkurī al-Baṣrī. Ibid., VII, 273–74.

1093. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 131): Abū Rimthah. 'Amr b. Akhtab b. Rifā'ah, Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, was a companion of the Prophet. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, VIII, 4.

1094. Ibn Sa'd (*Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 131): I went close and wiped his back.

he uncovered his back. I touched his back, and then put my finger¹⁰⁹⁵ on the seal and touched it. ['Ilbā'] states: I said [to Abū Zayd], "What is the seal?" He replied, "[It is] a collection of hair on his shoulders." [1791]

Ibn al-Muthannā—Bishr b. al-Waḍḍāḥ Abū al-Haytham¹⁰⁹⁶—Abū 'Aqīl al-Dawraqī¹⁰⁹⁷—Abū Naḍrah:¹⁰⁹⁸ I asked Abū Sa'id al-Khudrī about the seal which the Prophet had, and he said that it was like a protruding lump of flesh.¹⁰⁹⁹

His Bravery and Generosity

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ḥammād b. Wāqīd¹¹⁰⁰—Thābit¹¹⁰¹—Anas: God's Messenger was one of the best of men, the most generous of men, and the bravest of men. [One night the people of] Medina were frightened and went in the direction of the sound. Lo and behold, they found the Messenger of God on an unsaddled bare-backed horse belonging to Abū Ṭalḥah! He had a sword with him and had gone there before them and was saying, "O people, don't be afraid, don't be afraid." Then he said, "O Abū Ṭalḥah, we found it [could run like] a great river." Before that the horse was slow-paced, but no horse outstripped it after that.¹¹⁰²

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī¹¹⁰³—Ḥammād b. Zayd¹¹⁰⁴—Thābit—Anas: The Messenger of God was the bravest most generous of men. [One night when the people of] Medina were frightened and went in the direction of the sound, he freed Abū Ṭalḥah's horse from fright and rode on it bare-backed, with-

1095. Ibn Sa'd: My fingers.

1096. Died in 221/836. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, I, 462.

1097. Bashir b. 'Uqbah al-Nāḥi was called Abū 'Aqīl al-Dawraqī. Ibid., I, 465–66.

1098. Al-Mundhir b. Mālik, Abū Naḍrah al-Baṣrī, died ca. 108/726–27. Ibid., X, 302–3.

1099. For various descriptions of the seal, see Tabrizī, *Mishkāt*, I, 148; III, 132–33; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), I, 96; II, 1239–40; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 131–33; Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rikh*, II, 625.

1100. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 21.

1101. Thābit b. Aslam al-Banānī died ca. 123/740–41. Ibid., II, 2–4.

1102. Tabrizī, *Mishkāt*, III, 139–40; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 1245–46; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim on the authority of Anas. For a different report, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 306.

1103. Died in 198/813–14. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 279–81.

1104. Died in 179/795–96. Ibid., III, 9–11.

out a saddle, with a sword swung on his neck, and said, "We found it [could run like] a great river," or "it is like a great river."

[1792] *The Description of His Hair and Whether He Used to Dye It or Not*

Ibn al-Muthannā—Mu'adh b. Mu'adh¹¹⁰⁵—Ḥarīz b. 'Uthmān¹¹⁰⁶—Abū Mūsā—Mu'adh: I have never seen a person from the inhabitants of Syria to whom I could give preference over [the Prophet]. We went to 'Abdallāh b. Busr, and I said to him while I was with my companions, "Did you see the Messenger of God? Was he an old man?" He put his hand on the part between his chin and the edge of his lower lip and said, "There was a white hair [among a few hairs] between his lower lip and his chin."

Ibn al-Muthannā—Abū Dāwūd—Zuhayr¹¹⁰⁷—Abū Ishāq—Abū Juḥayfah¹¹⁰⁸: I saw the Messenger of God's white [tuft of] hair on his lower lip. He was asked, "Like what you have now, O Abū Juḥayfah?" He replied, "I pare and feather arrows."¹¹⁰⁹

Ibn al-Muthannā—Khālid b. al-Ḥārith¹¹¹⁰—Ḥumayd¹¹¹¹: Anas was asked whether the Messenger of God dyed his hair. He replied, "The whiteness of the Messenger of God's hair did not become intense, but Abū Bakr dyed his with henna and *katam*¹¹¹² and 'Umar dyed his with henna."¹¹¹³

Ibn al-Muthannā—Ibn Abī 'Adī—Ḥumayd: Anas was asked whether the Messenger of God dyed his hair, and he replied, "Grey hair was not seen on him, except for nineteen or twenty

1105. Mu'adh b. Mu'adh al-'Anbarī al-Baṣrī died in 196/811-12. Ibid., X, 194-95.

1106. Died ca. 163/779-80. Ibid., II, 237-41.

1107. Zuhayr b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī died in 162/778-79. Ibid., III, 348-50.

1108. Wabb b. 'Abdallāh, called Abū Juḥayfah al-Suwā'ī, died ca. 74/693-94. Ibid., XI, 164.

1109. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 137.

1110. Died in 186/802. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 82-83.

1111. Ḥumayd b. Abī Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl died ca. 142/759-60. Ibid., III, 38-40.

1112. A herb used for hair dye. Firūzābādī, *Qāmūs*, s.v. k-t-m.

1113. Tabrīzī (*Mishkāt*, II, 501; *Mishkat* [trans. Robson], I, 937): Anas replied: "If I had wanted to count the grey hairs on his head, I could have done so," adding that he did not dye his hair. In another version, Anas added that both Abū Bakr and 'Umar dyed their hair. It is transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim. For other reports, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 135-36.

white hairs in the front part of his beard. He was not blemished with grey hair." It was said to Anas, "Is [having grey hair] a blemish?" He replied, "All of you dislike it. Abū Bakr dyed [his white hair] with henna and *katam* and 'Umar dyed his with henna."

Ibn al-Muthannā—Mu'adh b. Mu'adh—Ḥumayd—Anas: The Prophet did not have more than twenty grey hairs.¹¹¹⁴

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Rahmān [b. Mahdī]—Ḥammād b. Salamah¹¹¹⁵—Simāk¹¹¹⁶—Jābir b. Samurah¹¹¹⁷: There was no white hair on the Messenger of God's head except for a few hairs in the place where the hair of his head was parted. When he anointed it with oil he covered it.¹¹¹⁸

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī—Sallām b. Abī Muṭī'—'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Mawhib¹¹¹⁹: A wife of the Prophet entered [the house] and brought out to us the Messenger of God's hair dyed with henna and *katam*.¹¹²⁰

Ibn Jābir b. al-Kurdī al-Wāsiṭī—Abū Sufyān—al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḥumurah¹¹²¹—Ghaylān b. Jāmi'¹¹²²—Iyād b. Laqīṭ¹¹²³—Abū Rimthah¹¹²⁴: The Messenger of God used to dye [his hair] with henna and *katam*, and his hair used to reach his shoulders. [Commenting on the reliability of narrators in the above chain, al-Ṭabarī states:] There is doubt with regard to Abū Sufyān.

Ibn al-Muthannā—'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī—Ibrāhīm (i.e., Ibn Nāfi')¹¹²⁵—Ibn Abī Najīh—Mujāhid—Umm Hānī': I saw the Messenger of God and he had four [braided] locks of hair.¹¹²⁶

1114. Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rikh*, II, 622-23.

1115. Died in 167/783-84. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, III, 11-16.

1116. Simāk b. Ḥarb al-Kūfī died in 123/740-41. Ibid., IV, 232-34.

1117. Died ca. 74/693-94. Ibid., II, 39-40.

1118. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 136.

1119. Died in 160/776-77. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, VII, 132-33.

1120. Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 395, on the authority of 'Abdallāh b. Mawhib, states: I entered [the house] of Umm Salamah and she brought out to me the Messenger of God's hair dyed with henna and *katam*. See also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 139; Ibn Shabbah, *Ta'rikh*, II, 618; Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt*, II, 501; *Mishkat* (trans. Robson), II, 937; transmitted by Bukhārī on the authority of Ibn Mawhib.

1121. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 443-44.

1122. Died in 132/749-50. Ibid., VIII, 252-53.

1123. Ibid., I, 386-87.

1124. He was a companion of the Prophet. Ibid., XII, 97.

1125. Ibid., I, 174.

1126. For a further description of his hair, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/2, 133-35.

*Report about the Beginning of the Messenger
of God's Illness in Which He Died, and What
He Did Just Prior to It When He was Bewailed
[for His Approaching Death]*

[1794] Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: God states: "When comes the help of God, and victory, and you see men entering God's religion in multitudes, then glorify your Lord and seek His forgiveness. Verily He is forgiving."¹¹²⁷ We have mentioned before what the Messenger of God's instructions were to his companions during his pilgrimage called "The Farewell Pilgrimage (*ḥajjat al-wadā'*)," "The Pilgrimage of Completion [or Perfection of Religion] (*ḥajjat al-tamām*)," and "The Pilgrimage for Conveying the Message (*ḥajjat al-balāgh*),"¹¹²⁸ its rites and his last Will and Testament to them. This I have cited before in his address which he delivered to them during that pilgrimage. Then the Messenger of God returned from his journey, after he had performed the pilgrimage, to his residence in Medina toward the end of Dhū al-Hijjah and stayed there during the remainder of that month as well as during Muḥarram and Šafar.

¹¹²⁷. Qur'ān, *sūrah* 110.

¹¹²⁸. See Ṭabarī, above, 1756.

❦

The
Events of the Year

I I

(MARCH 29, 632—MARCH 17, 633)



Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: I have received an account on the authority of Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishāq—'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'ah:¹¹²⁹ In the year 11/632, during the month of Muḥarram,¹¹³⁰ the Messenger of God ordered the people to undertake an expedition to Syria. He put Usāmah, the son of his freed slave Zayd b. al-Ḥārithah, in command over them, ordering him to lead the cavalry into the territory of al-Balqā'¹¹³¹ and al-Dārūm¹¹³² in the land of Palestine. The people got ready and the first emigrants¹¹³³ went forth all together with him. As the people were preparing for the expedition, the Prophet began to suffer from the sickness by which God took him to what honor and compassion He intended

¹¹²⁹. Died in 143/760–61. Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, VI, 155–56.

¹¹³⁰. Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, III, 1117; and Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 136, state that the Messenger of God ordered the expedition on the twenty-fifth of Šafar.

¹¹³¹. A name given by the Arab authors either to the whole of the Transjordanian territory or to the middle part of it. Its geographical meaning is restricted to the limestone plateau between the Wādī al-Zarqā' and the Wādī al-Mujib. *EP*², s.v. al-Balkā'.

¹¹³². Name of a coastal plain of Palestine, *EP*², s.v. al-Dārūm.

¹¹³³. The prominent emigrants, such as Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāh, were asked by the Prophet to join the expedition. Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, III, 1118; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 136; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 474.