



#### Editorial Board

Ihsan Abbas, University of Jordan, Amman
C. E. Bosworth, The University of Manchester
Franz Rosenthal, Yale University
Everett K. Rowson, The University of Pennsylvania
Ehsan Yar-Shater, Columbia University (General Editor)

Estelle Whelan, Editorial Coordinator

Center for Iranian Studies Columbia University

SUNY

Series in near eastern studies
Said Amir Arjomand, Editor



We note with profound regret the death on October 13, 1997, of Dr. Estelle Whelan, who capably coordinated and saw through the press the publication of most of the volumes in this series, including the present one.

The preparation of this volume was made possible in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency.



## **Bibliotheca Persica**Edited by Ehsan Yar-Shater

### The History of al-Tabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XXXIX

# **Biographies of the Prophet's Companions and Their Successors**

translated and annotated by

Ella Landau-Tasseron

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

State University of New York Press

Ibn Iu dubah.721

He transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to al-'Abbas b. al-Walid—Sa'id b. Mansūr—Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Rahmān and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī Hāzim—Abū Hāzim [Salamah b. Dīnār]—Muhammad b. Ka'b—Ibn Ju'dubah—the Prophet: God is pleased with three things and hates three things for you to do: He is pleased that you worship Him without attributing any partner to Him and that you all hold fast to the covenant of God without being at variance with one another and that you obey those whom God has appointed to rule you.<sup>722</sup> He hates you to engage in gossip, to ask too many questions, and to waste money.723

Abū Muʻattib b. 'Amr. 724

According to [Muhammad] Ibn Humayd-Salamah [b. al-Fadl|—Muhammad b. Ishāq—al-Hasan b. Dīnār—'Atā' b. Abī Marwan al-Aslami-his father—Abū Mu'attib b. 'Amr: When the Prophet looked down on Khaybar he said to his Companions, among whom I was [too]<sup>725</sup> "Stop!" Then he said: "O God, Lord of the heavens and whatever lies under their shadows. Lord of the earth and whatever it sustains, Lord of the devils and whomever they lead astray. Lord of the winds and whatever they scatter! We ask You [to give us] the good of this town and its people and whatever is in it, and we seek refuge in You from its evil and the evil of its people and of whatever is in it; advance, in the name of God." He used to say this for every town he entered.

721. Yazīd b. Iyād, a Baṣran Successor, of the Kinānī clan the Banū Layth. See Ibn Sa'd, V, 305; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, XI, 308-0.

The Biographies of the Women Who Embraced Islam during the Prophet's Lifetime: Those of Them Who Passed away before the Emigration

Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Qusayy.

Her kunyah was Umm Hind, after one of her daughters named Hind, whom she bore to 'Atīa b. 'Abid b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm, and [also] after a son of hers called Hind, whom she bore to Abū Hālah b. al-Nabbāsh b. Zurārah b. Waqdān b. Habīb b. Salāmah b. Ghuwayy b. Jirwah b. Usayyid b. 'Amr b. Tamīm.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Waqidī]—al-Mundhir b. 'Abdallāh al-Hizāmī—Mūsā b. 'Ugbah—Abū Habībah, al-Zubayr's client— Hakīm b. Hizām: Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid died in Ramadān of the year 10 after [the beginning of] the prophethood,726 at the age of sixty-five. We carried her from her house to be buried at al-Hajūn, and the Prophet descended into her grave. 727 The prayer over the bier was then not yet included in the procedure of funerals. Someone asked [Hakīm b. Hizām] "When was this [introduced], O Abū Khālid?" [Hakīm] replied "Three years or so before the Emigration, shortly after the Banu Hashim came out of the ravine where they had been besieged | 728

Khadījah was the Prophet's first wife, and she bore all his children except Ibrāhīm, son of Mārivah. Her kunvah was Umm Hind, after her son from her [former] husband Abū Hālah al-Tamīmī.

> Those of Them Who Died during the Prophet's Lifetime after the Emigration

Of the Prophet's daughters: Ruqayyah, Khadījah's daughter. 729 Rugayyah had been married to 'Utbah b. Abī Lahab b. 'Abd al-Muttalib before Muhammad was inspired. When the Prophet was 2430

<sup>722.</sup> Unity of the community and obedience to rulers are closely connected. See p. 102 and note 487, above.

<sup>723.</sup> Or, "property."

<sup>724.</sup> A Companion, of the Aslam tribe; he is known to have fought in the Muslim army during the apostasy wars. See Ibn Hajar, Iṣābah, IV, 181; Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, Tabaqāt, 112, 137; al-Dūlābī, I, 55.

<sup>725.</sup> See al-Waqidi, 658, where another report about Khaybar is traced back to him (he is called Mu'attib al-Aslamī there).

<sup>726.</sup> The Muslim era starts with the Emigration, and the Muslims have no

concept parallel to that of B.C.. For the years preceding the Emigration various expressions are used. Here the beginning of the prophethood serves as a starting point, although the Muslims differed on the exact date of this event. See al-Sakhāwī's I'lām, in Rosenthal, History, 380.

<sup>727.</sup> Cf. p. 11. above.

<sup>728.</sup> That is, after the boycott was removed from them. See p. 55, above.

<sup>729.</sup> Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, Ta'rīkh, 24; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, II, 365.

sent [on his divine mission] and God revealed the verse "The hands of Abū Lahab have perished."730 'Utbah's father said to him "Divorce Muhammad's daughter, or else all ties between us will be [irreversibly] severed." So 'Utbah divorced Ruqayyah without having consummated the marriage. She embraced Islam when her mother Khadījah did and swore allegiance to the Prophet, together with the other women. 731 'Uthman b. 'Affan married her, and she emigrated twice to Abyssinia with him. On the first emigration she miscarried the child she had from 'Uthman, but later she bore him a son whom he named 'Abdallāh. When the Prophet emigrated [to Medina] she followed suit, after her husband 'Uthmān.

Rugayyah fell ill when the Prophet was preparing to set out for [the battle of ] Badr, so he left 'Uthman behind [to watch over her]. 732 She died in Ramadan, seventeen months after the Prophet's Emigration/March 624, while the Prophet was at Badr. Zayd b. Hārithah came from Badr with the good news lof the victoryl, and when he entered Medina the [people] were leveling the earth over her [grave].733

Zaynab, the Prophet's daughter.

Her mother was Khadījah. She was the eldest of the Prophet's daughters.

Zaynab's maternal cousin, Abū al-ʿĀs b. al-Rabī', had married her before the Prophet was sent [on his divine mission]. Abū al-'Ās's mother was Hālah bt. Khuwaylid b. Asad, Zaynab's maternal aunt. Zaynab bore Abū al-'Ās [his children] 'Alī and Umāmah; 'Alī died in infancy, whereas Umāmah remained [to live]. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, the Commander of the Faithful, married her after the death of [his wife] Fātimah, daughter of the Prophet.

According to Muhammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Yahyā b. 'Abd-

730. Our'ān 111:4; trans. Bell, II, 684.

allāh b. Abī Oatādah—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm: Zaynab, the Prophet's daughter, died at the beginning of the year 8/the middle of the year 620.

According to al-Tabarī: It was reported that the reason for her death was [as follows]. When she left Mecca, intending to reach Medina and join her father, Habbar b. al-Aswad caught up with her. She was [sitting on a camel] in a litter, and he pushed her, whereupon she fell on a rock and, being pregnant, miscarried her child and lost [a lot of] blood. She had this injury and ultimately died of it.

Umm Kulthum, daughter of the Prophet.

Her mother was Khadījah.

She had been married to 'Utaybah b. Abī Lahab before the Prophet was sent [on his divine mission]. He divorced her for the same reason that his brother 'Utbah divorced her sister Ruqayyah, [even] before the consummation of their marriage,734 as I mentioned [before].

Umm Kulthum emigrated to Medina with the [rest of the] Prophet's children. Following the death of Ruqayyah, daughter of the Prophet, he gave Umm Kulthum in marriage to 'Uthman b. 'Affān, in Rabī' I 3/September 624. She remained married to him until her death; she bore him no children.

Umm Kulthum died in Sha'ban 9/November-December 630. Women of the Ansar, among them Umm 'Atiyyah, washed her body, and Abū Talhah descended into her grave.735

The Prophet's Wives Who Died during His Lifetime<sup>736</sup> Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Manāf b. Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah, named Umm al-Masākīn.737

737. "Zainab," EI<sup>1</sup>, IV, 1200 (V. Vacca), al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 429; Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, Ta'rīkh, 26; Ibn Ishāq, Siyar, 258.

<sup>731.</sup> Hīna bāya'ahu al-nisā'. This is not to be confused with the so-called bay'at al-nisa, the name given to the first pledge of the Ansar in the first 'Aqabah meeting; see Ibn Hisham, II, 75; Guillaume, 198-99.

<sup>732.</sup> This account has a political significance, as 'Uthman's opponents accused him of cowardice and considered him therefore unqualified to rule. 'Uthman's supporters justified his absence from the battle of Badr by the permission, or even order, of the Prophet that he should stay behind and watch over the sick Ruqayyah. As for Uhud, it is claimed that God forgave him. See, e.g., al-Baladhuri, Ansab, I, 326. 733. Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 24.

<sup>734.</sup> It is not clear whether or not the text argues that 'Utaybah also divorced Umm Kulthum before the consummation of their marriage. The argument dulls the edge of the fact that the daughters of the Prophet were already divorced when Uthman married them.

<sup>735.</sup> See p. 11, above. 736. On the wives of the Prophet, see Morsy, and a critique of the book in Gilliot, "Bulletin d'islamologie", 487-89; al-Tabarī, Ta'rīkh, I, 1766-82; Ibn Hishām, IV, 293-98; Ibn Ishāq, Siyar, 243-69; Abū Zur ah, 489-95; Ibn Ḥazm, Jawāmi al-sīrah, 31-38; al-Ṣālihī, Azwāj al-nabiyy.

[2433]

[2432]

It was reported that she was thus named in pre-Islamic times. According to Muhammad b. 'Umar [al-Waqidī]—Muhammad b. 'Abdallāh—Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī: Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah al-Hilāliyyah was called Umm al-Masākīn. She had been married to al-Tufayl b. al-Hārith b. al-Muttalib b. 'Abd Manāf, and he divorced her.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh, that is, Ibn Ja'far-'Abd al-Wähid b. Abī 'Awn: [Then] 'Ubaydah b. al-Hārith married her, and he was killed in [the battle] of Badr as a shahid, leaving her a widow.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Waqidī]—Kathīr b. Zayd—al-Muttalib b. 'Abdallāh b. Hantab, and also Muhammad b. Qudāmah—his father: The Prophet asked Zavnab bt. Khuzavmah al-Hilāliyyah, Umm al-Masākīn, in marriage, and she entrusted her affairs to him. He let it be known that he gave her twelve and a half ounces [of gold] as bridal gift.738 The marriage took place in Ramadan, thirty-one months after the Emigration/February 625. She stayed with him eight months, then died at the end of Rabī' II, thirty-nine months after [the Emigration]/October 626.739 The Prophet said the prayers over her bier and buried her at al-Baqī'.

Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī] related: I asked 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far who it was that descended into her grave,740 and he said "three of her brothers." I asked "How old was she when she died?" He said "Thirty years or so."

Rayḥānah bt. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Khunāfah b. Sam'ūn b. Zayd, of the Banū al-Nadīr.741

Rayhānah had been married to a man of the Banū Qurayzah named al-Hakam; therefore some genealogists traced her pedigree to the Qurayzah.

According to Muhammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]--'Abdallāh b. Ja far-Yazīd b. al-Hād-Tha labah b. Abī Mālik: Rayhānah bt.

738. Aşdaqahā. See "Mahr," EP, VI, 78-80 (O. Spies).

Zayd b. 'Amr b. Khunāfah, of the Banū al-Nadīr, was married to one of the Banū Ouravzahl named al-Hakam. When the Banū Ourayzah were taken captive the Prophet took her, set her free. and married her. She was still married to him when she died.742

According to Muhammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: Rayhānah remained married to the Prophet until her death on the Prophet's return from the Farewell Pilgrimage; he buried her in al-Baqī'. He had married her in Muharram 6/May-June 627.

Mulaykah bt. Ka'b al-Laythī.743

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Waqidī]—'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Junda'i-his father-'Atā' b. Yazīd al-Junda'i: The Prophet married Mulaykah bt. Ka'b al-Laythī in Ramadān 8/January 630 and consummated the marriage. She was still married to him when she died

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]-Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī: The same [as the preceding account].

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: Our masters deny this, saying that the Prophet never married a woman of the Kinānah.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Abū Ma'shar [Najīh b. 'Abd al-Rahmanl: The Prophet married Mulaykah bt. Ka'b, who was famous for her outstanding beauty. 'A'ishah went in to her and said "Are you not ashamed to marry the man who killed your father?" Mulaykah said that she sought refuge in God from the Prophet.744 [On hearing of this] the Prophet divorced her. [People of her clan came to the Prophet and said "She is small and has no mind of her own; she was beguiled [into saying what she did], so please take her back." But the Prophet refused. They then asked his permission to give her in marriage to a relative of hers, of the Banu 'Udhrah; The Prophet consented, and the 'Udhrī married

Mulaykah's father was killed in the conquest of Mecca, at Khandamah.745 by Khālid b. al-Walīd.

<sup>739.</sup> Although it may seem otherwise, the time here is calculated not from the actual Emigration, which occurred in the third month of the year (Rabī'I), but from the first month (Muharram) of the year of the Emigration.

<sup>740.</sup> See p. 11. above.

<sup>741.</sup> A Jewess captured by the Muslims with the Banu Qurayzah. See al-Balādhuri, Ansāb, I, 453-54; al-Tabari, Ta'rīkh, I, 1498.

<sup>742.</sup> According to other versions (see the previous note), she refused to marry him and preferred to be his concubine.

<sup>743.</sup> Of the Kinānī clan al-Layth b. Bakr; see Ibn Hazm, Jamharat, 180; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 458-59.

<sup>744.</sup> Cf. pp. 186-89, below.

<sup>745.</sup> Cf. Ibn Hishām, IV, 49-50.

[2435]

[2434]

Sanā bt. al-Şalt b. Habīb b. Hārithah b. Hilāl b. Harām b. Sammāl b. 'Awf al-Sulamiyyah.746

According to Hisham b. Muhammad al-Kalbi-someone from the family of 'Abdallah b. Khazim al-Sulamī:747 The Prophet married Sanā bt. al-Şalt b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamiyyah, but she died before he reached her.

Khawlah bt. al-Hudhayl b. Hubayrah b. Qabīsah b. al-Ḥārith b. Habīb b. Hurgah b. Tha'labah b. Bakr b. Hubayb b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Taghlib.748

Her mother was the daughter of Khalifah b. Farwah b. Fadālah b. Zavd b. Imri' al-Oays b. al-Khazraj al-Kalbī and the sister of Dihyah b. Khalifah.

According to Hishām b. Muhammad [al-Kalbī]—al-Sharqī b. Outāmī: The Prophet married Khawlah bt. al-Hudhayl, but she died on her way, before reaching him. She had been raised by her maternal aunt, Khirniq bt. Khalīfah, Dihyah b. Khalīfah's sister.749

The [Death] Dates<sup>750</sup> of the Prophet's Daughters, Paternal Aunts, and Wives Who Died after Him

Fātimah, the Prophet's daughter.

Her mother was Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid. She was born at the time when the Quraysh were building the House,751 five years before the beginning of the Prophet's mission.

According to Muhammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Yaḥyā b. Shibl—Abū Ja'far [Muhammad b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn]: Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muttalib went to see 'Alī and Fātimah [and heard her] say [to 'Alī] "I am older than you." Al-'Abbās said: "You, Fātimah, were born at the time when the Ouraysh were building the Kabah; the Prophet was then thirtyfive years old. As for you, 'Alī, you were born a few years before that."

According to al-Tabarī: 'Alī married Fātimah in Rajab, five months after the Prophet's arrival at Medina/January-February 623, and consummated the marriage on his return from [the battle of Badr. She was then eighteen years old. This is so according to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī—his father.

Opinions differ concerning the time of her death, although everyone agrees that it occurred after the Prophet's death. According to some, she died six months after the Prophet.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Ma'mar [b. Rāshid]—[Ibn Shihabl al-Zuhrī—'Urwah [b. al-Zubayr]—'Ä'ishah, [the Prophet's wife], and [al-Wāqidī]—Ibn Jurayi ['Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz]-[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī-'Urwah [b. al-Zubayr]: Fātimah, daughter of the Prophet, died six months after him. According to Ibn Umar [al-Wāqidī], this is correct. She died on Tuesday night, 3 Ramadān 11/November 23, 632, at the age of twenty-nine or so.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibn Jurayi ['Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz]--'Amr b. Dīnār--Abū Ja'far [Muhammad b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn]: Fāṭimah died three months after the Prophet.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī—his father—'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn—['Abdallāh] Ibn 'Abbās: Fāṭimah was the first [dead person] for whom a bier was made. Asma' bt. 'Umays made it for her, after she had seen one made in Abyssinia.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz--'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm-'Amrah bt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān: Al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muttalib said the ritual prayer over the bier of Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter; he, 'Alī, and al-Fadl b. al-'Abbās descended into the grave. 752

<sup>746.</sup> Called Sanā' bt. Asmā' in other sources; of the Sulamī clan the Banū Sammāl. See Lecker, Banū Sulaym, 84; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 463.

<sup>747.</sup> A nephew of Sanā'. He was a famous warrior and governor of Khurāsān: see Lecker. Banū Sulavm, 82.

<sup>748.</sup> Her father, al-Hudhayl b. Hubayrah, of the Taghlibī clan Tha'labah b. Bakr, was a distinguished leader in Mesopotamia in pre-Islamic times. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Nasab ma'add, 93; idem., Jamharat, 574; Muhammad Ibn Habīb, Muḥabbar, 249-50; Nagā'id, 473, 703; Caskel, II, 286. One of his daughters, Rayhānah, was taken captive by the Muslims during the conquests; see al-Tabarī, Ta'rīkh, I, 2073. On Khawlah, see al-Baladhuri, Ansab, I, 460.

<sup>749.</sup> Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 114-15.

<sup>750.</sup> Dhikr ta'rīkh man māta... etc. Ta'rīkh means "date" as well as "history" and "biography," but the chapter deals mainly with deaths and dates. Cf. the next chapter, where it is clear that "dates" are meant in the rubric.

<sup>751.</sup> That is, the Ka'bah, see Rubin, "The Ka'ba," 98-104.

<sup>752.</sup> See p. 11, above.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Umar b. Muhammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī—his father—'Alī b. al-Husavn, who asked Ibn 'Abbās about the time Fātimah's burial took place. Al-'Abbās said: "We buried her at night, after a third of it or so had elapsed." ['Alī b. al-Husayn] asked who had said the prayer over her bier, and al-'Abbās replied: "'Alī b. Abī Talib".

Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī] said "I asked 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī al-Muwālī 'Some people say that Fātimah's grave is at the mosque where the funerary services are held, in al-Baqī.'" 'Abd al-Rahmān said: "[No], by God, this is the mosque of Ruqayyah"—meaning the woman who had built it—"but Fātimah was buried in al-Baqī', in 'Aqīl's place, at the corner next to the dwelling of the Jahsh family<sup>753</sup> and opposite the private passageway from the Banū Nubayh's [house], [if you look from the direction] of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār's [house]. Her grave lies seven dhirā's off the road."754

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Waqidī]—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far— 'Abdallah b. Hasan:755 I [once] found al-Mughīrah b. 'Abd al-Rahmān<sup>756</sup> standing in al-Baqī', waiting for me at midday in oppressive heat, I said "O Abū Hāshim, what makes you stand [here]?" He replied: "I was waiting for you; it has come to my knowledge that Fatimah was buried in this house, in 'Aqīl's place. at the corner next to the dwelling of the Jahsh family. I would like you to buy it for me for whatever price, to be buried there." 'Abdallāh said "By God, I shall do that." We tried [to persuade] the 'Aqīl family, but they refused the request of 'Abdallah b. Hasan.757

According to 'Abdallah b. Ia'far, no one doubts that Fatimah's grave is in that place.

According to al-Hārith—Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Warkānī—Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Hamīd—Yazīd b. Abī Zivād—'Abdallāh b. al-Hārith: Fātimah, the Prophet's daughter, passed away eight months after him. She became emaciated and complained to Asmā' about the thinness of her body. She asked her "Could you cover me with something?" Asmā' said "I saw the Abyssinians prepare a bedstead for the [dead] women, then fasten the bier to the bedposts." So [Fātimah] ordered them to do that [when she died].

According to al-Hārith—al-Madā'inī—Abū Zakarivvā' al-'Ailani: A bier was made for Fatimah before she died. She looked at it and said "You have shielded me; may God shield you."

Safiyyah, daughter of 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Hāshim.758

Her mother was Hālah bt. Wuhayb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb. She was a sister of Hamzah b. 'Abd al-Muttalib from both parents.

Safiyyah was married to al-Harith b. Harb b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams in pre-Islamic times and bore him [a child named] Safiyy. She was later married to al-'Awwam b. Khuwaylid b. Asad, to whom she bore al-Zubayr and 'Abd al-Ka'bah.

Safiyyah embraced Islam and gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance. She emigrated to Medina, [where] she died during the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khattab. Her grave is in al-Baqī', in the courtyard in front of al-Mughīrah b. Shu'bah's dwelling.

According to 'Alī b. Muḥammad [al-Madā'inī]: Şafiyyah bt. 'Abd al-Muttalib loncel killed a man in a duel.

### The Death Dates of the Prophet's Wives Who Died after Him

Sawdah bt. Zam'ah b. Qays b. 'Abd Wadd b. Nasr b. Mālik b. Hisl b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. 759

Her mother was al-Shamūs bt. Qays b. 'Amr b. Zayd b. Labīd b. Khidāsh b. 'Āmir b. Ghanm b. 'Adī b. al-Najjār, of the Ansār. She was married to al-Sakrān b. Amr, and they both emigrated to Abyssinia in the second emigration.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Makhramah b. Bukayr his father: Al-Sakrān b. 'Amr returned with his wife Sawdah bt.

<sup>753.</sup> A family of bedouin (Asadī) origin, allies of the Quraysh, who joined Muhammad early in his career; see Kister, "On Strangers and Allies", 137-39. 754. A Dhirā' equals 29½ inches.

<sup>755.</sup> Perhaps the great-grandson of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib is meant; see Ibn Qudāmah, 129. See, on him, p. 245, below.

<sup>756.</sup> One of the rich, generous notables of the Ourashī clan the Makhzūm during Umayyad times; see Ibn Qudamah, 361-63.

<sup>757.</sup> There is a shift in the narration here. The story starts with 'Abdallah b. Hasan as the narrator, but from "We tried . . ." until the end the narrator is al-Mughīrah.

<sup>758.</sup> Khalīfah b. Khayyät, Ta'rīkh, 120; idem, Ṭabaqāt, 331; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, III (Dūrī), 313; al-Zubayrī, 17.

<sup>759.</sup> Of the Qurashī clan 'Amir b. Lu'ayy. See Khalīfhah b. Khayyāt, Tabaqāt, 335; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 407-9; Ibn Isḥāq, Siyar, 254.

[2438]

Zam'ah from Abyssinia to Mecca, where he died, leaving her a widow. When it was lawful for her to marry again 760 the Prophet sent her a message, asking her to marry him. She said "O Messenger of God, I entrust my affairs to you." The Prophet said "Ask a man of your clan to give you in marriage." She asked Hatib b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Wadd, and he gave her to the Prophet in marriage. She was the first woman the Prophet married after Khadījah's [death].761

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Muhammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muslim—his father: The Prophet married Sawdah in Ramadan, in the tenth year after the [beginning of] his prophethood. This was after Khadījah's death and before his marriage to 'Ā'ishah. He consummated the marriage in Mecca, then emigrated to Medina.

Sawdah bt. Zam'ah died in Medina in Shawwāl 54/September-October 674, during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī], this is the correct version.

According to Hisham b. Muhammad [al-Kalbī]—his father— Abū Sālih [Bādhām]—['Abdallāh] Ibn 'Abbās: Sawdah bt. Zam'ah was married to al-Sakran b. 'Amr, brother of Suhayl b. 'Amr. [Once] she dreamed that the Prophet walked until he trod on her neck. She told her husband about it and he said "By your father's life, if your dream is true, then I shall die, and Muhammad will marry you." She said "[God] forbid!" According to Hishām, [she said this by way of banishing the [ideal. Another night she dreamed that a moon fell down from the sky on her while she was lying down. She told her husband, and he said "By your father's life, it shall not be long before I die and you will be given in marriage to [the Prophet]." Since that day al-Sakrān suffered from some complaint; it was not long before he died and the Prophet married Sawdah.

According to al-Hārith—Dā'ūd b. al-Muḥabbar—'Abd al-Hamīd b. Bahrām—Shahr [b. Hawshab?]—['Abdallāh] Ibn 'Abbās: The Prophet asked to be given in marriage a woman of his tribe by the name of Sawdah. She had [already] five or six small children from her [former] husband, who was dead by then. The Prophet asked her "What is it that prevents you from [marrying] me?" She replied "O Prophet of God, nothing prevents me from [marrying] you but that you are the most beloved person to me and I respect you [too much to let] these little children squeal around your head all the time." The Prophet asked "Is there anything else that prevents you from [marrying] me?" She replied "No, by God." The Prophet said to her "The best women ever to have ridden the backs of camels<sup>762</sup> are the virtuous women of the Quraysh, who are the most affectionate toward small children and the most excellent in doing good to their husbands when they [the women] are wealthv.763

'Ā'ishah, daughter of Abū Bakr.764

Her mother was Umm Rūmān bt. 'Umayr b. 'Āmir, of the Banū Duhmān b. al-Hārith b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. Kinānah.<sup>765</sup>

The Prophet married 'Ā'ishah in Shawwāl in the tenth year after the [beginning of his] prophethood, three years before the Emigration. He consummated the marriage in Shawwal, eight months after the Emigration. On the day he consummated the marriage with her she was nine years old.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Mūsā b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Rayṭah—'Amrah [bt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'dl:766 'Ā'ishah was asked when the Prophet consummated his marriage with her, and she said:

The Prophet left us and his daughters behind when he emigrated to Medina. Having arrived at Medina, he sent

<sup>760.</sup> According to the Muslim law, a widow or divorced woman should wait for a certain period before remarrying (in order to see whether she is pregnant by her former husband); see "Idda," EP, III, 1010-13 (Y. Linant de Bellefonds).

<sup>761.</sup> The Prophet never married another woman during Khadījah's lifetime.

<sup>762.</sup> That is, Arab women.

<sup>763.</sup> Ahnāhu 'alā waladin fī sigharihi wa-ar'āhu 'alā ba'lin fī dhāt yadin. The root h-n-w specifically denotes widows who remain unmarried in order to devote themselves to their children. Cf. al-Waqidi, 867, where the text says "and the most generous with their property towards their husbands." The context of the tradition in al-Wagidī is, however, different. See also p. 197, below.

<sup>764.</sup> The Prophet's most beloved wife and the only one involved in politics after his death. See "'Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr," EI2, I, 307-8; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 409-22; Ibn Qudāmah, 73-74; Ibn Ishāq, Siyar, 255-56.

<sup>765.</sup> Ibn Hazm, Jamharat, 188.

<sup>766.</sup> Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 269-70.

Zayd b. Ḥārithah and his client Abū Rāfiʿ for us. He gave them two camels and 500 dirhams he had taken from Abū Bakr to buy other beasts they needed. Abū Bakr sent with them 'Abdallāh b. Urayqit al-Dīlī, with two or three camels. He wrote to [his son] 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr to take his wife Umm Rūmān, together with me and my sister Asmā', al-Zubayr's wife, [and leave for Medina]. They all left [Medina] together, and when they arrived at Qudayd<sup>767</sup> Zayd b. Hārithah bought three camels with those 500 dirhams. All of them then entered Mecca, where they met Talhah b. Ubaydallah on his way to leave town, together with Abū Bakr's family. 768 So we all left: Zayd b. Hārithah, Abū Rāfi', Fāṭimah, Umm Kulthūm, and Sawdah bt. Zam'ah. Zayd mounted Umm Ayman and [his son] Usāmah b. Zayd on a riding beast; 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr took Umm Rūmān and his two sisters, and Talhah b. Ubaydallāh came [too]. We all went together,769 and when we reached Bayd in Tamannī<sup>770</sup> my camel broke loose. I was sitting in the litter together with my mother, and she started exclaiming "Alas, my daughter, alas [you] bride"; then they caught up with our camel, after it had safely descended the Lift.771 We then arrived at Medina, and I stayed with Abū Bakr's children, and [Abū Bakr] went to the Prophet. 772 The latter was then busy building the mosque and our homes around it,773 where he [later] housed his wives. We stayed in Abū Bakr's house for a few

Biographies

767. A place near Mecca, see Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, IV, 42. Note that the story temporarily reverts from the first to the third person.

days; then Abū Bakr asked [the Prophet] "O Messenger of

God, what prevents you from consummating the marriage with your wife?" The Prophet said "The bridal gift (sadāa)." Abū Bakr gave him the bridal gift, twelve and a half ounces [of gold], and the Prophet sent for us.774 He consummated our marriage in my house, the one where I live now and where he passed away.775

The Prophet made a door in the mosque for his own use, opposite the door of 'A'ishah.

['Ā'ishah said]: The Prophet consummated his marriage with Sawdah in one of these houses that are next to mine; he used to stay with her.

'Ā'ishah died in Ramaḍān 58/June-July 678.

Those who hold this view. According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm: Abu Hurayrah said the prayer over 'Ā'ishah's bier in Ramaḍān 58/June-July 678. She died after the night prayer.776

According to Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: 'Ā'ishah died on Tuesday night, the 17th of Ramadan 58/July 13, 678, and was buried the same night after the night prayer. She was then sixtysix years old.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibn Abī Sabrah—Mūsā b. Maysarah—Sālim Sabalān: 'Ā'ishah died the night of the 17th of Ramadan, after the night prayer. She had ordered that she should be buried the same night. The Ansar gathered and attended [the funeral], and no other night was ever seen that was more crowded than that one. [Even] the people of the villages outside Medina (al-'awālī) came. She was buried in al-Baqī'.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibn Jurayj ['Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz]—Nāfi' [client of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar]: I was pres-

<sup>768.</sup> Talhah and Abū Bakr belonged to the same Qurashī clan, the Banū Taym. 769. The text (and Cairo, 601, and Dar al-Fikr, 604) has "the two of them went together" (wa-istahabā), which makes no sense here. The difference between the two words is one character, n (wa-istahabnā), which can easily be overlooked in a manuscript.

<sup>770.</sup> See Yāqūt, Muʻjam al-buldān, I, 795, 874.

<sup>771.</sup> A wadi between Mecca and Medina; see Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, I, 360-

<sup>772.</sup> De Goeje interprets nazala ilā here not as "went" but as "stayed" or "lived with," the agent of the verb being, according to him, Usamah b. Zayd; see 2440 n.c. 773. See al-Samhūdī, II, 322-40.

<sup>774.</sup> It is not clear whether Abū Bakr pays this sum as dowry or gives the Prophet the money to pay the bridal gift because the Prophet was short of cash. See also p. 189, below.

<sup>775.</sup> See al-Samhūdī, II, 458-60, 540-42. 776. Itar or witt, a prayer consisting of an odd number of prayer units (rak'ahs) performed at night; see "Witr," EI1, IV, 1139-40 (A. J. Wensinck).

ent [at 'Ā'ishah's funeral when] Abū Hurayrah said the prayer over her bier; ['Abdallāh] b. 'Umar was in the crowd and did not condemn it.777 Marwan had gone on a lesser pilgrimage ('umrah) that year and appointed Abū Hurayrah vice-governor.

Hafsah, daughter of 'Umar b. al-Khattāb.778

Her mother was Zaynab bt. Maz'un, sister of 'Uthmān b. Maz'ün.779

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Usāmah b. Zayd b. Aslam—his father—his grandfather—'Umar: Hafsah was born while the Quraysh were building the Kabah, five years before the Prophet was sent on his divine mission.

According to [Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī]—Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah—Ḥusayn b. Abī Ḥusayn: The Prophet married Ḥafṣah in Sha'bān, thirty months after [the Emigration]/February-March 625, before the battle of Uhud.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: Hafşah died in Sha'bān 45/October-November 665 during the caliphate of Muʿāwiyah. She was then sixty years old.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Ma'mar [b. Rāshid]—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Žuhrī—Sālim [b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb] his father: Ḥafṣah died, and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who was then the governor of Medina, said the prayer over her bier.

According to [Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī]—'Alī b. Muslim—[Sa'īd b. Abī Sa'īd] al-Maqbarī—his father: I saw Marwān carrying her bier, holding it between the two posts, from the Hazm family's to al-Mughīrah b. Shu bah's house; Abū Hurayrah carried her from al-Mughīrah's house to her grave.

According to [Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. Nāfi'—his father: [The people who] descended into Hafsah's grave<sup>780</sup> were 'Abdallāh and 'Āṣim, sons of 'Umar, and Sālim, 'Abdallāh, and Hamzah, sons of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar.

Umm Salamah, whose [real] name was Hind bt. Abī Umayyah, whose [real] name was Suhayl Zād al-Rakb<sup>781</sup> b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm.<sup>782</sup>

Her mother was 'Ātikah bt. 'Āmir b. Rabī'ah b. Mālik b. Jadhīmah b. 'Alqamah Jidhl al-Ṭi'ān b. Firās b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. Kinānah.783

Umm Salamah was married to Abū Salamah, whose [real] name was 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Asad b. Hilāl.784 Both of them participated in the two emigrations to Abyssinia, where Umm Salamah bore Zaynab bt. Abī Salamah. She later [also] bore her husband Salamah, 'Umar, and Durrah, sons of Abī Salamah.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]785—'Umar b. 'Uthmān-'Abd al-Malik b. 'Ubayd—Saʻīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yarbū'— 'Umar b. Abī Salamah: My father participated in the battle of Uḥud, and Abū Usāmah al-Jushamī shot him in the arm with an arrow. He stayed a month treating his injury, which eventually healed. The Prophet then sent my father to Qatan, 786 in Muharram, thirty five months [after the Emigration]/June 625. He was away for twenty-nine days, then returned to Medina, on the eighth of Safar 4/July 21, 625; by then his wound had reopened. He died from it on the eighth of Jumādā II 4/November 15, 625. My mother observed the legal period of waiting before remarrying ('iddah) and became lawful [for marriage] on the 20th of Shawwal 4/March 25, 626. The Prophet married her at the end of Shawwāl 4/March 626.787 She died in Dhū al-Qa'dah 59/September-October 679.

<sup>777.</sup> It is not clear what was condemnable here, perhaps that it was not the governor, Marwan b. al-Ḥakam, who held the funeral service, as stated in the next sentence. See also below.

<sup>778. &</sup>quot;Ḥafṣa," EI², III, 63-65; Jeffery, 212-13; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 422-28; Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, Tabaqāt, 334; Ibn Qudāmah, 75-76; Ibn Ishāq, Siyar, 257. 779. A member of the Qurashi clan the Jumah and an early convert, known for his asceticism: see Ibn Qudāmah, 444-45.

<sup>780.</sup> See p. 11, above.

<sup>781.</sup> See p. 78, above.

<sup>782.</sup> Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, *Tabaqāt*, 334; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 429–32; Ibn Ishāq, Siyar, 260-61. See also Jeffery, 235.

<sup>783. &#</sup>x27;Algamah and other members of the Firas family were famous warriors; see Ibn Hazm, Jamharat, 188.

<sup>784.</sup> The Prophet's milk brother and an early convert. He died of an injury he received in one of the early Muslim raids, see Ibn Hajar, Iṣābah, II, 335.

<sup>785.</sup> Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 60-61. 786. A place in the territory of the bedouin tribe Banu Asad; see Landau-Tasseron, "Asad," 8-11.

<sup>787.</sup> Al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1460.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Kathīr b. Zayd—al-Muṭṭa-lib b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanṭab: The Widow of the Arabs went in to the Lord of the Muslims as a bride early in the evening and got up at the end of the night to mill.

He meant Umm Salamah. 788

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Ma'mar [b. Rāshid]—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī—Hind bt. al-Ḥārith al-Firāsiyyah: The Prophet said "'Ā'ishah has a part in me occupied by no one else." When he married Umm Salamah the Prophet was asked "O Messenger of God, what about that part?" The Prophet remained silent, and it was known that Umm Salamah occupied [a place in] his [heart].789

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: Umm Salamah died in

Shawwāl 59/July-August 679.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. Nāfi'—his father: Abū Hurayrah said the prayer over Umm Salamah's bier in al-Baqī'. The governor [of Medina] was al-Walīd b. 'Utbah b. Abī Sufyān,<sup>790</sup> [but] he had gone on business to al-Ghābah<sup>791</sup> and appointed Abū Hurayrah to lead the prayers, so the latter [also] prayed over Umm Salamah's bier. [The narrator] said: He went away only because she had requested that the governor would not say the prayer over her bier, and he did not want to be present while someone else performed the service, so he left on purpose, appointing Abū Hurayrah [to replace him].

According to al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—Ibn Sa'd, in another place<sup>792</sup>—al-Wāqidī: Umm Salamah died at the beginning of the year 59/678, during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah. Her brother's son 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Umayyah said the prayer over her

bier.

2444

According to al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Suhayl—Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā: The Prophet married Umm Salamah, that is, Hind bt. Abī Umayyah b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b.

788. Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 64.

'Umar b. Makhzūm, in Medina in the year 2 of the [Muslim] era/624, before the battle of Badr.

According to Abū Ma'shar [Najīḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān]: Zaynab was the first of the Prophet's wives to die, and Umm Salamah was the last.

Umm Ḥabībah, whose [real] name was Ramlah bt. Abī Sufyān b. Harb.  $^{793}$ 

Her mother was Ṣafiyyah bt. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān's paternal aunt.

'Ubaydallāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb, Ḥarb b. Umayyah's ally (Ḥalīf),<sup>794</sup> had married Umm Ḥabībah. She bore him Ḥabībah, after whom she was named. Ḥabībah was [later] married to Dā'ūd b. 'Urwah b.

Mas'ūd al-Thagafī. 795

'Ubaydallāh b. Jaḥsh emigrated to Abyssinia in the second emigration, taking Umm Ḥabībah with him. He apostatized and converted to Christianity, then died in Abyssinia, whereas Umm Ḥabībah remained faithful to her religion, Islam, and to her [status] as an Emigrant.

Umm Habībah had taken her daughter Ḥabībah bt. ʿUbaydallah when emigrating to Abyssinia, then brought her back with her to

Mecca.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. Ja'far—'Uthmān b. Muḥammad al-Akhnasī: Umm Ḥabībah bt. Abī Suf-yān had given birth to Ḥabībah, her daughter from 'Ubaydallāh b. Jaḥsh, in Mecca, before she emigrated to Abyssinia.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Abū Bakr b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Sa'd—his father: Umm Ḥabībah had left Mecca

while pregnant and bore her daughter in Abyssinia.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Zuhayr—Ismā'īl b. 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ—Umm Ḥabībah: I dreamed that 'Ubaydallāh b. Jaḥsh, my husband, was in the worst and most deformed shape. I was frightened and said [to myself]

<sup>789.</sup> Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 66.

<sup>790.</sup> Cousin of the caliph Mu'āwiyah. He served in administrative posts, as did his father before him. See Ibn Qudāmah, 207–8; al-Zubayrī, 132–33.

<sup>791.</sup> A well-watered area north of Medina. Residents of the town had cultivated plots of lands there. See Yaqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, III, 767; al-Samhūdī, 1275-76. 702. Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 67. The version here is different from al-Tabarī's.

<sup>793.</sup> Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, *Ta'tīkh*, 41; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 200, 438–39, 440; Ibn Qudāmah, 80–82; Ibn Ishāq, *Siyar*, 259.

<sup>794.</sup> See note 116, above.

<sup>795.</sup> Son of Urwah b. Mas'ūd, an outstanding leader of the Thaqīf, who was assassinated because of his conversion to Islam; see Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, I, 478, II, 477-78.

"By God, he has changed." And, lo and behold, when he got up in the morning he said: "O Umm Habibah. I have contemplated the [matter] of religion, and I see no religion better than Christianity. I had professed it [before], then embraced Muhammad's religion, and now I am going back to Christianity." I said "By God. vou have not been blessed," and I told him about my dream about him. but he paid no attention to it and went on drinking wine until he died.<sup>796</sup> Afterward I dreamed that someone came to me and said "O Mother of the Faithful." 797 I was frightened and interpreted it [as a sign] that the Prophet would marry me. And, indeed, the moment my legal waiting period ('iddah) elapsed, before I knew [anything], a messenger from the negus<sup>798</sup> was at my door, asking permission to come in. It was a slave girl of his, called Abrahah. whose task was to look after his clothes and balm. She came in and said "The king sends a message to you: 'The Prophet wrote to me, asking to give you to him in marriage." 1399 I said "May God send glad tidings to you." She went on "The king says to you 'Appoint someone to give you in marriage.'" Umm Habībah sent for Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Ās<sup>800</sup> and appointed him [for the task]. She gave Abrahah two silver bracelets and two anklets she had worn on her feet and silver rings she had had on her toes, out of joy at the tidings the girl had brought her. In the evening the negus requested [the presence of ] Ia'far b. Abī Tālib and the other Muslims who were there, so they came before him. The negus delivered a speech, saying:801 "God be praised, the King, the Holy, the Perfect, the Faithful to His promises, the Watcher, the Almighty, the Forceful. I testify that there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His servant and messenger and the [prophet] whose [coming]

was prophesied by Jesus, son of Mary, 802 Now, the Messenger of God wrote to me, asking that I give him Umm Habībah bt. Abī Sufvān in marriage. I comply with the Prophet's wish and give 400 dinars for her bridal gift (sadāa)." He then poured the dinars in front of the people. Khālid b. Sa'īd then spoke and said: "God be praised: I praise Him and ask His help and assistance and testify that there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His servant and messenger. 'He it is who hath sent His messenger with the guidance and the religion of truth in order that He may set it above all (other) religion, though averse are the polytheists.'803 Now I comply with the Prophet's wish and give him Umm Habībah bt. Abī Sufyān in marriage; may God bless His messenger." The negus gave Khalid b. Sa'īd the dinars, and he took them. The people then wanted to go away, but the negus said "Sit down, for the prophets' custom (sunnah) when marrying is to serve food on the occasion of the marriage." So he ordered that food be brought, and they ate and then dispersed.

Umm Habībah narrated: When the money reached me I sent to Abrahah, who had brought me the news, and said to her: "On that day I gave you what I did because I had no money with me. Here are fifty gold coins (mithaāls); take them and benefit from them." She took out a box containing everything I had given her and gave it back to me, saying: "The king asked me not to take anything from you, being [his servant] who looks after his clothes and balm. I have followed the religion of the Prophet and submitted to God. The king has ordered his wives to send to you all the perfumes they have." The next day Abrahah brought me a great quantity of aloes, saffron, ambergris, and civet perfume. I [later] took all this with me to the Prophet, and he used to see me wearing and having it and never disaproved.804 Then Abrahah said "The favor I ask from you is that you greet the Prophet with peace on my behalf and tell him that I have followed his religion." She was very gentle with me; she was the one who prepared me [for the journey], and whenever she came in she said "Do not forget the favor I asked

<sup>706.</sup> Drinking wine is here used to indicate the difference between Muslims and Christians. It is also related to the dream, in which Umm Habibah saw her husband deformed. Cf. Qur'an 5:59-61.

<sup>707.</sup> A designation of the wives of the Prophet.

<sup>798.</sup> That is, the Abyssinian ruler.

<sup>799.</sup> As the Muslims who emigrated to Abyssinia were supposed to be under the negus' protection, the story makes the Prophet address him in the matter of the marriage. See also below, and al-Tabari, Ta'rīkh, I, 1570-71.

<sup>800.</sup> A relative of hers, one of the very few early Umayyad converts. See Ibn Hajar, Isābah, I. 406-7; Ibn Oudāmah, 187-90.

<sup>801.</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 59:23.

<sup>802.</sup> The negus in fact embraces Islam by uttering these words. On the negus legend in Islamic tradition, see Raven; Wansbrough, 38-41.

<sup>803.</sup> Our'an 9:33, 61:9; trans. Bell, I, 177.

<sup>804.</sup> The permissibility of perfume, as well as other luxuries, was much debated among Muslim scholars.

from you." When we came to the Prophet I told him about the betrothal [ceremony] and about Abrahah and her conduct with me, and he smiled. I greeted him on her behalf, and he said "Peace be with her, too, and God's mercy."

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Ishāq b. Muḥammad— Ja'far b. Muhammad-his father: The Prophet sent 'Amr b. Umayyah al-Damrī<sup>805</sup> to the negus, asking him to give him in marriage Umm Ḥabībah bt. Abī Sufyān, who had been married to Ubaydallah b. Jahsh. The negus gave her to him in marriage and contributed a bridal gift of 400 dinars from his own [pocket], on behalf of the Prophet.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]-Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ-'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatādah, and also [Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī]—'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz—'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Ḥazm: The man who gave Umm Habībah in marriage and from whom the negus asked her was Khālid b. Sa'īd b. al-'Ās; this occurred in the year 7/628-29. She was thirty-odd years old when she was brought to Medina.

Umm Ḥabībah died in the year 44/April 4, 664-March 24, 665, during the caliphate of Mu'awiyah.

Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb, sister of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jaḥsh.806 Her mother was Umaymah bt. 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Hāshim.807

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Umar b. 'Uthmān al-Jaḥshī—his father: Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, who was a beautiful woman, was among those who emigrated [to Medina] with the Prophet. When the Prophet arrived at Medina he asked that she be given to [his adopted son] Zayd b. Ḥārithah in marriage, but she said "O Messenger of God, I cannot give my consent, for I am the widow of the Quraysh."808 The Prophet replied "But I give my consent that you should [marry him]." So Zayd b. Hārithah married her.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir al-Aslamī-Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān: The Prophet came to

805. A famous warrior and Companion, of the Kinānah tribe; see Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II. 524.

Zayd b. Hārithah's house looking for him. Zayd was [at that time] called only Zayd b. Muhammad, and the Prophet sometimes would miss him [after] a time and would say "Where is Zayd?" [Once] he went to Zayd's house but did not find him [there]. Zaynab rose toward him and said "Come here, O Messenger of God," but he turned away, muttering something unintelligible. except the words "Praised be God the Great, praised be God, who turns the hearts." When Zavd came home his wife told him that the Prophet had come to his house. Zayd asked "Didn't you ask him to come in?" She said "I proposed it to him but he declined." Zayd asked "Did you hear him say anything?" She said: "When he turned away I heard him say something I did not understand, and I heard him say 'Praised be God the Great, praised be God who turns the hearts." Zayd left [his house] and went to the Prophet. He said: "O Messenger of God, I heard that you came to my house. Why didn't you come in? O Messenger of God, may my father and mother be your ransom! Perhaps [the problem is] that you like Zaynab? In that case, I shall divorce her." The Prophet said "Keep your wife." [But] Zayd could not touch her [after that]. He would come to the Prophet and tell him [about it], and the latter would say "Keep your wife," and Zayd would say "O Messenger of God, I shall divorce her," and the Prophet would say "Keep your wife." Zayd divorced her [all the same] and abstained from her, and she became lawful [for remarriage]. [One day], while talking to 'A'ishah, the Prophet fainted. On regaining consciousness he smiled and said "Who will go to Zaynab to bring her the glad tidings that God from above gave her to me in marriage?" The Prophet [then] recited "(Recall) when thou wert saying to him upon whom Allah bestowed favor and upon whom thou didst bestow favor."809 'A'ishah narrated: I was upset by both near and remote troubles, having heard of Zaynab's beauty. What was more, the greatest and noblest of all things happened to her, as God from heaven gave her in marriage. I said [to myself] "She is going to boast of it to us." Salmā, the Prophet's servant, then went quickly and told [Zaynab] about it. [Zaynab] gave her silver ornaments for this [service].810

809. Qur'ān 33:37; trans. Bell, II, 415.

<sup>806.</sup> Of the Jahsh family, see p. 168, above; "Zainab bint Jahsh," EI1, IV, 1199 [V. Vacca), Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, Tarīkh, 122, al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 433-37, Ansari. 807. That is, the Prophet's paternal aunt.

<sup>808.</sup> Perhaps she considers herself unworthy, having been married before, or Zayd, a former slave, is unworthy of her. See note 853, below.

<sup>810.</sup> Or; "ornaments she had worn" ('alayhā).

[2450]

According to 'Umar b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh al-Jaḥshī—his father: The Prophet married Zaynab bt. Jahsh on the first of Dhū al-

Oa'dah 5/April 24, 627.

According to 'Umar b. 'Uthman al-Jahshi-his father: Zaynab bt. Jahsh did not leave behind lwhen she died evenl a dīnār or a dirham, for she used to give to the needyl everything she could and to give hospitality to the poor. She left [only] her house, which was [later] sold to al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, 811 when he pulled the mosque down, for 50,000 dirhams.

According to 'Umar b. 'Uthmān al-Jaḥshī—Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. Muhammad-his father: 'Ukāshah b. Mihsan's mother was asked how old Zaynab bt. Jahsh was when she died, to which she replied "She was thirty-odd years old when we emigrated to Medina, and she died in the year 20/December 21,640-December 9,

641.

According to 'Umar b. 'Uthmān-his father: Zaynab bt. Jahsh

died at the age of fifty-three.

According to al-Harith: I was present in the circle [of people around 'Alī b. 'Āṣim, who was relating traditions (hadīths).812 He related on the authority of Dā'ūd b. Abī Hind—'Āmir [b. Shurahbīl al-Sha'bīl: Zaynab used to say to the Prophet "I have the greatest claim on you from among your wives, for I am the best of them in respect of the way I was married [to you], the noblest lady,813 and the closest [to you] in terms of kinship." She would say "I was given to you in marriage by the Merciful from above His throne, and [the angel] Jibrīl was the go-between in this matter; I am the daughter of your paternal aunt, and you have no kin among your wives but me."

Iuwayriyyah bt. al-Hārith b. Abī Dirār b. Ḥabīb b. 'Ā'idh b. Mālik b. Jadhīmah al-Mustaliq, of the Khuzā'ah.814

Iuwayriyyah had been married to Musāfi' b. Safwān Dhū al-Shufr b. Abī Sarh b. Mālik b. Jadhīmah, who was killed in the battle of al-Muraysī'.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Waqidī]—Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Ousayt—his father—Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Thawban—'Ā'ishah: The Prophet took prisoner some women of the Banu al-Mustaliq. He set aside the legal fifth [of the booty] (khums) and divided [the rest] among the people, giving the cavalrymen two shares and the footsoldiers one share leachl. Juwayriyyah bt. al-Hārith b. Abī Dirār fell in the lot of Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās al-Ansārī. She had been married to a cousin of hers named Safwan b. Malik b. Jadhīmah Dhū al-Shufr, who was killed, leaving her a widow. Thabit made a contract with her to free her against the sum of nine ounces [of gold]. She was a sweet woman; everyone who just saw her fell for her. Now, the Prophet was staying with me when Juwayriyyah came in, asking his help in that contract of freedom. By God, the moment I saw her I resented her entering upon the Prophet, knowing that he would see in her the same as I did. She said: "O Messenger of God, I am Juwayriyyah, daughter of al-Hārith, chief of his clan. You know what I have been going through. I fell in the lot of Thabit b. Qays, and he made a contract to free me against the sum of nine ounces [of gold]. Help me to free myself." The Prophet said "How about a better arrangement?" She asked "What is it?" He said "I will pay your contract on your behalf, then marry you." She said "Yes, O Messenger of God, I accept this." The news spread among the people, and they said "Shall the Prophet's brothers-in-law be enslaved?" So they set free the prisoners they held of the Banu al-Mustaliq. A hundred men, women, and children were freed on the occasion of the Prophet's marriage to Juwayriyyah, and I know no woman who was more helpful to her people than she. All this took place on the Prophet's return from the battle of Muraysi'.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Abyad, Iuwayriyyah's client—his father: The Prophet took [some of the] Banū al-Mustaliq prisoner. Juwayriyyah was among them, and her father came [to Medina] and ransomed her. He gave her to the Prophet in marriage at a later stage.

According to [Ibn 'Umar al-Waqidī]—Ishaq b. Yahya b. Talhah-[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī-Mālik b. Aws-'Umar: The Prophet [2451]

<sup>811.</sup> The sixth Umayyad caliph, reigned 86-96/705-15. 812. A famous scholar of Tradition from Wasit (d. 200/815-16), often accused of making mistakes and even telling lies, see Ibn Hajar, Tahdhīb, VII, 302-5.

<sup>813.</sup> Akramuhunna sitran; see Kazimirski, s.v. str.

<sup>814.</sup> Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, Ta'rīkh, 42, 212; Ibn Ḥibbān, Thiqāt, III, 66; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 341, 441-42; al-Tabarī, Ta'rīkh, İ, 1516-17, 1772; Ibn Ishāq, Siyar, 263.

[2452]

obligated Juwayriyyah to veil herself and allotted to her the same [sums and goods] as to his [other] wives.<sup>815</sup>

According to [Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān—Zayd b. Abī 'Attāb—Muḥammad b. 'Amr—'Aṭā'—Zaynab bt. Abī Salamah—Juwayriyyah bt. al-Ḥārith: Juwayriyyah's name had been Barrah, and the Prophet changed it to Juwayriyyah, for he resented that people would say "He came out of Barrah's place."816

According to [Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī]—'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Abyaḍ—his father: Juwayriyyah bt. al-Ḥārith, the Prophet's wife, died in Rabī' I 56/January–February 676, during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, then governor of Medina, said the prayer over her bier.

According to [Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. Yazīd—his grandmother, who was a client of Juwayriyyah bt. al-Ḥārith—Juwayriyyah: I was twenty years old when the Prophet married me.

[According to Juwayriyah's client]: Juwayriyyah died in the year 50/December 21, 670-December 17, 671, at the age of sixty-five; Marwān b. al-Hakam said the ritual prayer over her bier.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Hizām b. Hishām—his father—Juwayriyyah: Three days before the Prophet arrived I dreamed that the moon came from Yathrib and fell in my bosom. I hated to tell anybody about it; then the Prophet arrived. When we were taken prisoner I feared the dream, and when he freed and married me, and, by God, I did not speak with him about my people, but the Muslims freed them [of their own volition]; before I knew anything, a girl of my relatives came to inform me about it. Then I praised God.

Şafiyyah bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab b. Saʻyah b. ʿĀmir b. ʿUbayd b. Kaʻb b. Abī al-Khazraj b. Abī Ḥabīb b. al-Naḍīr b. al-Naḥḥām b. Tanḥūm, of the Children of Israel, one of the tribe of Hārūn b.  $\frac{817}{100}$ 

Her mother was Barrah bt. Samaw'al, sister of Rifā'ah b. Samaw'al, of the Banū Qurayzah, brother tribe of al-Naḍīr.

Şafiyyah had been married to Sallām b. Mishkam al-Qurazī, who divorced her, whereupon she was married to Kinānah b. al-Rabī b. Abī al-Ḥuqayq al-Naḍarī. The latter was killed in the battle of Khaybar, leaving her a widow.

Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Kathīr b. Zayd—al-Walīd b. Rabāḥ—Abū Hurayrah: While the Prophet was lying with Ṣafiyyah Abū Ayyūb stayed the night at his door. When he saw the Prophet in the morning he said "God is the Greatest." He had a sword with him; he said to the Prophet "O Messenger of God, this young woman had just been married, and you killed her father, her brother and her husband, so I did not trust her [not to harm] you." The Prophet laughed and said "Good."

According to Muḥammad b. Mūsā—ʿUmarah b. al-Muhājir—Āminah bt. Abī Qays al-Ghifāriyyah: I was one of the women who led Ṣafiyyah as a bride to the Prophet. I heard her say: I was not even seventeen, or I was just seventeen, the night I entered the Prophet's [room].

Safiyyah died in the year 52/January 8, 672-December 26, 672, during the caliphate of Mu'āwiyah, and was buried in al-Baqī'.

Maymūnah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn al-Hilālī.818

Her mother was Hind bt. 'Awf b. Zuhayr b. al-Hārith b. Hamātah b. Jurash.

In pre-Islamic times Maymūnah had been married to Mas'ūd b. 'Amr b. 'Umayr al-Thaqafī. He divorced her, and she was married to Abū Ruhm b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Abī Qays, of the Banū Mālik b. Ḥisl b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. He died, leaving her a widow, and the Prophet married her. It was al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who gave her in marriage, [because] he was her guardian, as she was the full

817. Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 49; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 343; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 442-44; Ibn Isḥāq, *Siyar*, 264-65.

[2453]

<sup>815.</sup> The veil, hijāb, was obligatory only on the Prophet's wives. See Qur'ān 33:53; al-Wāḥidī, 241-43; 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb, Ta'rīkh, 87; 'Ḥidjāb;'' EI², III, 359-61 (J. Chelhod). The point of discussion here is whether Juwayriyyah was the Prophet's wife or concubine.

<sup>816.</sup> See note 234, above. According to Lane's lexicon, Barrah as a proper name means "obedience."

<sup>818.</sup> Of the Hilāl, a clan of the Banū 'Āmir b. Şa'şa'ah. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, Ta'rīkh, 49; idem, Ṭabaqāt, 338; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 444-47; Ibn Isḥāq, Siyar, 266-67.

sister of his concubine (umm walad) [Lubābah al-Kubrā] bt. al-Hārith al-Hilāliyyah, the mother of his son al-Fadl.

Biographies

The Prophet married Maymūnah in Sarif, [a place] ten miles from Mecca. 819 She was the last woman he married, in the year 7/628, during the lesser pilgrimage of the Consummation ('umrat al-qadiyyah).

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Waqidī]--['Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz| Ibn Jurayi—Abū al-Zubayr—'Ikrimah: Maymūnah bt. al-

Harith gave herself to the Prophet.

According to [Ibn 'Umar al-Waqidī]-Mūsa b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān-his father: 'Amrah [bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān], when told that Maymunah gave herself to the Prophet, Idenied it, sayingl: The Prophet married her for 500 dirhams paid as bridal gift;820 al-'Abbas b. 'Abd al-Muttalib was in charge of giving her in marriage to the Prophet.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Waqidī]: Maymūnah died in the year 61/October 1, 680-September 19, 681, during the caliphate of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah. She was the last of the Prophet's wives to die. and her age was then eighty or eighty-one. She had been [a] strong

[woman].

Al-Kilābiyyah,821 about whose name opinions differ.

Some [scholars] say that she was Fāṭimah bt. al-Daḥhāk b. Sufvān al-Kilābī. Others, that she was 'Āliyah bt. Zabyān b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Ka'b b. 'Abd b. Abī Bakr b. Kilāb, and yet another opinion is that she was Sanā bt. Sufyān b. 'Awf b. Ka'b b. 'Abd b. Abī Bakr b. Kilāb. [Furthermore], some hold that there was only one woman of the Kilāb [married to the Prophet], about whose name opinions differ, whereas others believe that all of the [aforementioned] were [wives of the Prophet], each having her own story.

Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhri-Urwah [b. al-Zubayr]-'A'ishah: The Prophet married a Kilāhī woman, and when she entered his [room] and he ap-

819. Yāqūt, Muʻjam al-buldān, III, 77.

proached her she said "I seek God's protection against you,"822 whereupon the Prophet said "You have asked the protection of a mighty one; go [back] to your family."

According to 'Abdallah b, Ja'far—'Abd al-Wahid b, Abī 'Awn— Ibn Mannah: She uttered the formula "I seek God's protection" (a'ūdhu bi-Allāh) against the Prophet, for she had been dumbfounded and had lost her mind. [Later], whenever she asked permission to enter and see the Prophet's wives, she would say "I am the miserable one" and "I have been cheated."

According to Muhammad b. 'Abdallāh—[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī: It was Fätimah bt. al-Dahhāk b. Sufyān, who uttered the formula "I seek God's protection" against the Prophet, and he divorced her. [Afterward], she used to collect camel dung and say "I am the miserable one."

The Prophet had married [the Kilābiyyah] in Dhū al-Qa'dah 8/February-March 630. She died in the year 60/October 13, 679-September 30, 680.

According to 'Abdallah b. Sulayman—'Amr b. Shu'ayb—his father—his grandfather: The Prophet had already consummated his marriage with her, but when he gave his wives the option [to leave him]823 she opted for her clan, so he divorced her. [Afterwardl, she used to collect camel dung and say "I am the miserable one."

According to 'Abdallah b. Ja'far-Müsä b. Sa'īd and Ibn Abī 'Awn: The Prophet divorced her only because she had leprosy.824

According to 'Abdallah b. Ja'far, Ibn Abī Sabrah, and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad-[Yazīd] Ibn al-Hād-Tha'labah b. Abī Mālik—Husayn b. 'Alī: The Prophet married a woman of the Banū 'Āmir who would peep at the people in the mosque825 whenever he went out. The Prophet's wives informed him about it, and he said "You lie about her," but they said "We will show her to you while she is peeping." He said "Agreed." They showed her to him while she was peeping, and he divorced her. Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī] said: I told this story to 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'īd b. Abī Hind, and he [2455]

<sup>820.</sup> Mahr, identical with sadāq according to Spies. See note 738, above, and note 830 below.

<sup>821.</sup> That is, of the Kilāb, a clan of the 'Āmir b. Sa'sa'ah. See Ibn Hazm, Jamharat, 282-84; al-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh, I, 1686; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 454-55; Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, Ta'rīkh, 56.

<sup>822.</sup> See p. 165, above.

<sup>823.</sup> Cf. Qur'an, 33:28-29.

<sup>824.</sup> Cf. Ibn Ishaq, Siyar, 268.

<sup>825.</sup> See p. 172. above.

2456

told me on the authority of his father: She uttered the formula "I seek God's protection against you," so he returned her [to her familyl.

The Prophet married no other woman of the Banū 'Āmir; also he never married anyone of the Kindah, except the Jawniyyah.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Ibrāhīm b. Wathīmah— Abū Wajzah [Yazīd b. 'Ubayd]: The Prophet married her in Dhū al-Qa'dah 8/February-March 630, on returning from al-Ji'rānah.

According to Abū Mus ab Ismā il b. Mus ab—an old man from her clan: She died in the year 60/679-80.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—al-'Arzamī— Nāfi' [client of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar]—['Abdallāh] Ibn 'Umar: Among the Prophet's wives was one Sanā bt. Sufyān b. 'Awf b. Ka'b b. Abī Bakr b. Kilāb.826

[Hishām b. Muḥammad citing 'Abdallāh] Ibn 'Umar: The Prophet sent Abū Usayd [Mālik b. Rabī'ah] al-Sā'idī<sup>827</sup> to ask a woman of the Banū 'Āmir in marriage on his behalf. Her name was 'Amrah bt. Yazīd b. 'Ubayd b. Ruwās b. Kilāb. The Prophet married her; then it came to his knowledge that she had leprosy, so he divorced her.

Hishām [b. Muḥammad]—a man of the Banū Abī Bakr b. Kilāb: The Prophet married al-'Āliyah bt. Zabyān b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Ka'b b. 'Abd  $\hat{b}$ . Abī Bakr b. Kilāb. She stayed with him for a while; then he divorced her.

Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān b. Abī al-Jawn al-Aswad b. al-Ḥārith b. Sharāḥīl b. al-Jawn b. Ākil al-Murār al-Kindī.828

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. 'Utbah—'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Abī 'Awn al-Dawsī: Al-Nu'mān b. Abī al-Jawn al-Kindi used to dwell with his clan in Najd, near al-Sharabbah. 829 When he came to the Prophet to declare his conversion to Islam he said to him: "O Messnger of God, shall I give you in marriage the most beautiful among the Arab widows? She had

been married to a relative of hers, but he died, and she lost her way. Her heart inclines to you, and she wants [to marry] you." The Prophet [agreed to] marry her [and pay] twelve and a half ounces [of gold]. Al-Nu mān said "O Messenger of God, do not show contempt for her by [being stingy] with the bridal gift." The Prophet said "I never gave more than that as bridal gift for any of my wives, and I never give any of my daughters more than that as dowry."830 Al-Nu'mān said: "It is you who set the example; O Messenger of God, send for your wife! I shall go with your messenger and send your wife [to you] with him." The Prophet sent Abū Usayd al-Sā'idī [with al-Nu'mān]. When they came to her she was sitting in her tent and gave him permission<sup>831</sup> to come in. Abū Usayd then said "The Prophet's wives should not be seen by men." Abū Usayd [later] related "This was after the verse of the Veil (hijāb) was revealed."832 She sent to Abū Usayd a message, saying "Show me the right thing to do." He said "[Put] a veil between yourself and the men you talk with, except those who are your close relatives."833 She did that. Abū Usayd related: I stayed there for three days, then left carrying a woman in a litter on a camel. I brought her to Medina and lodged her with the Banū Sā'idah. The women of the clan, glad about her [coming], went in to greet her. They came out talking about her beauty, and the news of her arrival spread in Medina. I went to the Prophet, who was staying with the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, and told him [about it]. [Meanwhile], a woman came in to see her, having heard [from the other women] about her beauty, of which they knew. She was one of the most beautiful of all women. [That] woman said to her "You are of royal blood,834 and, if you want to gain favor with the Prophet, utter the formula 'I seek God's protection from you'; in this way you will gain his favor, and he will like you."835

<sup>826.</sup> See al-Ṣāliḥī, 246, 250, 254, 255.

<sup>827.</sup> An Anṣārī of the Khazrajī clan Banū Sāʻidah, who was the standard bearer of his clan on the day of the conquest of Mecca; see Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, III, 344. 828. Of the noble Kindah tribe, see al-Baladhurī, Ansāb, I, 456-58.

<sup>829.</sup> A region in Najd (central part of the Arabian Peninsula), see Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, III, 272.

<sup>830.</sup> The term used in both cases is  $sad\bar{a}q$ . Obviously there is no distinction here between bridal gift paid by the groom and the dowry given to the bride by her family. See pp. 164, 186, and notes 738, 820, above.

<sup>831.</sup> The text shifts to the singular because the following issue, that of the Prophet's women talking to strangers, obviously does not concern al-Nu'mān, the woman's father.

<sup>832.</sup> Qur'an 33:53; see note 813, above.

<sup>833.</sup> That is, those unattainable to you in marriage. 834. The Al al-Jawn were the kings of Kindah.

<sup>835.</sup> See p. 165, above.

[2458]

According to 'Abdallah b. Ja'far—l'Abd al-Wahidl Ibn Abī 'Awn: The Prophet married the Kindi woman in Rabi I 7/July-August

According to 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abī al-Zinād—Hisham b. 'Urwah—his father ['Urwah b. al-Zubayr], who told him that [the caliphl al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik wrote to him, asking whether or not the Prophet had married al-Ash'ath b. Oavs's sister. He was asked this question and replied: "The Prophet never married her or any other Kindī woman, except the one of the Banū al-Jawn. She was his wife, but when she arrived at Medina and was brought before him [for the first time] he looked at her and divorced her without consummating the marriage."

According to Ma'mar [b. Rāshid]-[Ibn Shihāb] al-Zuhrī: The Prophet never married a Kindī woman, except the one of the Banū al-Jawn, but he divorced her before consummating the marriage.

According to Hisham b. Muhammad [al-Kalbī]—Ibn al-Ghusayyil—Hamzah b. Abī Usayd al-Sā'idī—his father, who was one of the participants in [the battle of] Badr: The Prophet married Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān al-Jawniyyah and sent me [to fetch her]. When I brought her Hafsah [the Prophet's wife] said to 'A'ishah [the Prophet's wife] or vice versa "Put the dye on her, and I shall comb her hair." So they did; then one of them said to her "The Prophet likes a woman brought before him to say 'I seek God's protection from you." So, when she entered his [room] and he locked the door, let down the curtain, and reached out to her, she said "I seek God's protection from you." He held his sleeve to his face, covering himself with it, and said "You indeed have sought protection." He said this three times. Abu Usavd related: The Prophet then came out and said to me "O Abū Usayd, give her two white garments, that is, of cotton, and take her to her clan." [Afterwardl she used to say "Call me the wretched one."

According to Hishām—Zuhayr b. Mu'āwiyah al-Ju'fī: She died of sorrow.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Sulaymān b. al-Hārith— 'Abbās b. Sahl—Abū Usayd al-Sā'idī: When I arrived at the camp with her the [people] shouted to one another and said [to her]: "You are not blessed! What came over you?" She said "I was beguiled; they told me such-and-so," and [she told them] what was said to her. The members of her clan said "You have made us

notorious among the Arabs." She called Abū Usavd and said "What happened happened; what shall I do now?" He answered: "Stay in your home and keep yourself veiled, except in the presence of your close relatives. No one should want [to marry] you after the Prophet, for you are one of the Mothers of the Faithful." She stayed [like that], no one wishing [to marry] her and no one seeing her except her close relatives, until she died at her family's place in Najd, during the caliphate of 'Uthman b. 'Affan.

According to Hisham b. Muhammad [al-Kalbī]—Zuhayr b. Mu-

'āwiyah al-Ju'fī: She died of sorrow.

According to al-Hārith—Muhammad b. Suhayl—Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā: The Prophet married a Yemenī woman by the name of Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān b. al-Jawn b. Sharāhīl b. al-Nu man, of the Kindah. When he went to see her and invited her to approach] him she said "[No], you approach me!" She refused to approach him, so he divorced her.

According to others: She was the most beautiful of all women, and the Prophet's wives were afraid that she would gain precedence with him over them, so they told her "We think that, when he approaches you, you should say 'I seek God's protection from you." So when he approached her she said "I seek the Merciful's protection from you, if you are God fearing." He said "You sought protection in a [good] Protector; anyone who seeks God's protection should be granted it, and God indeed protects you from me." So he divorced her and ordered al-Saqit b. Amr al-Ansarī to equip her; then he sent her to her clan. She used to call herself "the wretched one."

Biographies of the Women Whose Death Dates Are Known, of the Emigrants, Ansār, and Others Who Were the Prophet's Contemporaries, Believed in Him, and Followed Him

Umm Ayman, the Prophet's client and nurse.836 Her name was Barakah.

2460

2459

<sup>836.</sup> A black slave girl who took care of the Prophet as a child. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, Tabagāt, 331; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 471-72, 476.

[2461]

It was reported that the Prophet bequeathed to Umm Ayman five camels and a herd of sheep. He had freed her when he married Khadījah, whereupon she was married to 'Ubayd b. Zayd, of the Banū al-Hārith b. al-Khazrai, and bore him Ayman, who was [later] killed as a shahīd in the battle of Hunavn.

Zayd b. Hārithah had belonged to Khadījah, and she gave him to the Prophet. The latter freed him and gave him Umm Ayman in marriage. This was after the [beginning of] the prophethood.

Umm Ayman bore Zayd Usāmah b. Zayd.

According to Muhammad b. 'Umar [al-Waqidī]—Yahya b. Sa'īd b. Dīnār—an old man of the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr:837 The Prophet used to call Umm Ayman "mother" and when looking at her he would say "She is the remainder of my family."

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: Umm Ayman died at the

beginning of the caliphate of 'Uthman b. 'Affan.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: Ibn Abī al-Furāt, Usāmah b. Zayd's client, quarreled with al-Hasan b. Usāmah b. Zayd. Ibn Abī al-Furāt said during his discourse "O Ibn Barakah," meaning Umm Ayman. Al-Hasan said (to the people present) "Be my witness." He brought the case to Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm, 838 then judge of Medina, or 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, governor of Medina, and told him the story. Abū Bakr asked Ibn Abī al-Furāt "What did you mean when you said to him 'O Ibn Barakah?" He replied "I called her by her name." [Abū Bakr] said: "Nay, indeed you wanted to belittle her by this, while her standing in Islam is what it is. The Prophet used to call her 'mother' and 'Umm Ayman.' May God not forgive me if I forgive you"; so he flogged him seventy times.

Arwā bt. Kurayz b. Rabī'ah b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Shams.839 She embraced Islam, emigrated to Medina, and died during the caliphate of 'Uthman.

837. The clan of the Prophet's milk mother, of the Hawazin confederation; see Ibn Hazm, Jamharat, 265.

839. Of the Qurashī clan the Banū 'Abd Shams. She was 'Uthmān b. 'Affān's mother: see Ibn Qudāmah, 227.

Asmā' bt. Abī Bakr.840

Her mother was Qutaylah bt. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd As'ad b. Jābir b. Mālik b. Hisl b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. She was a full sister of 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr.

Asmā' embraced Islam in Mecca at an early stage and gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance. She was married to al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and bore him 'Abdallāh, 'Urwah, 'Āṣim, al-Muhājir, Khadījah al-Kubrā, Umm al-Hasan, and 'Ā'ishah, children of al-Zubavr.

According to al-Hārith—Dā'ūd b. al-Muḥabbar—Hammād b. Salamah—Hishām b. 'Urwah [b. al-Zubayr]—Asmā' bt. Abī Bakr, who related that during the governorate of Sa'id b. al-'As [in Medinal, while the internal war (fitnah) was on,841 she took a dagger and put it under her pillow. She was asked what she intended to do with it, and replied "If a brigand breaks into my |place| I will rip up his belly." [The narrator] added that she was blind.

Asmā' died a few days after her son 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, on

Tuesday, 17 Jumādā I 73/October 6, 692.842

Māriyah, the Prophet's concubine and the mother of his son, Ibrāhīm.

Al-Muqawqas,843 lord of Alexandria, gave her with her sister

Sīrīn and other things as present to the Prophet.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad b. Abī Ṣaʿṣaʿah—ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ṣaʿṣaʿah:844 In the year 7/May 11, 628-April 30, 629, al-Muqawqas, lord of Alexandria, sent to the Prophet Māriyah, her sister Sīrīn, a thousand gold coins, twenty fine robes, his mule Duldul, and his donkey 'Ufayr, or Ya'fur. With them was Māriyah's brother, a very old

840. An early convert, daughter of the Prophet's closest Companion. See Ibn Qudāmah, 316, "Asmā' bint Abī Bakr," EI2, I, 713-14 (H. A. R. Gibb).

<sup>838.</sup> A descendant of the eminent Ansārī 'Amr b. Hazm; see Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II. 532. His son Muhammad b. Abī Bakr was also judge in Medina; see Wakī', I, 135-48, 175-78. The family is associated with transmission of historical traditions and legal material; see F. Sezgin, I, 284.

<sup>841.</sup> That is, the first so-called civil war, in the aftermath of 'Uthman's murder (36/656), Sa'id (b. al-'As b. Sa'id b. al-'As b. Umayyah) was a member of the Umayyad family who served Uthman and Mu'awiyah as governor of al-Kūfah and Medina, respectively. He died during the caliphate of Mu'awiyah. "Sa'id b. al-'Âş," EP, VIII, 853 (C. E. Bosworth), al-Zubayrī, 176-78; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, II, 47-48.

<sup>842.</sup> October 6 was a Sunday, according to Cattenoz' tables. 843. The Arabic name given to the patriarch of Alexandria; see "al-Muqawqas," EI2, III, 511-13 (K. Öhrenberg).

<sup>844.</sup> Ál-Ţabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1591; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 448–51.

2462 eunuch called Mābūr. Al-Muqawqas sent all this [to the Prophet] with Hātib b. Abī Balta'ah. The latter suggested to Māriyah that she embrace Islam and made her wish to do so; thus she and her sister were converted, whereas the eunuch adhered to his religion until he was [also] converted later in Medina, while the Prophet was [still] alive.

> The Prophet admired Umm Ibrāhīm, who was fair-skinned and beautiful. He lodged her in al-'Āliyah, at the property nowadays called the mashrabah of Umm Ibrāhīm. He used to visit her there and ordered her to veil herself, [but] he had intercourse with her by virtue of her being his property.845 When she became pregnant and her time was due she gave birth there, the midwife being Salmā, the Prophet's client. Abū Rāfi', Salmā's husband, brought the Prophet the news of Ibrāhīm's [birth], and the Prophet gave him a slave as a present. This occurred in Dhū al-Hijjah 8/March-April 630.

> The Ansār argued among themselves about who would [mind] Ibrāhīm, because they wanted Māriyah to have her hands free for the Prophet, knowing how he loved her.

> According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wagidī]: Mārivah was from Hafn. from the Ansinā district.846

> According to Usāmah b. Zayd al-Laythī—al-Mundhir b. 'Ubayd—'Abd al-Rahman b. Hassan b. Thabit—his mother Sīrīn, Māriyah's sister, whom the Prophet had given to Hassān b. Thābit, and she bore him 'Abd al-Rahmān. She said: "I saw the Prophet when Ibrāhīm died. I was crying loudly and my sister [too], and he never forbade us to cry loudly.847 Al-Fadl b. al-'Abbās washed Ibrāhīm's body while the Prophet and al-'Abbās were seated. I then saw the Prophet at the grave's edge, al-'Abbas [standing beside him. Al-Fadl and Usamah b. Zavd [b. Harithah] descended into the grave.848 The sun was eclipsed that day, and people said "The sun is eclipsed because of Ibrāhīm's death." but the

Prophet said "The sun will not be eclipsed for anyone's death or life."

The Prophet saw an opening in the grave and ordered that it be stopped up. He was asked about it and said: "It does neither harm nor good, but the living are pleased [when it is done]. When a man does something. God prefers that he do it properly."

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]-Mūsā b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān—his father: Abū Bakr supported Māriyah until his death; then 'Umar during his caliphate did the same until she died.849

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: Māriyah, mother of Ibrāhīm, son of the Prophet, died in Muharram 16/February 637. 'Umar was seen assembling people to attend her [funeral]; then he said the prayer over her bier. Her grave is in al-Baqī'.

Names of the Hāshimī Women Believers Who Outlived the Prophet, Transmitted Traditions from Him, and Had [Their] Knowledge Transmitted from Them

Fātimah, daughter of the Prophet.

She outlived [her father], and traditions were transmitted from her, among them the following. According to 'Imrān b. Mūsā-'Abd al-Wārith-Layth-'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan-his mother Fātimah—his grandmother Fātimah al-Kubrā (senior): The Prophet used to enter the mosque and utter the formula "May God bless the Prophet,"850 then say "God, forgive me my sins and open the doors of Your benevolence for me."

According to Muhammad b. 'Ubayd al-Muhāribī-al-Muṭṭalib b. Ziyād—Layth—'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan—Fātimah al-Sughrā (junior)—Fāṭimah al-Kubrā (senior): The Prophet used to enter the mosque and say "In the name of God, O God, bless Muhammad and his family, forgive my sins, and open the doors of Your mercy for me." Going out he used to say "In the name of God, forgive my sins, and open the doors of Your benevolence for me."

<sup>845.</sup> That is, Māriyah was ordered to veil herself as did the Prophet's wives, but he did not marry her. Cf. p. 184, above.

<sup>846.</sup> In Upper Egypt, see Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān, I, 381.

<sup>847.</sup> The issue alluded to here is mourning customs, debated in the Muslim community. See p. 156 and note 179, above.

<sup>848.</sup> See p. 11, above.

<sup>849.</sup> The Prophet's wives were entitled to regular pensions, but not Māriyah, who was not married to him.

<sup>850.</sup> Idhā dakhala al-masjid ṣallā ʻalā al-nabiyy. See note 379, above.

According to Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm and al-Fadl b. al-Sabbāh-Ismā'īl b. 'Ulayvah—Layth—'Abdallāh b. Hasan b. Hasan—his mother, Fātimah bt. al-Husayn-her grandmother Fātimah daughter of the Prophet: The Prophet used to enter the mosque and utter the formula "May God bless Muhammad and give him peace," then say "O God, forgive my sins and open the doors of Your mercy for me." On going out he used to utter the formula "May God bless Muhammad and give him peace," then say "O God, forgive my sins, and open the doors of Your benevolence for me."

According to al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān—Asad [b. Mūsā]—Qays b. al-Rabī'—'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan—Fātimah bt. al-Husayn—Fātimah al-Kubrā (senior): The Prophet used to enter the mosque and say "O God, bless Muhammad, and give him peace; O God, forgive my sins, and open the doors of Your mercy for me." On going out of the mosque he used to say "O God, bless Muhammad, and give him peace; O God, forgive my sins, and open the doors of Your benevolence for me."

Umm Hāni' bt. Abī Ṭālib b. 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manaf 851

Her name was Fākhitah, but, according to Hishām b. al-Kalbī, it was Hind. Her mother was Fatimah bt. Asad b. Hashim b. 'Abd Manāf.

It was reported that before he was inspired the Prophet had asked Abū Tālib to give her to him in marriage, and the same was done by Hubayrah b. Abī Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm. 852 Abū Tālib gave her to Hubayrah, and the Prophet said "O Uncle, you gave her in marriage to Hubayrah and left me out," to which Abū Tālib replied "O Nephew, we became related to them [by marriage] because [of the principle that] the noble is another noble's equal."853

Umm Hāni' later embraced Islam, a fact that separated her from Hubayrah.854 The Prophet asked her to marry him, but she said "By God. I used to love you in the Jahilivvah. so I certainly do so in Islam, but I have young children, and I hate to [see them] bothering you." The Prophet said: "The best women ever to have ridden camels are the women of the Quraysh. They are the most affectionate toward their small children and the most excellent in doing good to their husbands when they [the women] are wealthy."855

Umm Hāni' outlived the Prophet and transmitted traditions from him, among them the following. According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-'Alā']—'Ubaydallāh—Isrā'īl—al-Suddī [Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān|-Abū Sālih [Bādhām]-Umm Hāni': The Prophet asked me to marry him, but I excused myself, and he accepted my excuse. God later revealed the verse "We have made allowable for thee thy wives to whom thou hast given their hires ... those who have emigrated with thee,"856 so I became unlawful to him because I did not emigrate with him. I was one of those who were converted to Islam against their will (tulaqā').857

Dubā'ah bt. al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Hāshim.858

The Prophet gave this [woman], Dubā'ah bt. al-Zubayr, to al-Miqdad b. 'Amr in marriage, and she bore him 'Abdallah and Karīmah. 'Abdallāh was killed in the battle of the Camel [fighting on the side of | 'A'ishah. 'Alī [b. Abī Tālib] passed by his body and said "What an evil sister's son this is!"859

Dubā'ah transmitted traditions from the Prophet.

According to [Muhammad] Ibn Bashshār—'Abd al-Samad b.

<sup>851.</sup> Sister of 'Alī and cousin of the Prophet. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, Tabagāt. 330; Ibn Qudāmah, 138; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 459.

<sup>852.</sup> A poet and warrior who never embraced Islam but ran away when Mecca was conquered and died in Najrān as an infidel. See Ibn Qudāmah, 397; Muḥammad Ibn Habib, Munammag, 419.

<sup>853.</sup> The principle of marrying someone of the same social status, wealth, and the like (kafā'ah) was maintained in pre-Islamic times and continued afterward as

well. See "Kafā'ah," EI2, IV, 404 (Y. Linant de Bellefonds); Shukri, 34-42.

<sup>854.</sup> See p. 15, above. 855. Cf. p. 171, above.

<sup>856.</sup> See Qur'an 33:49; trans. Bell, II, 416.

<sup>857.</sup> Tulaqa is a designation of the Meccans who were converted after the conquest of the town, having opposed the Prophet until then; see Kister, "On Strangers and Allies," 153. Umm Hani's statement is inconsistent with the former story, in which the Prophet asked for her in marriage after she had embraced Islam and left her pagan husband.

<sup>858.</sup> Paternal cousin of the Prophet. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, *Tabaqāt*, 331; Ibn Oudāmah, 141.

<sup>859.</sup> Dubā'ah was not in fact 'Alī's sister but a cousin.

[2467]

'Abd al-Wārith—Hammām b. Yahyā—Qatādah [b. Di'āmah]— Ishāq b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hārith—his grandmother Umm al-Hakam—her sister Dubā'ah bt. al-Zubayr, who related that she had brought the Prophet [a piece of] meat and he nibbled at it, then prayed without performing ablution.

2466

Umm al-Hakam bt. al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Hāshim. 860 She was married to Rabī'ah b. al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muttalib and bore him Muhammad, 'Abbās, 'Abd Shams, 'Abd al-Muttalib, Umayyah, and Arwā al-Kubrā (senior).

Umm al-Hakam transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Muhammad Ibn Bashshar—Mu'adh b. Hisham his father-Qatādah-Ishāq b. 'Abdallāh b. Nawfal-Umm al-Hakam bt. al-Zubayr, who reported that she had handed the Prophet a piecel of shoulder meat; he ate some of it, then prayed.

Umm Hakīm bt. 'Abd al-Muttalib.861

She is the one called al-Bayda' (the white one). She did not live to see Islam.

Umm Ḥakīm was 'Āmir b. Kurayz's mother and 'Uthmān b. 'Affan's maternal grandmother.

Kurayz b. Rabī'ah had married Umm Hakīm al-Baydā', who bore him 'Āmir, Arwā, Ṭalhah, and Umm Talhah. 'Affān b. Abī al-'Ās b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf married Arwā bt. Kurayz, who bore him 'Uthman b. 'Affan. She later married 'Ugbah b. Abī Mu'ayt and bore him al-Walīd, Khālid, and Umm Kulthūm, children of 'Ugbah b. Abī Mu'avt. 862

Safiyyah bt. 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Hāshim.

Her mother was Hālah bt. Wuhayb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb.

Safiyyah was a half-sister of Hamzah b. 'Abd al-Muttalib, on

their mother's side. In pre-Islamic times she had been married to al-Hārith b. Harb b. Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams and bore him Sufavy. She was later married to al-Awwam b. Khuwavlid b. Asad and bore him al-Zubayr, al-Sā'ib, and 'Abd al-Ka'bah.

Safiyyah embraced Islam and gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance. She emigrated to Medina and lived after the Prophet's death, to the caliphate of Umar b. al-Khattāb.

Umāmah bt. Hamzah b. 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Hāshim.863

Her mother was Salmā bt. 'Umays b. Ma'd b. Taym b. Mālik b. Quhāfah b. Khath'am, Asmā' bt. 'Umays' sister. [Umāmah] is the name by which Hisham b. Muhammad [al-Kalbī] refers to her. whereas others say that it was 'Umarah bt. Hamzah. According to Hishām, 'Umārah was a man, a son of Hamzah, after whom he was called.

Umāmah outlived the Prophet and transmitted [traditions] from him.

#### Clients [of the Banū Hāshim]

Umm Ayman, the Prophet's client.

According to al-Husayn b. 'Alī al-Ṣudā'ī—Shabābah—Abū Mälik al-Nakhaʻi—ʻAbd al-Malik b. Husavn—al-Aswad b. Qavs— Fulayh al-'Anazī-Umm Ayman: [One] night the Prophet got up and urinated in the corner of the house into an earthenware vessel. During the night I got up, and, being thirsty, I drank what was in that vessel, not noticing [anything]. When the Prophet got up in the morning he said "O Umm Ayman, take that earthenware vessel and pour away its content." I said "By God, I drank what was in it." The Prophet laughed until his molar teeth showed, then said "After this you will never have a bellyache."

Salmā, the Prophet's client.864

She outlived the Prophet and transmitted traditions from him. According to 'Alī b. Shu'ayb al-Simsār—Ma'n b. 'Īsā—Fā'id, the client of 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Alī b. Abī Rāfi'—'Ubaydallāh b. 'Alī b.

<sup>860.</sup> Sometimes called Umm Hakim. See Khalifah b. Khayyāt, Ţabaqāt, 331; Ibn Qudāmah, 141; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, IV, 442-43.

<sup>861.</sup> Twin sister of 'Abdallah, the Prophet's father. See al-Baladhuri, Ansab, I. 88, III (Dūrī), 311; Ibn Qudāmah, 173.

<sup>862.</sup> A member of the Umayyad family and an enemy of the Prophet. He was one of the two Qurashī captives who were executed by Muhammad after the battle of Badr: see Ibn Oudamah, 210.

<sup>863.</sup> Ibn Qudāmah, 148; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, IV, 235-36.

<sup>864.</sup> Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, Tabaqāt, 332; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 485.

[2468]

[2469]

Abī Rāfi'—his grandmother Salmā: The Prophet used to apply henna to wounds and the like.

Maymūnah bt. Sa'd, the Prophet's client.<sup>865</sup> She transmitted [traditions] from him.

According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-'Alā']— 'Ubaydallāh—Isrā'īl—Zayd b. Jubayr—Abū Zayd al-Dabbī— Maymūnah bt. Sa'd: The Prophet was asked about a child born of adultery and replied "A pair of shoes I wear while exerting myself in the path of God is preferable to me than the freeing of a child born of adultery."

Umaymah, the Prophet's client.<sup>866</sup> She transmitted [traditions] from him.

According to Abū Kurayb Muhammad b. al-'Alā' - Yūnus b. Bukayr-Yazīd b. Sinān Abū Farwah al-Ruhāwī-Abū Yahyā al-Kalā'ī—Jubayr b. Nufayr: I came to see Umaymah, the Prophet's client, and asked her "Tell me something you heard from the Prophet." She said: "One day I was pouring [water] on his hands for his ablution, when a man came in and said 'O Messenger of God. I want to go back to my family, so instruct me with something I shall remember.' The Prophet said: 'Never attribute a partner to God, even if your [limbs] be torn and you be burned in fire. Never disobey your parents; even if they tell you to give up your family and [everything pertaining to] this world, do it. Never deliberately neglect to perform the prayer, for whoever deliberately neglects to perform one, forfeits the protection of God and His messenger. Never drink wine, for it is the mother of all sins. Do not expand beyond the boundaries of [your] land, lest you come on the Day of Judgment with the equivalent of seven [tracts] of land tied to your neck. Never run away on a battle day, for whoever runs away on a battle day arouses the wrath of God, and hell would be his shelter, what a wretched end this is!867 Spend on your family from your wealth, but do not lift your rod off them. Make them fear God."

Arab Women [Married into the Quraysh]<sup>868</sup> Who Outlived the Prophet and Transmitted [Traditions] from Him, Having Given Him the Oath of Allegiance and Embraced Islam during His Lifetime

Umm al-Faḍl, that is, Lubābah al-Kubrā (senior) bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn b. Bujayr b. al-Huzam b. Ruwaybah b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'ah b. Mu'āwiyah b. Bakr b. Ḥawāzin b. Manṣūr b. 'Ikrimah b. Khaṣafah b. Qays b. 'Aylān b. Muḍar.'

Her mother was Hind, that is Khawlah bt. 'Awf b. Zuhayr b. al-Hārith b. Ḥamāṭah b. Jurash, who belonged to Ḥimyar.

It was reported that Umm al-Fadl was the first woman to embrace Islam in Mecca after Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid. The Prophet used to visit her and take siestas in her house.

Umm al-Faḍl's sisters were Maymūnah, the Prophet's wife, her full sister, Lubābah al-Ṣughrā (junior), that is, al-ʿAṣmāʾ bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn, her half-sister, from her father; Huzaylah bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn, also a half-sister, from her father; and ʿAzzah, her [half]-sister from her father.

Her brothers and sisters from her mother were Maḥmiyah b. Jaz' al-Zubaydī, 'Awn, Asmā', and Salmā, children of 'Umays b. Ma'd b. al-Ḥārith, of the Khath'am.<sup>870</sup>

Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib married Umm al-Faḍl bt. al-Ḥārith, and she bore him al-Faḍl, ʿAbdallāh, ʿUbaydallāh, Maʿbad, Qutham, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and Umm Ḥabīb.

'Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Hilālī said:871

Never has a Bactrian she-camel borne a stallion the like of the six coming from Umm al-Fadl's womb. What a noble woman she is, and he [what a noble] man!

<sup>865.</sup> Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, *Ṭabaqāt*, 331; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 485.

<sup>866.</sup> Ignored in most of the sources I have used. Ibn Hajar, Iṣābah, IV, 243, records the same tradition as here, referring it to several sources.

<sup>867.</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 8:16.

<sup>868.</sup> Wa-min gharā'ib nisā' al-'arab. Gharībah, literally, "stranger," is a woman who enters the clan by exogamic marriage. That the Quraysh are meant here is clear from the following biographical details.

<sup>869.</sup> A member of the 'Āmirī clan the Banū Hilāl. See al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 447, III [Dūrī], 1-2; Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, Tabaqāt, 338 (who seems to confuse her with her sister); Muḥammad Ibn Habīb, Muḥabbar, 107, 455.

<sup>870.</sup> A tribe believed by some to be of northern, by others of southern, descent. See "Khath'am," EI?, IV, 1105-6 (G. Levi Della Vida), Ibn al-Kalbī, Nasab ma'add, 356-61; Ibn Hazm, Jamharat, 390-92.

<sup>871.</sup> Ibn Sa'd, IV/1, 2, VIII, 203. I found a few persons with the name of 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd, but none seemed to me to fit the present context. The only "al-Hilālī" was a rather obscure governor of Armenia; see Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 468.

According to Ibn 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]: Umm al-Fadl bt. al-Hārith emigrated to Medina after al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muttalib's conversion to Islam.

[2470] Lubābah al-Şughrā (junior), that is, al-'Asmā' bt. al-Hārith.872 Her mother was Fākhitah bt. 'Āmir b. Mu'attib b. Mālik al-Thagafī.

> Lubābah had been married to al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm in Mecca and bore him Khālid h. al-Walīd. She embraced Islam after the Emigration and gave the Prophet the oath of allegiace.

Asmā' bt. 'Umays b. Ma'd.873

Her mother was Hind, that is, Khawlah bt. 'Awf b. Zuhayr b. Iurash.

According to al-Hārith—Khālid b. Khidāsh—Hammād b. Zayd—Ayyūb—Muhammad: Asmā' bore Ja'far [b. Abī Tālib] [his son| Muhammad, and she bore Abū Bakr [his son| Muhammad. 874]

Asmā's full sister was Salmā bt. 'Umays, an early convert to Islam. She was married to Hamzah b. 'Abd al-Muttalib<sup>875</sup> and bore him his daughter 'Umārah. Hamzah was killed in the battle of Uhud and Salmā bt. 'Umavs became a widow. Shaddād b. [Usāmah b. 'Amr, that is, al-Had al-Laythi then married her, and she bore him 'Abdallah b. Shaddad, a half-brother of Hamzah's daughter ['Umārah], from her mother. He is [also] a maternal cousin of al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muttalib's children and of Khālid b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah.876

Asmā' bt. 'Umays outlived the Prophet for a while and transmitted traditions from him.

'Abdallah b. Mas'ūd's mother, that is, Umm 'Abd bt. 'Abd Wadd b. Sawā' b. Quraym b. Sāhilah b. Kāhil b. al-Hārith b. Tamīm b. Sa'd b. Hudhayl b. Mudrikah b. al-Yas b. Mudar.877

Her mother was Hind bt. 'Abd b. al-Harith b. Zuhrah b. Kilab. Umm 'Abd embraced Islam and gave the Prophet the oath of allegiace. She transmitted from him the following [tradition]. According to Muhammad b. Mu'āwiyah al-Anmātī--'Abbād b. al-'Awwām-Abān-Ibrāhīm-'Alqamah [b. Qays al-Nakha'īl-'Abdallāh [b. Mas'ūdl-his mother, who related that she [once] spent the night with them and the Prophet got up [in the night] and prayed. She said "I saw him standing long in [that night] prayer (witr) before prostrating himself."

Zaynab bt. Abī Mu'āwiyah al-Thaqafiyyah, 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd's wife.878

Zaynab embraced Islam and gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance. She transmitted traditions from him, among them the following. According to al-Rabī' b. Sulaymān—Asad b. Mūsā— ['Abdallāh] Ibn Lahī'ah—Bukayr—Busr b. Sa'īd—Zaynab, 'Abdallāh's wife-the Prophet: Whoever comes to the mosque from among you should not wear perfume.

Umm Sinān al-Aslamiyyah.879

She transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Muhammad b. 'Umar [al-Waqidī]880—'Abdallāh b. Abī Yaḥyā—Thubaytah bt. Hanzalah al-Aslamiyyah—her mother, Umm Sinān al-Aslamiyyah: I came to the Prophet when he intended to set out for Khavbar and said "O Messenger of God, I shall set out with you in this enterprise of yours, to see about drinking water and to take care of the sick and wounded if there are any, and, if there are not, I shall assist the men." The Prophet said: "Go, with God's blessing. There are [also] friends of yours, both from your clan and others, who approached me [about this], and I have permitted it. You can go with your clan if you like or

<sup>872.</sup> Sister of the aforementioned Lubābah al-Kubrā. See al-Balādhurī. Ansāb. I. 447-48; Ibn Hajar, Iṣābah, IV, 398-99.

<sup>873.</sup> Of the Khath'am tribe. See Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, Tabagāt, 342; al-Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 447-48.

<sup>874.</sup> According to Ibn Hajar, Iṣābah, IV, 231, she was also married to 'Alī b. Abī

<sup>875.</sup> An uncle of the Prophet, an early convert, and a close Companion. See EI2, III, 152-53 (G. M. Meredith-Owens); Ibn Qudāmah, 144-47.

<sup>876.</sup> Salmä was half-sister of Lubäbah al-Kubrā, wife of al-Abbās, and of Lubābah al-Sughrā, mother of Khālid b. al-Walīd; see p. 201, above. On Shaddād, see al-Safadī, XVI, 124; al-Mizzī, Tahdhīb, XII, 405-7.

<sup>877.</sup> Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 212. The tribe's name is Hudhayl. 878. Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, Tabaqāt, 337.

<sup>879.</sup> Ibn Hajar, Isābah, IV, 462-63. Almost no biographical details are given.

<sup>880.</sup> Al-Waqidi, 685, 686-87; Wellhausen, Muhammad, 284.

2472

The daughter of Abū al-Ḥakam, al-Ghifāriyyah.883 She transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Muhammad b. Bashshar and Muhammad b. al-Muthannā—Muḥammad b. Abī 'Awn—Muḥammad b. Isḥāq— Sulaymān b. Suhaym—his mother, daughter of Abū al-Hakam, al-Ghifariyyah—the Prophet: One may come at a cubit's distance from paradise, 884 then say such a word as will remove him from it to a distance farther than [that between here and] San'ā'.

Umm Sharīk.885

She transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to 'Amr b. Baydaq—Sufyān—'Abd al-Hamīd b. Jubayr b. Shaybah—Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab—Umm Sharīk: The Prophet had ordered her to kill lizards.886

According to Yūnus [b. 'Abd al-A'lā]—['Abdallāh] Ibn Wahb— ['Abd al-Malik] Ibn Jurayj—'Abd al-Hamīd b. Jubayr b. Shaybah— Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab—Umm Sharīk, a woman of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Lu'ayy who related that she had asked the Prophet's opinion about the killing of lizards, and he had ordered her to kill them.

According to Abū Kurayb [Muhammad b. al-'Alā']--'Ubaydallāh b. Mūsā—['Abd al-Malik] Ibn Jurayj—'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Jubayr b. Shaybah—Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab—Umm Sharīk, who related that the Prophet had ordered to kill lizards, saying: "They used to blow on [the Patriarch] Ibrāhīm."

881. There is a shift here from the first to the third person.

Excerpts from The Supplement to the Supplemented 205

Umm Marthad.887

She transmitted [traditions] from the Prophet.

According to Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jawharī—Muḥammad b. Wahb b. Abī Karīmah al-Ḥarrānī—Muḥammad b. Maslamah—Abū 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-'Alā'—Muhammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ṣa'ṣa-'ah—his father—Umm Khārijah bt. Sa'd b. al-Rabī'—Umm Marthad, who was one of those who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance: We [once] went out with the Prophet, and he said "The first to meet you [on the way] will be one of the dwellers in paradise." 'Alī [b. Abī Tālib] met us.

Umm al-Dardā' 888

She transmitted traditions from the Prophet, among them the following. According to Sa'd b. 'Abdallah b. al-Hakam-Abū Zur'ah [al-Dimashqī]—Abū Ḥaywah [Shurayḥ b. Yazīd]—Abū Ṣakhr—ʿĪsā, father of Mūsā, a client of Jaʿfar b. Khārijah al-Asadī— Umm al-Darda': The Prophet met her one day and asked her "Where do you come from, O Umm al-Darda'?" She replied "From the public bath." He said "By He Who holds my soul in His hand, a woman who takes off her clothes anywhere but in her home disgraces herself before God."889

According to al-Rabī' [b. Sulaymān]—Asad b. Mūsā—['Abdallāh] Ibn Lahī'ah—Zabbān b. Fā'id—Sahl b. Mu'ādh—his father— Umm al-Darda': I came out of the public bath and met the Prophet, who asked me "Where do you come from, O Umm al-Darda"?" I replied "From the public bath," whereupon he said "By He Who holds my soul in His hand, a woman who takes off her clothes anywhere but in the house of her mother or grandmother890 utterly disgraces herself before the Merciful."

<sup>882.</sup> The legal issue raised here is the permissibility of the participation of

women in war; see, e.g., al-Fazārī, 299-300.

<sup>883.</sup> Āminah bt. al-Ḥakam or Abī al-Ḥakam, mentioned as a source of traditions for her son Sulayman b. Suhaym, see Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, IV, 169. Ibn Hajar, Isābah, IV, 224 promises to supply details on her in another place but fails to do so.

<sup>884.</sup> Qubbat dhirā'. De Goeje's manuscript had q-b-h, which he edited as qubbat but prefers to read as qaby. See 2472 n. b; GLOSSARIUM, s.v. q-b-w. Cairo, 624, and Dar al-Fikr, 629, also have qubbat.

<sup>885.</sup> A member of the Qurashī clan 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. She was one of the women who offered themselves to the Prophet in marriage. See Ibn Ishaq, Siyar, 269, cf. 284; Ibn Qudāmah, 489–90; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, Tabaqāt, 335; al-Balādhuri, Ansāb, I, 422.

<sup>886.</sup> On the issue of killing and eating lizards, see note 587, above; Cook, "Dietary Law," 220-31; Kister, "Locust's Wing," 349.

<sup>887.</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, IV, 496; hardly any details are given Cf. 446 (under Umm Khārijah).

<sup>888.</sup> Khayrah bt. Abi Hadrad, known as a pious and wise woman, a source of traditions for several Successors. See Ibn Ishaq, Siyar, 141, where she is depicted as actively engaged in seeking knowledge. There is, however, a confusion between two women of the same name. See Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, IV, 295; Abū Zur'ah, 378; Ibn Manzūr, Mukhtasar, VIII, 103.

<sup>889.</sup> Literally, "tears the veil separating God and herself."

<sup>890.</sup> Literally, "in the house of one of her mothers."

[2475]

Umm al-Mundhir bt. Qays b. 'Amr b. 'Ubayd b. 'Āmir b. 'Adī b. 'Āmir b. Ghanm b. 'Adī b. Ghanm b. al-Najjār.<sup>891</sup>

She was a full sister of Salīt b. Qays, who had participated in the battle of Badr and was later killed as a  $shah\bar{\imath}d$  in the battle of the

Bridge, commanded by Abū 'Ubayd.892

Umm al-Mundhir gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance. She transmitted from him the following [tradition]. According to Abū Kurayb [Muḥammad b. al-'Alā']—Zayd b. Ḥubāb al-'Uklī—Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān al-Madanī—Ayyūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī—Ya'qūb b. Abī Ya'qūb—Umm al-Mundhir al-Anṣāriyyah, who was one of the Prophet's maternal aunts: The Prophet came [to visit] me together with 'Alī, who was recovering from an illness. There were dates in the house, hung up [somewhere], and the Prophet ate from them while standing, and so did 'Alī. The Prophet said "This is not good for you," so he stopped [eating]. I cooked some beets and barley for the Prophet and served them to him, and he said "O 'Alī, eat from this, it is better for you."

The Death Dates of Successors and People of the Following Generations, of [Our] Deceased Forefathers Who Had Been Scholars and Transmitters of Traditions

Successors Who Died in the Year 32 (August 12, 652–August 1, 653)

Ka'b al-Aḥbār b. Māti'.893

His kunyah was Abū Isḥāq. He belonged to the Ḥimyar, to the family of Dhū Ruʻayn. 894

Ka'b al-Aḥbār lived in Ḥims, where he died in the year 32/652-53, during the caliphate of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

891. Her name was Salmā; she was an Anṣārī of the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār (Khazraj). See Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, *Ṭabaqāt*, 335; Ibn Hajar, *Iṣābah*, IV, 332.

894. A large Himyarī tribe with a royal tradition. See Caskel, II, 67, 237; al-Himyarī, 169, 180; Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 433; Ibn Sa īd, 93.

According to al-'Alā'ī—[Yaḥyā] Ibn Ma'īn: [His pedigree was] Ka'b b. Māti' b. Dhī Hajan al-Ḥimyarī.

According to al-'Abbās—Yaḥyā: Ka'b al-Aḥbār died during the caliphate of 'Uthmān in the year 34/July 22, 654–July 10, 655, a year before 'Uthmān's murder.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn al-Muthannā—Aḥmad b. Mūsā—Dā'ūd—a paternal cousin of Ka'b: Ka'b learned the Sūrah of the Cow from one of the Prophet's Companions. When they reached the words "Then if ye slip after that the evidences have come to you, know that Allāh is sublime, wise,"895 Ka'b said "I do not know of such a thing in any of God's books, that He should prohibit sinning and at the same time promise to forgive it." The man refused to take back his words, and Ka'b refused to learn [the verse]. One of the Prophet's Companions then passed by them, and [Ka'b's teacher] asked him "Do you know [by heart] the Sūrah of the Cow?" The man answered in the affirmative. [Ka'b and his teacher] began to recite "Then if ye slip after that the evidences have come to you," and the man continued "know that Allāh is sublime, wise." He said "Yes, this is how it should be."

Uways b. al-Khulays al-Qaranī.896

So it was mentioned by Damrah b. Rabī'ah—'Uthmān b. 'Aṭā' al-Khurāsānī—his father [who said]: I was telling [Uways'] story when I heard a man of my clan, that is, Uways' clan, [asking] "O Abū 'Uthmān, do you know the name of Uways' father?" I said "No." He said "Uways b. al-Khulayş." However, according to Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān—Yazīd b. 'Aṭā'—'Alqamah b. Marthad, [the name was] Uways b. Unays al-Qaranī.

Opinions differ as regards the time of his death. Some say that he was killed [fighting] on 'Alī's side at Ṣiffīn.

According to Muḥammad b. Abī Manṣūr—al-Ḥimmānī—Sharīk—Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā: On

<sup>892.</sup> A battle during the conquest of Iraq, near al-Hīrah, in 13/634, where the Muslims suffered a sound defeat; see Donner, Early Islamic Conquests, 174-75.

<sup>893.</sup> A famous Jewish convert to Islam, the oldest authority on Judeo-Islamic traditions. See "Ka'b al-Aḥbār," EI?, IV, 316–17 (M. Schmitz), Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, Tabaqāṭ, 308; Ibn Ḥibbān, Mashāhīr, 190; al-Dība', 59–60; Ibn Manzūr, Mukhtaṣar, XXI, 180–88; Ben Ze'ev.

<sup>895.</sup> Qur'an 2:205; trans. Bell I, 29.

<sup>896.</sup> A famous Successor, known as one of the first ascetics and a close companion of 'Alī; he never met the Prophet, but the latter had foreknowledge of him. See Abū Nu'aym, II, 162; al-Kashshī, 91–93; al-Quhpā'ī, I, 241–43, II, 249; al-Amīn, XIII, 106–31; Khalīfah b. Khayyāt, *Tabaqāt*, 146; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 161; *Uways al-Qaranī*. His father's name is usually said to be 'Āmir or 'Amr, notwithstanding the versions here. His clan, the Qaran, belonged to the southern tribe Murād; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 407.