The Last Years of the Prophet

Muhammad b. ‘Ali b. al-Hasan b. Shariq: I heard my father saying: I have received an account on the authority of Abū Ḥamzah—Muṭarrifīb—Abū Ishāq—Mujaḥid: I heard Ibn ‘Umar saying that the Messenger of God performed three 'umrahs. When [this report] reached 'A’ishah, she said that Ibn ‘Umar knew that he performed four, and that one of them was combined with the pilgrimage.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Jarīrīb—Mansūrīb—Mujaḥid: Once ‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr and I entered the mosque while Ibn ‘Umar was sitting near 'A’ishah’s room. We asked him, “How many 'umrahs did the Prophet perform?” “Four,” he replied, “One of them was in Ra’jab.” We disliked contradicting and refuting him, but we heard the noise of 'A’ishah in the room cleaning her teeth with the siwāk.” ‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr said, “O my mother, O Mother of the Faithful, do you not hear what Abū ‘Abd-Allāh al-Rabā’ī says!” “What does he say?” she asked. He replied, “He says that the Prophet performed four 'umrahs, and that one of them was in Ra’jab.” She replied, “May God treat Abū ‘Abd-Allāh al-Rabā’ī with mercy! The Prophet did not perform any 'umrah when he was not present, and he did not perform [any] 'umrah in Ra’jab.”

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

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Sa’d—Hishām b. Muḥammad: My father reported to me that the Messenger of God married fifteen women and consummated his marriage with thirteen. He combined eleven at a time and left behind nine.871

He married Khadijah bt. Khawwaylid b. Asad b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzza in pre-Islamic days when he was twenty and some years old.872 She was the first (woman) whom he married. Before that she was married to ‘Atiq873 b. ‘Abd b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. Maḥzūm. Her mother was Fāṭimah bt. Zaidah b. al-Asamm b. Rawālah b. Ḥajar b. Maṭīb b. Lu’ayy. From ‘Atiq she gave birth to a girl,874 after which she died. She was then married to Abū Hālāh b. Zūrārah b. Nabbāsh b. Zūrārah b. Ḥabīb b. Salāmāh b. Ghuzayy b. Jurlwah b. Usayyid b. ‘Amr b. Tamim, who was the brother of Banu ‘Abd al-Dār b. Qasayy. From Abū Hālāh she gave birth to Hind bt. Abī Hālāh,875 after which she died. When the Messenger of God married [Khadijah], she had Hind bt. Abī Hālāh with her. She bore eight children with the Messenger of God: al-Qāsim, al-Tayyib, al-Ṭahir, ‘Abdallāh, Zaynab, Ruqayyah, Umm Kullūth, and Fāṭimah.876

871. Ibn Hishām [Siraḥ, IV, 293]: He married thirteen women and left behind nine. Ibn al-Ṭabarī [Kāmil, II, 307], reporting on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbī, gives the same account as that of Tabārī. See also Ibn Kathir, Siraḥ, IV, 580. Watt, Muhammad at Medina, 393–99, and Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Mahomet, 223-33, give a comprehensive list. The latter tries to justify Muhammad’s nine wives [at the same time] by the Qur’ānic verse 4:3, by adding the numbers two, three, and four. The sequence of his marriages, as given by Ibn Ishāq, Kitāb al-Mubadda, 227–50, is as follows: First Khadijah, then Sawdah, then ‘A’ishah, then Hafṣah, then Zaynab bt. Khuzaymah, then Umm Habībah, then Umm Salāmah, then Zaynab bt. Jahl, then Juwairiyah, then Saffiyah, and then Maymūnah.

872. Muhammad’s age at the time of his marriage with Khadijah is generally given as twenty-five, but some sources state that he was twenty-one, or thirty. Her age, on the other hand, is generally given as forty, however, according to some reports she was either twenty-eight or two years older than Muhammad. She died in Ramadan, tenth year of the mission (or three years before the Emigration). Ibn Sa’d, Tabaqāt, VIII, 7–37; Ibn Kathir, Siraḥ, IV, 583.


876. Ibn Hishām, Siraḥ, I, 203, names three male children as al-Qāsim, al-Ṭahir, and al-Tayyib. Ibn Ishāq, Kitāb al-Mubadda, 229, cites two reports: (i) it states that she gave birth to seven children, four female and three male, al-Qāsim, al-Ṭahir, and al-Tayyib; (ii) it states that she gave birth to six children, four female and two male, al-Qāsim, and ‘Abdallāh. Ibn al-Ṭabarī, Kāmil, II, 307, names eight children as given in Tabārī, but Ibn Sa’d lists seven and states that ‘Abdallāh was
The Last Years of the Prophet

Abū Ja'far [al-Tabari]: The Messenger of God did not marry another woman during the life of Khadijah until she passed away. When she died, the Messenger of God got married, but [opinions] differ as to whom he married first after Khadijah. Some say that it was 'A'ishah bt. Abi Bakr al-Siddiq, while others say that it was Sawdah bt. Zam'ah b. Qays b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Wudd b. Naṣr. As for 'A'ishah, when he married her she was very young and not yet ready for consummation,²⁷⁶ whereas Sawdah was already married before. Before the Prophet, her husband was al-Sakrān b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams. Al-Sakrān was one of the emigrants to Abyssinia [al-Habashah], who became a Christian and died there. The Messenger of God married her while he was in Mecca.²⁷⁷

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

also called Tāhir, Ibn Kathir, Sīrah, IV, 581–83, also names three male children: al-Qāsim, al-Tayyib, and al-Tāhir. They died in their infancy: al-Qāsim and Tāhir before the mission, while Tayyib after the mission. Some scholars state that Tāhir and Tayyib are names of the sons of 'Abdallah. Zaynab, the eldest daughter, was married to a man named Abū Sā'ib al-Rabi'. Her husband fought against her cousin Abū al-'Aṣ b. al-Rabi' before the mission. His husband fought against the Muslims at Badr and was taken captive. She died in 8/629. Abī b. Abī Tālib married her daughter Amāmah after the death of Fātimah.

Both Rukayyāh and Umm Kulthūm were betrothed to Abū Lahab's sons before the mission, but were divorced after the revelation of sīrah 111. Rukayyāh was later married to 'Uthmān. After her death in Ramadān 2/624, Umm Kulthūm was married to 'Uthmān in Rabi' 1/624, and she died in Shawwāl 9/625. Fātimah, born five years before the mission, was the youngest daughter and survived her father for a few months. For details, see Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, VIII, 7–27; Baladhuri, Ansāb, I, 396–407; Tabari, Dihyīl, 493–94; 498–99; Gauforoy-Demobynes, Mahomet, 233–36; EEP, s.v. Khadijah.

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

878. Ibn Iṣāq [Kitāb al-Mubtada', 218] states that the couple returned to Mecca and al-Sakrān died there while he was a professing Muslim. The Prophet married her in Ramadān, tenth year of the mission. At one time, during the later Medinan period, the Prophet divorced her, but she came back pleading and he agreed to take her back. She died in 23/644 or at a later date. Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, VIII, 35–39; Baladhuri, Ansāb, I, 407–8, EEP, s.v. Sawda bint Zam'a.

The Events of the Year 10

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

Sa'd b. Yahyā b. Sa'd b. al-Umawi—his father—Muhammad b. Amr—Yahyā b. Abū al-Rahmān b. Hātib—'A'ishah: When Khadijah died, Khawlah bt. Ḥakim b. Umayyah b. al-Awqāṣ, wife of 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn, who was in Mecca, said [to the Messenger of God], "O Messenger of God, will you not marry?" He replied, "Whom?" "A maiden," she said, "if you like, or a non-maiden." He replied, "Who is the maiden?" "The daughter of the dearest creature of God to you," she answered, "'A'ishah bt. Abū Bakr." He asked, "And who is the non-maiden?" "Sawdah bt. Zam'ah b. Qays," she replied, "she has [long] believed in you and has followed you." [So the Prophet] asked her to go and propose to them on his behalf.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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882. As in IA [Ibn al-‘Aṭṭār, Usd al-ghābah]. Text: His friend.

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

884. The Prophet married her in Sha’bān 3/February 635 before the battle of Ubūd. She was his fourth wife. One day, when she returned from her father’s house, she found the Messenger of God with Māriyah in her house and burst into hysterical behavior. The situation was further aggravated by ‘Ā‘ishah’s chattering tongue. According to Ibn Ishāq [Kitāb al-Mubtaṣad], 240 the Prophet had divorced her once but then took her back. She died in Sha’bān 45/665. Ibn Sa’d, Tabaqāt,
Qays b. 'Adi b. Sa'd b. Sahm\textsuperscript{885} who was a Badri, for he was present at Badr with the Messenger of God. He was the only one from the Banû Sahm to be present at Badr, and she did not bear any children with him.

Then the Messenger of God married Umm Salamah, and her name is Hind b. Abi Umayyah b. al-Mughirah b. 'Abdallâh b. 'Umar b. Makhzûm.\textsuperscript{886} Previously, she was married to Abû Salamah b. 'Abd al-Asad b. Hilal b. 'Abdallâh b. 'Umar b. Makhzûm,\textsuperscript{887} who was present at Badr with the Messenger of God. He was an intrepid warrior of his clan and died of wounds suffered on the day of Uhud. He was the Messenger of God's cousin [son of the Prophet's paternal aunt] and foster brother, whose mother was Barrah b. 'Abd al-Mu'ttalib. She bore with him 'Umar, Salamah, Zaynah, and Durrâh.\textsuperscript{888} When Abû Salamah died, the Messenger of God said nine takbirâhs [during the prayer over him]. When he was asked whether he was distracted or had forgotten [the proper number], he replied, "I was neither distracted nor had I forgotten. Even if I had said a thousand takbirâhs [during the prayer] over Abû Salamah, he was worthy of it," and he prayed for the surviving members of his family. The Messenger of God married [Umm Salamah] in the year 3/624,\textsuperscript{889} before the battle of al-Ahzâb. Salamah, son of Abû Salamah, married the daughter of Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Mu'ttalib.\textsuperscript{890}

\textsuperscript{885} Ibn Sa'd: Her name was Barrah and the Prophet gave her a new name, Juwayriyyah.

\textsuperscript{886} Both Ibn Hishâm and Wâqîdî state that she had fallen to the lot of Thabit b. Qays b. al-Shammâs al-Ansârî. She was very beautiful, and she begged him to write a written contract with her that she should pay a certain sum as the price of herself, and on the payment thereof be free. Probably, he was unwilling to part with her, hence she went to the Messenger of God asking for his help in the matter. He said, "Would you like something better than that?" "What is that?" she asked. "I will pay the sum on your behalf and marry you," he replied. "Yes," she answered, and he married her.

\textsuperscript{887} Another version of the story states that her father came to the Messenger of God with the ransom and accepted Islam. The Messenger of God gave her back to her father, she accepted Islam, and he asked her father for her hand in marriage. She died in 50/670 or 56/676. Ibn Hishâm, Sīrah, IV, 305–306. Wâqîdî, Maghâzî, I, 410–12; Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqât, VIII, 83–85; Baladhurî, Anṣâb, I, 441–42. Ibn Hishâm and Ibn Sa'd add: Whose name was Ramilah.
on behalf of the Messenger of God and sent her back to him.\footnote{894}
Then the Messenger of God married Zaynab b. Jahsh b. Rabi' b. Ya'mūr b. Šabirah.\footnote{895} Previously, she was married to Zayd b. Hārithah b. Sharābil, freedman of the Messenger of God, but she did not bear any children with him. [It was] about her that God revealed: "When you said to him whom God had blessed and you had favored, 'Keep your wife to yourself and fear God,' you concealed within yourself that which God was about to reveal. You feared other men, but it is more fitting that you should fear God. When Zayd had accomplished the necessary [formality of divorce] from her, We gave her in marriage to you, so that there should not be any fault for the believers in respect to the wives of their adopted sons, after they have performed the necessary formality [of divorce] from them. And God's command must be fulfilled."\footnote{896} God married her to him and sent Gabriel concerning that matter. She used to boast to the other wives of the Prophet, saying, "I am the most honored among you because of the One who gave me in marriage and the one who was my intermediary [i.e., Gabriel] [akramunkuna waliyyan wa akramunkuna safiran]."\footnote{897}


\footnote{894} The Prophet married her in 7/628–39 and she died in 44/664–65. Ibn Sa'd, Ctaqāt, VIII, 68–71, provides more details of the marriage. See also Baladhuri, Ansāb, I, 438–40.
\footnote{895} She was the Prophet's cousin and he married her in Dhu al-Qa'dah 6/627. She died in 25/641, and it is said that she was the first one to die among his wives. For details see Ibn Sa'd, Ctaqāt, II, 1, 114; VIII, 71–82; Baladhuri, Ansāb, I, 433–37; Ibn Haiar, Iṣṭaḥab, VII, 667–70; Lings, Muhammad, 337.
\footnote{896} Qur'an 33:37: This marriage of the Prophet has been discussed widely. According to some, it served as a legal test case against the prevailing notion of adoption. Andree, Muhammad, 153–54; Rodinson, Mahomet, 238–41.
\footnote{897} It refers to her marriage. She states that God was her wall, who gave her away in marriage, and that Gabriel was the intermediary (ṣafir). Baladhuri, Ansāb, I, 435.
\footnote{898} Ibn Sa'd reports: One day Zaynab [bragging about herself] said to the Prophet, "I am not, O Messenger of God, like other wives of yours. All of them were married to you either by their fathers, brothers, or guardians except me. It was God who gave me in marriage to you." See also Ibn al-Athir, Kāmil, II, 308; Gaudefrey-Dembombynes, Mahomet, 235–27.

Khazraj. After his death she was married to Kūnānah b. Al-Rabi' b. Abī Al-Ḥuqayq, who was killed by Muhammad b. Maslamah at the Prophet's order. He was struck on the neck until he died. When the Prophet scrutinized the captives on the day of Khaybar, he threw his cloak over Saffiyah. Thus she was his chosen one [ṣaffiyah]\footnote{898} on the day of Khaybar.\footnote{899} Then he proposed Islam to her and she accepted, so he freed her. That was in the year 6/627–28.

Then the Messenger of God married Mayminah bt. Al-Fārid b. Ḥazz b. Bujayr b. Al-Ḥuzam b. Ruwaybah b. 'Abdallah b. Hilāl. Previously, she was married to 'Umayr\footnote{900} b. 'Amr of the Banū 'Uqdah b. Ghiyarah b. 'Awf b. Qasi, who was from Taqīq. She did not bear any children with him, and she was the sister of Umm al-Fadl, wife of 'Abbās b. Abī Al-Muṭṭalib. The Messenger of God married her in Sarif during his Lesser Pilgrimage of Fulfillment [umrat al-qādā']\footnote{901} Al-'Abbās b. Abī Al-Muṭṭalib married her to him.

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

The Messenger of God married a woman of the Banū Kūlāb b. Rabi'ah called Al-Nashāt bt. Riḍāh. The Banū Kūlāb were the
 allies of the Banū Rīfā‘ah of the Qurayzah. [The authorities] differ
about her.903 Some call her Ṣanā‘ and trace her lineage as Ṣanā‘
bt. Asmā‘ b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulamiyyah, while others say that she is
They say that she died before the Messenger of God consum-
rated his marriage with her. Some, ascribing her lineage, state
that she is Ṣanā‘ bt. al-Ṣalt b. Ḥabib b. Ḥarithah b. Ḥilāl b. Ḥarrām

The Messenger of God married al-Shanbā‘ bt. ‘Amr al-
Khīfāriyyah, whose tribe were also the allies of the Banū
Quarayza. Some [authorities] allege that she was a Qurayziyyah,
and that her lineage is not known because the Banū Qurayza
perished. It is also said that she was a Ḥināniyyah. She menstru-
ated when she entered [the house of] the Messenger of God, and
the Prophet’s son Ibrāhīm died before she took her ritual pu-
rification bath. She said, “If he were a prophet, the person who is
dearer to him would not have died,” so the Messenger of God
dismissed her by [giving her] divorce.905

The Messenger of God married Ghazīyyah906 bt. Jābir of the
Banū Abī Bakr b. Ḧilāb. [The news of] her beauty and skill had
reached the Messenger of God, so he sent Abū Usayd al-Anṣārī al-
Ṣā‘idī asking her hand in marriage. Being in a state of infidelity
when she came to the Prophet, she said, “I was not consulted
[about this marriage], and I seek refuge from you in the name of
God.” He replied, “One who seeks God’s protection is inviola-
ble,” and returned her to her people.907 It is said that she was
from Kindah.

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

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

907. Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, VIII, 110–12, gives quite a different account. It was she
who gave herself to the Prophet and the Qur’ānic verse 33:50 refers to her. Because
the Prophet did not marry her, she did not marry anyone else. Cf. Baladhurī,
Anṣāb, I, 423.
908. Ibn Sa‘d, Tabagat, VIII, 102–5, states that Nu‘mān came to the Prophet,
accepted Islam and offered his daughter in marriage. It was in Rabi‘ I, 9/650, but
when the Prophet entered into her presence she sought God’s refuge, so he di-
vorced her. For a slightly different version, see Baladhurī, Anṣāb, I, 436–37.
909. Ibn Sa‘d (Tabagat, VIII, 93–94 and Baladhurī (Anṣāb, I, 453–54) state that
the Prophet freed her after she accepted Islam and married her in Muharram
6/637. She died soon after the Prophet’s return from the Farewell Pilgrimage. See
also Ibn Hishām, Sīrah, III, 256.
910. See Ibn Sa‘d, Tabagat, VIII, 153–56, and Baladhurī, Anṣāb, I, 448–53, for
details about Māriyyah and Ibrāhīm.
911. Ibn Hishām: Among the Prophet’s wives, six were Qurayshite: Khadijah,
‘A‘isha, Hafṣah, Umm Habibah, Umm Salamah, and Sawdah. The Arab women
and others were seven: Zaynab bt. Jahsh, Maymunah bt. al-Ḫārid, Zaynab bt.
Yazid. Ṣafīyyah bt. Ḥuyayy was a non-Arab.
Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarî] states: Among the marriages not mentioned by Hishām [b. Muḥammad] in this report is the one related from the Messenger of God according to which he married Zaynab b. Khuzaymah. She is the one called Umm al-Masākin [Mother of the Poor].

She is Zaynab b. Khuzaymah b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Manāf b. Hilāl b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ā'aḥ. Previously, she was married to al-Tufayl913 b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib, brother of 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith. She died in Medina while she was married to the Messenger of God. It is said that no one from the Messenger of God's wives died while he was alive except her, Khadijah, Sharaf b. Khalifah [sister of Dihyah b. Khalifah al-Kalbî],914 and al-'Alīyyah b. Zabyān.915

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

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

913. Ibn Hishām: Previously, she was married to 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf, and before that to Jahm b. 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith, who was her cousin. Ibn Sa'd [Tabaqāt, VIII, 82]: She was married to Tufayl, and after he divorced her she married 'Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith. The Prophet married her in Ramadān 3/653, and she died eight months later. Cf. Ibn Ishāq, Kitāb al-Muhājirān, 241; Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 439.

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

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

916. It could be either of the two brothers Muḥammad or 'Abd al-Rahmān. The former died in 268/881–82 and the latter in 257/870–71. Ibn Hajar, Taḥdīb, VI, 208, IX, 360–62.


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

920. Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, VIII, 105–6, states that her brother al-As'āth b. Qays apostatized from Islam with her brother. He [also] married Fātimah bt. Shurayh.921 It is reported from Ibn al-Kalbī that the Messenger of God married Ghaziyah bt. Jābir, who is [called] Umm Sharīk. She was previously married and had a son called Sharīk [first husband], so she was called by that surname [of relationship]. When the Prophet went to her he found her to be an old woman, so he divorced her.922 She embraced Islam and used to call on the Qurashi women and invite them to Islam. It is said that he married Khawlah bt. al-Hudhayl b. Hubayyrah b. Qabiṣah b. al-Ḥārith.923

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

913. Ibn al-Athīr [Kāmil, II, 310]: Fātimah bt. Sara'. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd.

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

922. Ibn al-Athīr [Kāmil, II, 310]: Fātimah bt. Sara'. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd.

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


925. Balādhurī [Ansāb, I, 459]: To her womenfolk.

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

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

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

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

Among them was Umm Hāni' bt. Abī Ṭālib, whose name is Hind. The Messenger of God proposed marriage to her but did not marry her because she said that she was with child. He asked the hand of Duba'ah bt. 'Amir b. Qurṣ b. Salamah b. Qushayr b. Ka'b b. Rab'ah b. 'Amir b. Ša'sa'ah in marriage from her son Salamah b. Hishām b. al-Mughirah. He said that he would seek her permission. [Salamah] came to her and told her that the Prophet had proposed to her. She said, "What did you tell him?" He replied, "I told him [to wait] until I sought your permission." She said, "Has permission to be sought for the Prophet? Go back and marry him [to me]." He went back but the Prophet did not say anything because he was informed that she was too old. Reportedly, it is said that he proposed to Šafiyyah bt. Bashshāmah, sister of the one-eyed al-'Anbari. She was taken as a captive, so he allowed her to choose between him and her husband. She chose her husband and he sent her back. He proposed to Umm Habib b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, but discovered that al-'Abbās was his foster-brother, Thuwaybah had nursed them both. He asked for the hand of Jamrah bt. al-Hārith b. Abī Ḥārithah in marriage, [but] her father—so it is reported—said above]. Balādhurī, Anṣāb, I, 456, and Ibn Kathīr, Sirah, IV, 530, give her name as 'Amrah bt. Yazīd al-Ghifāriyyah. The Prophet married her, but when he discovered that she had leprosy he divorced her. For a similar report see Ibn Iṣlāq, Kitāb al-Mubtaṭa', 248.

930. She said that because of her young child, she would not be able to do justice to her husband. For details, see Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, VIII, 130–9; Baladhuri, Anṣāb, I, 460.

931. See Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, VIII, 109–10; Baladhuri, Anṣāb, I, 460, states that in pre-Islamic days she had circumambulated the Ka'bah naked because she did not have the special clothes. In pre-Islamic days, if the Arabs did not have the garments of the Humā, then they would circumambulate the Ka'bah either in their ordinary clothes (which had to be discarded afterwards) or they would go round naked. Ibn Iṣlāq, Kitāb al-Mubtaṭa', 81–82; Ibn Hishām, Sirah, I, 104–15.

932. See Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, VIII, 110; Baladhuri, Anṣāb, I, 459.

933. Ibn al-Athīr (Kāmil, II, 310) and Ibn Kathīr (Sirah, IV, 598); Umm Habībah. Cf. Baladhurī, Anṣāb, I, 461–63. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd. For a different version see Ibn Iṣlāq, Kitāb al-Mubtaṭa', 248–49.

934. See Baladhuri, Anṣāb, I, 462; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, II, 310–11; Ibn Kathīr, Sirah, IV, 598. She is not mentioned by Ibn Sa'd.
The Events of the Year 10 (cont’d)

The Messenger of God’s Characteristics


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

Ibn al-Muqaddamī

Yahyā b. Muhammad b. Qays, who is called Abū Zukair, states: I heard Rabi‘ah b. Abī ‘Abd al-Rahmān recalling from Anas b. Mālik that the Messenger of God was commissioned [by God] when he was at the beginning of his fortieth year. He remained in Mecca ten years and in Medina ten years, and died at the beginning of his sixtieth year, when there were not twenty white hairs in his head and beard. He was neither very tall nor very short, he was neither pure white nor of dark complexion; and his hair was neither curly nor long.

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

The Seal of Prophethood Which He Had

Ibn al-Muthannā—al-Dāḥkhāb b. Makhālīd

‘Azrah b. Thābit—Ilbā

Abū Zayd. The Messenger of God said to me, “O Abū Zayd, come close to me and wipe my back,” and

The Events of the Year 10 (cont’d)

he uncovered his back. I touched his back, and then put my finger on the seal and touched it. [Ibā] states: I said [to Abū Zayd], “What is the seal?” He replied, “[It is] a collection of hair on his shoulders.”

Ibn al-Muthannā—Bishr b. al-Wāḍāḥ Abū al-Haytham—Abū ‘Aqīl al-Dawqārī—Abū Nadrah: I asked Abū Sa‘d al-Khudrī about the seal which the Prophet had, and he said that it was like a protruding lump of flesh.

His Bravery and Generosity

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

Ibn al-Muthannā—Abū al-Rahmān b. Mahdī—Ḥammad b. Zayd—Thābit—Anas: The Messenger of God was the bravest of men. [One night when the people of Medina were frightened and went in the direction of the sound, he freed Abū Taḥalih’s horse from fright and rode on it bare-backed, with-

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1083. Ibn Sa‘d, and Ibn Shabbah [Ta‘rīkh, II, 607]: The pungent musk [or the music of the utmost excellence].
1085. Ibid., XI, 274-75.
1087. Tabārizī, Miṣḥāk, III, 133; Miṣḥāk [trans. Robson], II, 1240; transmitted both by Bukhārī and Muslim on the authority of Anas b. Mālik.
1089. Tabārizī, Miṣḥāk, III, 134; Miṣḥāk [trans. Robson], II, 1241; transmitted by Muslim. For further details, see Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, I/2, 120-21; Ibn Shabbah, Ta‘rīkh, II, 602-17.
1090. Abū Taḥalih was a companion of the Prophet. Ibn Hajār, Tahdhib, VIII, 4.
1091. Ibn Sa‘d [Tabaqāt, I/5, 137]: I went close and wiped his back.
1094. Ibn Sa‘d [Tabaqāt, I/2, 137]: I went close and wiped his back.
1095. Ibn Sa‘d: My fingers.
1099. For various descriptions of the seal, see Tabārizī, Miṣḥāk, I, 148, III, 132-33; Miṣḥāk [trans. Robson], I, 96; II, 1239-40; Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, I/2, 131-33; Ibn Shabbah, Ta‘rīkh, II, 625.
1101. Tabārizī, Miṣḥāk, III, 139-40; Miṣḥāk [trans. Robson], II, 1345-46; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim on the authority of Anas. For a different report, see Ibn al-Athīr, Kamīl, II, 306.
1102. Tabārizī, Miṣḥāk, III, 139-40; Miṣḥāk [trans. Robson], II, 1345-46; transmitted by both Bukhārī and Muslim on the authority of Anas. For a different report, see Ibn al-Athīr, Kamīl, II, 306.
The Description of His Hair and Whether He Used to Dye It or Not

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

Ibn al-Muthanna—Abū Dāwūd—Zuhrayr—Abū Isḥāq—Abū Juwayyah: I saw the Messenger of God’s white [tuft of] hair on his lower lip. He was asked, “Like what you have now, O Abū Juwayyah?” He replied, “I pare and feather arrows.”

Ibn al-Muthanna—Khālid b. al-Hārith—Humayd: Anas was asked whether the Messenger of God dyed his hair. He replied, “The whiteness of the Messenger of God’s hair did not become intense, but Abū Bakr dyed his with henna and katam, and ‘Umar dyed his with henna.”

Ibn al-Muthanna—Abī ‘Adī—Humayd: Anas was asked whether the Messenger of God dyed his hair, and he replied, “Grey hair was not seen on him, except for nineteen or twenty white hairs in the front part of his beard. He was not blemished with grey hair.” It was said to Anas, “Is [having grey hair] a blemish?” He replied, “All of you dislike it. Abū Bakr dyed his white hair with henna and katam and ‘Umar dyed his with henna.”

Ibn al-Muthanna—Mu‘ādh b. Mu‘ādh—Humayd—Anas: The Prophet did not have more than twenty grey hairs.

Ibn al-Muthanna—Abd al-Rahmān [b. Mahdi]—Hammād b. Salamah—Simāk—Jābir b. Samurah: There was no white hair on the Messenger of God’s head except for a few hairs in the place where the hair of his head was parted. When he appointed it with oil he covered it.


Ibn Jābir b. al-Kurdi al-Wāsīṭi—Abū Suyfān—al-Dāhī b. Humūrah—Ghaylān b. Jāmī—Iyād b. Laqīt—Abū Rimthah: The Messenger of God used to dye his hair with katam, and his hair used to reach his shoulders. [Commenting on the reliability of narrators in the above chain, al-Tabarī states:] There is doubt with regard to Abū Suyfān.

Ibn al-Muthanna—Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdi—Ibrāhim [i.e., Ibn Nāfi’]: I saw the Messenger of God and he had four [braided] locks of hair.
The Last Years of the Prophet

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

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

\(^{1127}\) Qur'ān, sūrah 110.
\(^{1128}\) See Ţabarī, above, 1756.

The Events of the Year

I I

[MARCH 29, 632—MARCH 17, 633]

Abū Ja'far [al-Ṭabarī]: I have received an account on the authority of Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Muhammad b. Ishaq—'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'ah.\(^{1129}\) In the year 11/632, during the month of Muḥarram,\(^{1130}\) the Messenger of God ordered the people to undertake an expedition to Syria. He put Usāmah, the son of his freed slave Zayd b. al-Ḥārithah, in command over them, ordering him to lead the cavalry into the territory of al-Balqā'\(^{1131}\) and al-Ḍarūm\(^{1132}\) in the land of Palestine. The people got ready and the first emigrants\(^{1133}\) went forth all together with him. As the people were preparing for the expedition, the Prophet began to suffer from the sickness by which God took him to what honor and compassion He intended

\(^{1130}\) Wāqīḍī, Maghāzī, III, 1117; and Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, II/1, 136, state that the Messenger of God ordered the expedition on the twenty-fifth of Safar.
\(^{1131}\) A name given by the Arab authors either to the whole of the Transjordanian territory or to the middle part of it. Its geographical meaning is restricted to the limestone plateau between the Wādī al-Ṭarāqa' and the Wādī al-Mujāb, EP, s.v. al-Balqā'.
\(^{1132}\) Name of a coastal plain of Palestine, EP, s.v. al-Ḍarūm.
\(^{1133}\) The prominent emigrants, such as Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, were asked by the Prophet to join the expedition. Wāqīḍī, Maghāzī, III, 1118, Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, II/1, 136, Baladhuri, Ansāb, I, 474.