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THE SHROUDED MESSENGER

On the interpretation of *al-muzzammil* and *al-muddaththir*

Uri Rubin

The opening passages of *sūras* LXXIII and LXXIV are addressed to the Qur'ānic prophet in person. They both contain an order to "rise" (*qum*). In the former passage the prophet is ordered to rise and pray during the night, in the latter, to rise and warn. Both passages contain two unique appellations of the prophet. In the former he is addressed as *al-muzzammil*, in the latter as *al-muddaththir*.

Sūra LXXIII: 1. *yā ayyuhā l-muzzammilu*

2. *qumi l-layla illā qalīlan*

Sūra LXXXIV: 1. *yā ayyuhā l-muddaththiru*

2. *qum fa-andhir*

The appellations *al-muzzammil* and *al-muddaththir* have attracted the attention of western scholars, and since Nöldeke-Schwally the prevailing view in western scholarship seems to have been that these titles reflect a pre-Islamic practice of *kāhins* and false prophets. These persons used to receive revelations while being wrapped in a mantle, and since the terms *muzzammil* and *muddaththir* mean "the covered" or "the wrapped up" (in a mantle, etc.), it was concluded that Muḥammad, too, followed the same practice.¹

Upon examining the Muslim literature of *tafsīr*, one is immediately struck by the fact that such an interpretation is entirely missing from the Muslim commentaries relating to these titles. Admittedly, one may claim that Muslim commentators could not tolerate the idea that Muḥammad's prophetic inspiration was stimulated by practices similar to those of the pre-Islamic *kāhins* and false prophets. On the other hand, however, the very absence of such an interpretation may indicate that it never occurred. Whatever the case

1 See Nöldeke-Schwally, I, 87; Buhl-Schaeder, 138, n. 37; Watt, *M/Mecca* 49; Halperin, "Tbn Ṣayyād", 219-220.

may be, the Muslim sources abound with various other interpretations which have not yet been thoroughly analysed. It would seem that such an analysis might shed new light not merely on the interpretation of these titles, but also on the attitude of the Muslims of the first centuries of Islam towards the image of their prophet.

I

The Muslim interpretations of *al-muzzammil/al-muddaththir* may be classified according to the reasons they give for Muḥammad's state of being covered. The first group consists of what may be called the "neutral" explanations, i.e., those that give no reason at all. Some of the interpretations belonging to this group are confined to the lexical meaning of the terms discussed. Qatāda (d. 118 H./736) merely states that *al-muzzammil* is "*al-mutazammil fī thiyābihi*",² whereas *al-muddaththir* is "*al-mutadaththir fī thiyābihi*". Ibn Qutayba (276 H./889) follows the same line, saying that *al-muzzammil* is "*al-mutalaffif fī thiyābihi*".³ Al-Zamakhsharī adds the information that *al-muddaththir* is he who is covered with a *diththār* which is put on above the *shīār*, the latter being an undergarment. He also adduces the *ḥadīth*: *al-Anṣār shīār wa-l-nās diththār*.⁴ Other interpretations of the same group merely refer to the fact that Muḥammad was covered. An interpretation recorded on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās concerning the *muddaththir* passage says: "The prophet used to wrap himself up in garments".⁵ Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī (d. 96 H./715) states that the *muzzammil* passage was revealed to Muḥammad while he was wrapped up in a cloak.⁶ A similar interpretation is recorded on his

2 Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 79, 91; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, fol. 287^a.

3 Ibn Qutayba, *Gharīb al-Qur'ān*, 493.

4 See Zamakhsharī, IV, 180. See also *Kashf al-multabis*, fol. 187^b, Ālūsī, XXIX, 115. For the *ḥadīth* itself see Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. "*dithr*". Cf. also *Fath al-bārī*, VIII, 42.

5 Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 277: ... *kāna l-nabiyyu (ṣ) yatadaththaru bi-l-thiyāb*.

6 *Loc. cit.*, 276-277: ... *nazalat wa-huwa fī qaṭīfa*. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* IV, 434; Qurṭubī, XIX, 32.

authority concerning the *muddaththir* passage.⁷ Commenting on the *muzzammil* passage, Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150 H/767) says: "... this is because the prophet went out from the house with his clothes on, and Gabriel addressed him, saying: 'Yā ayyuhā l-muzzammil', i.e., the one who has wrapped himself up in clothes, and he had actually put them on tightly".⁸

II

The second group of interpretations may be defined as the "praising" ones. Muḥammad is said to have wrapped himself up in his mantle for a holy purpose, as a result of which he was addressed as *al-muzzammil/al-muddaththir*. These appellations are thus made to seem like a form of praise. In the first interpretations to be examined in this group, the holy reason for Muḥammad's being wrapped up in his garments is prayer. These interpretations relate only to the *muzzammil* passage which, indeed, contains a specific reference to night prayer (verse 2). Al-Alūsī records the tradition of Qatāda saying that Muḥammad wrapped himself up (*tazammala*) in his clothes in order to perform the *ṣalāt* (prayer); he was preparing for it, and therefore he was addressed with a phrase meaning: "O, thou preparing for the worship of Allāh" (... 'alā mānā yā ayyuhā l-mustā'iddu li-l-'ibāda).⁹ A similar interpretation is recorded by al-Farrā' (d. 207 H/822), who says that *al-muzzammil* is he who has wrapped himself up in clothes and is preparing for prayer, and is the apostle of Allāh.¹⁰ This is also reported to have been the opinion of al-Kalbī (d. 146 H/763).¹¹ Al-Zamakhsharī says that the prophet was praying in a wool garment (*mirt*) belonging to 'Ā'isha, and the Qur'ān praises him for that and

7 Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* XXIX, 90: ... 'an Ibrāhīm, "yā ayyuhā l-muddaththir", qāla: kāna mutadaththiran fī qaīfa. See also Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 281.

8 Muqātil, II 212^b: ... wa-dhālika anna l-nabiyya (s) kharaja min al-bayti wa-qad labisa thiyābahu fa-nādāhu Jibrīlu 'alayhi l-salāmu: "yā ayyuhā l-muzzammilu" alladhī qad tazammala bi-l-thiyāb, wa-qad ḍammahā 'alayhi.

9 Ālūsī, XXIX, 102.

10 Farrā', III, 196: wa-l-muzzammilu lladhī qad tazammala bi-thiyābihī wa-tahayya'a li-l-ṣalāti, wa-huwa rasūlu llāhi (s).

11 Rāzī, XXX, 171.

orders him to go on with this habit. 'Ā'isha herself is quoted in a tradition to the effect that half the garment covered her body while she was asleep, and the other half covered Muḥammad, who was praying.¹²

In other interpretations belonging to the same group the holy reason for Muḥammad's being covered is no less than the prophetic mission itself. These interpretations are purely metaphorical, implying that Muḥammad was "covered", i.e., loaded with his prophethood. 'Ikrima's (d. 105 H/723) interpretation of *al-muzzammil* reads: *zummīlta hādihā l-amra fa-qum bihi* — you have been loaded with this task, so carry it out.¹³ Concerning *al-muddaththir* 'Ikrima says: *duththirta hādihā l-amra fa-qum bihi*, which has the same meaning.¹⁴ 'Ikrima is also reported to have read *al-muzzammal/al-muddaththar* instead of *al-muzzammil/al-muddaththir*.¹⁵ In another version of 'Ikrima's interpretation Muḥammad is said to have been loaded with the Qur'ān.¹⁶ There are also some elaborations on 'Ikrima's interpretation. In al-Ālūsī it is stated that the prophet was "covered" with prophethood and mental perfection (*al-mutadaththir bi-l-nubuwwa wa-l-karāmāt al-naḥsāniyya*).¹⁷ In al-Rāzī it is stated that he was wrapped up in the clothes of magnificent knowledge, noble disposition and total mercy.¹⁸ A somewhat different line is followed in another interpretation recorded by al-Ālūsī to the effect that Muḥammad was covered with human form under which was hidden his inner, eternal entity (*al-ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*).¹⁹

The interpretations belonging to this group treat the

12 Zamakhsharī, IV, 174. See also *Kashf al-multabis*, 187^a; Qurtubī, XIX, 32; Ālūsī, XXIX, 101-102; Bayḍāwī, II, 284. The commentators were aware of the fact that since 'Ā'isha became Muḥammad's wife only after the *hijra*, the passage must be Medinan.

13 Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 78.

14 *Loc. cit.*, 91.

15 Rāzī, XXX 171, 190; Qurtubī, XIX, 32.

16 Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, IV, 434. Cf. Qurtubī, XIX, 32.

17 Ālūsī, XXIX, 116.

18 Rāzī, XXX, 190: *yā ayyuhā l-muddaththiru bi-athwābi l-'ilmi l-'aẓīm wa-l-khulqī l-karīm wa-l-rahmati l-kāmila*.

19 Ālūsī, XXIX, 116.

appellations *muzzammil/muddaththir* as honorific titles of Muḥammad. Accordingly, these titles are included in the lists of the honorific names and nicknames of Muḥammad which some Muslim writers managed to trace in the Qur'ān. Abū Sa'd al-Khargūshī (d. 406 H./1015), for instance, is able to point out almost 30 such names and appellations, each with the Qur'ānic verse in which it occurs.²⁰ The Shī'ī author Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588 H./1192) claims in the introduction to his own list that the Qur'ān contains 400 names of the prophet.²¹ Both al-Khargūshī and Ibn Shahrāshūb include in their lists the nicknames *al-muzzammil* and *al-muddaththir*.

III

It is most striking that in the various interpretations of *al-muzzammil/al-muddaththir* there is also a third group which may be called "pejorative". In this group one is confronted with interpretations implying that the reason for Muḥammad's being covered is his failure to carry out the prophetic tasks which had been assigned to him. His state of being covered symbolizes inactivity, withdrawal and shrinking from meeting the hardships involved in carrying out the tasks of his prophetic mission. The subsequent commands (*qumī l-layla . . . , qum fa-andhīr*) are taken as orders to change this inappropriate state, and start acting fearlessly and devotedly.

The first interpretations of this kind to be examined are focused on scenes from Muḥammad's life before his first revelation. An interpretation quoted by al-Rāzī implies that Muḥammad's state of being covered is a metaphor, standing for his seclusion at Mount Ḥirā', where he used to practice *tahannuth*. Al-Rāzī says:

He who is wrapped up in clothes (*al-mutadaththir bi-l-thawb*) is like him who hides under it. The prophet on Mount Ḥirā' was like one who hides from the people; it is as if it was said to him: "O, thou wrapped up in the garment of obscurity and seclusion, undertake this mission, and abandon the corner of obscurity and undertake the mission of warning the people and preaching to

20 Khargūshī, 73^a-73^b.

21 Ibn Shahrāshūb, I, 130.

them the knowledge of God".²²

Other traditions are focused on the scene of the first revelation itself. These traditions are found in the earliest compilations of *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr* and they are, in fact, well known. In these traditions Muḥammad is said to have been confronted by the Angel, either for the first time in his life, or after the *fatra* of revelation, which caused him great anxiety. He hurried home and asked to be covered, exclaiming, "*zammilūnī, zammilūnī*", or, "*daththirūnī, daththirūnī*".²³ In these traditions Muḥammad's demand to be covered is caused by his attempt to hide from the Angel. But it is sometimes stated that the need to be covered was usual with Muḥammad, because each revelation caused him to shiver with cold.²⁴

At any rate, Muslim writers were aware of the fact that by the time of his first revelation, Muḥammad was not yet delivering prophetic messages, for which reason the Qur'ān addressed him merely as *al-muzzammill/al-muddaththir*, and not as *al-nabī* or *al-rasūl*.²⁵ Al-Suhaylī (d. 581 H./1185) notes that Muḥammad was not addressed by the Angel, "*Yā Muḥammad*", but rather, "*Yā ayyuhā l-muddaththir*", in order to convey a feeling of tenderness and kindness on the part of Allāh (*li-yastashīra l-līna wa-l-mulāṭafa min rabbihī . . .*).²⁶

Other interpretations imply that Muḥammad's state of being covered was caused by his despair at the resistance of his opponents. A tradition traced back to the *ṣaḥābī* Jābir b. 'Abdallāh relates that Quraysh gathered in Dār al-Nadwa and discussed what name they should call Muḥammad, in order to make people desert him. Some suggested *kāhin*, others suggested *majnūn* or *sāḥir*. Finally they agreed to call him "the one who separates the loved ones from each other"

22 Rāzī, XXX, 190. And see also Bayḍāwī, II, 285; Ālūsī, XXIX, 116.

23 See e.g., 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, 287^b; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 90-91; Bukhārī, VI, 200-202; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 280-281.

24 See Qurṭubī, XX, 93: *. . . wa-kāna idha nazala 'alayhi l-waḥyu istaqbalathu l-ra'da*. And see the interesting physiological explanation of this phenomenon given by Ibn al-'Arabī, in Ḥalabī, I, 263.

25 Wāḥidī, *Wasīf*, 300^a; Qurṭubī, XIX, 32; Ṭabarsī, XXIX, 93.

26 Suhaylī, *Asmā'*, 89^a. See also Ḥalabī, I, 262-263 (from al-Suhaylī). Cf. Ālūsī, XXIX, 116.

(*yufarriqu bayna al-ḥabibi wa-ḥabībihi*). The prophet heard about this and covered himself and wrapped himself up in his clothes (*fa-tazammala fī thiyābihi wa-tadaththara fihā*). Gabriel came to him and addressed him: "*Yā ayyuhā l-muzzammil, yā ayyuhā l-muddaththir*".²⁷ Another version to the same effect is traced back to Ibn 'Abbās. It says that al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra made a feast for Quraysh, during which the consultation about the name took place. The names offered were *sāḥir*, *kāhin* and *shā'ir*; finally, the appellation *sihr yu'thar* was agreed upon. When Muḥammad heard about it he veiled his head and covered himself (*wa-qanna'a ra'sahu wa-tadaththara*). Then Allāh revealed the *muddaththir* passage.²⁸ The appellation *sihr yu'thar* occurs in the 24th verse of *Sūrat al-muddaththir*, which makes the opening passage of this *sūra* seem like a divine order to Muḥammad not to despair at what is said about him by the non-believers in that particular verse. Al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548 H/1153) has recorded a fitting paraphrase of the interpretation presented in the traditions just quoted: "O thou striving to ward off the offence by (hiding under) the garment, strive to do it through preaching, and warn them of hell even though they do not believe".²⁹

In other interpretations Muḥammad's inactivity, as signified by his being covered, is the result of a personal flaw, namely his self-indulgence. According to one of these interpretations, which is quoted by al-Rāzī in relation to *al-muzzammil*, Muḥammad was covered with a cloak belonging to Khadīja, his wife, and was making love to her, upon which the *muzzammil* passage was revealed to him; it was as if it was said to him: "Leave aside selfish matters and occupy yourself with the worship of Allāh".³⁰

In other versions of the same interpretation Muḥammad's

27 Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 276 (from al-Bazzār, al-Ṭabarānī and Abū Nu'aym). And see other versions, Rāzī, XXX, 189-190; Qurṭubī, XIX, 60-61.

28 Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 281 (from al-Ṭabarānī, and Ibn Mardawayhi). See also Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, IV, 440.

29 Ṭabarsī, XXIX, 105.

30 Rāzī, XXX, 171: "... *annahu kāna mutazammilan fī mir'īn li-Khadīja musta'nisan bihā fa-qīla lahu: "yā ayyuhā l-muzzammilu qumi l-layla"; ka'annahu qīla lahu: "uruk naṣība l-nafsi wa-shṭaghil bi-l-'ubūdiyya"*.

self-indulgence is merely sleep; the term *muzzammil* is said to stand for one who sleeps wrapped up in a blanket; and it is said to be a metaphoric description of laziness and inactivity. The clearest exposition of this approach is found in al-Zamakhsharī's commentary. He is able to adduce a verse of Dhū l-Rumma (d. 117 H./735) in which the term *mutazammil* stands for "a lazy person, negligent, who remains aloof in hardships and does not act to ward off troubles, and does not undertake to suffer difficulties". According to al-Zamakhsharī, Muḥammad used to sleep at night under a blanket, and he was addressed in a manner which expressed disapproval of this custom, and of his taking pleasure in sleep, as if nothing else mattered. Al-Zamakhsharī goes on to say that in the *muzzammil* passage Muḥammad was urged to choose *tashammur* instead of *tazammul*, i.e., to take off his blanket and get to work and devote himself to the worship of Allāh. Al-Zamakhsharī concludes this explanation by stressing that Muḥammad and his companions obeyed this command by giving up sleep and devoting all their nights to prayer, till they became so weary that Allāh had to give them permission to pray only during certain parts of the night.³¹

Such an interpretation, which makes use of the context of the entire *sūra*, is rooted in earlier exegetic traditions. Al-Suddī (d. 128 H./745) is reported to have stated that Muḥammad wrapped himself up for sleep (. . . *wa-kāna qad tazammala li-l-nawm*).³² The same statement is also recorded on the authority of al-Ḍaḥḥāk (d. 105 H./723).³³

The same interpretation appears also in the commentaries on the *muddaththir* passage. Al-Rāzī says that Muḥammad was sleeping wrapped up in his clothes (. . . *kāna nā'imān mutadaththiran bi-thiyābihī*), when Gabriel came and woke him, saying: "*Yā ayyuhā l-muddaththir, qum fa-andhir*", as though he were saying: "Stop covering yourself with clothes and sleep, and occupy yourself with this

31 Zamakhsharī, IV, 174. Cf. also *Kashf al-multabis*, 187^a; Rāzī, XXX, 171; Bayḍāwī, II, 284; Ṭabarsī, XXIX, 93.

32 Wāḥidī, *Wasīṭ*, 300^a. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, IV, 434.

33 Qurtubī, XIX, 32.

mission that Allāh has assigned to you".³⁴ Here again one may find earlier expressions of this interpretation. Al-Ṭabarī has a tradition with the "family *isnād*" of Ibn Sa'd which is traced back to Ibn 'Abbās, stating that *ya ayyuhā l-muddaththir*" means "*yā ayyuhā l-nā'im*".³⁵ Al-Farrā' and Ibn Qutayba, too, explain that *al-muddaththir* stands for one who puts on clothes in preparation for sleep.³⁶

The most interesting interpretation of *al-muzzammil/al-muddaththir* belonging to the "pejorative" group is found in al-Suhaylī's *Kitāb al-ta'rif 'an al-asmā' al-mubhama fi l-Qur'ān*.³⁷ The author begins his comment by stating that neither *al-muzzammil* nor *al-muddaththir* can be regarded as Muḥammad's name because both are merely derived from the specific condition in which Muḥammad found himself when he was addressed. Al-Suhaylī points out that Muḥammad was addressed as *al-muzzammil* in order to convey the sense of *mulātafa*, i.e., kindness, that is to say, that no reproach was intended for the state he was in at the moment when he was addressed. Al-Suhaylī adduces the example of 'Alī and Ḥudhayfa, the former having once been addressed as *Abū Turāb*, the latter, as *nawmān*, and in both cases the sense of kindness was meant. Al-Suhaylī goes on to say that the *muzzammil* passage contains a message for everyone who lies down at night, that he should rise and pray. He also notes that the message for Muḥammad himself is clear in view of the command, "*qumi l-layla . . .*" It is to stop covering himself with clothes while lying down, and to turn his state into a better one. Al-Suhaylī says that the same message is included also in the *muddaththir* passage, and is based on a significant relation between the address "*ya ayyuhā l-muddaththir*" and the subsequent command, "*qum fa-andhir*". He stresses that the significance of this passage may be understood only in view of the statement attributed to Muḥammad which runs as follows: "*Anā al-nadhīr al-'uryān*" — "I am a naked

34 Rāzī, XXX, 190. See also Ṭabarsī, XXIX, 105.

35 Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXIX, 91.

36 Farrā', III, 200; Ibn Qutayba, *Gharīb al-Qur'ān* 495.

37 Suhaylī, *Asmā'*, 88^a-89^b. See a brief quotation from Suhaylī, Qurtubī, XIX, 33. And cf. al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, ed. 'Abd al Ra'ūf Sa'd, Cairo 1973, II, 48; Mughulṭāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, MS Leiden, Or. 370, fol. 134^b-135^a.

warner". Al-Suhaylī says that the locution *nadhīr 'uryān* stands for one who is acting resolutely and energetically (*al-jāddu l-mushammir*). He adds that the warner among the Arabs used to take off his clothes and wave them while shouting, in order to make sure that his warning was noticed. He points out that in view of this, the significance of the interrelation between the address and the command is clear: The warner who has his clothes on (*al-muddaththir*) is contrasted with the naked warner (*al-nadhīr al-'uryān*).

Al-Suhaylī's explanation implies that the title *muddaththir* signifies Muḥammad's shortcomings with respect to his task as a warner to his people. He is called *muddaththir* because of his inactivity and indolence. The command "*qum fa-andhir*" means that a demand is being made that he stop being *muddaththir*, and turn into a *nadhīr 'uryān*. In other words, he must "take off his clothes" and start acting as a devoted messenger.

The explanation of al-Suhaylī is unique in its brilliant insight. It is based on a very early *ḥadīth* recorded by al-Bukhārī³⁸ and Muslim.³⁹ Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī says that Muḥammad said:

I and my message are like a man who comes to his people, saying: "I have seen the army (of the enemy) with my two eyes, and I am a naked warner (. . . *wa-innī anā al-nadhīr al-'uryān*). Rescue yourselves! Rescue yourselves!" Some obeyed him and were saved, others disbelieved and the enemy attacked and destroyed them.

Muslim writers seem to be unanimous that the idiomatic usage of the phrase *anā al-nadhīr al-'uryān* is pre-Islamic in origin, but there is considerable disagreement as to the identity of the person who used it for the first time.⁴⁰ At any rate, the chief advantage of al-Suhaylī is that his explanation makes the *muddaththir* passage look well established in authentic pre-Islamic Arabic idioms.

Generally speaking, the third group of interpretations discussed in this paper seems earlier than the other two. This group is based on the assumption that the covering of Muḥammad represents an improper state from which he must set himself free. Such an approach

38 VIII, 126, IX, 115.

39 VII, 63.

40 See *Faḥ al-bārī*, XI, 270-271; *Tāj*, III, 561-562 (s.v. "*n.d.h.r.*").

seems to stem from that early stage in which the idea of Muḥammad's 'iṣma was not yet fully developed. Later on, the covering of Muḥammad had to be, and indeed was interpreted as though representing a rather plausible state of the prophet (second group), or, at least, a neutral one (first group). At this stage the interpretations of the third group could be tolerated no longer. It is significant that al-Suhaylī's explanation concerning *al-nadhīr al-'uryān* is not repeated elsewhere, and that al-Zamakhsharī's comment concerning Muḥammad's laziness as symbolized by his sleeping under the cover of his clothes is severely criticised by al-Ālūsī.⁴¹ One may even venture to suggest that the third group of interpretations contains the clue to the original significance of the *muzzammil-muddaththir* passages.

ABBREVIATIONS

- 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr* - 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, MS, Dār al-Kutub, Tafsīr, 242.
- Ālūsī - al-Ālūsī, *Rūḥ al-ma'ānī*, repr. Beirut n.d.
- Bayḍāwī - al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl*, Cairo 1955.
- Buhl-Schaeder - F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, tr. by H. Schaeder, Heidelberg, 1961.
- Bukhārī - al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, 1958.
- Farrā' - al-Farrā', *Ma'ānī l-Qur'ān*, ed. Ismā'īl Shalabī, Cairo 1972.
- Faḥ al-bārī* - Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Faḥ al-bārī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Būlāq, 1310 H/1883, repr. Beirut n.d.
- Ḥalabī - al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, Cairo 1320 H/1902, repr. Beirut n.d.
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