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, hadīth, 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 Khadija. 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,1 Khadija’s first husband, whom she married when she was a virgin, was ‘Atiq b. ‘Ā’idh b. ‘Abdallah b. ‘Umar of the Makhzūm. She bore him a female child. ‘Atiq died and Khadija married Abū Hāla b. Zurāra al-Nabbāshi of the ‘Amr b. Tamīm. She bore him one male and one female child. He died and Khadija, again a widow, married the Prophet. He was her third husband, she was his first wife.

1 Ibn Ishāq, al-Siyar wa-l-maghāzī, ed. Suhayl Zakkar, Damascus 1398/1978, p. 82.
In contrast to this is the report given in Ibn Sa'd's *Tabaqāt*. Khadija was "mentioned" to Waraqa b. Naufal, but the marriage was not concluded. Khadija'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. Ḥārūn b. Tabīb.

Two phrases which occur in this report on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbi are of some importance: Abū Hāla's father was a man of high position in his (tribal - K) group. 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" 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.

Khadija 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'idhl] b. 'Abdallah b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm. She bore him a female child named Hind. The kunya of Khadija was Umm Hind. Hind grew up, married Ṣayfī b. Umayya al-Makhzūmi, and bore him a son named Muḥammad. The children of Hind and Ṣayfī were called Banū l-Ṭāhirā, because of Khadija, the mother of Hind; Khadija was called al-Ṭāhirā. The progeny of Muḥammad b. Ṣayfī, who settled in Medina, perished.

Similar to this account is the tradition recorded by Muhammad b. Ḥabīb in his *Muhabbar*? Khadija'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.


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4 wa-kānāt qurayshun tuzawwīju 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. Qusayy. Abū Hāla married Khadija bint Khawwaylid and she bore him two male children: Hind and Hāla. Hāla died, 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. The report recorded by Ibn Ḥabīb in his *al-Munammaq* 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 Shi'i compilation of al-Majlisi, *Bihār al-anwār*. 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-Šalt 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.

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

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6 Before the advent of Islam – K.
9 Tehran XVI, 10.
10 Ibid., p. 22.
she married her third husband, the Prophet. This is in fact the first report saying that Khadija was a divorcee (not a widow) when she married Muḥammad.

Some divergent details deserve to be noted in Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythami’s Majma’ al-zawā'id wa-manba' al-Fawā'id: Khadija bore her first husband, Ṭāʾiq b. ʿĀ'id, a son named Hind; he was thus named Hind b. Ṭāʾiq. She bore her second husband, Abū Ḥāla Mālik b. Nabbāsh b. Zurārā, the ally of the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār, Hind and Ḥāla. Thus Hind b. Ṭāʾiq, Ḥāla and Hind b. Abī Ḥāla, Khadija’s children from her two first husbands, are brothers of Khadija’s children from the Prophet.

The controversial problem of Abī Ḥāla’s name and the fate of the children of Khadija born to her first two husbands are examined in al-Zurqānī’s Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-laduniyya. 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 Zurārā. Abī ‘Ubayd gives his name as al-Nabbāsh. Al-‘Askārī records his name as Hind.

Abū Ḥāla’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. ʿAlī. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār reported that he was killed in the Battle of the Camel, fighting on the side of ʿAlī; others say that he died in the plague of Baṣra.

The son of Khadija and Abū Ḥāla, named Ḥāla, was recorded as one of the companions of the Prophet. According to one tradition, the Prophet arose and saw Ḥāla in his room. He pressed him to his breast and uttered joyously: ḥāla, ḥāla, ḥāla. A contradictory report states, however, that Ḥāla, borne by Khadija to her husband Abū Ḥāla, was in fact a female child. Indeed, al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabārī in his al-Simṭ

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13 Cairo 1325, I, 199-201.
14 See e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, al-Iṣāba fi tamyizā l-ṣaḥāba, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Biṣāwī, Cairo 1971, VI, 516, no. 8919.
al-thāmin fī ma'nāqib ummahāt al-mu'mīnīn,¹⁵ records that Hāla was the daughter of Khadija 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 Khadija.¹⁶ 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 Jamḥarat al-nasab:¹⁷ Khadija 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 Khadija to her two husbands:¹⁸ Al-Diyārbakrī quotes from the Sīra of Mughulṭāy some interesting reports: Khadija bore ‘Atīq b. ‘Ā’idh of Makhzūm a female child named Hind and a male child named ‘abdallāh or ‘abd Manāf.

Al-Qurtubī, in his Tafsīr (= al-Jāmi’ li-ahkām al-qur'ān),¹⁹ records a tradition saying that Khadija bore ‘Atīq a male child named ‘abd Manāf.

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

The tradition about a male child borne by Khadija to ‘Atīq b. ‘Ābid is recorded in Ibn Ḥazm’s Jawāmī’ al-sīra:²⁰ Khadija, says the report, bore her first husband a male child named ‘abdallāh. 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’rikh al-khamīs I, 263.
¹⁹ Cairo 1387/1967, XIV, 104.
her second husband Abū Hāla Hind b. Zurāra two male children, Hind and al-Hārith, and a female child named Zaynab. Hind b. Hind fought in the Battle of Uḥud and dwelt in Baṣra. Al-Hārith embraced Islam and was killed by an unbeliever at the Rukn al-Yamānī. More details about al-Hārith are provided by al-Baladḥuri. Al-Hārith b. Abī Hāla was the first man killed at the Rukn al-Yamānī, fighting for the sake of God. One tradition says that he was under the tutelage of Khadija (fi ḥijri khadijat); 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-Hārith 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 provides us with information about the beginnings of al-Hārith’s missionary activity, which occurred when the Prophet was enjoined to call openly upon the people to convert to Islam.

Ibn Ḥazm records the story of al-Hārith and furnishes us with an additional detail about him: Safwān b. Safwān 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-Hārith b. Abī Hāla.

Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimashqī, in Jāmi’ al-ʿāthār fī maulidi l-rasūlī l-mukhtār, records a significant report of Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr stating that Khadija bore Abū Hāla a male child named al-Tāhir; 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-ashrāf, MS. fol. 969b.
22 Fī sabili l-lāh.
23 Al-Iṣāba, 1, 604, no. 1503.
24 . . . an yāsda bimā amaraahu . . . ; see Sūrat al-ḥijr, 95: fa-ṣda bimā tuʿmaru wa-drid ʿani l-mushrikīn.
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-Ṭahir was among the five governors sent by the Prophet to the different districts of al-Yemen. An extended report about al-Ṭahir is given by Ibn Ḥajar. According to the tradition transmitted by Sayf b. 'Umar, Ṭahir b. Abī Hāla was sent as governor to a district of al-Yemen, as already mentioned. The important additional report says that al-Ṭahir succeeded in quelling the rebellion of the 'Akk (called al-akhābīth).

These reports are corroborated by the information provided by al-Tabari: al-Ṭahir 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'āriyyīn. He faced the forces of al-Aswad al-'Ansī and succeeded in crushing the rebellion of the 'Akk and the Ash'āriyyīn after the death of the Prophet. Later he was sent by Abū Bakr to Sā'ā in order to help the Abnā' in their fight against the unbelievers.

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."

It is obvious that the traditions concerning the two husbands of Khadija 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 Khadija to these two husbands are

28 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Iṣṭāʿab, II, 775, no. 1297.
29 Al-Iṣāba, III, 515, no. 3258.
31 Ibn Ḥajar, al-Iṣāba, II, 558, no. 2792; and see Ibn al-Athīr, Usd al-ghāba fī maʿrīfati 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 'Adīyy, al-Kāmil fī ʿuḍʿāʿī l-rijażāl, Beirut 1405/1985, VI, 2363.
blurred; there is hardly any agreement among the genealogists and the transmitters of hadith 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 Khadija married a man from the aristocratic clan of Makhzum, 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 Khadija are divergent and confused. Many traditions report that he married her at the age of twenty-five, and that Khadija was then forty years old.32

Some sources record the tradition transmitted on the authority of Hakim b. Hizam, which confirms the data mentioned above: Khadija was born fifteen years before the Year of the Elephant; Hakim was born thirteen years before the Year of the Elephant; she was thus two years older than Hakim, 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.33

32 Al-Dimyati, al-Mukhāṣar fi sīra l-nabīyyi (s), MS. Chester Beatty 3332, fol. 10b; al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, Kitāb al-bad' wa-l-tdrikh, ed. Cl. Huart, Paris 1916, V, 10; al-Majlisī, Bihār al-anwār, XVI, 19; Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya, V, 193 (on the authority of Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām); Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, XVIII, 15 (on the authority of Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām); al-Baladhuri, Ansāb al-ashrāf, ed. Muhammad Ḥamidullah, Cairo 1959, I, 98 (with the remark: "this is the accepted opinion of the scholars").

33 See Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, Jamīʿ al-ʿuḥār, fol. 250a (quoted on the authority of Mūsā b. ʿUqba and traced back to Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām); al-Majlisī, Bihār al-anwār, XVI, 12; Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, VIII, 17; and see H. Lammens, "L'Age de Mahomet et la Chronologie de la Sira," Journal Asiatique, XVII (1911) 209-150; and see the
Ibn Qutayba only records the age of Muhammad when he married Khadija: He was twenty-five years old. An additional detail in connection with the date of his marriage is given by Ibn Qutayba 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 *Sira al-halabiyya*. He was twenty-five years old; some say twenty-five, two months and ten days; others say: and fifteen days.

Mughulțây, in his *al-Zahr al-bāsim fi sīrat abi l-qāsim*, 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 Safar 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 Nasir al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-āthār*. Mughulțây 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-Hijja in the year twenty-five counting from the Day of the Elephant.


34 *Al-Maʿārif*, ed. Tharwat 'Ukāsha, Cairo 1969, p. 133.
36 P. 150.
37 I, 154.
38 MS. Leiden, Or. 370, fol. 93a.
another detail: Quraysh were then building the Ka'ba.\textsuperscript{41} A contradictory tradition says that the Ka'ba was being built by Quraysh when the Prophet was thirty-five years old.\textsuperscript{42} However, al-Ma'\jilisi 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.\textsuperscript{43}

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

The traditions recording the age of Khadija when she married the Prophet are likewise contradictory and blurred. The tradition based on the report that Khadija was born fifteen years before the Year of
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 Khadija was forty-five years old when she married him.\(^49\) Other reports relate that she was thirty years old.\(^50\) A tradition, traced back in some sources to Ibn 'Abbās, states that she married the Prophet when she was twenty-eight years old.\(^51\) There are isolated traditions saying that she was thirty-five or twenty-five years old when she married the Prophet.\(^52\)

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

Scholars of hadith and sira are unanimous as to the number of female children borne by Khadija 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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\(^52\) Al-Ḥalabī, Sīra, I, 156.
Prophet by Khadija. The various traditions about the male children of Khadija are examined in the following lines.

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

According to a tradition recorded by Ibn Isḥāq, the male children of the Prophet were born before the Call; they were al-Qasim, al-Ṭahir and al-Ṭayyib. The Prophet’s agnomen (*kunya*) was Abū l-Qasim. 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.

53 ‘Abd al-Razzāq, al-Muṣannaf, V, 321, no. 9718: ... *wa-la-qad za’ama ba’du l-‘ulama’ annahā waladat lahu ghulāman ṣahara yusammā al-ṭāhir; wa-qāla ba’dūhum mā na’lamuhā waladat lahu illā l-qasim ...*.

54 See the tradition quoted from Ibn Isḥāq’s *al-Mubtada’* stating that Khadija bore the Prophet only one son, named al-Qasim: Mughulṭay, al-Zahr al-bāsim, fol. 94b: ... *wa-fī l-mubtada’i ‘ani bni isḥāqa za’ama ba’du l-‘ulamā’i anna khadijatu (r) lam talid li-l-nabiyyi (ṣ) mina l-dhukūri illā l-qasima; wa-hādhā lā shay’a.*

55 Al-Zurqānī, *Sharh al-mawahib*, III, 193-194; see the tradition of the one child, al-Qasim, pp. 193, l. 2 and 194, l. 11: *wa-tahṣulu min jamī‘i l-aqwālī thamāniyatū dhukūrin: ithnāni muttafaqun ‘alayhimā, al-qāsimu wa-ibrāhīmu wa-sittatun mukhalafulun fīhim ...*

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

Some scholars identified al-Ṭahir with another child, named al-Muṭahhar, alleged to have been the son of Khadija and the Prophet. They argued that al-Ṭahir 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.58

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

57 Ibn Kathîr, al-Bidâya, V, 307; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalâni, al-Isâba, III, 549 (al-Zubayr b. Bakkâr on the authority of Muṣâb, and see ibid. another tradition transmitted on the authority of al-Zuhri); Ibn Saʿd, Taḥqîqî, VIII, 16; al-Kâzarînî, al-Sirâ al-nabawiyya, MS. Br. Mus., Add. 18499, fol. 83a-b; al-Kalâtî, al-Iktîṣâr, I, 199 penl. (on the authority of al-Zubayr b. Bakkâr); al-Zurqînî, Sharh al-mawâhib, III, 193; Ibn ʿAsîkîr, Taʿrîkh Dimashq (tahdhib), I, 293; Ibn Sayyid al-Nâs, Uyun al-athar, II, 288 (two traditions); Muḥammad b. Ḥabîb, al-Muḥabbar, p. 78; Ibn al-Kalbî, Jamharat al-nasaṣ, MS. Br. Mus., Add. 23297, fol. 9a; al-Dimyāṭî, al-Mukhtâṣar fî sirâti l-nâbiyyî (ṣ.), MS. Chester Beatty 3332, fol. 14a (a tradition of al-Kalbi traced back to Ibn ʿAbbâs as in al-Nuwayrî, Nihayat al-ʿarab fî funûn al-adab, Cairo 1964, XVIII, 208 on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbâs: the first child born before the Call was al-Qâsim, who was followed by the four daughters. In the end Khadija bore the Prophet a male child named ʿAbdallah who was also called al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭahir, but some scholars assume that ʿAbdallah is not to be identified with al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭahir, and that they are two additional children).


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. The number of male children borne to Muhammad by Khadija according to this list was six; the number of female children was, as mentioned, four. Thus Khadija bore the Prophet ten children.


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.

A curious tradition is recorded in Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn's Jāmi' al-athār. 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

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64 Fol. 251a.
at variance as to whether she bore him another child, 'Abdallah.65

III

A remarkable tradition concerning Khadija's male children born to the Prophet reports that Khadija bore the Prophet two children: 'Abd al-'Uzza and 'Abd Manaf. This tradition was transmitted by al-Haytham b. 'Adiyy (d. 206 A.H.) on the authority of Hisham b. 'Urwa (d. 146 A.H.) and traced back to his father 'Urwa.66

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

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

65 Muhammad Nawawī b. 'Umar al-Jāwī, Targhīb al-mushtāqīn li-bayānī manṣūmati l-sayyidi fī barzanji zayni l-tāhidīn, Cairo, n.d., p. 24: ... wa-jaumlatu aulāidihi sa'llā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam sa'batun: thalāthatu dhukārin wa-arba'u ināthin, lākin wāhidun mukhtalafun fihi; fa-l-dhukāru l-qāsīmu wa-ibrāhīmu, wa-hādhāni mutaafaqun 'alayhimā, wa-'abdū lāhī wa-hādhā mukhtalafun fihi; wa-yuqālu lahu al-ṭayyibu wa-l-tāhiru, wa-l-qaulu l-athbatu wa-umāja 'abdū lāhī bi-l-ṭayyibī wa-l-tāhirī li-anahu wulida ba'da l-nubwawatī . . .


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

68 Majallat ma'had al-makhṭūṭāt 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 Khadija, 'Abd Manāf, al-Tayyib (= 'Abdallah) and al-Ṭāhir, were also born in the period of the Jāhiliyya.69

The arguments Abū 'Ubayda uses to support his chronology of the births of Khadija'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-'As b. al-Rabi'. When she converted to Islam, the Prophet prohibited her from staying with Abū l-'As, who remained an unbeliever, but when Abū l-'As 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 'Utbā 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 Khadija lived and died during the period of the Jāhiliyya is adduced by Abū 'Ubayda, who cites the tradition about Khadija'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.70 This hadīth, 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, Khadija would not have enquired about their fate.71

It is evident that the problem touched upon in Khadija'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 Khadija's grief at the death of al-Ṭāhir also belongs

69 Tasmīya, pp. 248, ll. 1-2, 12-14, 249, ll. 1-12.
70 See this tradition: Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, Jā'māʾ al-āḥār, fol. 251b.
71 P. 249.
here. The Prophet consoled her, promising that after her death al-Tāhir would welcome her at the gates of Paradise.\textsuperscript{72}

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 (\textit{kuffār} or \textit{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 \textit{Ta'wil mukhtalif al-ḥadīth}\textsuperscript{73} 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, \textit{sharā'ī}.\textsuperscript{74}

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, \textit{kāna 'alā dīnī qaumīhi}, means in fact that the Prophet followed his people, Quraysh, who adhered to certain beliefs, tenets and injunctions of the "Faith of Ishmael," \textit{dīn ismā'il}. Several of these practices were closely observed by the people of the Prophet, Quraysh.\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{72} Al-Majlisi, \textit{Bihār al-anwār}, XVI, 16; and see ibid., p. 15, a similar tradition on the consolation of Khadija after the death of al-Qāsim: the Prophet promised her that al-Qāsim would welcome her after her death at the gates of Paradise.

\textsuperscript{73} Cairo 1326, 134-139.

\textsuperscript{74} See p. 139.

\textsuperscript{75} See e.g. al-Suyūṭi, \textit{al-Rasā'il} il-\textit{iṣā'}, Beirut, 1405/1985 (\textit{Masālik al-ḥunafā' fi wālidāyī l-mustafā' sallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallama}), p. 49: \ldots fa-ḥasala mimmā awradnāhu annā ābā'ā l-nabiyyī sallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallama min 'ahdi Ibrahimī ila kābi bni lu'ayyin kānā kulluhum 'alā dīni ibrahhīma 'alayhi l-salāmū, wa-waladuhu murratu bnu kābin al-žāhiru annahu kānā ka-dhālikā li-anna ābāhū aṣīhū bi-l-īmānī, wa-baqiya baynahu wa-bayna 'abdi l-muttaṣālib arba'atu ābā'\ldots; and see ibid., p. 47: \ldots wa-qad akhraja ibnu
This subject was discussed comprehensively by Muslim scholars. Ibn Hazm, 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: \ldots fa-bi-yaqinin nadri anna llāhā ta‘ālā ‘asamahum qabla l-nubuwwati min kulli mā yū’dhauna bihi bā’da l-nubuwwati \ldots .\footnote{76 Ibn Hazm, \textit{al-Fīsāl} fi \textit{l-mīlāl wa-l-ahwā’i wa-l-nihāi}, Cairo, n.d., IV, 55.}

The problem of the Prophet's infallibility is discussed at length in al-Khafājī's commentary \textit{Nasim al-riyād sharh šīfā’i l-qūl ‘iyād}.\footnote{77 Cairo 1327, repr. al-Madīna, IV, 48 seq.} 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, \textit{kāna ‘alā amri qaumihī arba‘īna sanatan}, does not indicate that he had no knowledge of belief in God; he merely lacked knowledge of God's ordinances and precepts, the \textit{farā’id}, which were granted him after the Revelation. The opinion of al-Kalbi and al-Suddi, who interpreted the words \textit{wa-wajadaka dalton; "and He found you erring"} literally as denoting unbelief, \textit{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 \textit{shirk} could be levelled against the Prophet.\footnote{78 Ibid., p. 50.}

The same opinion appears in al-Māwardī's \textit{A‘lam al-nubūwwa}.\footnote{79 Beirut, n.d., pp. 221-221} 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, \textit{shari‘a} the Prophet followed before he was granted the Revelation: the \textit{shari‘a} of Abraham, of Moses or of Jesus.\footnote{80 And see about his purification from idolatry, ibid., p. 224, inf.; and see the discussion as to the nature of the \textit{shari‘a} followed by the Prophet before the Revelation: Mughulīṭay, \textit{al-Zahr al-bāsim} fol. 110a-110b; and see the lengthy discussion of this subject: al-Zurqānī, \textit{Sharḥ al-mawāhib}, VII, 239-242.}

\begin{quote}
habība fī ta‘rikhihi ‘ani bni ‘abbāsin qāla: kāna ‘adnānu wa-mā‘addun wa-rabī’atu wa-muḍaru wa-khuzaymatu wa-ašluhu (?) ‘alā millai ibrāhīma ‘alayhi l-salāmu fa-lā tadhkurūhum illā bi-khayrin \ldots
\end{quote}

77 Cairo 1327, repr. al-Madīna, IV, 48 seq.
78 Ibid., p. 50.
79 Beirut, n.d., pp. 221-221.
80 And see about his purification from idolatry, ibid., p. 224, inf.; and see the discussion as to the nature of the \textit{shari‘a} followed by the Prophet before the Revelation: Mughulīṭay, \textit{al-Zahr al-bāsim} fol. 110a-110b; and see the lengthy discussion of this subject: al-Zurqānī, \textit{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. 'Abdallāh, records such an event: the Prophet, says the report, used to visit the places of celebration of the unbelievers, *kāna rasūlu llāhi* (*s*) *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?" (*kaif̲a naqūmu khalfahu wa-innamā ‘ahduhu bi-stilāmī l-aṣnāmī qablu*). The Prophet indeed never again attended the ritual practices of the unbelievers.\(^{81}\)

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 *sira* in their assessment of the tradition of al-Haytham b. 'Adīyy.

The *isnād* given in Ibn Nasīr al-Dīn's *Jāmi‘ al-athīr* 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.\(^{82}\)

Al-Haytham's tradition about the sons of the Prophet allegedly named 'Abd al-'Uzza 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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\(^{82}\) See e.g. Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhib al-tahdhib*, Hyderabad 1325, IV, 84, no. 145.
transmitted by him are described as reprehensible.83

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.84

Al-Zurqānī records the opinions of the scholars of hadīth stating that none of the reliable transmitters (thiqātī) related the tradition of al-Haytham on the authority of Hishām b. ‘Urwa.85 The opinion of Qūṭb al-Dīn al-Ḩalabī as recorded in his al-Maurid al-iadhb 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 Qūṭb 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 Khadija’s relatives; the Prophet might then have changed them (i.e. into Muslim names - K.). Further, Qūṭb 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.86

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.87

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 hadīth: the Irāqī and the Medinan. The full version is recorded in Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn’s Jāmi‘ al-āthīr, in Ibn Kathīr’s al-Bidāya, in Zurqānī’s Sharḥ al-mawāhib and in Ibn

83 See e.g. al-Dhahabi, Mīzān al-tīdāl, IV, 324, no. 9311.
84 Ibn Ḥajar, Lisān al-mizān, VI, 210 sup.; and see Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn, Jāmi‘ al-āthīr, fol. 252a.
85 Sharḥ al-mawāhib, III, 193 penult.
86 Al-Zurqānī, Sharḥ al-mawāhib, III, 194, sup.; al-‘Iṣāmī, Simū al-nujūm al-‘awālī, 1, 408.
Hajar's *Lisān al-mīzān*. But the tradition with full *isnāds* is recorded in Abū l-Jahm al-'Alā b. Mūsā's (d. 228 A.H.) *Juz*.

It is noteworthy that another MS. of this *Juz* was identified and perused by Suliman Basheer, who quoted this very tradition in his book, *Muqaddima fī l-ta'īkh al-īkhar*.

The passage contains a conversation between al-Haytham b. 'Adiyy and Hishām b. 'Urwa concerning the tradition that Khadija bore the Prophet 'Abd al-'Uzza, 'Abd Manāf and al-Qāsim. Al-Haytham questioned Hishām about the sons of the Prophet, al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭāhir, and Hishām b. 'Urwa answered: "That is a lie which you, the people of Irāq, have invented; but our elders, ashyākhūnā, said: 'Abd al-'Uzza, 'Abd Manāf and al-Qāsim."' Urwa's answer clearly reflects the rift between the Medinan and Irāqi hadith scholars. The Medinan and Syrian scholars accused the Irāqīh adith scholars. The Medinan and Syrian scholars accused the Irāqīh adith scholars. The Medinan and Syrian scholars accused the Irāqīh adith scholars. The Medinan and Syrian scholars accused the Irāqīh adith scholars. The Medinan and Syrian scholars accused the Irāqīh adith scholars. The Medinan and Syrian scholars accused the Irāqīh adith scholars. The Medinan and Syrian scholars accused the Irāqīh adith scholars. The Medinan and Syrian scholars accused the Irāqīh adith scholars. The Medinan and Syrian scholars accused the Irāqīh adith scholars.

According to tradition, the children of Khadija 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 Khadija that he would be given a wet nurse in Paradise to complete his suckling.

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88 MS. Hebrew Univ., Ar. 8° 273, pp. 59-60.
90 Jerusalem 1984, p. 168, n. 60.
91 Abū l-Jahm, *Juz*, p. 60.
92 See e.g. al-Fāsawī, *al-Maʿrifa wa-l-taʾrīkh*, II, 757: . . . qāla li hishāmu bnu 'urwata yā zuhayru, idhā hadadhaka l-ʾirāqiyya alfa hadīthīn fa-trūkh tiša miʿātin wa-tišatan wa-tišina hadīthan wa-kun mina l-bāqī fī shakkin; and see ibid., p. 759: 'Abdallah b. 'Umar: . . . innakum maʿshara ahli l-ʾirāqi ṭarwīna 'annā mā lā naqūd, and see ibid., p. 363: Al-Awārī . . . fa-mātā kāna 'ulamāʾu ahli l-shāmi yahmilīna 'an khawāriji ahli l-ʾirāqi?; and see ibid. I, 438: Zayd b. Thābit: . . . idhā raʾayta ahla l-madinati 'alā shayʾīna faʾlaam annahu l-sunnatu.
93 See e.g. Ibn Hajar, *al-Isāba*, V, 515–516, no. 7274; and see a similar tradition about the Prophet’s son Ibrāhīm al-Diyyārkī, *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs fī ahwālī
Khadija herself was promised a gorgeous house in Paradise, 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 'Imrân, to Āsiya bint Muzāḥim, 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.

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, her care and affection for him and her firm belief. ‘A’isha’s harsh words about Khadija, which stemmed from her envy, were sharply censured by the Prophet.

Compendia of hadith and sira contain chapters touching upon the superiority of Khadija to ‘A’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.

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...

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95 See e.g. al-Zurqānī, Sharḥ al-mawāhib, III, 226, inf.
96 Kānāt waẓira ʿidqin li-rasūlī lāhī (s) as recorded in al-Mutanāḥar b. Ṭāhir, al-Badʿ wa-l-taʿrīkh, V, 10 inf.
97 See e.g. Anonymous, Manāqib al-sahāba, MS. Br. Mus, Or. 8273, fol. 83b.
98 See e.g. al-Majlīṣī, Bihār al-anwār, XVI, 1-3, 12; al-Zurqānī, Sharḥ al-mawāhib, III, 224; al-ʿIṣāmī, Sīrūt al-nujūm al-ʿawālī, I, 368.
the Elephant⁹⁹ and was twenty-five years old on the day of his marriage; Khadija 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 *hadith* and *sira* 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. Mughulṭāy 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 Ramadān twenty-three years after the Expedition of the Elephant.¹⁰⁰

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¹⁰⁰ Mughulṭāy, *Talkhīṣ al-sīra*, MS. Shehīd ‘Alī 1878, fol. 7a–b; and see Mughulṭāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, MS. Leiden, Or. 370, fol. 7a–b; the Prophet was born ten years before the Elephant, twenty-three years after the Elephant, fifteen years after the Elephant, fifteen years before the Elephant, a month after the Day of the Elephant; al-Zurqānī, *Sharh al-mawāhib*, I, 89; al-Kalbī: twenty-three years after the Day of the Elephant; Muṣṭāfī: forty years others: thirty or fifty or seventy years after the Elephant; and see the different dates recorded in al-Qurṭūbī’s *Tafsir*, XX, 194; Ibn Ḥajar al-’Aẓwānim, *al-Nī’matu l-kubrā ‘alā l-ālam bi-maulidi sayyidī bani ʿādam*, MS. in my possession, fol. 18a, ult.–18b: born in the Year of the Elephant, forty years after the Elephant, thirty years after, twenty-three years after, fifteen years before, three years after; Khalīfah b. Khayyāt: *Ta’rīkh*, ed. Akram Diyya 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 Muhammad b. Sālim al-Ḥimawi, *Ta’rīkh al-jālihī*, 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-Bayṣūrī’s
Scholars of *hadīth* 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.\(^{101}\)

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 Āmir b. Ṭufayl, 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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\(^{101}\) Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, I, 89: ... *wa-qad kān hādhīhi l-qissatu dāllatan ’alā sharafi sayyidinā muḥammadin (s) wa-ta’sīsan li-nubuwwathi wa-irhāsan lahā ... wa-t’zāzan li-qaumihī ...*
sixty-three years old.\textsuperscript{102}

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 Muhammad, such as Khalid bin Sinân or Quss bin Sâ‘îda.\textsuperscript{103}

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 \textit{hijra} of the Prophet to Medina. She is said to have died three years before the \textit{hijra}.\textsuperscript{104} Some sources record


\textsuperscript{104} See e.g. al-Qayrawânî, \textit{Kitâb al-jâmî}, p. 131; Ibn Hazm, \textit{Jawâmi‘ al-sîra}, p. 31; Nûr al-Dîn al-Haythami, \textit{Majma‘ al-zawâ‘îd}, IX, 219, ult. And see ibid. an additional detail: she died in the seventh year of the Prophet’s mission; and see al-‘Isâmî, \textit{Simt al-nujîm}, I, 367: she died three years before the \textit{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-Muţahhar b. Tâhir al-Maqdisî, \textit{Kitâb al-bad‘} wa-l-ta‘rikh, V, II: she died
divergent and conflicting data about the death of Khadija. 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. Ibn Qutayba provides us with two different details: she died three days after the death of Abû Ţalib, and the Prophet went out to al-Ṭā'îf accompanied by Zayd b. Hâritha three months after her death. Al-Zurqâni records different traditions about the date of Khadija’s death: she died three, four, five or six years before the hijra. She died in the same year in which Abû Ţalib died. Further, Zurqâni stresses that some of the details concerning Khadija’s age at her death are not congruent with the data about the age of the Prophet when he married her. Al-Ĥâkim, 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-Ĥâkim 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.

The two comments as to the incompatibility of the contradictory, divergent and equivocal traditions indicate that these
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 Muhammad was granted prophethood and became conscious of his mission. During that period, when he was faced with opposition and stubborn resistance, Khadija 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. In all probability, Khadija 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 Khadija bore the Prophet only one male child, al-Qasim, seems to be trustworthy; the infant died after a short time. It is possible that Khadija 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.

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

According to tradition, the first of the children of the Prophet who died was al-Qasim; afterwards 'Abdallah died. Then al-Âṣ
b. Wā'il called the Prophet **al-abtar**. God responded in the **sūrat al-kauthar**, the "Sūra of Abundance," in which he revealed the verse: *inna shāmī'aka huwa l-abtar*, "surely he who hates thee is the one cut off." The widely diffused tradition saying that al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il called the Prophet **al-abtar** after the death of 'Abdallah, or al-Qāsim or 'Abdallah and al-Qāsim is contradicted by a version of the tradition traced back to Ibn ‘Abbās, which holds that after the birth of 'Abdallah, there was a period during which Khadija ceased bearing children. Al-'Āṣ 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. In all

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

There are, however, other traditions in which the word *al-shāmī* is attributed to other persons. According to a report recorded by al-Fakhr al-Rāzá, the person who insulted the Prophet out of hatred after the death of the Prophet’s son was Abū Jahl. Other traditions say that the person who insulted the Prophet after the death of his son was Abū Lahab.

A conciliatory explanation is given by al-Ḥalabi in his *Sirat* al-‘Aṣ 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-‘Aṣ,” 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.

There are some other traditions saying that the verse *inna shānī‘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 Jibril would give him succour and help. According to a tradition recorded in Ibn


115 Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, VII, 390, l. 1; and see al-Fakhr al-Rāzá, *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 CIX*: *tābbat yadā abī lahabin wa-tabba*; and see the article by Uri Rubin, “Abu Lahab and *sūra CIX*,” *BSOAS* XLII (1979), 13–28.


Kathir, al-Fakhr al-Razi, al-Tabari, al-Jawiri, and al-Suyuti, the word shami' refers to 'Uqba b. Abi Muayt.

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

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 surat al-kauthar was regarded as Meccan.

There are, however, traditions which speak of this sura being revealed under quite different circumstances. A report recorded by al-Tabarani on the authority of Abü Ayyub says that after the death of Ibrahim, the son of the Prophet, the unbelievers told each other joyously that the Prophet had become an abtar. The surat al-kauthar constituted a denial of this false claim.

A tradition traced back to al-Suddi reports that when al-Qasim and 'Abdallah died in Mecca and Ibrahim in Medina, the unbelievers

119 Tafsir, VII, 389.
120 Al-Tafsir al-kabir, XXXII, 133.
121 Tafsir, XXX, 213.
122 Marah labid, Cairo, n.d., II, 468.
123 Al-Durr al-manhur, VI, 404.
124 Al-Fakhr al-Razi, Tafsir, XXXII, 133; al-Jawiri, Marah labid, II, 468. Al-Fakhr remarks that the connection of the word shami' with Abü Jahl and the wrestling event is based on stories circulated by the qussas.
125 See e.g. Ibn Hajar, al-Iṣaba, II, 497, no. 2691; and see the story of Rukana in al-Fakihi, Ta’rikh makka, MS. Leiden, Or. 463, fol. 474b.
126 Al-Shaukani, Fath al-qadir, V, 504; al-Suyuti, Al-Durr al-manhur, 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.\(^{127}\)

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 Qurashi 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 Ḥabīb, 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*.\(^{128}\) 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 Qurʾān held different views as to whether the *sūra* was revealed in Mecca or in Medina.\(^{129}\)

A peculiar tradition, obviously Shiʿi, on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, 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.\(^{130}\)

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\(^{130}\) Al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXXII, 134 sup.
The conflicting views of the Muslim scholars as to whether the surat 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 (ānifān) been granted a sūra; he then recited the surat al-kauthar.\(^{131}\) 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 shāni'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 surat al-kauthar was included among those sūras which came down as complete, undivided units revealed at once (daf'atan wāhidatan). To these sūras belong the fātiha, the surat al-ikhlas and the surat al-kauthar.\(^{132}\)

The surat 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.\(^{133}\)

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

\(^{131}\) See e.g. al-Shaukānī, Fath al-qadīr, V, 503; Ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr, VII, 384; al-Suyūtī, al-Durr al-manthur, VI, 401.

\(^{132}\) Al-Ḥalabī, al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya, III, 346.

historical interest in that period: ... lam tu’lam muddatu hayātihī li-qillatī l-ittinā’i bi-l-ta’rikhi idahdākā.\textsuperscript{134} The male children of the Prophet borne by Khadija died as infants; some traditions say that they died as sucklings.

IbĪrāhīm, 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 siddiq and a prophet.”\textsuperscript{135} It was indeed a fatal calamity which the Prophet had to accept.\textsuperscript{136} 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 Lūt were also "Fathers of Daughters."\textsuperscript{137}

Another tradition of this kind is reported on the authority of Abū Hurayra and ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir. ... là takrahū l-banātī fa-innī abū l-banātī wa-innahunna l-ghālibātu l-mu’nisātu l-mujhirātu.\textsuperscript{138}

\textsuperscript{134} Al-Zurqānī, Sharḥ al-mawāhib, III, 193, l. 12.
\textsuperscript{135} See e.g. al-Ṣuyūṭī, al-Ḥāwī li-ḏalāʾīlī, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥāmid, 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 Sunni Islam," \textit{JSAI} 7 (1986), 187–193.
\textsuperscript{136} Ibn Ḥajar, al-Ṭāḥā, I, 175: ... inna l-‘aynayn ṣadma’u wa-l-qlba yahzany wa-l naq’ilu illā mā yurdi rabbānā ... 
\textsuperscript{137} Al-Daylami, Firdaus al-akhbār, MS. Chester Beatty, no. 3037, fol. 89b: Ibn Mas’ūd: ... sa’altu rabbī khayra l-walādi fa-atānī rabbī khayra l-walādi fa-razaqani l-banātī; fa-man kāna yurīdi an yarā abū l-banātī fa-anā abū l-banātī wa-mūsā abū l-banātī wa-shu’ayb abū l-banātī wa-tūq abū l-banātī.
\textsuperscript{138} Al-Daylami, Firdaus, MS. Chester Beatty, no. 3037, fol. 187a; and see a similar tradition in which, however, the expression abū l-banātī is not mentioned: Ibn ‘Adiyy, al-Kāmil fi ḍu‘afā’ī l-rījālī, Beirut 1405/1985, VI, 2281 and Nur al-Dīn al-Haythami, 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 Jahiliyya period. These two hadiths 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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