

## THE SONS OF KHADĪJA

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### I

The reports about the various events in the life of the Prophet, recorded in the early sources of the *sīra*, *ḥadīth*, historical works and *adab* literature, are divergent and even contradictory. The discrepancies in the traditions occasionally relate to prominent incidents in the Prophet's career, which had a bearing upon the relations between the Prophet and the influential families in Mecca, and which shaped, to some extent, the destiny of the Prophet and the fate of the nascent Muslim community.

One such case which deserves to be examined and elucidated concerns certain events in the matrimonial life of Khadīja. These are brought to light in the reports about the two husbands who preceded the Prophet, and also the children she bore these husbands during the period of the Jāhiliyya and in the first years of Islam.

Some of the early reports are concise. According to a tradition on the authority of Ibn Ishāq, as transmitted by Yūnus b. Bukayr,<sup>1</sup> Khadīja's first husband, whom she married when she was a virgin, was 'Atīq b. 'Ā'idh b. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar of the Makhzūm. She bore him a female child. 'Atīq died and Khadīja married Abū Hāla b. Zurāra al-Nabbāshī of the 'Amr b. Tamīm. She bore him one male and one female child. He died and Khadīja, again a widow, married the Prophet. He was her third husband, she was his first wife.

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1 Ibn Ishāq, *al-Sīyar wa-l-maghāzī*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus 1398/1978, p. 82.

In contrast to this is the report given in Ibn Sa'd's *Tabaqāt*.<sup>2</sup> Khadīja was "mentioned" to Waraqa b. Naufal, but the marriage was not concluded. Khadīja's first husband was Abū Hāla Hind b. al-Nabbāsh b. Zurāra b. Waqdān b. Ḥabīb b. Salāma b. Ghuwayy b. Jurwa b. Usayyid b. 'Amr b. Tamīm.

Two phrases which occur in this report on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī are of some importance: Abū Hāla's father was a man of high position in his (tribal - K.) group.<sup>3</sup> He settled in Mecca and became an ally of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. The explicatory phrase "and Quraysh used to give their allies their daughters in marriage"<sup>4</sup> helps us to understand the relations between the influential clans in Mecca and their allies, the newcomers whom they welcomed, aided and tried to absorb into their clans and families.

Khadīja indeed married Abū Hāla and bore him one male child named Hind and another named Hāla. Her second husband was 'Atīq b. 'Ābid [not: 'Ā'idh] b. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm. She bore him a female child named Hind. The *kunya* of Khadīja was Umm Hind. Hind grew up, married Ṣayfī b. Umayya al-Makhzūmī, and bore him a son named Muḥammad. The children of Hind and Ṣayfī were called Banū l-Ṭāhira, because of Khadīja, the mother of Hind; Khadīja was called al-Ṭāhira. The progeny of Muḥammad b. Ṣayfī, who settled in Medina, perished.

Similar to this account is the tradition recorded by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb in his *Muḥabbar*.<sup>5</sup> Khadīja's first husband was Abū Hāla, to whom she bore a male child, Hind b. Abī Hāla; but no other child of Abū Hāla is mentioned. She bore her second husband, 'Atīq b. 'Ābid of the Makhzūm, a female child named Hind.

A corroborative tradition which sheds some additional light on the position of the tribal members who flocked to Mecca and entered alliances with the prominent clans there is recorded by al-Ṭabarī: Abū Hāla al-Nabbāsh b. Zurāra b. Waqdān b. Ḥabīb b. Salāma b. Ghuwayy b. Jurwa b. Usayyid b. 'Amr b. Tamīm came to Mecca with his two

2 Beirut 1377/1958, VII, 14-15.

3 *Wa-kāna abūhu* [in text erroneously: *abūhā*] *dhā sharafin fī qawmihi*.

4 *Wa-kānat qurayshun tuzawwiju ḥalīfahum*.

5 Ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, pp. 78, 452.

brothers, 'Auf and Unays. They were accepted as allies of the Banu 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. Abū Hāla married Khadija bint Khuwaylid and she bore him two male children: Hind and Hāla. Hāla died,<sup>6</sup> but Hind survived beyond the advent of Islam, to which he became a convert. Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī transmitted Hind's traditions about the Prophet, mentioning that Hind was his maternal uncle. Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā reported that Hind died in Baṣra, and that people left their businesses in order to attend his burial.<sup>7</sup> The report recorded by Ibn Ḥabīb in his *al-Munammaq*<sup>8</sup> is slightly different: Al-Nabbāsh b. Zurāra of the Banū Usayyid of Tamīm joined the Banū Naufal b. 'Abd Manāf as an ally; but the author notes that the reasons for the conclusion of this alliance are not clear to him. Al-Nabbāsh b. Zurāra, whose *kunya* was Abū Hāla, married Khadija before her marriage to the Prophet; she bore him two male children, Hind and Hāla.

Certain new details are given in the Shī'ī compilation of al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*.<sup>9</sup> A tradition on the authority of Qatāda says that Khadija's first husband was 'Atīq b. 'Ā'idh al-Makhzūmī, and the second Abū Hāla Hind b. Zurāra al-Tamīmī; Khadija bore him a son, Hind, who was thus called Hind b. Hind.

Another tradition says that Khadija married Abū Shihāb 'Amr al-Kindī; her second husband was 'Atīq b. 'Ā'idh, after whose death she was courted by 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayt and al-Ṣalt b. Abī Yahāb, both of them very rich men: each possessed four hundred slaves. Abū Jahl wanted to marry her too; she refused all these matrimonial proposals.<sup>10</sup>

A report transmitted on the authority of Abū Ṭālib, that Khadija's first husband was 'Atīq b. 'Ā'idh, and the second 'Umar al-Kindī, to whom she bore a child, seems to be confused.

A new detail is supplied by al-Balādhurī: The first husband was Abū Hāla Hind b. al-Nabbāsh of Tamīm; Khadija bore him Hind b. Abī Hāla. The second husband was 'Atīq b. 'Ābid of Makhzūm, to whom she bore a female child named Hind. 'Atīq divorced her and

6 Before the advent of Islam - K.

7 Al-Ṭabarī, *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*, Cairo 1358/1939, p. 40.

8 Ed. Khurshīd Aḥmad Fāriq, Hyderabad 1384/1964, p. 399.

9 Tehran XVI, 10.

10 Ibid., p. 22.

she married her third husband, the Prophet.<sup>11</sup> This is in fact the first report saying that Khadīja was a divorcee (not a widow) when she married Muḥammad.

Some divergent details deserve to be noted in Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī's *Majma' al-zawā'id wa-manba' al-Fawā'id*.<sup>12</sup> Khadīja bore her first husband, 'Atīq b. 'Ā'id, a son named Hind; he was thus named Hind b. 'Atīq. She bore her second husband, Abū Hāla Mālik b. Nabbāsh b. Zurāra, the ally of the Banū 'Abd al-Dār, Hind and Hāla. Thus Hind b. 'Atīq, Hāla and Hind b. Abī Hāla, Khadīja's children from her two first husbands, are brothers of Khadīja's children from the Prophet.

The controversial problem of Abū Hāla's name and the fate of the children of Khadīja born to her first two husbands are examined in al-Zurqānī's *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-laduniyya*.<sup>13</sup> Al-Zubayr (scil. Ibn Bakkār - K.) and (the transmitter - K.) al-Dāraquṭnī say that his name was Mālik. Ibn Manda and al-Suhaylī record his name as Zurāra. Abū 'Ubayd gives his name as al-Nabbāsh. Al-'Askarī records his name as Hind.

Abū Hāla's son, Hind, is said to have fought on the side of the Prophet in the battle of Uḥud or in the Battle of Badr. He spread the tradition on the description of the person of the Prophet; this tradition was transmitted on his authority by al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār reported that he was killed in the Battle of the Camel, fighting on the side of 'Alī; others say that he died in the plague of Baṣra.

The son of Khadīja and Abū Hāla, named Hāla, was recorded as one of the companions of the Prophet. According to one tradition, the Prophet arose and saw Hāla in his room. He pressed him to his breast and uttered joyously: *hāla, hāla, hāla*.<sup>14</sup> A contradictory report states, however, that Hāla, borne by Khadīja to her husband Abū Hāla, was in fact a female child. Indeed, al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī in his *al-Simʿ*

11 Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ahrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullah, Cairo 1959, I, 406-407.

12 Beirut 1967, IX, 219.

13 Cairo 1325, I, 199-201.

14 See e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīzi l-ṣaḥāba*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1971, VI, 516, no. 8919.

*al-thamīn fī manāqib ummahāt al-mu'minīn*,<sup>15</sup> records that Hāla was the daughter of Khadīja and al-Nabbāsh b. Zurāra, who was accordingly given the *kunya* Abū Hāla. Al-Muḥibb records further traditions discussing the name of Abū Hāla (Mālik b. al-Nabbāsh, Hind b. Zurāra) and the problem of whether he was the first or the second husband of Khadīja.<sup>16</sup> Al-Muḥibb reiterates the tradition that Hind b. Hind, the stepson of the Prophet, grew up, embraced Islam and was killed in the Battle of the Camel fighting on the side of 'Alī; another tradition says that he died in the plague of Baṣra.

Important information about the son and grandson of Abū Hāla is given in Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamharat al-nasab*.<sup>17</sup> Khadīja bore Abū Hāla Hind b. al-Nabbāsh b. Zurāra a son named Hind. He fought in the Battle of Badr or in the Battle of Uhud. His son Hind b. Hind b. Hind was killed fighting on the side of Ibn al-Zubayr. This family perished and none of their progeny remained.

It is worth noting the statement of al-Muḥibb that nothing is known about the life and fate of the two female children borne by Khadīja to her two husbands.<sup>18</sup> Al-Diyārbakrī quotes from the *Sīra* of Muḡhulṭāy some interesting reports: Khadīja bore 'Atīq b. 'Ā'idh of Makhzūm a female child named Hind and a male child named 'Abdallah or 'Abd Manāf.

Al-Qurṭubī, in his *Tafsīr* (= *al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-qur'ān*),<sup>19</sup> records a tradition saying that Khadīja bore 'Atīq a male child named 'Abd Manāf.

No less interesting is the tradition recorded by Diyārbakrī that Khadīja bore Abū Hāla Hind a daughter, Zaynab, and two male children: al-Hārith and Hind.

The tradition about a male child borne by Khadīja to 'Atīq b. 'Ābid is recorded in Ibn Ḥazm's *Jawāmi' al-sīra*.<sup>20</sup> Khadīja, says the report, bore her first husband a male child named 'Abdallah. She bore

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15 Cairo 1402/1983, p. 23.

16 Pp. 6, 23.

17 MS. Br. Mus., Add. 23297, fol. 93b.

18 This very report is recorded in Diyārbakrī's *Ta'rīkh al-khamīs* I, 263.

19 Cairo 1387/1967, XIV, 104.

20 Ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās and Naṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, Cairo, nd., p. 31.

her second husband Abū Hāla Hind b. Zurāra two male children, Hind and al-Ḥārith, and a female child named Zaynab. Hind b. Hind fought in the Battle of Uḥud and dwelt in Baṣra. Al-Ḥārith embraced Islam and was killed by an unbeliever at the Rukn al-Yamānī. More details about al-Ḥārith are provided by al-Balādhurī.<sup>21</sup> Al-Ḥārith b. Abī Hāla was the first man killed at the Rukn al-Yamānī, fighting for the sake of God.<sup>22</sup> One tradition says that he was under the tutelage of Khadīja (*fī ḥijri khadījata*); he embraced Islam, manifested his faith openly and summoned people to convert to Islam. One day when he was with a group of Quraysh and heard a man slandering the Prophet he tried to defend the Prophet. A row ensued in which al-Ḥārith was beaten by a rude unbeliever who trampled him down and trod on his belly. He was carried away wounded and later died. Another tradition says that he was killed while performing his prayer at the Rukn al-Yamānī.

Ibn Ḥajar<sup>23</sup> provides us with information about the beginnings of al-Ḥārith's missionary activity, which occurred when the Prophet was enjoined to call openly upon the people to convert to Islam.<sup>24</sup>

Ibn Ḥazm<sup>25</sup> records the story of al-Ḥārith and furnishes us with an additional detail about him: Ṣafwān b. Ṣafwān b. al-Nabbāsh of Tamīm is said to have been the first believer who killed an unbeliever after the *hijra*; he killed the murderer of al-Ḥārith b. Abī Hāla.<sup>26</sup>

Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimashqī, in *Jāmī' al-āthār fī maulidi l-rasūli l-mukhtār*,<sup>27</sup> records a significant report of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr stating that Khadīja bore Abū Hāla a male child named al-Ṭāhir; he was the brother of Hind and Hāla. The Prophet is said to have sent him as governor (*āmil*) to a district in al-Yemen.

21 *Ansāb al-ashraf*, MS. fol. 969b.

22 *Fī sabīli llāh*.

23 *Al-Iṣāba*, I, 604, no. 1503.

24 ... *an yaṣḍā'a bimā amarahu* ...; see *Sūrat al ḥijr*, 95: *fa-ṣḍā' bimā tu'maru wa-d'riq 'anī l-mushrikīn*.

25 *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, p. 210.

26 And see about Ṣafwān b. Ṣafwān: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, III, 268 and Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, III, 435, no. 4080.

27 MS. Cambridge Or. 913, fol. 250a.

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr in fact records a tradition transmitted by Sayf b. 'Umar on the authority of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī saying that al-Tāhir was among the five governors sent by the Prophet to the different districts of al-Yemen.<sup>28</sup> An extended report about al-Tāhir is given by Ibn Ḥajar.<sup>29</sup> According to the tradition transmitted by Sayf b. 'Umar, Tāhir b. Abī Hāla was sent as governor to a district of al-Yemen, as already mentioned. The important additional report says that al-Tāhir succeeded in quelling the rebellion of the 'Akk (called *al-akhābith*).

These reports are corroborated by the information provided by al-Ṭabarī: al-Tāhir b. Abī Hāla was appointed by the Prophet to be in charge of the 'Akk in Mecca. He was later sent as governor to a district of al-Yemen, or according to another version, was appointed over the tribes of 'Akk and the Ash'ariyyīn. He faced the forces of al-Aswad al-'Ansī and succeeded in crushing the rebellion of the 'Akk and the Ash'ariyyīn after the death of the Prophet. Later he was sent by Abū Bakr to Ṣan'ā in order to help the Abnā' in their fight against the unbelievers.<sup>30</sup>

Not much is known about al-Zubayr b. Abī Hāla. Sayf b. 'Umar used to transmit his traditions. Ibn Manda reported his tradition saying that the Prophet killed a detained Qurashite and stated: "Nevermore should a detained (or imprisoned – K.) man from Quraysh be killed."<sup>31</sup>

It is obvious that the traditions concerning the two husbands of Khadīja to whom she was married prior to her marriage to the Prophet are obscure, confused and very often contradictory. The reports about the children borne by Khadīja to these two husbands are

28 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, II, 775, no. 1297.

29 *Al-Iṣāba*, III, 515, no. 3258.

30 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1969, III, 228, 230, 318, 320–321, 328.

31 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, II, 558, no. 2792; and see Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba fī ma'rifati l-ṣaḥāba*, n.p., 1280 (repr. Tehran), II, 199 inf.; and see this tradition with a significant phrase added: "Nevermore should a detained man from Quraysh be killed except the murderer of 'Uthmān, you ought to kill him; but if they do not do it, then tell them that they will be slaughtered as a ewe is slaughtered," in Ibn 'Adiyy, *al-Kāmil fī ḍu'afā'i l-rijāl*, Beirut 1405/1985, VI, 2363.

blurred; there is hardly any agreement among the genealogists and the transmitters of *ḥadīth* as to the details of the stories. Only a few of the persons mentioned in the reports lived until the advent of Islam, and we are told that even those few died or were killed and that their progeny ceased to exist.

It is noteworthy, however, that the settings of the stories about the two husbands possibly reflect the situation in Mecca. It is plausible that Khadīja married a man from the aristocratic clan of Makhzūm, in accordance with her position and wealth; but it is equally plausible that she married a Bedouin immigrant to Mecca, as this was a common custom in Meccan society. In this way the Meccan clans tried to strengthen their ties with the Bedouin tribes and to secure the commercial activities of the Meccan families.

## II

The traditions concerning the Prophet's age when he married Khadīja are divergent and confused. Many traditions report that he married her at the age of twenty-five, and that Khadīja was then forty years old.<sup>32</sup>

Some sources record the tradition transmitted on the authority of Ḥakīm b. Hizām, which confirms the data mentioned above: Khadīja was born fifteen years before the Year of the Elephant; Ḥakīm was born thirteen years before the Year of the Elephant; she was thus two years older than Ḥakīm, and he could easily have established her age as forty. The Prophet, born in the Year of the Elephant, was thus twenty-five years old at the time of their marriage.<sup>33</sup>

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32 Al-Dim'yā'ī, *al-Mukhtaṣar fi sīrati l-nabiyyi* (s), MS. Chester Beatty 3332, fol. 10b; al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, *Kitāb al-baḍ' wa-l-id'rīkh*, ed. Cl. Huart, Paris 1916, V, 10; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, XVI, 19; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, V, 193 (on the authority of Ḥakīm b. Hizām); Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* VIII, 15 (on the authority of Ḥakīm b. Hizām); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullah, Cairo 1959, I, 98 (with the remark: "this is the accepted opinion of the scholars").

33 See Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-āthār*, fol. 250a (quoted on the authority of Mūsā b. 'Uqba and traced back to Ḥakīm b. Hizām); al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, XVI, 12; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 17; and see H. Lammens, "L'Age de Mahomet et la Chronologie de la Sīra," *Journal Asiatique*, XVII (1911) 209-150; and see the

Ibn Qutayba<sup>34</sup> only records the age of Muḥammad when he married Khadija: He was twenty-five years old.<sup>35</sup> An additional detail in connection with the date of his marriage is given by Ibn Qutayba<sup>36</sup> in a tradition saying that the Prophet went to Syria with the merchandise of Khadija when he was twenty-five years old; he married Khadija two months after his return. A corresponding tradition is recorded in the *Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*.<sup>37</sup> He was twenty-five years old; some say twenty-five, two months and ten days; others say: and fifteen days.

Mughulṭāy, in his *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī sīrat abī l-qāsim*,<sup>38</sup> is even more precise in a tradition recorded on the authority of Abū 'Umar (i.e. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr): The Prophet married Khadija two months and fifteen days after his return from Syria, at the end of Ṣafar in the year twenty-six, which corresponds to twenty-five years, two months and ten days after the Day of the Elephant. The tradition of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr is recorded in Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-āthār*.<sup>39</sup> Mughulṭāy mentions a tradition from Ibn 'Asākir saying that the Prophet returned with Maysara from Syria on the fourteenth night from the end of Dhū l-Ḥijja in the year twenty-five counting from the Day of the Elephant.<sup>40</sup>

Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī records a tradition saying that the Prophet married Khadija at the age of twenty-five, and supplies

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detailed study by Lawrence I. Conrad, "Abraha and Muḥammad: some observations apropos of chronology and literary topoi in the early Arabic historical tradition," *BSOAS* L (1987), 225-240.

34 *Al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Tharwat 'Ukāsha, Cairo 1969, p. 133.

35 And so: al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, XVI, 10 on the authority of 'Amr b. 'Alā; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi' al-sīra*, p. 31.

36 P. 150.

37 I, 154.

38 MS. Leiden, Or. 370, fol. 93a.

39 MS. Cambridge, Or. 913, fol. 250a. And see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's tradition: al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-laduniyya*, I, 199.

40 See this tradition: al-Maqrīzī, *Imṭā' al-asmā' bimā li-l-rasūli minā l-anbā' wa-l-amwāl wa-l-ḥafadati wa-l-matā'*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo 1941, I, 9.

another detail: Quraysh were then building the Ka'ba.<sup>41</sup> A contradictory tradition says that the Ka'ba was being built by Quraysh when the Prophet was thirty-five years old.<sup>42</sup> However, al-Majlisī records yet another tradition in which the building of the Ka'ba by Quraysh is coupled with the date of Fāṭima's birth and the date of the Revelation granted to the Prophet.<sup>43</sup>

Some traditions about the age of the Prophet when he married Khadīja are diverse: According to a report traced back to al-Zuhrī, the Prophet was twenty-one years old when he married her.<sup>44</sup> Another tradition says that he was twenty-three years old at the time.<sup>45</sup> A tradition recorded on the authority of Ibn Jurayj says that he married her when he was thirty-seven years old.<sup>46</sup> Other traditions give the age of the Prophet at his marriage as thirty<sup>47</sup> or twenty-nine.<sup>48</sup>

The traditions recording the age of Khadīja when she married the Prophet are likewise contradictory and blurred. The tradition based on the report that Khadīja was born fifteen years before the Year of

41 *Majma' al-zawā'id*, IX, 219; the same tradition is quoted in Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, V, 293; al-Muṭawwa'i, *Man ṣabara zaḥira*, MS. Cambridge, Or. 1473 (10), fol. 38a.

42 Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, XVI, 7.

43 Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār*, XVI, 77.

44 Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, I, 199, III, 220 (and see the refutation of this report: al-Zurqānī, *ibid.* III, 227); 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥusayn al-Isāmī, *Simṭ al-nujūm al-'awālī*, Cairo 1380, I, 365; al-Maqrīzī, *Imṭā'*, I, 9; al-Suhaylī, *al-Rauḍ al-unuf*, II, 246; al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, IX, 219; al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *al-Simṭ al-thamīn*, p. 14; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, V, 293.

45 Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 78; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, I, 98; al-Maqrīzī, *Imṭā'*, I, 9.

46 Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, I, 199; al-Maqrīzī, *Imṭā'*, I, 9; Mughultāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, fol. 93a; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, V, 293; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-ūthār*, fol. 250a.

47 Al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *al-Simṭ al-thamīn*, p. 14; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-ūthār*, fol. 250a; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, II, 199, III, 220, 227; al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subulu l-hudā wa-l-rashād fī siratī khayrī l-'ibād*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Cairo 1394/1974, II, 225; al-Suhaylī, *al-Rauḍ* II, 246.

48 Mughultāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, fol. 93a (nearing thirty); al-Maqrīzī, *Imṭā'*, I, 9 (nearing thirty); al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, I, 199; al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subul al-hudā*, II, 225 (nearing thirty).

the Elephant, that the Prophet was born in the Year of the Elephant and that he married her when he was twenty-five years old and she forty is, of course, consistent in itself, and adapted to the widely circulated data about the birth and death of the Prophet.

Divergent traditions say that Khadīja was forty-five years old when she married him.<sup>49</sup> Other reports relate that she was thirty years old.<sup>50</sup> A tradition, traced back in some sources to Ibn 'Abbās, states that she married the Prophet when she was twenty-eight years old.<sup>51</sup> There are isolated traditions saying that she was thirty-five or twenty-five years old when she married the Prophet.<sup>52</sup>

All these traditions should be taken into consideration in evaluating the reports about the children Khadīja bore the Prophet.

Scholars of *ḥadīth* and *sīra* are unanimous as to the number of female children borne by Khadīja to the Prophet: She bore him four daughters, all of whom were still young at the advent of Islam and embraced the new faith. All of them married, but only three bore children. Their progeny died, except for that of Fāṭima; they are the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, the sons of Fāṭima. Scholars, however, are at odds as to the number of male children borne to the

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49 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, V, 293 (on the authority of al-Wāqidi); Mughulṭāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, fol. 93a; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-āthār*, fol. 250a; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq (tahdhīb)*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Badrān, Beirut 1399/1970, I, 302-303 (on the authority of al-Wāqidi: forty-four years old); al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, I, 199 (on the authority of Ibn Sa'd), III, 220; al-Ḥalabī, *Sīra*, I, 156.

50 Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, I, 200, III, 220; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-āthār*, fol. 250a; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh (tahdhīb)* I, 302; al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subul al-hudā*, II, 225; al-Ḥalabī, *Sīra*, I, 156.

51 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, V, 293; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, I, 200, III, 220; Mughulṭāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, fol. 93a; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-āthār*, fol. 250a (on the authority of Ibn Sa'd); al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subul*, II, 225; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh (tahdhīb)*, I, 302 (on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī); al-Ḥalabī, *Sīra*, I, 156; al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, Hyderabad (repr. Riyāḍ), III, 182; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 78; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, XVI, 12.

52 Al-Ḥalabī, *Sīra*, I, 156.

Prophet by Khadīja.<sup>53</sup> The various traditions about the male children of Khadīja are examined in the following lines.

A significant report formulated concisely and recorded in an early source says that the Prophet began to practice *taḥannuth* after some of his female children were born. Khadīja bore him al-Qāsim; some scholars claim that she also bore him another male child called al-Ṭāhir, but other scholars say that she bore only one son, al-Qāsim.<sup>54</sup> Al-Zurqānī quotes the tradition saying that Khadīja bore the Prophet only one son, al-Qāsim, but provides us with a comprehensive review of other traditions which record various numbers for the male children whom Khadīja bore the Prophet. According to some of these traditions, Khadīja bore the Prophet thirteen children.<sup>55</sup>

According to a tradition recorded by Ibn Ishāq, the male children of the Prophet were born before the Call; they were al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir and al-Ṭayyib. The Prophet's agnomen (*kunya*) was Abū l-Qāsim. All the male children of the Prophet died before the advent of Islam (i.e. before the Call). Some traditions stress that they died while suckling.<sup>56</sup>

53 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, V, 321, no. 9718 ( ... *wa-la-qad za'ama ba'du l-'ulamā' annahā waladat lahu ghuḷāman ākhara yusammā al-ṭāhir; wa-qāla ba'duhum: mā na'lamuhā waladat lahu illā l-qāsim* ... ).

54 See the tradition quoted from Ibn Ishāq's *al-Mubtada'* stating that Khadīja bore the Prophet only one son, named al-Qāsim: Mughultāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, fol. 94b: ... *wa-fī l-mubtada'i 'ani bni ishāq: za'ama ba'du l-'ulamā'i anna khadījata (r) lam talid li-l-nabiyyi (ṣ) minā l-dhukūri illā l-qāsim; wa-hādihā lā shay'a*.

55 Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, III, 193-194; see the tradition of the one child, al-Qāsim, pp. 193, I 2 and 194, I 11: *wa-taḥṣulu min jamī'i l-aqwāli thamāniyatu dhukūrin: iḥnāni muttafaqun 'alayhimā, al-qāsimu wa-ibrāhīmu wa-sittatun mukhtalafun fihim* ...

56 Ibn Ishāq, *al-Siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, pp. 82, 245; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, V, 293; Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Kalā'ī, *al-Iktifā' fī maghāzī rasūli llāhi wa-l-thalāthati l-khulafā'*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāhid, Cairo 1387/1968, I, 199 (on the authority of Ibn Ishāq); al-Isāmī, *Simṭ al-nujūm*, I, 406; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq (tahdhīb)*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Badrān, Beirut 1399/1979, I, 302, ult.; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-athar*, II, 288 and ibid. this tradition recorded on the authority of Ibn Ishāq; and see 'Abdallāh b. Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, *Kitāb al-jāmi'*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Ajḡān and 'Uthmān Biṭṭīkh, Beirut-Tunis

According to the tradition of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, Khadija bore the Prophet only two male children: al-Qāsim and 'Abdallah; 'Abdallah was also called al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭāhir. 'Abdallah was born after the Call and died as a small child. The first child of the Prophet who died was al-Qāsim; the second was 'Abdallah.<sup>57</sup>

Some scholars identified al-Ṭāhir with another child, named al-Muṭahhar, alleged to have been the son of Khadija and the Prophet. They argued that al-Ṭāhir was the name given to a child whom Khadija bore to a previous husband. However, this argument is rejected on the grounds that Khadija could not have given the same name to a child of a previous husband and a child of the Prophet.<sup>58</sup>

According to a tradition traced back to al-Zuhri she bore the Prophet only two children: al-Qāsim and 'Abdallah.<sup>59</sup> Other traditions say that the two male children borne by Khadija were named

1402/1982, pp. 128 ult-129, l. 1; and see al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, III, 194, l. 7: . . . *wa-qāla bnu isḥāqa fī l-sīrati 'inda dhikri tazawwujī l-muṣṭafā khadījata: kulluhum ghayra ibrahīma wulida qabla l-islāmi, wa-māta l-banūna qabla l-islāmi wa-hum yartadūn* . . .

57 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, V, 307; Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, III, 549 (al-Zubayr b. Bakkār on the authority of Muṣ'ab, and see *ibid.* another tradition transmitted on the authority of al-Zuhri); Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 16; al-Kāzarūnī, *al-Sīra al-nabawīyya*, MS. Br. Mus., Add. 18499, fol. 83a-b; al-Kalālī, *al-Iktifā'*, I, 199 penult. (on the authority of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār); al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, III, 193; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh Dimashq (tahdhīb)*, I, 293; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Uyūn al-aḥar*, II, 288 (two traditions); Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 78; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, MS. Br. Mus., Add. 23297, fol. 9a; al-Dimyāṭī, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī sīrati l-nabiyyi (s)*, MS. Chester Beatty 3332, fol. 14a (a tradition of al-Kalbī traced back to Ibn 'Abbās as in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, Cairo 1964, XVIII, 208 on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās: the first child born before the Call was al-Qāsim, who was followed by the four daughters. In the end Khadija bore the Prophet a male child named 'Abdallah who was also called al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭāhir, but some scholars assume that 'Abdallah is not to be identified with al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭāhir, and that they are two additional children).

58 Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VI, 262; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, III, 193 inf.

59 Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣāba*, III, 549; cf. al-Dimyāṭī, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, fol. 14a; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-ūthār* fol. 250b (on the authority of Hishām b. 'Urwa and another tradition on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās).

al-Qāsim and al-Ṭāhir.<sup>60</sup>

A peculiar tradition is recorded on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās: Khadija bore the Prophet a child named 'Abdallah. Then there was a period during which Khadija ceased bearing children. One day during that period the Prophet met al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il, who mockingly called him *al-abtar*, and then the *sūrat al-kauthar* was revealed. Later Khadija bore the Prophet Zaynab, Ruqayya, al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, al-Muṭahhar, al-Ṭayyib, al-Muṭayyab, Umm Kulthūm and Fāṭima.<sup>61</sup> The number of male children borne to Muḥammad by Khadija according to this list was six; the number of female children was, as mentioned, four. Thus Khadija bore the Prophet ten children.

A tradition transmitted by Ibn Lahī'a records four male children: al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, al-Ṭayyib and 'Abdallah.<sup>62</sup>

Noteworthy is a report which shortens the period in which Khadija bore children: al-Ṭayyib and al-Muṭayyab were twins; al-Ṭāhir and al-Muṭahhar were also twins.<sup>63</sup>

A curious tradition is recorded in Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-āthār*.<sup>64</sup> Khadija, says the tradition, bore the Prophet four male children: al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, Ibrāhīm and al-Ṭayyib. This tradition was nevertheless rejected by the scholars and considered erroneous, as Ibrāhīm was borne by the slave girl Māriya, not by Khadija.

It is noteworthy that a very late compiler of a *maulid* commentary records an early tradition, according to which Khadija bore the Prophet only one male child, al-Qāsim, while the scholars are

60 Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Fāris, *Aujazu l-siyar li-khayri l-bashar*, Cairo 1359/1940, p. 9; Ya'qūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī, *al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, ed. Akram Ḍiyā' al-Umarī, Beirut 1401/1981, II, 269 inf.-270.

61 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, V, 307; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, I, 294.

62 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, V, 307; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-āthār*, fol. 251a; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, III, 193.

63 Mughultāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, fol. 94b; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, V, 308; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, I, 294; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *Uyūn al-aḥar*, II, 288; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, VI, 262; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, III, 193; al-'Iṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nujūm*, I, 406; 'Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'uyūn fī sīrati l-amīni l-ma'mūn* (= *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*), Cairo 1382/1962, III, 345; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-āthār*, fol. 251a.

64 Fol. 251a.

at variance as to whether she bore him another child, 'Abdallah.<sup>65</sup>

### III

A remarkable tradition concerning Khadīja's male children born to the Prophet reports that Khadīja bore the Prophet two children: 'Abd al-'Uzzā and 'Abd Manāf. This tradition was transmitted by al-Haytham b. 'Adiyy (d. 206 A.H.) on the authority of Hishām b. 'Urwa (d. 146 A.H.) and traced back to his father 'Urwa.<sup>66</sup>

Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn mentions another tradition quoted from a book by Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā (d. 209 A.H., evidently from his *Azwāju l-nabiyyi* (ṣ), mentioned fol. 251b), stating that in the period of the Jāhiliyya Khadīja bore the Prophet four children: al-Qāsim, 'Abd Manāf, al-Ṭayyib (= 'Abdallah) and al-Ṭāhir. This brings the number of children borne to the Prophet by Khadīja to eight: four male and four female children. Abū 'Ubayda argues that 'Abd Manāf was born during the period of the Jāhiliyya; had he been born during the period of Islam he would not have been called 'Abd Manāf, says Abū 'Ubayda, as stated in the summary of Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn.<sup>67</sup>

It is indeed fortunate that Abū 'Ubayda's *Tasmiyatu azwāji l-nabiyyi* (ṣ) *wa-aulādihi* is extant, and was edited by Nihād Mūsā.<sup>68</sup> Abū 'Ubayda's report in this treatise differs in an essential detail from

65 Muḥammad Nawawī b. 'Umar al-Jāwī, *Targhīb al-mushtāqīn li-bayāni manẓūmati l-sayyidi l-barzanjī zayni l-'ābidīn*, Cairo, nd, p. 24: . . . *wa-jumlatu aulādihi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam sab'atun: thalāthatu dhukūrin wa-arba'u ināthin, lākin wāhidun mukhṭalafun fīhi; fa-l-dhukūru l-qāsimu wa-ibrāhīmu, wa-hādhāni muttafaqun 'alayhimā, wa-'abdu llāhi wa-hādhā mukhṭalafun fīhi; wa-yuqālu lahu al-ṭayyibu wa-l-ṭāhiru, wa-l-qawlu l-athbatu wujūduhu, wa-summiya 'abdu llāhi bi-l-ṭayyibi wa-l-ṭāhiri li-annahū wulida bāda l-nubuwwati . . .*

66 Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, III, 193 inf.-194 sup; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-āthār*, fol. 252a; al-'Iṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nujūm al-'awālī*, I, 408; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, V, 307, 308; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, Hyderabad 1331, VI, 210, no. 740.

67 And see an anonymous tradition recorded in al-Ḥalabī's *Sīra*, III, 345 ult, saying that a child born to the Prophet before the Call was named 'Abd Manāf.

68 *Majallat ma'had al-makhṭū'āt al-'arabiyya*, XIII (1967), 244-279.

the summary provided by Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn: al-Qāsim, says the report, was born during the period of Islam. The four daughters were born during the period of the Jāhiliyya. The three male children of the Prophet borne by Khadīja, 'Abd Manāf, al-Ṭayyib (= 'Abdallah) and al-Ṭāhir, were also born in the period of the Jāhiliyya.<sup>69</sup>

The arguments Abū 'Ubayda uses to support his chronology of the births of Khadīja's children are instructive, and help us to understand the ideological basis of his treatise. The Prophet, says Abū 'Ubayda, gave his daughter Zaynab in marriage to Abū l-'Āṣ b. al-Rabi'. When she converted to Islam, the Prophet prohibited her from staying with Abū l-'Āṣ, who remained an unbeliever, but when Abū l-'Āṣ later embraced Islam, the Prophet authorized their bond on the basis of the previously concluded Jāhili marriage. The same applies to the marriages concluded between Ruqayya and Umm Kulthūm with Abū Lahab's sons 'Utba and 'Utayba respectively, with the approval and blessing of the Prophet.

As for 'Abd Manāf, he was born during the period of the Jāhiliyya; had he been born during the period of Islam the Prophet would not have given him this name. Further evidence that the male children of the Prophet borne by Khadīja lived and died during the period of the Jāhiliyya is adduced by Abū 'Ubayda, who cites the tradition about Khadīja's conversation with the Prophet as to the fate of their deceased infants. The Prophet assured her that their infants were in Paradise, but added that the children borne by her to her former husbands, the unbelievers, were placed in Hell.<sup>70</sup> This *ḥadīth*, argues Abū 'Ubayda, indicates that the male children of the Prophet, except al-Qāsim, were born and died during the period of the Jāhiliyya; had they died during the period of Islam, Khadīja would not have enquired about their fate.<sup>71</sup>

It is evident that the problem touched upon in Khadīja's conversation with the Prophet is the fate in the hereafter of children of believers, in contradistinction to the fate of children of unbelievers. The story about Khadīja's grief at the death of al-Ṭāhir also belongs

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69 *Tasmiya*, pp. 248, ll. 1-2, 12-14, 249, ll. 1-12.

70 See this tradition: Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-āḥār*, fol. 251b.

71 P. 249.

here. The Prophet consoled her, promising that after her death al-Ṭāhir would welcome her at the gates of Paradise.<sup>72</sup>

The essential question at issue, however, is whether the Prophet was granted infallibility before the Revelation, whether he was cleansed from the impurity of idol worship and of close contacts with unbelievers (*kuffār* or *mushrikūn*), and whether, prior to the Call, he refrained from committing deeds which might have been considered adherence to the customs or practices of the unbelievers. It is thus remarkable that the story of the Prophet's daughters who were married to unbelievers with the approval of the Prophet (a story adduced by Abū 'Ubayda as evidence for the validity of the tradition about the Prophet's child being named 'Abd Manāf) is quoted and explicated by Ibn Qutayba (d. 276 A.H.) in his *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*<sup>73</sup> as proof that the Prophet believed in God and yielded to His injunctions and commands. The Prophet gave his daughters in marriage to unbelievers because this had not been forbidden at that time according to God's injunctions, *sharā' i*.<sup>74</sup>

It was Ibn Qutayba's aim to prove that the Prophet acted in accordance with God's commands as revealed to former prophets, and to explain that the tradition about the Prophet's adherence to the tenets and beliefs of his people, *kāna 'alā dīni qaumihi*, means in fact that the Prophet followed his people, Quraysh, who adhered to certain beliefs, tenets and injunctions of the "Faith of Ishmael," *dīn ismā'il*. Several of these practices were closely observed by the people of the Prophet, Quraysh.<sup>75</sup>

72 Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, XVI, 16; and see *ibid.*, p. 15, a similar tradition on the consolation of Khadīja after the death of al-Qāsim: the Prophet promised her that al-Qāsim would welcome her after her death at the gates of Paradise.

73 Cairo 1326, 134-139.

74 See p. 139.

75 See e.g. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Rasā'ilu l-tis'*, Beirut, 1405/1985 (*Masālik al-ḥunafā fī wālidāyi l-muṣṭafā ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallama*), p. 49: ... *fa-ḥaṣala mimma auradnāhu anna ābā'a l-nabiyyi ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama min 'ahdi ibrahīma ila ka'bi bni lu'ayyin kānū kulluhum 'alā dīni ibrahīma 'alayhi l-salāmu, wa-waladuhu murratu bnu ka'bin al-zāhiru annahu kāna ka-dhālaka li-anna abāhu auṣāhu bi-l-īmāni, wa-baqiya baynahu wa-bayna 'abdi l-muṭṭalib arba'atu ābā'* ...; and see *ibid.*, p. 47: ... *wa-qad akhrajā ibnu*

This subject was discussed comprehensively by Muslim scholars. Ibn Ḥazm, for example, concludes his lengthy analysis by stating that the prophets could not have committed any sin or perpetrated any transgression before they were granted prophethood: . . . *fa-bi-yaqīnin nadrī anna llāha ta'ālā 'aṣamahum qabla l-nubuwwati min kulli mā yu'dhauna bihi ba'da l-nubuwwati* . . .<sup>76</sup>

The problem of the Prophet's infallibility is discussed at length in al-Khafāḥ's commentary *Nasīm al-riyād sharḥ shifā'i l-qāḍi 'iyād*.<sup>77</sup> The Prophet, like other prophets, was protected from any sin whatsoever both before and after being granted prophethood. The tradition saying that the Prophet adhered to the tenets of his people for forty years, *kāna 'alā amri qaumihi arba'ina sanatan*, does not indicate that he had no knowledge of belief in God; he merely lacked knowledge of God's ordinances and precepts, the *farā'id*, which were granted him after the Revelation. The opinion of al-Kalbī and al-Suddī, who interpreted the words *wa-wajadaka ḍāllan*, "and He found you erring" literally as denoting unbelief, *kufr*, "and God found you as an unbeliever" (scil. amongst the unbelieving people - K.) conflicts with the consensus of the community; it is inconceivable that such an accusation of *shirk* could be levelled against the Prophet.<sup>78</sup>

The same opinion appears in al-Māwardī's *A'lām al-nubuwwa*.<sup>79</sup> The Prophet did not worship idols, and he distinguished himself by his noble character, his belief in the unity of God and his high moral qualities and ethical principles. Scholars disagreed as to which faith, religious law of God, *sharī'a* the Prophet followed before he was granted the Revelation: the *sharī'a* of Abraham, of Moses or of Jesus.<sup>80</sup>

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*ḥabība fī ta'rīkhihi 'ani bni 'abbāsīn qāla: kāna 'adnānu wa-ma'addun wa-rabī'atu wa-muḍaru wa-khuzaymatu wa-aṣluhu (?) 'alā millati ibrahīma 'alayhi l-salāmu fa-lā tadhkurūhum illā bi-khayrin* . . .

76 Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal fī l-mīlāl wa-l-ahwā'i wa-l-niḥāl*, Cairo, n.d., IV, 55.

77 Cairo 1327, repr. al-Madīna, IV, 48 seq.

78 Ibid., p. 50.

79 Beirut, n.d., pp. 221-223.

80 And see about his purification from idolatry, *ibid.*, p. 224, inf.; and see the discussion as to the nature of the *sharī'a* followed by the Prophet before the Revelation: Mughultāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim* fol. 110a-110b; and see the lengthy discussion of this subject: al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, VII, 239-242.

Muslim scholars have tried to justify the attendance of the Prophet at certain ritual celebrations of the unbelievers in their places of worship. A tradition transmitted by 'Uthmān b. Abī Shayba (d. 235 A.H.), and traced back to the Companion Jābir b. 'Abdallah, records such an event: the Prophet, says the report, used to visit the places of celebration of the unbelievers, *kāna rasūlu llāhi (ṣ) yashhadu ma'a l-mushrikīna mashāhidahum*. Once he heard an angel behind him saying to another angel: "Let us go and stand behind the Prophet." The second angel answered: "How can we stand behind him, when it was his desire to attend the stroking of the idols?" (*kayfa naqūmu khalfahu wa-innamā 'ahduhu bi-stilāmi l-aṣnāmi qablu*). The Prophet indeed never again attended the ritual practices of the unbelievers.<sup>81</sup>

It is the usual method of the Muslim scholars to reject controversial traditions of this kind by censuring some of the transmitters as "weak," "unreliable" or "neglected," and by appropriate explication and interpretation of the tradition itself. In the case of the tradition mentioned above, the editor quotes the opinions of the orthodox scholars denouncing the transmitter 'Uthmān b. Abī Shayba. As for the content, the scholars explain that the Prophet aimed by his attendance at the ritual practices of the unbelievers to reproach them for these practices. Such was also the approach of the authors of the compendia of *ḥadīth* and the authors of the *sīra* in their assessment of the tradition of al-Haytham b. 'Adiyy.

The *isnād* given in Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-āthār* ending with 'Urwa is extended in Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāya* V, 307 to the first transmitter, Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib (d. 94 A.H.), who transmitted traditions and utterances of the Prophet and of the companions of the Prophet and reported about their lives and their political activities.<sup>82</sup>

Al-Haytham's tradition about the sons of the Prophet allegedly named 'Abd al-'Uzzā and 'Abd Manāf is completely rejected by the orthodox scholars of Islam. He is described as a liar, and the traditions

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81 Abū Ya'lā, *Musnad*, ed. Ḥusayn Salīm Asad, Beirut, 1404/1984, II, 398, no. 1877; and see this tradition: Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, VIII, 226.

82 See e.g. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Hyderabad 1325, IV, 84, no. 145.

transmitted by him are described as reprehensible.<sup>83</sup>

It is impossible, says a comment on the tradition of the pagan names of the two children, that a deed of this kind could have been done by the Prophet.<sup>84</sup>

Al-Zurqānī records the opinions of the scholars of *ḥadīth* stating that none of the reliable transmitters (*thiqāt*) related the tradition of al-Haytham on the authority of Hishām b. 'Urwa.<sup>85</sup> The opinion of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī as recorded in his *al-Maurid al-'adhb* is that nobody is permitted to say that the Prophet called his children by these two names. There is, however, a certain reservation in the words of Quṭb al-Dīn: If this in fact happened (i.e. if the two children were really named 'Abd al-'Uzzā and 'Abd Manāf – K.), it might have been done by one of Khadīja's relatives; the Prophet might then have changed them (i.e. into Muslim names – K.). Further, Quṭb al-Dīn conjectures that if this happened, it was because the Prophet was assiduously engaged in the worship of God so that the information about the names did not reach him; in addition, the life span of the two children thus named was very short. Finally, he surmises that some of the Satans invented it in order to instill confusion in the hearts of the people of feeble faith.<sup>86</sup>

It was indeed a harmonizing solution to affirm the report that the two sons of the Prophet were named 'Abd al-'Uzzā and 'Abd Manāf, and that these names were changed by the Prophet into al-Ṭāhir and al-Ṭayyib.<sup>87</sup>

The full version of Haytham b. 'Adiyy's tradition contains an additional passage which reveals the essential differences of opinion and attitude between two centres of *ḥadīth*: the Irāqī and the Medinan. The full version is recorded in Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-āthār*, in Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāya*, in Zurqānī's *Sharḥ al-mawāhib* and in Ibn

83 See e.g. al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-ʿitidāl*, IV, 324, no. 931I.

84 Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-mizān*, VI, 210 sup.; and see Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-āthār*, fol. 252a.

85 *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, III, 193 penult.

86 Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, III, 194, sup.; al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nujūm al-ʿawālī*, I, 408.

87 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, V, 307.

Ḥajar's *Lisān al-mizān*. But the tradition with full *isnāds* is recorded in Abū l-Jahm al-ʿAlā b. Mūsā's (d. 228 AH) *Juz*.<sup>88</sup> It is noteworthy that another MS. of this *Juz*<sup>89</sup> was identified and perused by Suliman Bashear, who quoted this very tradition in his book, *Muqaddima fi l-ta'rikh al-ākhar*.<sup>90</sup>

The passage contains a conversation between al-Haytham b. ʿAdiyy and Hishām b. ʿUrwa concerning the tradition that Khadīja bore the Prophet ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, ʿAbd Manāf and al-Qāsim. Al-Haytham questioned Hishām about the sons of the Prophet, al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭāhir, and Hishām b. ʿUrwa answered: "That is a lie which you, the people of Irāq, have invented; but our elders, *ashyākhunā*, said: ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, ʿAbd Manāf and al-Qāsim."<sup>91</sup> ʿUrwa's answer clearly reflects the rift between the Medinan and Irāqī *ḥadīth* scholars. The Medinan and Syrian scholars accused the Irāqīs of forging *ḥadīths* of sectarian inclinations, of spreading reports encouraging rebellions and inflating utterances and traditions.<sup>92</sup>

#### IV

According to tradition, the children of Khadīja died while she was still alive. She was consoled by the utterance of the Prophet that they were granted residence in Paradise. As to al-Qāsim, who did not live to complete his suckling, the Prophet promised Khadīja that he would be given a wet nurse in Paradise to complete his suckling.<sup>93</sup>

88 MS. Hebrew Univ., Ar. 8° 273, pp. 59-60.

89 MS. Ṣāhiriyya, *Majmūʿ* 83, fols. 2/15.

90 Jerusalem 1984, p. 168, n. 60.

91 Abū l-Jahm, *Juz*, p. 60.

92 See e.g. al-Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifa wa-l-taʾrikh*, II, 757: ... *qāla lī hishāmu bnu ʿurwatā: yā zuhayru, idhā ḥaddathaka l-ʿirāqiyyu alfa ḥadīthin fa-truh tisʿa miʿatin wa-tisʿatan wa-tisʿīna ḥadīthan wa-kun mina l-bāqī fī shakkīn*; and see *ibid.*, p. 759: ʿAbdallah b. ʿUmar: ... *innakum maʿshara ahli l-ʿirāqi tarwūna ʿannā mā lā naqūlu*; and see *ibid.*, p. 363: Al-Auzāʿī ... *fa-matā kāna ʿulamāʾu ahli l-shāmi yahmilūna ʿan khawāriji ahli l-ʿirāqī*; and see *ibid.* I, 438: Zayd b. Thābit: ... *idhā raʾayta ahla l-madīnati ʿalā shayʾin faʾlam annahu l-sunnatu*.

93 See e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba*, V, 515-516, no. 7274; and see a similar tradition about the Prophet's son Ibrāhīm: al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrikh al-khamīs fī aḥwālī*

Khadija herself was promised a gorgeous house in Paradise,<sup>94</sup> although she had to accept, albeit reluctantly at first, the information conveyed to her by the Prophet that in Paradise God Himself would give him in marriage to Mariam bint 'Imrān, to Āsiya bint Muzāhim, the (former – K.) wife of Fir'aun and to Kulthum, the sister of Moses. The three women, the future wives of the Prophet, would share with Khadija an abode in Paradise, and the Prophet asked Khadija on her deathbed to convey his greetings to these women upon her arrival in Heaven.<sup>95</sup>

The Prophet cherished Khadija's memory and was sympathetic and kind towards her acquaintances. Tradition emphasizes Khadija's virtues, her piety, her dedication to the cause of the Prophet,<sup>96</sup> her care and affection for him and her firm belief. 'Ā'isha's harsh words about Khadija, which stemmed from her envy, were sharply censured by the Prophet.<sup>97</sup> Compendia of *ḥadīth* and *sīra* contain chapters touching upon the superiority of Khadija to 'Ā'isha and Fāṭima, and emphasizing her exclusive position among the wives of the Prophet as mother of his children, since all his other wives were barren.<sup>98</sup>

According to a current tradition, Khadija married the Prophet when she was forty or forty-five years old; she lived with him for twenty-four or twenty-five years and died at the age of sixty or sixty-five or seventy. These traditions are based mainly on the widely circulated stories linking the ages of Khadija and the Prophet at their marriage with the date of the expedition of the Elephant. According to this tradition the Prophet, as mentioned above, was born in the Year of

*anfasi nafīs*, Cairo 1283, II, 146: . . . *inna ibrahīma ibnī wa-innahu māta fī l-thadyi wa-inna lahu la-zi'rayni yukammilāni riḍā'ahu fī l-jannati*, and another version: . . . *inna lahu la-zi'ran tuimmu lahu riḍā'ahu fī l-janna*.

94 See e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba*, VII, 602; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Mukhtār Aḥmad al-Nadwī, Bombay 1402/1982, XII, 134, no. 12340; Anonymous, *Manāqib al-ṣaḥāba*, MS. Br. Mus., Or. 8273, fol. 83b.

95 See e.g. al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, III, 226, inf.

96 *Kānat wazīra ṣidqin li-rasūli llāhi* (s) as recorded in al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, *al-Bad' wa-l-ta'rikh*, V, 10 inf.

97 See e.g. Anonymous, *Manāqib al-ṣaḥāba*, MS. Br. Mus., Or. 8273, fol. 83b.

98 See e.g. al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, XVI, 1-3, 12; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, III, 224; al-'Isāmī, *Simṭ al-nujūm al-'awālī*, I, 368.

the Elephant<sup>99</sup> and was twenty-five years old on the day of his marriage; Khadīja was born fifteen years before the Year of the Elephant and was thus forty years old on the day of her marriage. But the scholars of *ḥadīth* and *sīra* are in no way unanimous about the date of the event. The dates recorded for the birth of the Prophet in relation to the Day of the Elephant differ considerably. Mughultāy records the following details transmitted about the date of the Prophet's birth: a. a month, b. forty days, c. two months and six days, d. fifty days, e. fifty-five days, f. ten years, g. thirty years, h. forty years and i. seventy years after the Day of the Elephant. Another tradition says that he was born on the twelfth day of Ramaḍān twenty-three years after the Expedition of the Elephant.<sup>100</sup>

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- 99 I.e. during the expedition of Abraha against Mecca; sometimes recorded *yauma l-fīt*: see e.g. al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Uthmān, Cairo 1389/1969, I, 65; and see about the birth of the Prophet in the Year of the Elephant *ibid.* I, 65-68; al-Marzūqī, *al-Azmina wa-l-amkina*, Hyderabad 1332, II, 268; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-'ilal wa-ma'rifa l-rijāl*, ed. Kocyigit and Cerrahoglu, Ankara 1963, I, 267, no. 1722; Abū Nu'aym al-Isfahānī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, Hyderabad 1397/1977, pp. 100-101.
- 100 Mughultāy, *Talkhīṣ al-sīra*, MS. Shehīd 'Alī 1878, fol. 7a-b; and see Mughultāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, MS. Leiden, Or. 370, fol. 71a-b: the Prophet was born ten years after the Elephant, twenty-three years after the Elephant, fifteen years before the Elephant, fifteen years after the Elephant, a month after the Day of the Elephant; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, I, 89; al-Kalbī: twenty-three years after the Day of the Elephant; Muqātil: forty years; others: thirty or fifty or seventy years after the Elephant; and see the different dates recorded in al-Qurtubī's *Tafsīr*, XX, 194; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī, *al-Nīmatu l-kubrā 'alā l-'ālam bi-mawlidī sayyidi banī ādam*, MS. in my possession, fol. 18a, ult.-18b: born in the Year of the Elephant, forty years after, thirty years after, twenty-three years after, fifteen years before, three years after, Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ: *Ta'rikh*, ed. Akram Diyā' al-'Umarī, al-Najaf 1386/1967, pp. 9-10: in the Year of the Elephant, forty years after, thirty years after or fifteen years before; and see the different dates recorded in Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥimawī, *Ta'rikh al-sālihi*, MS. Br. Mus., Or. 6657, fol. 130a; and see the various traditions: Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, II, 262: ten years after the Year of the Elephant, twenty-three years after, thirty years after, forty years after and fifteen years before the Day of the Elephant (this tradition is marked as *gharīb*, *munkar* and *da'if*); and see the various dates recorded in al-Bayjūrī's

Scholars of *ḥadīth* and *sīra* stress that the aim of the story of the miraculous salvation of Mecca was to herald the advent of the Prophet, and to emphasize the elevated position his people gained after humiliation during Abraha's expedition.<sup>101</sup>

Another crucial event mentioned in connection with the Prophet's birth was the Battle of Jabala. This battle was waged seventeen years before the birth of the Prophet; Islam began fifty-seven years after Jabala. Thus when 'Amir b. Tufayl, who was born on the Day of Jabala, came to visit the Prophet in the year of the Prophet's death he was eighty years old; the Prophet was then

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*Hāshiyatun 'alā maulidi abī l-barakāt sayyidī aḥmadi l-dardīr*, Cairo 1294, pp. 44-45; al-Sinjārī, *Manā'ihu l-karam bi-akḥbāri makkata wa-l-haram*, MS. Leiden, Or. 7018, fol. 58a: born in the Year of the Elephant, or fifty days after the attack of the troops of the Elephant, or thirty years after the Year of the Elephant, or forty years after the Year of the Elephant. Many traditions are recorded in Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-ūḥār*, fols. 179b-180b: the Prophet was born in the Year of the Elephant, he received the Revelation forty years after the Elephant. (The fight at - K.) 'Ukāz took place fifteen years after the Elephant and the Ka'ba was built twenty-five years after the Elephant; the Prophet was born thirty days after the Elephant, or fifty days, or fifty-five days, or two months and six days, or ten years; some say twenty years, some say twenty-three years, some say thirty years, some say that God sent the Prophet with his mission fifteen years after the Ka'ba was built, and thus there were seventy years between the Elephant and the mission (*mab'ath*) of the Prophet; some say that he was born fifteen years before the Elephant, some say forty days or fifty days, some say thirty years before the Elephant, and finally, some say that there were ten years between the expedition of the Elephant and the mission, *wa-bayna an bu'ūha*. See al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, I, 65: the Prophet was on the Day of 'Ukāz twenty years old; p. 67: the Ka'ba was built fifteen years after the Year of the Elephant and the Prophet received his revelation forty years after the Elephant. According to another tradition, the Prophet received his mission fifteen years after the building of the Ka'ba, the mission of the Prophet, *al-mab'ath*, was seventy years after the Year of the Elephant; p. 68: the Prophet was born ten years after the Year of the Elephant.

101 Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, I, 89: . . . *wa-qad kānat ḥādhihi l-qīṣṣatu dāllatan 'alā sharafi sayyidinā muḥammadin (ṣ) wa-ta'sīsan li-nubuwwatihi wa-irḥāsan lahā . . . wa-ī'zāzan li-qaumihi . . .*

sixty-three years old.<sup>102</sup>

The link between the date of the Prophet's birth and the Expedition of the Elephant is, however, denied by the Mu'tazila: God caused the miraculous event of Abraha's defeat for another prophet before Muḥammad, such as Khālīd b. Sinān or Quss b. Sā'ida.<sup>103</sup>

It is evident that the divergent and contradictory traditions give no clue as to the exact date of the Prophet's birth or of his marriage to Khadija, or the number of male children Khadija bore and their fate.

Traditions about the death of Khadija link the time of the event with the time of the *hijra* of the Prophet to Medina. She is said to have died three years before the *hijra*.<sup>104</sup> Some sources record

102 Jarīr and Farazdaq, *Naqā'id*, ed. Bevan, pp. 230, 676, 790; and see Abū l-Baqā' Hibatullāh, *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyya fī akhbāri l-mulūki l-asadiyya*, MS. Br. Mus., Add. 23296, fol. 54b = *al-Manāqib*, ed. Šāliḥ Mūsā Darādika and Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Khuraysāt, 'Ammān 1984, I, 191 ult.-192, l. 1: . . . *wa-qīla inna yauma jabala kāna qabla l-islāmi bi-thalāthina 'aman, wa-qīla bi-arba'ina . . .*; and cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, MS. Ashir Ef, fol. 960a: . . . *wa-kānat jabalatu qabla maulidi l-nabiyy bi-sab'a 'ashrata sanatā*; and see the detailed analysis of the Jabala tradition: Mughultāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, MS. Leiden, Or. 370, fol. 130b.

103 Al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-bayān fī tafsīri l-qur'ān*, XXX, 239: . . . *wa-kāna hādha min a'zami l-mu'jizāti l-qāhirāt wa-l-āyāti l-bāhirāt fī dhālika l-zamān aẓharahu llāhu ta'ālā li-yadulla 'alā wujūbi ma'rifatihi wa-fīhi irhāṣun li-nubuwwati nabiyyinā ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam li-annah wulida fī dhālika l-'am; wa-qāla qaumun minā l-mu'tazilati annahu kāna mu'jizatan li-nabiyyin minā l-anbiyā'i fī dhālika l-zamāni wa-rubbamā qālū huwa khālīdu bnu sinānin . . .* and see the cautiously formulated comment of 'Abd al-Jabbār in his *Muwashābih al-qur'ān*, ed. 'Adnān Muḥammad Zarzūr, Cairo 1969, II, 702: . . . *fa-ammā qauluhu ta'ālā tarmihim bi-hijāratin min sijjil fa-innahu 'indānā lā budda min an yakūna dhālika mu'jizan li-ba'di l-anbiyā'i fī dhālika l-waqtī li-anna fīhi naqda 'ādatin wa-dhālika lā yajūzu illā fī azmāni l-anbiyā'i*.

104 See e.g. al-Qayrawānī, *Kitāb al-jāmi'*, p. 131; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jawāmi' al-sīra*, p. 31; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, IX, 219, ult. And see *ibid.* an additional detail: she died in the seventh year of the Prophet's mission; and see al-'Iṣāmī, *Simt al-nujūm*, I, 367: she died three years before the *hijra*. Additional details: she lived with the Prophet for twenty-four years, five months and eight days, fifteen years of which preceded the Revelation; al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad' wa-l-ta'rīkh*, V, 11: she died

divergent and conflicting data about the death of Khadīja. The traditions that she died three years before the *hijra* are contradicted by a tradition that she died two years before the *hijra* and by another that she died five years before the *hijra*.<sup>105</sup>

Ibn Qutayba<sup>106</sup> provides us with two different details: she died three days after the death of Abū Ṭālib, and the Prophet went out to al-Ṭā'if accompanied by Zayd b. Hāritha three months after her death. Al-Zurqānī records different traditions about the date of Khadīja's death:<sup>107</sup> she died three, four, five or six years before the *hijra*. She died in the same year in which Abū Ṭālib died. Further, Zurqānī stresses that some of the details concerning Khadīja's age at her death are not congruent with the data about the age of the Prophet when he married her.<sup>108</sup> Al-Ḥākim, who records the tradition saying that she died three years before the *hijra*, mentions nevertheless another tradition which holds that she died one year before the *hijra*. Noteworthy is the comment of al-Ḥākim concerning the tradition that she died at the age of sixty-five: according to him, this is an odd tradition; in his opinion she did not reach the age of sixty.<sup>109</sup>

The two comments as to the incompatibility of the contradictory, divergent and equivocal traditions indicate that these

three years before the *hijra*. Two additional details are provided: she died after the Banū Hashim left the *shū'b*, three days after the death of Abū Ṭālib.

- 105 Al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subul al-hudā*, II, 571. Additional details are given: she died on the tenth of Ramaḍān. The date coincides with the tenth year of the mission of the Prophet, after the Banū Hāshim left the *shū'b*; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh Dimashq (tahdhīb)* I, 303 has a similar report. He records, however, an additional detail: her death occurred two years after the Banū Hāshim had left the *shū'b*; al-Maqrīzī, *Imū' al-asmā'*, I, 29 records that she died three years before the *hijra*, and mentions that her death occurred eight months and twenty-one days after the Banū Hāshim had left the *shū'b*.

106 *Al-Ma'ārif*, p. 151.

107 *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, III, 226-227.

108 *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, III, 227: . . . *ammā 'alā anna sinnahu iḥdā wa-'ishrūna au thalāthūna fa-lā yata'attā in qālā inna mawtahā sanata 'ashrin minā l-bā'thai*.

109 Al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, III, 182: . . . *'an ḥishāmi bnī 'urwata qāla tuwuffiyat khadījatu bintu khuwaylidin wa-hiya bnatu khamsin wa-sittīna sanatan, hādhā qaulun shādhidhun, fa-inna lladhī 'indī annahā lam tablugh sittīna sanatan*.

stories have to be reassessed against the background of the possible activities of the Prophet and his position during the initial period of his marriage in Mecca. It is plausible that during the first years of his marriage the Prophet devoted himself to his commercial business and the management of his household. Tradition explicitly says that he started to practice *tahannuth* after the birth of some of his daughters, and that all his daughters were born before the Call and the Revelation. It was only during the second period of his stay in Mecca that Muḥammad was granted prophethood and became conscious of his mission. During that period, when he was faced with opposition and stubborn resistance, Khadīja became his devoted adherent and intrepid supporter.

It is possible that the Prophet married her when he was twenty-five years old, loving her passionately.<sup>110</sup> In all probability, Khadīja was not forty years old, and could still have borne him four daughters and one or two sons. The tradition that she was twenty-eight years old when she married the Prophet seems to be the sound one. If this is the case, and if we further accept as sound the tradition that she lived with him for twenty-four years, then she must have died at the age of fifty-two; the Prophet was then forty-nine years old. The early tradition that Khadīja bore the Prophet only one male child, al-Qāsim, seems to be trustworthy; the infant died after a short time. It is possible that Khadīja bore him another male child, 'Abdallah, but it is not likely that she bore him other male children, as reported in later equivocal and dubious traditions.<sup>111</sup>

## V

The death of one or two sons of the Prophet is reflected in several traditions, and is echoed in the commentaries of the Qur'ān.

According to tradition, the first of the children of the Prophet who died was al-Qāsim; afterwards 'Abdallah died. Then al-'Āṣ

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110 See e.g. al-Hākim, *al-Mustadrak*, III, 182, inf: . . . 'ani l-zuhri: qāla rasūlu llāhi (s): al-ḥamdu li-llāhi lladhī aṭ'amanī l-khamīr wa-albasanī l-ḥarīr wa-zawwajanī khadījata wa-kuntu lahā 'āshiqan.

111 See the examination of the traditions about the children of the Prophet: A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, Berlin 1869, I, 188-206; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, pp. 58-59.

b. Wā'il called the Prophet *al-abtar*. God responded in the *sūrat al-kauhar*, the "Sūra of Abundance," in which he revealed the verse: *inna shānī'aka huwa l-abtar*, "surely he who hates thee is the one cut off."<sup>112</sup> The widely diffused tradition saying that al-ʿĀṣ b. Wā'il called the Prophet *al-abtar* after the death of ʿAbdallah, or al-Qāsim or ʿAbdallah and al-Qāsim is contradicted by a version of the tradition traced back to Ibn ʿAbbās, which holds that after the birth of ʿAbdallah, there was a period during which Khadija ceased bearing children. Al-ʿĀṣ b. Wā'il then called the Prophet *al-abtar*, because people used to call a man whose wife ceased bearing children *al-abtar*. Khadija afterwards bore him al-Qāsim and his other children.<sup>113</sup> In all

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112 Ibn al-Jauzī, *al-Wafā bi-aḥwālī l-muṣṭafā*, p. 655. And see: Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, VII, 389; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, VI, 404; al-Shaukānī, *Fatḥ al-qadīr*, Cairo, repr. Beirut, n.d., V, 503; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Tafsīr*, MS. Dār al-kutub, *Tafsīr* 242, fol. 301a; Yaḥyā b. Salām al-Taymī, *Tafsīr*, *Mukhtaṣar Ibn Zamanīn* MS. Fās, Qar. 34, p. 399/21; al-Kāzarūnī, *al-Sīra*, MS. Br. Mus., Add. 18499, fol. 83a; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fī tafsīri l-quʾān* (= *Tafsīr*), Būlāq 1329, XXX, 212; Ibn Ishāq, *al-Siyar wa-l-maghāzī*, pp. 245, 272; al-ʿĀṣ b. Wā'il called him *al-abtar* after the death of al-Qāsim, and then the *sūrat al-kauhar* was revealed; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 133; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, XVIII, 208; Abū Ḥayyān al-Jayyānī, *Tafsīr al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1328, VIII, 520; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashq (tahdhīb)*, I, 293; Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, *Jāmiʿ al-āthār*, fol. 251a: the man who named the Prophet *al-abtar* after the death of al-Qāsim was ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, but other reports say that the man who insulted the Prophet was al-ʿĀṣ b. Wā'il; Muqāṭil, *Tafsīr*, MS. Ahmet III, 74-2, fol. 254a; Al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo 1388/1968, pp. 306 inf.-307; al-Khāzin, *Lubāb al-taʾwīl fī maʾānī l-tanzīl* (= *Tafsīr*), 1381, VII, 253; al-Baghawī, *Maʾālim al-tanzīl* (= *Tafsīr*), on margin of al-Khāzin, *Tafsīr*, VII, 253; al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, XXXII, 132: After the death of ʿAbdallah, the son of the Prophet, al-ʿĀṣ b. Wā'il offended the Prophet, calling him *al-abtar*, the man who had become cut off, devoid of male progeny; and see al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XX, 222; and see al-Katakānī, *al-Burhān fī tafsīri l-quʾān*, ed. Maḥmūd b. Jaʿfar al-Zarandī, Qumm 1394, IV, 515: *al-shānī'* refers to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. And see about the *sūrat al-kauhar* Harris Birkeland, *The Lord Guideth, Studies on Primitive Islam*, Oslo 1956, pp. 56-99.

113 Al-Muʾāfā b. Zakariyyā al-Nahrawānī l-Jarīrī, *al-Jalīsu l-ṣāliḥ al-kāfi wa-l-anīsu l-nāṣiḥu l-shāfi*, MS. Topkapı Saray, III Ahmet, No. 2321, fol. 217a; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashq*, I, 294; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, VI, 404.

these traditions the enemy of the Prophet who is said to have insulted him was al-ʿĀṣ b. Wā'il.

There are, however, other traditions in which the word *al-shāni* is attributed to other persons. According to a report recorded by al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, the person who insulted the Prophet out of hatred after the death of the Prophet's son was Abū Jahl.<sup>114</sup> Other traditions say that the person who insulted the Prophet after the death of his son was Abū Lahab.<sup>115</sup>

A conciliatory explanation is given by al-Ḥalabī in his *Sīra*.<sup>116</sup> al-ʿĀṣ and Abū Lahab were both named *al-abtar* because their sons had embraced Islam and they had become cut off from them; they are not considered to be "the children of Abū Lahab and al-ʿĀṣ," and are not permitted to receive the inheritance of their fathers. Several traditions do not link the verses of the *sūra* with the death of the children of the Prophet.<sup>117</sup>

There are some other traditions saying that the verse *inna shāni'aka huwa l-abtar* refers to the unbelievers who insulted the Prophet by calling him *al-abtar*, thus referring to their assumption that he would not find adherents and helpers and would be cut off. This was denied by the *sūra*, which assured him that God and Jibrīl would give him succour and help.<sup>118</sup> According to a tradition recorded in Ibn

114 Al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, XXXII, 133, ll. 1-3; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, VII, 390; and see al-Shaukānī, *Fath al-qadīr*, V, 503.

115 Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, VII, 390, l. 1; and see al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, XXXII, 133 sup: Abū Lahab called the Prophet *al-abtar* after the prediction about Abū Lahab's doom and perdition was declared in *Sūra CXI: tabbat yadū abī lahabin wa-tabbā*, and see the article by Uri Rubin, "Abu Lahab and *sūra CXI*," *BSOAS* XLII (1979), 13-28.

116 *Al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, III, 346.

117 See e.g. al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, XXXII, 132 inf: Quraysh invited Ka'b b. al-Ashraf as arbiter and recounted the virtues by which they surpassed Muḥammad; Ka'b confirmed their superiority in relation to Muḥammad. Cf. al-Shaukānī, *Fath al-qadīr*, V, 504; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXX, 213; al-Khāzin, *Tafsīr*, VII, 253; al-Baghawī, *Tafsīr*, VII, 253. And see al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, *ibid*, for another tradition recorded on the authority of 'Ikrima and Shahr b. Ḥaushab: the Prophet summoned Quraysh to embrace Islam; they refused, arguing that he had disobeyed his people and had become cut off from them.

118 Al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, XXXII, 133.

Kathīr,<sup>119</sup> al-Fakhr al-Rāzī,<sup>120</sup> al-Ṭabarī,<sup>121</sup> al-Jāwī<sup>122</sup> and al-Suyūṭī,<sup>123</sup> the word *shānī* refers to 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayt.

An odd tradition links the verse *inna shānī'aka huwa l-abtar* with the person of Abū Jahl, but does not connect it with the death of the children of the Prophet. Abū Jahl hated the Prophet and spoke about him with scorn. One day he asked his guests to accompany him to Muḥammad's abode. When they reached the house of the Prophet, Abū Jahl summoned him to a wrestling contest which he hoped would expose the weakness of the Prophet. The Prophet, however, succeeded in flinging Abū Jahl down and putting his leg on Abū Jahl's chest.<sup>124</sup> The story of the Prophet's wrestling with an adversary and defeating him is not unique; in the case of Rukāna, the Prophet wrestled with him and flung him down to the ground, and Rukāna became convinced of the prophethood of Muḥammad and embraced Islam.<sup>125</sup>

It is evident that all these traditions refer to the Meccan period in the life of the Prophet, and it is thus plausible that the *sūrat al-kauṭhar* was regarded as Meccan.

There are, however, traditions which speak of this *sūra* being revealed under quite different circumstances. A report recorded by al-Ṭabarānī on the authority of Abū Ayyūb says that after the death of Ibrāhīm, the son of the Prophet, the unbelievers told each other joyously that the Prophet had become an *abtar*. The *sūrat al-kauṭhar* constituted a denial of this false claim.<sup>126</sup>

A tradition traced back to al-Suddī reports that when al-Qāsim and 'Abdallah died in Mecca and Ibrāhīm in Medina, the unbelievers

119 *Tafsīr*, VII, 389.

120 *Al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, XXXII, 133.

121 *Tafsīr*, XXX, 213.

122 *Marāḥ labīd*, Cairo, n.d., II, 468.

123 *Al-Durr al-manthūr*, VI, 404.

124 Al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXXII, 133; al-Jāwī, *Marāḥ labīd*, II, 468. Al-Fakhr remarks that the connection of the word *shānī* with Abū Jahl and the wrestling event is based on stories circulated by the *quṣṣās*.

125 See e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, II, 497, no. 2691; and see the story of Rukāna in al-Fākihī, *Ta'rikh makka*, MS. Leiden, Or. 463, fol. 474b.

126 Al-Shaukānī, *Faṭḥ al-qadīr*, V, 504; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, VI 403 inf.

in Mecca said that the Prophet had become an *abtar*, a man bereft of progeny. The *sūrat al-kauthar* was a denial of this claim; in fact, the progeny of the unbelievers were cut off, while the progeny of the Prophet increased and grew abundantly.<sup>127</sup>

The "pseudo-historical background" of the tradition seems to indicate that after the death of Ibrāhīm in Medina (in the year 10 A.H.) there were quite strong groups of Qurashī opponents who expected the power of the nascent Islamic community in Medina to be shattered.

But some traditions linking the revelation of *sūrat al-kauthar* with the death of one or more sons of the Prophet are clearly anachronistic. To this group belongs the tradition reported on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās saying that when Ibrāhīm, the son of the Prophet, died, Abū Jahl joyously told his companions that Muḥammad had been cut off from his progeny, *butira muḥammadun*. Then God revealed the *sūrat al-kauthar*.<sup>128</sup> The legendary character of this tradition is evident: Abū Jahl was killed in the Battle of Badr in 2 A.H., while Ibrāhīm died in the year 10 A.H. It is no wonder that the scholars of the Qur'ān held different views as to whether the *sūra* was revealed in Mecca or in Medina.<sup>129</sup>

A peculiar tradition, obviously Shī'ī, on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, gives a significant background for the *shānī* verse of the *sūrat al-kauthar*: the Prophet saw in a dream the Banū Umayya successively ascending his *minbar*; he was grieved by this vision, and then God revealed the *sūrat al-kauthar*. The word *shānī* thus refers to the Banū Umayya. Al-Fakhr al-Rāzī remarks that the rule (*mulk*) of the Banū Umayya had indeed vanished and they had become cut off.<sup>130</sup>

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127 Al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXXII, 133; cf. al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XX, 222-223; and see the comments in al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarsī's *Jawāmi' al-jāmi' fī tafsīri l-qu'āni l-majīd*, Tabrīz 1379, pp. 553-554.

128 Abū Ḥayyān, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīt*, VIII, 520; al-Shaukānī, *Fath al-qadīr*, V, 503; al-Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XX, 222.

129 See e.g. Abū Ḥayyān, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīt*, VIII, 519: *hādhihi l-sūratu makkiyyatun fī l-mashhūrī; wa-qawlu l-jumhūrī madaniyyatun fī qawli l-ḥasani wa-'ikrimata wa-qatādata*; and see T. Nöldeke-F. Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, Hildesheim 1961, I, 92.

130 Al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXXII, 134 sup.

The conflicting views of the Muslim scholars as to whether the *sūrat al-kauthar* is Meccan or Medinan are revealed in a remarkable discussion of a tradition about a nap the Prophet took, reported on the authority of Anas b. Mālik. The Prophet is said to have taken a nap. Then he lifted his head and smiled. When asked about the reason for his smile he told the attending people that he had earlier (*ānīfan*) been granted a *sūra*; he then recited the *sūrat al-kauthar*.<sup>131</sup> The pivotal issue in the discussion is whether the vision the Prophet had during his nap in Medina was merely a recollection of the Meccan *sūra*, or a new revelation, or a vision of a *sūra*, which would be endorsed by a revelation. The serious topic which had to be considered was whether a revelation of a *sūra* could be granted during a nap. Some scholars were of the opinion that prophets could be granted revelation in dreams, while others denied it. It was probably a conciliatory opinion put forward by some scholars who maintained that the verse *inna shānī'aka huwa l-abtar* had been revealed in Mecca, while the two other verses had been revealed in Medina. This presumption was, however, contradicted by reports in which the *sūrat al-kauthar* was included among those *sūras* which came down as complete, undivided units revealed at once (*daf'atan wāḥidatan*). To these *sūras* belong the *fātiḥa*, the *sūrat al-ikhhlās* and the *sūrat al-kauthar*.<sup>132</sup>

The *sūrat al-kauthar* probably reflects the Prophet's grief after the death of his child and the mocking of his enemies in Mecca who called him *al-abtar*, but the reports of the transmitters referring to some historical events cannot be considered reliable and trustworthy. It is noteworthy that there was some aversion to recording chronological data relating to age. Mālik b. Anas is said to have been reluctant to reveal a person's age: *laysa min muruwwati l-rajuli an yukhbira bi-sinnihī*.<sup>133</sup>

Al-Zurqānī explains that the dates of the Prophet's children's deaths and their ages at the time are unknown due to the lack of

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131 See e.g. al-Shaukānī, *Fatḥ al-qadīr*, V, 503; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, VII, 384; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, VI, 401.

132 Al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, III, 346.

133 Ibn al-'Arabī, *Aḥkām al-qur'ān*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1388/1968, IV, 1968.

historical interest in that period: . . . *lam tu'lam muddatu hayātihi li-qillati l-i'tina'i bi-l-ta'rikhi idhdhāka*.<sup>134</sup> The male children of the Prophet borne by Khadīja died as infants; some traditions say that they died as sucklings.

Ibrāhīm, the son of the Prophet borne him by the slave girl Māriya, died as a small child of sixteen or eighteen months. The Prophet, afflicted by this distress, gave vent to his feelings, weeping and bewailing the beloved son. A significant utterance of the Prophet emphasized the high status of the deceased child: "Had he survived he would have been a *ṣiddīq* and a prophet."<sup>135</sup> It was indeed a fatal calamity which the Prophet had to accept.<sup>136</sup> However, by God's grace the Prophet was compensated for his suffering and distress at the loss of his male progeny. He is said to have asked God to grant him children of the highest quality, and God responded and granted him female children. The Prophet further proudly stated in his utterance that anyone wanting to see the "Father of Daughters" should see the Prophet, as he is the Father of Daughters. Mūsā, Shu'ayb and Lūṭ were also "Fathers of Daughters."<sup>137</sup>

Another tradition of this kind is reported on the authority of Abū Hurayra and 'Uqba b. 'Āmir. . . . *lā takrahū l-banāti fa-innī abū l-banāti wa-innahunna l-ghālībātu l-mu'nisātu l-mujhūrātu*.<sup>138</sup>

134 Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, III, 193, l. 12.

135 See e.g. al-Suyūṭī, *al-Hāwī li-l-fatāwī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1378/1959, II, 187-190; and see the detailed study of the different versions of this tradition in Y. Friedmann's "Finality of Prophethood in Sunnī Islām," *JSAI* 7 (1986), 187-193.

136 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba*, I, 175: . . . *inna l-'ayna tadma'u wa-l-qalba yaḥzanu wa-lā naqūlu illā mā yurḍī rabbanā* . . .

137 Al-Daylamī, *Firdaus al-akhbār*, MS. Chester Beatty, no. 3037, fol. 89b: Ibn Mas'ūd: . . . *sa'altu rabbī khayra l-waladi fa-atānī rabbī khayra l-waladi fa-razaqanī l-banātī; fa-man kāna yurīdu an yarā abā l-banātī fa-anā abū l-banātī wa-mūsā abū l-banātī wa-shu'ayb abū l-banātī wa-lūṭ abū l-banātī*.

138 Al-Daylamī, *Firdaus*, MS. Chester Beatty, no. 3037, fol. 187a; and see a similar tradition in which, however, the expression *abū l-banāt* is not mentioned: Ibn 'Adiyy, *al-Kāmil fī ḡu'afā'i l-rijālī*, Beirut 1405/1985, VI, 2281 and Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, VIII, 156.

Daughters were indeed never joyously welcomed in Muslim society; they were unwanted in accordance with a longstanding tradition of the Jāhiliyya period. These two *ḥadīths* attributed to the Prophet allayed the feelings of bitterness, grief and disappointment of the families "afflicted" with a great number of female children and granted the fathers comfort, relief and perhaps even a bit of pride.

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