The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXXIX

Biographies of the Prophet's Companions and Their Successors

TRANSLATED BY ELLA LANDAU-TASSERON

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXXIX

Biographies of the Prophet's Companions and Their Successors

AL-ṬABARĪ'S SUPPLEMENT TO HIS *HISTORY*

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XXXIX

Biographies of the Prophet's Companions and Their Successors

translated and annotated
by

Ella Landau-Tasseron

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

In his monumental work al-Ṭabarī explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation contains a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It also provides information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators. The thirty-ninth volume is a compendium of biographies of early members of the Muslim community, compiled by al-Ṭabarī; although not strictly a part of his *History*, it complements it.

The *History* has been divided here into thirty-nine volumes, each of which covers about 200 pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq" means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as "dirham," and "imām," have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation is aimed chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

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Abbreviations

AO: *Acta Orientalia*
AOH: *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*
BSOAS: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
EI[1]: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edition. Leiden, 1913–42.
EI[2]: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition. Leiden, 1960–.
IC: *Islamic Culture*
IOS: Israel Oriental Studies
IQ: *Islamic Quarterly*
JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JASB: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JESHO: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JNES: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPHS: *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*
JRAS: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSAI: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
JSS: *Journal of Semitic Studies*
MIDEO: *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire*
MW: *Muslim World*
WZKM: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Morgenländes*
ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

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Translator's Foreword

In the introduction to his *History* al-Ṭabarī declares his intention to append to the work biographical notes on the Prophet's Companions, their Successors, and transmitters of traditions from subsequent generations. This, no doubt, is the work entitled *The Supplement to the Supplemented: Biographies of Companions and Their Sucessors* (*Dhayl al-mudhayyal min ta'rīkh al-ṣaḥābah wa-al-tābiʿīn*), contained in an incomplete form in this volume.[1]

In spite of its title, the book does not belong to the literary genre of "supplement" (*dhayl*, literally, "a tail"), which consists of histories or biographical dictionaries written by later authors as continuations of earlier works. The author of a "supplement" would usually start the book where the earlier author had left off and would tend to follow the style and patterns used by his predecessor. The result, however, was most often an independent work. For al-Ṭabarī's *History* such "supplements" were written by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī, Abū Aḥmad al-Farghānī, and ʿArīb b. Saʿd al-Qurṭubī.[2]

I wish to thank those who helped me in my efforts to understand de Goeje's introduction, written in Latin: Prof. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Dr. Milka Levi-Rubin, and Mr. Nils Grede. The difficulties that de Goeje's text presented even after all their assistance do not reflect upon their efforts. Thanks are also due to Prof. Yohannan Friedmann for some valuable comments and to Dr. Estelle Whelan for her kindness and patience throughout the years that it took to complete this work.

1. *Introductio*, p. XIII; Rosenthal, "Introduction," 89–90.

2. *Dhayls* were sometimes called *ṣilah* or *takmilah*, "continuation" or "completion." The works of al-Hamadhānī and al-Qurṭubī were published in combina-

Describing al-Ṭabarī's work, al-Sakhāwī says the following:

> The great *History* includes the sources of the [various] reports, [as well as] the accounts of the world history, but it is limited by the author's purpose, namely, to supply information about history, wars, and conquests. Only rarely does [al-Ṭabarī] deal with disparaging transmitters or declaring them trustworthy (*al-jarḥ wa-al-taʿdīl*), because his work on biographies suffices in this respect (*iktifāʾan bi-taʾrīkhihi fī al-rijāl*). Thus the information he gives [in the *History*] about the great religious teachers (*al-aʾimmah*) is not exhaustive, for his interest lay in conveying clear detailed accounts of wars and conquests, stories of ancient prophets and kings, past nations, and bygone generations. He adduced [all this information], together with its sources and many chains of transmission; he was erudite in all these and other matters.
>
> Al-Ṭabarī wrote a supplement to the above-mentioned *History*; moreover, he supplemented the supplement as well.[3]

The supplements mentioned by al-Sakhāwī have nothing to do with our *Supplement to the Supplemented* (*Dhayl al-mudhayyal*). De Goeje was probably right in concluding, although hesitantly, that al-Sakhāwī is alluding here to what is better known as "the two sections."[4] The original *History* apparently reached the end of the first civil war; the first section covered the Umayyad period, the second the ʿAbbāsid period, up to the year 302/914–15.[5]

Al-Sakhāwī, however, also mentions al-Ṭabarī's *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* in this paragraph, referring to it as "his (al-Ṭabarī's) work on biographies of traditionists" (*taʾrīkhihi fī al-rijāl*). He

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tion with al-Ṭabarī's *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* by Dār al-Maʿārif in Cairo (1977) and Dār al-Fikr in Beirut (1987). See also Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 565; al-Sakhāwī, 302; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 3; al-Kattānī, 98–99. On the genre see Farah.

3. *Wa-lahu ʿalā taʾrīkhihi al-madhkūr dhayl, bal dhayyala ʿalā al-dhayl ayḍan.* See al-Sakhāwī, 301–2. See also Rosenthal, *History*, 488, for a different translation of the passage.

4. *Introductio,"* p. xv.

5. Rosenthal, "Introduction," 133; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, 2456–57; Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 565.

considers it to be of another genre than, and independent from, the *History*.

There are thus two unusual aspects of al-Ṭabarī's historical and biographical work. First, he supplemented his own *History*; his supplements did not remain independent but were integrated into the main work. Second, he entitled his biographical work "A Supplement," even though it did not belong to the *dhayl* genre. It should, of course, be noted that in al-Ṭabarī's time this genre had not yet been developed, so that he was not deviating from any convention.[6] However, it is no accident that most of the later biobibliographical sources, al-Sakhāwī included, avoid the genuine title of the book, referring to it simply as *Ta'rīkh al-rijāl* (Biographies of Traditionists).[7] On the other hand, quotations from the work appear either under the original title, sometimes in shortened form, or under al-Ṭabarī's name alone.[8]

The biographical literature, to which *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* properly belongs, is unique to Muslim culture. It has deep roots in pre-Islamic Arab interest in genealogy, but at the same time it is an outgrowth of the characteristic Muslim way of preserving knowledge. Prophetic traditions (*ḥadīths*) and other accounts were discussed and passed on among members of the Muslim community, and in the process much was falsified and invented. Becoming aware of this fact, Muslim scholars developed a source critique, the "science of traditionists" (*'ilm al-rijāl*), to help them evaluate transmitted material. Personal merits of the transmitters, as well as facts about their lives (like death dates and dwelling places), were checked. If, for example, it was found that a

6. Cf. a later author, Abū Shāmah of the thirteenth century, who wrote a supplement to his own work; al-Sakhāwī, 305.

7. In the context of the genre of biographies the word *rijāl*, literally, "men," serves as a technical term for "traditionists" or "transmitters." For references to al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh al-rijāl*, see *Introductio*, p. XIII; Rosenthal, "Introduction," 89–90; Gilliot, "Oeuvres," 71; al-Sakhāwī, 301; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XIV, 273; idem, *Ta'rīkh*, XXIV, 283; Ismā'īl al-Baghdādī, II, 26; Ibn Khayr, I, 227; Ibn 'Asākir, XV, 165. See also Goldziher, "Literarische Thätigkeit." Of all the sources only Yāqūt (*Irshād* 2444, 2457) and Ibn Khayr call the work *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*.

8. Citing by the author's name alone was the common practice in the literature. For quotations from the *Dhayl*, see, e.g., Ibn Qudāmah, 237; al-Quhpā'ī, IV, 109; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 559, II, 376; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, I, 12. In al-Dāraquṭnī, V, 2564, the editor gives a list of dozens of references; some of them are not correct, and some are lacking in the extant version of the *Dhayl*.

certain person claimed to have transmitted from someone whom he could not have met, the material he transmitted was to be rejected. In the case of Companions, their Islamic records, or services to the cause of Islam (*sābiqah*), were mentioned, as well as any detail or anecdote connecting them with the Prophet. In the case of subsequent generations, the degree of the person's piety and sometimes his political or sectarian biases would be recorded. Many variations developed in the genre, however, in both the content and the arrangement of the collected biographical details. Often, the biographies contain material totally irrelevant to the purpose of the genre mentioned above, for example, physical descriptions, personal traits (e.g., generosity), and historical events in which the subjects were involved. Such is the case with *Dhayl al-mudhayyal.* On the other hand, there are works that contain only an evaluation of the person's trustworthiness. This subgenre is more properly called "the disparaging and declaring as trustworthy" (*al-jarḥ wa-al-taʿdīl*).

The earliest works in the genre date from the late second/eighth to the beginning of the third/ninth century. They were often arranged in categories of time and place, or tribes, called "layers" (*ṭabaqāt*, meaning also "generations"). Variations of this method were also followed, in part, in *Dhayl al-mudhayyal.*[9]

The present volume is merely a collection of excerpts from *Dhayl al-mudhayyal,* as indicated by the title found on the second part of the Cairo manuscript: *The Second Part of Excerpts (muntakhab) from the Book [Called] The Supplement to the Supplemented: Biographies of Companions and Their Successors, Compiled by Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Yazīd al-Ṭabarī, Transmitted from Him by Abū ʿAlī Makhlad b. Jaʿfar b. Makhlad b. Sahl b. Ḥumrān al-Bāqarḥī.*[10] It is not possible to infer from this title the identity of the compiler of the excerpts. It may have

9. Among the earliest authors in this genre were Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn (d. 203/818), Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (d. 204/819), his pupil and scribe Muḥammad b. Saʿd (d. 230/845), Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ (d. 240/854), Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (d. 261/875), and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870). See al-Sakhāwī, 315, 336–57; al-Kattānī, 96–105, 108–10. The genre is much more complex than is possible to describe in the present context. See further Hafsi; Gibb, "Islamic Biographical Literature"; Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition,* 134–90; Auchterlonie, 2–3.

10. Loth, 581.

been the transmitter Abū ʿAlī Makhlad b. Jaʿfar, as Loth and Rieu thought, or any other transmitter of subsequent generations, a view preferred by de Goeje and Rosenthal.[11] It is perhaps worthy of note that Makhlad b. Jaʿfar (d. 369/979–80) was accused of buying books, among them al-Ṭabarī's *History*, and transmitting them in a nonnormative way, that is, without having studied them with a teacher and without having acquired an authorization for transmission (*ijāzah*).[12] Such a character was perhaps more likely than others to have taken a free hand with al-Ṭabarī's work, making a rather confused and deficient abridgment from it.

According to Yāqūt,[13] the original *Dhayl* followed a genealogical order (*ʿalā tartīb al-aqrab fa-al-aqrab*), partly reflected in the extant collection of excerpts. Presumably some chronological order was maintained as well, reflected in the text in rudimentary fashion. However, no ordering principle governs the present text as a whole. The semichronological order followed in the beginning is abandoned at some point to make way for various disconnected rubrics. Occasionally the material bears no relation to the rubric under which it occurs, and chapters end and begin without any indication. Some entries are recorded twice, without the use of cross-refereces. When a cross-reference does appear, the reference is to a chapter omitted from the collection.[14]

Dhayl al-mudhayyal also included an introduction lacking in the present collection. Of its content we know only one statement, of an extreme nature: Al-Ṭabarī, who founded his own school of law, declares everyone who contradicts his views to be an infidel. He states that he would not accept the testimony of, or trust traditions transmitted by, people who held Qadarī, Shīʿī, or Khārijī doctrines, nor would he accept (legal) arguments based on reasoning.[15] In spite of this statement, he held Abū Ḥanīfah in great esteem[16] and included in *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* many Shīʿīs

11. Loth, 582; *Introductio*, pp. XIII, XIV; Rosenthal, "Introduction," 89.
12. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh*, XIII, 176–77; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, VI, 9.
13. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, 2457.
14. Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2478; see also *Introductio*, p. XIV. For a detailed analysis of the structure of the *Dhayl*, see Landau-Tasseron, "Biographical Work."
15. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, 2463, but see a different interpretation of the passage in Rosenthal, "Introduction," 90.
16. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, 2463; see al-Ṭabarī, III, 2510 (the biography of Abū Ḥanīfah).

and also others of different persuasions. his statement, however, may signify that his pursuit of the "science of traditionists" (*'ilm al-rijāl*) arose from a broader interest than usual. Not only the transmission of the prophetic tradition but also the application of religious law was to profit from his biographical work.

While recording the biographies of eminent members of the Muslim community al-Ṭabarī mentions the great historical events in which they were involved. Wishing to be concise, he refers the reader to another place for further details, saying: "The accounts about him were already recorded in our book entitled *The Supplemented* (*al-Mudhayyal*)."[17] There is a mystery here. It appears that a book by someone as well known as al-Ṭabarī is virtually unknown. De Goeje found only two references to *al-Mudhayyal* in the literature, one in an anonymous work on astrology and chronology, the other in Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī's book.[18] The latter refers to *al-Mudhayyal* as a very famous work,[19] but no biobibliography, whether ancient or modern, records a book by al-Ṭabarī under this title. What was this *Mudhayyal*, then, and how did it relate to the *History* and to the present volume, *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*?

Loth defines *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* as an "'Appendix zum Supplement' seines (al-Ṭabarī's) grossen Geschichtswerks." The *Mudhayyal* was, in his opinion, the work announced by al-Ṭabarī in the introduction to the *History*; it was a preparatory work (*Vorarbeit*) in which al-Ṭabarī collected material for the *History*. The *Dhayl* was extracted from a more comprehensive work (*al-Mudhayyal*?).[20] Loth thus conceives of the three titles, *Ta'rīkh*, *al-Mudhayyal*, and *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*, as applying to three different works. He seems to be confusing the *Dhayl*, announced in the introduction to the *History*, with *al-Mudhayyal*. There is no evidence that *al-Mudhayyal* was a *Vorarbeit*. His rendering of the title *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* as "Appendix zum Supplement" is

17. Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2321, 2335, 2476, 2498. For the reference occurring on page 2358, see p. xxii, below.

18. *Introductio*, p. xiv. The anonymous work is *Dustūr al-munajjimīn*; see Blochet, 12.

19. Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī, 121.

20. Loth, 582.

not accurate either. *Mudhayyal*, the passive form of "to append," "to supplement," means "the supplemented," as mentioned by de Goeje.[21]

From de Goeje's careful phrasing it is difficult to infer whether he conceived of *al-Mudhayyal* as an abridgment of the *History* or as a different title for it, so that the two would in fact be one work. The difficulty lies perhaps in the *History* itself. By this title de Goeje sometimes means the extant text of the *History*, that is, the published version of *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, at other times a much longer version said by some sources to have existed.[22] I hope to clarify this matter in what follows.

If de Goeje meant to say that *al-Mudhayyal* was identical with the *History* as we have it today, he was probably right. There is no real evidence that a longer version actually existed. The description of *al-Mudhayyal* by Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahānī fits the *History* very well and cannot be applied to any other work by al-Ṭabarī. Unfortunately, the quotation given by al-Iṣfahānī from *al-Mudhayyal* cannot be located in the *History*, but this in itself does not prove the existence of a longer version. De Goeje adduces many other instances of quotations lacking in the Leiden edition. This phenomenon is common and is often encountered, in relation not only to the *History* but to many other texts as well. To give but one example, al-Ṭabarī quotes from Ibn Sa'd passages lacking in the Sachau edition.[23] This does not necessarily mean that the extant text, edited by Sachau, is an abridgment of Ibn Sa'd's "original" *Ṭabaqāt*.

The very title *al-Mudhayyal* proves that this work is identical with the *History*. It will be recalled that al-Ṭabarī planned to, and did, supplement the *History* with biographical notes, which makes the *History* a supplemented work, a work to which something was appended, in other words, a *mudhayyal*.

An additional proof of this identification can be found in analysis of the preposition *min*. One of al-Ṭabarī's own references to *al-Mudhayyal* runs as follows: "His story is already recorded in our book entitled *al-Mudhayyal min mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-*

21. *Introductio*, p. XIII.
22. *Introductio*, especially pp. XIV, XV–XVI. On the longer version, see below.
23. See al-Ṭabarī, III, 2359, 2378, 2387, 2505, 2516, 2517, 2519, 2520.

al-mulūk (The Supplemented Work: The Abridged History of the Prophets and Kings).[24] This title is constructed precisely as is the title of the present volume, *Dhayl al-mudhayyal min ta'rīkh al-ṣaḥābah wa-al-tābi'īn*. The first two words are a nicely put, but too general, title; *min*, literally "namely," specifies the real subject matter of the work (*min mubayyinah*). In other words, *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* is identical with *Ta'rīkh al-ṣaḥābah wa-al-tābi'īn*. In precisely the same way *al-Mudhayyal* is identical with *Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*. The latter, however, is by no means an abridgment of the *History* as we know it but the *History* itself. This is proved by the fact that one of the *History* manuscripts bears the title *The Abridged History of the Prophets and Kings*.[25] This title perhaps reflects al-Ṭabarī's modesty, as Rosenthal suggests. It may, however, also be explained by the following story: Al-Ṭabarī asked his pupils (or scribes): "Do you have enough energy for [writing down] the Qur'ān exegesis?" They asked how long it was, and he said "Thirty thousand pages," whereupon the people retorted: "We shall have died before finishing such a task." So al-Ṭabarī abridged the work in 3,000 pages. Then he asked the people: "Do you have enough energy for [writing down] the world history from Adam to our own time?" They asked how long it was, and his answer was as before, whereupon they responded as before. Al-Ṭabarī then said, "We are in God's hands! People have no ambition any more." He sat down and abridged the *History* in 3,000 pages.[26]

As noted previously, it is not certain that there ever existed a version of the *History* ten times longer than the extant text. This story may be a mere anecdote expressing wonder at al-Ṭabarī's achievement. The fact remains that the *History* as we know it is also called *The Abridged History*. We are thus left with three titles for the same work, the famous *History* edited by de Goeje and others: *The Abridged History of Prophets and Kings*, *The Supplemented Work* (*al-Mudhayyal*), and *History of the Prophets*

24. Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2358.
25. Rosenthal, "Introduction," 130–31.
26. *Introductio*, p. LXXXIII (the Arabic text); al-Khaṭib al-Baghdādī, II, 163; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XIV, 274–75; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, 2442; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, XIII, 216.

and Kings. It is doubtful that the last refers to an original ten times (or otherwise) longer than the extant text.

In the matter of *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* de Goeje's opinion is entirely clear. He thinks that this title includes both *al-Mudhayyal*, or abridgment (of the *History*), and the biographical notes.[27] In the same vein Rosenthal holds that by the title *al-Mudhayyal*, mentioned by al-Ṭabarī in our volume, *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* was meant and that the two are in fact identical.[28] The problem with this view is that it cannot be harmonized with the technique of citation used by al-Ṭabarī. When he writes, "I already said this in my book entitled *al-Mudhayyal*," he must be referring to a work separate from the one in which he makes the reference, that is, *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*. Had the two titles referred to the same book, al-Ṭabarī ought to have used the terms set for cross-references.[29]

There are, however, other grounds for reconsidering de Goeje's opinion. He bases himself on the descriptions of *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* by al-Dhahabī and Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, who mention al-Ṭabarī's "book on *ta'rīkh* known as *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*," which contained "twenty parts."[30] From these descriptions de Goeje drew his conception of *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* as a large work containing historical material (*ta'rīkh*) near in size and content to the *History* itself. But a "part" (*juz'*) is by no means identical with a "volume." It is unspecified and may be of any size. For example, each *juz'* in the manuscript of excerpts from *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* comprised no more than twelve to eighteen pages.[31] Twenty parts, then, do not necessarily correspond to the length of the *History*. As for the word *ta'rīkh*, it does not always mean "history." "The oldest works called *ta'rīkh* were collections of biographies," as Rosenthal observed in his *History of Muslim Historiography*.[32] It is also worthy of note that Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī acquired *Dhayl al-*

27. *Introductio*, pp. XIV–XV.
28. Rosenthal, "Introduction," 89.
29. For example, *wa-qad dhakartu fīmā maḍā min hādhā al-kitāb* or *wa-qad taqaddama*.
30. *Introductio*, pp. XIV–XV; Ibn Khayr, 227; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, XXIV, 283; idem, *Siyar*, XIV, 273.
31. Loth, 581.
32. See Rosenthal, *History*, 13–14.

mudhayyal through a chain of transmitters, which included Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr.[33] This author, himself a genealogist and biographer, used *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* in his own biographical dictionary, *al-Istīʿāb*.[34] Therefore *Dhayl al-mudhayyal*, as described by al-Dhahabī and Ibn Khary, was not a history combined with biographies but a purely biographical work, a *taʾrīkh fī al-rijāl*. There is no evidence that it was combined with al-Ṭabarī's *History*, in an "abridged" form or otherwise.

The sources used by al-Ṭabarī cannot be properly analyzed, as the present volume does not contain the original text of the *Dhayl*. It may, however, be mentioned that al-Wāqidī's *Ṭabaqāt* was one of the main sources.[35] Al-Ṭabarī quotes both al-Wāqidī and Ibn Saʿd, which means that he knew both al-Wāqidī's original, now lost, and its adaptation by al-Wāqidī's pupil and scribe. Other early historians, genealogists, and biographers cited in the extant *Dhayl* are Abū Maʿshar Najīḥ (d. 170/787),[36] Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774),[37] Abū ʿUbaydah (d. 209/824),[38] al-Madāʾinī (d. 225/840),[39] Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767),[40] Mūsā b. ʿUqbah (d. 141/758),[41] Abū Zurʿah (d. 281/895),[42] and Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819).[43] Countless other informants are mentioned, and research into this matter is a project in itself.

The deficiencies of the present form of the *Dhayl* include a total lack of uniformity and consistency. Some entries are made up of long stories, others of mere names; still others contain traditions transmitted by the persons discussed with hardly any biographical details. The information is often rudimentary, so that one can hardly distinguish among eminent Muslims, insignificant Com-

33. Ibn Khayr, I, 227.
34. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, I, 12.
35. On this work, see F. Segzin, I, 297 (no. 12); al-Sakhāwī, 317; Muṣṭafā, I, 164.
36. Al-Ṭabarī, 2333, 2347, 2433, 2444, 2503, 2535.
37. Ibid., 2317, 2367.
38. Ibid., 2443, 2356, 2459.
39. Ibid., 2324, 2332, 2333, 2337, 2338.
40. Ibid., 2296–97, 2303, 2312.
41. Ibid., 2306, 2324, 2328.
42. Ibid., 2401, 2473.
43. Ibid., 2300, 2306, 2317. Note that the quotations from the early historians may be at second hand, that is, copied by al-Ṭabarī not from the originals but from other sources. On this issue, see Landau-Tasseron, "Reconstruction."

panions, tribal chiefs, caliphs, and names invented for chains of transmission (*isnāds*). This situation is probably owing partly to the fact that the present form is not the original one, partly to the availability or otherwise of biographical details.

By the time Muslim scholars started to inquire about people mentioned in chains of transmission many of these people had been forgotten. Moreover, some of them never really existed, for many traditions and *isnāds* were fabricated, a fact that generated the whole field of inquiry in the first place. Additional confusion was caused by the fact that many people in Muslim society bore similar or identical names. Yet Muslim scholars did their utmost to obtain biographical information, with varying degrees of success. I therefore thought it useful to add references to other biographical works, for both completeness and comparison. The choice of sources for the purpose was difficult, given the enormous wealth of biographical works published to date and augmented daily with new publications. I finally chose Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ (d. 240/854), Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), and Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī (d. 354/965), knowing that other choices could be equally valid. My decision was not arbitrary, however. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ wrote precisely in the same genres used by al-Ṭabarī some fifty years later: history arranged according to years (annals) and biographies arranged according to categories (*ṭabaqāt*). Al-Balādhurī, preceding al-Ṭabarī by a generation, wrote a special kind of integrated combination of history and biography. Ibn Ḥibbān, a generation later than al-Ṭabarī, divided the biographical material he collected into three different works: one dealing with famous scholars, another with trustworthy scholars, and a third with dubious transmitters. The first is arranged according to categories (time and place), the last two alphabetically.[44] Additional light may thus be shed on what material was circulating in al-Ṭabarī's lifetime and on the differences and similarities between near-contemporaneous authors in dealing with this material.

The obvious source to compare with *Dhayl al-mudhayyal* is Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt*, but it does not serve the purpose just defined pre-

44. Only the first, *Mashāhīr*, was systematically combed for parallels; the other two works were used occasionally.

cisely because it is a reflection of al-Ṭabarī's main source, al-Wāqidī's *Ṭabaqāt*. I therefore did not comb Ibn Sa'd's work for parallels but traced back to it only al-Ṭabarī's explicit quotations and some of de Goeje's references. There is much more of Ibn Sa'd (and al-Wāqidī) in the *Dhayl* that I did not point out, and the expert reader is invited to check Ibn Sa'd with the help of its excellent indexes.

The task of systematically combing the works of Khalīfah, al-Balādhurī, and Ibn Ḥibbān, as well as tracing parallels in Ibn Sa'd, was carried out by Ṭāriq Abū Rajab. As a true book lover, he sometimes exceeded his brief and, ignoring my strict warnings about lack of space, occasionally came up with additional interesting references. I hereby express my gratitude to him for his invaluable assistance.

In addition to the aforementioned works, other sources were occasionally consulted, when the person discussed seemed important in some way. I have no space to explain all my decisions, and I admit that they were somewhat arbitrary. A person who seems important to me may be utterly insignificant in someone else's opinion. A great many sources I left untouched for lack of space. For further research one may want to obtain information about additional biographical works from Auchterlonie's guide.[45] Some recent works not included in this guide are the following: *al-Ṭabaqāt*, by Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj; *al-Ta'rīkh*, by Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn; *Mu'jam rijāl al-ḥadīth*, by al-Khū'ī; *Mawsū'at rijāl al-kutub al-tis'ah*, by al-Bandārī and Ḥasan. Prophetic traditions quoted by al-Ṭabarī may be traced in *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf*, by al-Mizzī, and *Mawsū'at aṭrāf al-ḥadīth*, by Muḥammad Zaghlūl. Last but by no means least, the recent monumental work by Josef van Ess should be mentioned, with its rich information about early sects, scholars, and religious figures of the second and third centuries of the Muslim era.[46]

The references described are meant for experts. As this volume is aimed primarily at the nonexpert, many notes are given to make the text and context comprehensible. Lack of space compelled me to have as little recourse as possible to cross-references. Both

45. Auchterlonie.
46. For all these works, see "Bibliography of Cited Works."

names and concepts were annotated only once each, usually when first occurring in the text. The index should therefore be used when an unexplained item occurs, in order to locate the explanation in a previous (or sometimes later) note.

Another matter omitted for lack of time and space was checking the chains of transmission (*isnāds*), which include hundreds of names. I did, however, try to identify persons mentioned only by their first names or nicknames by collating *isnāds* from both the *History* and the *Dhayl.* The identification, when there is one, is recorded between brackets. The latter device also served for inserting additions into the text, for the sake of comprehensibility.

Surely the present volume leaves much to be desired. Thinking of the improvements I would like to introduce in it, I can only cite al-Ṭabarī's pupils' response to his suggestions: *hādhā mimmā tafnā al-aʿmār qabla tamāmihi.*

I nevertheless hope that this volume will be of some use to nonexperts and experts alike.

Ella Landau-Tasseron

Table 1. Genealogy of Quraysh

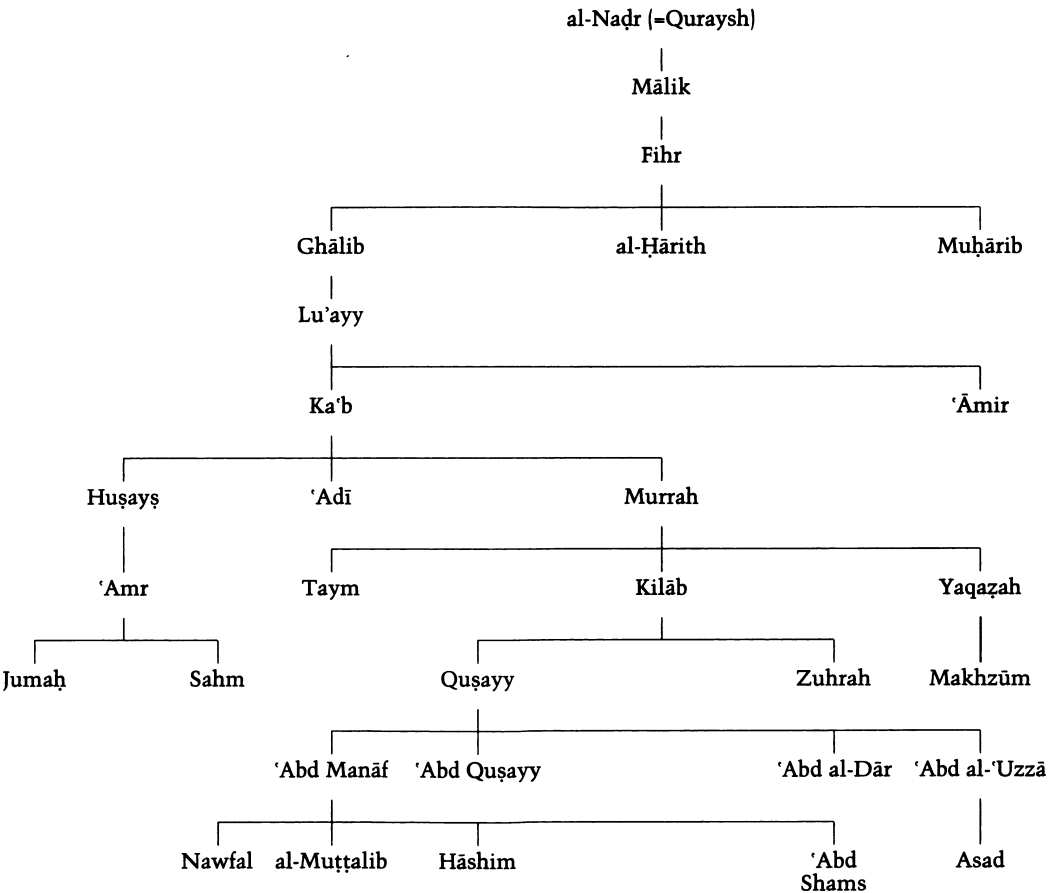
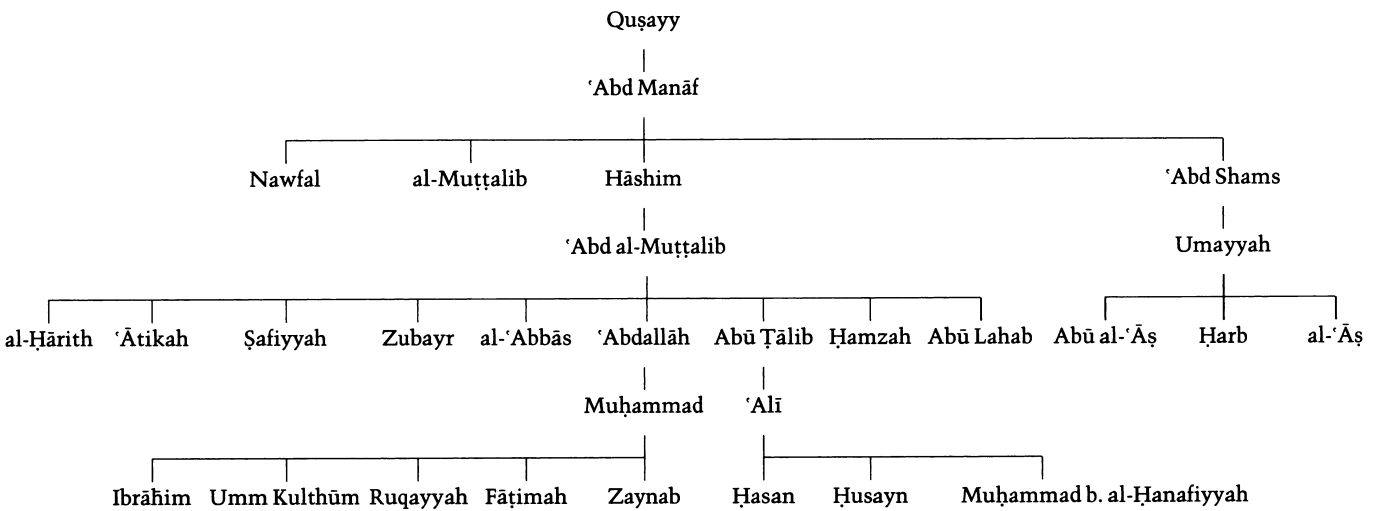


Table 2. Genealogy of the Hāshimites



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Excerpts from the Book Entitled *The Supplement to the Supplemented: Biographies of Companions and Their Successors*

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In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate: [2296]

Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Yazīd al-Ṭabarī wrote in his book *The Supplement to the Supplemented: Biographies of Companions and Their Successors*:

*[Women Who Died Before the Emigration (*Hijrah*)]*

Among the women who died in Mecca before the Prophet's Emigration [to Medina] was his wife, Khadījah, daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣayy.[1]

Khadījah's *kunyah*[2] was Umm Hind. Hind, after whom she was named, was her son from Abū Hālah b. al-Nabbāsh b. Zurārah, her husband before [she married] the Prophet.[3]

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1. A member of the Qurashī clan Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 117–25. On the Quraysh, the Prophet's tribe, see "Ḳuraysh," *EI*², V, 434–35 (W. M. Watt); Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm"; idem, "Some Reports Concerning Mecca." Khadījah was the Prophet's first wife and the first to believe in him when he was inspired. She also bore most of the Prophet's children. See Guillaume, 82–83, 107–13, 191; Lings, 34–36, 44–45, 96; Kister, "The Sons of Khadīja"; "Khadīdja," *EI*², IV, 898–99 (W. M. Watt); Muir, 24–25; Ibn Hishām, I, 198–203, 253–57; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 396–405; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il*, 847–56; al-Ṣāliḥī, 35–76.

2. The Arabs' polite way of addressing people is by referring to their parenthood, so that one is addressed as "father/mother of so-and-so." This specific kind of by-name is called a *kunyah*, sometimes rendered as *agnomen*.

3. On Abū Hālah and his clan, see Kister, "On Strangers and Allies," 120–26.

She died three years before the Emigration, at the age of sixty-five. This information was transmitted to me by al-Hārith [b. Muḥammad]—[Muḥammad] Ibn Sa'd—Muḥammad b. 'Umar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.

Khadījah died in the month of Ramaḍān that year and was buried in al-Ḥajūn.[4]

[Those Who Died in the Year 8]
(May 1, 629–April 19, 630)

Among those who died at the beginning of the year 8 was Zaynab, daughter of the Prophet.[5]

Zaynab was the Prophet's eldest daughter.

The cause of her death was as follows: When she was sent away from Mecca to the Prophet [in Medina] Habbār b. al-Aswad and another man overtook her; as it was reported, one of them pushed her, whereupon she fell on a rock, miscarried her child, and lost a lot of blood. She had this injury and ultimately died of it.

Among those who were killed was Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b 'Abd Manāf.[6]

Ja'far was killed as a *shahīd*[7] in [the battle of] Mu'tah.[8]

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4. A mountain in Mecca where a cemetery was situated; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, II, 215.

5. "Zainab bint Muḥammad," *EI*[1], VII, 1200 (V. Vacca). Cf. Guillaume, 314–16; Lings, 158–59; Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 20–24; Ibn Hishām, II, 308–12; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 269, 357, 397–400; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 56; al-Ḥalabī, II, 205–6, III, 106; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, III, 124–25; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, II, 247; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1348–50. See also p. 13, below.

6. The Prophet's uncle. See "Dja'far b. Abī Ṭālib," *EI*[2], II, 372 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 49–50; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 4–5; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Faḍā'il*, 889–91; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 283–84.

7. A Muslim killed in battle against infidels is promised paradise unconditionally; he is a *shahīd*, usually translated as "martyr." Although the translation is literally accurate, the connotations of the two terms are completely different. Martyrdom connotes the death of a powerless, suffering individual at the hands of an oppressor, whereas *shahādah* connotes mainly fearlessness in battle. I have therefore chosen to leave *shahīd* untranslated.

8. A town east of the Dead Sea, where a Muslim raiding force was defeated by a Byzantine force in the year 8/629. See "Mu'ta," *EI*[2], VII, 756–57 (F. Buhl); Guillaume, 531–40; Muir, 392–95; Lings 286–90; Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 53–55; al-Wāqidī, 755–69; Ibn Hishām, IV, 15–30; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 1614–18; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, IV, 577.

According to [Muḥammad] Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah [b. al-Faḍl] and Abū Tumaylah—Ibn Isḥāq—Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād—his father: My stepfather[9] belonged to the Banū Murrah b. ʿAwf,[10] and took part in that raid; that is, the raid of Mu'tah. He told me [the following]:[11] "By God, it is as if I [can even now] see Jaʿfar as he jumped down from his roan mare, hamstrung her, and fought the enemy until he was killed." [2297]

It was reported that Jaʿfar was the first Muslim who hamstrung [his horse].[12]

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī—his father: A Byzantine soldier hit him, that is, Jaʿfar, and cut him in half; one half fell in a vineyard. Thirty or thirty-odd wounds were found on one half of his body.

Jaʿfar had been converted to Islam before the Prophet entered the house of al-Arqam to preach from there.[13] He then emigrated to Abyssinia in the second emigration,[14] with his wife Asmā' bt. ʿUmays, where he stayed until after the Prophet's Emigration to Medina.[15] He returned from Abyssinia to the Prophet while the latter was in Khaybar, in the year 7/628.[16]

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9. *Abī alladhī arḍaʿanī*, meaning the husband of the child's wet nurse. Cf. Ibn Isḥāq, *Sīrah*, 218; al-Wāqidī, 13, 688.

10. An important north Arabian tribe; see "Murra," *EI*², VII, 628–30 (E. Landau-Tasseron).

11. Cf. Guillaume, 534; Ibn Abī Shaybah, *Muṣannaf*, IV, 577; al-Ḥalabī, III, 77; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, II, 113–14; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1614.

12. Arab warriors of pre-Islamic times practiced *ʿaqr*, that is, cutting their own horses' hamstrings during battle to prevent the possibility of fleeing the enemy. Muslim scholars debated the permissibility of this act and placed restrictions upon it. The original pre-Islamic social significance of the custom was obfuscated in Islamic times by the argument that the purpose of hamstringing was to prevent a victorious enemy from obtaining Muslim horses from a Muslim defeat. See Ibn Hudhayl, I, 40, 48 (text), II, 207, 225 (translation). Mercier is incorrect in translating *ʿaqr* as having the horse killed.

13. See p. 47, below.

14. While Muḥammad was active in Mecca, some dozens of his followers emigrated to Abyssinia at his suggestion, for reasons that are not entirely clear, probably in A.D. 615–17. The followers gradually returned, though some stayed till 7/628. See Guillaume, 146–53, 167–69; Lings, 81–84; Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, 109–17; Caetani, I, 262–84.

15. That is, in the year 622. See Guillaume, 221–27, 281; Lings, 118–22; "Hidjra," *EI*², III, 366–67 (W. M. Watt).

16. Khaybar was a Jewish settlement north of Medina, conquered by Muḥammad in Muḥarram 7/May 628. See Guillaume, 510–19; Lings, 263–69; "Khaybar," *EI*², IV, 1137–43 (L. Veccia Vaglieri); al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1575–84.

Ja'far was killed in Jumādā I, 8/September 629, having been one of the Prophet's commanders of the expedition sent against the Byzantines.[17]

Ja'far's *kunyah* was Abū 'Abdallāh.

Zayd al-Ḥibb ("the beloved")[18] b. Ḥārithah b. Sharāhīl b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Imri' al-Qays b. 'Āmir b. al Nu'mān b. 'Āmir b. 'Abd Wadd b. 'Awf b. Kinānah b. 'Awf b. 'Udhrah b. Zayd al-Lāt b. Rufaydah b. Thawr b. Kalb b. Wabarah b. Taghlib b. Ḥalwān b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Quḍā'ah—whose [real name] was 'Amr—b. Mālik b. 'Amr b. Murrah b. Mālik b. Ḥimyar b. Saba' b. Yashjub b. Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān.[19]

It was reported that in pre-Islamic times Zayd's mother, Su'dā bt. Tha'labah b. 'Abd 'Āmir b. Aflat b. Silsilah of the Banū Ma'n of Ṭayyi',[20] [once] paid a visit to her family and brought Zayd along
[2298] with her. Horsemen of the Banū al-Qayn b. Jasr[21] raided the tents of the Banū Ma'n, the clan of Zayd's mother, and seized Zayd, who was then already grown up, [a young man] of full stature. They brought him to the market at 'Ukkāẓ[22] and offered him for sale, whereupon Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām b. Khuwaylid b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy purchased him for his paternal aunt, Khadījah bt. Khuwaylid, for 400 dirhams. When the Prophet married Khadījah she gave him Zayd, and he took him.

Zayd's father, Ḥārithah b. Sharāḥīl, said after he had lost him:

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17. That is, Mu'tah.

18. So called because the Prophet loved him. See "Zaid b. Ḥāritha," *EI*[1], VII, 1194 (V. Vacca); Ibn Sa'd, III/1, 27–32; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, 316–22; Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, 49–50; idem, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 467–73, III (Maḥmūdī), 283–84; Ibn Hishām, I, 264–66.

19. The key names in this long genealogy are Qaḥṭān, the eponym of all the so-called "southern" (Yemeni) Arabs; Quḍā'ah, a large confederation with branches extending as far north as Syria already in pre-Islamic times; and Kalb, one of the most powerful tribes of the Quḍā'ah. See "Kalb b. Wabara," *EI*[2], IV, 492–94 (A. A. Dixon); "Ḳuḍā'a," *EI*[2], V, 315–18 (M. J. Kister); "Ḳaḥṭān," *EI*[2], IV, 447 (A. Fischer [A. K. Irvine]).

20. A large confederation of southern origin, owning large territories in Najd. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat* 398–404; Caskel, II, 57–61.

21. A powerful tribe of the Quḍā'ah confederation; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat* 453–54.

22. An important market held every year in the vicinity of Mecca. See "'Ukkāẓ," in Glassé, 407; Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm," 146, 156.

I weep for Zayd not knowing what became of him.
Is he alive, is he to be expected, or has Death come over him?
By God I ask yet do not comprehend.
Was it the plain or the mountain that brought about your end?
I wish that I knew: Will you ever return?
In this world only for your coming back I yearn.
The sun reminds me of him when it dawns,
evoking his memory as the dusk falls.
When the winds blow they stir up memories like dust.
O how long my sorrow and fear for him last!
I shall hasten all my reddish-white camels all over the earth, [2299]
toiling.
Neither I nor the camels will be weary of wandering
All my life long, until I die,
for every man is mortal, even though hopes lie.
To ʿAmr and Qays[23] do I entrust [Zayd's fate]
and to Yazīd and then to Jabal.

He means Jabalah b. Ḥārithah, Zayd's elder brother. By Yazīd he means Zayd's half-brother, Yazīd b. Kaʿb b. Sharāḥīl.

People from [the tribe of] Kalb came to Mecca on pilgrimage and saw Zayd. They recognized one another, and Zayd said: "Convey the following verses to my family, for I know that they have grieved for me." Then he said:

Carry a message from me to my people, for I am far away,
that close to the House[24] and the places of pilgrimage I stay.
So let go of the grief that has deeply saddened you,
and do not hasten all your camels all over the earth.
I live with the best of families, may God be blessed;
from father to son, of Maʿadd[25] they are the noblest.

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23. Brothers of Ḥārithah, Zayd's father; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābah*, I, 563 (s.v. Zayd b. Ḥārithah).

24. That is, the Kaʿbah.

25. Maʿadd, together with his "son" Nizār and his "father," ʿAdnān, are considered the patriarchs, or eponyms, of the tribes believed to be of northern origin. In fact these are generic names for these tribes, and as such they are interchangeable.

The Kalbī people went away and informed Zayd's father. He exclaimed: "My son, by the Lord of the Kaʿbah!" They described Zayd's situation and the people with whom he was staying. Ḥārithah and Kaʿb, sons of Sharāḥīl, then set out to ransom Zayd. They came to Mecca and asked about the Prophet, whereupon they were told that he was in the mosque. They went in to [see] [2300] him and said: "O son of ʿAbdallāh, O son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, O son of Hāshim,[26] O son of the chief of the clan! You are the people of God's sanctuary; you live next to it and you are protected by it.[27] By His house you set captives free and feed the prisoners.[28] We come to see you about a member of our family who is staying with you, so be benevolent and kind toward us in the matter of his ransom, for we will pay you handsomely." The Prophet asked "Who is he?" and they replied "Zayd b. Ḥārithah." The Prophet said "I would like to suggest something else," so they asked "What is it?" He said: "I shall invite him and give him the option. If he opts for [leaving with] you, you can have him without paying a ransom, but if he chooses [to stay with] me, by God, I am not the sort of person who would prefer anyone over the one who had chosen him." The two of them said: "You have been kind and more than fair toward us."

The Prophet then called Zayd and asked him "Do you recognize these people?" Zayd said "Yes." The Prophet asked "Who are they?" and Zayd replied "This is my father, and this [other person] is my paternal uncle," and the Prophet said "And I am the one whom you have known and whose companionship you have experienced, so choose between me and them." Zayd said "I am not the kind of person who would choose anyone in preference to you; to me you are like a father and a paternal uncle." The two men said to him "Woe to you, O Zayd, would you prefer slavery to freedom, your father, your paternal uncle, and to your family?" He said

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26. See Table 2, p. xxix.

27. On the exclusive status of the Quraysh, Muḥammad's tribe, in relation to the Kaʿbah, see Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm"; his views are challenged by Crone, *Meccan Trade*. See also Rubin, "Īlāf"; Simon, *Meccan Trade*.

28. This seems a contradiction in terms. The variant *al-jāʾiʿ* "the hungry" for "the prisoners" (*al-asīr*) seems more appropriate; see al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, 2300 note *b*).

"Yes, for I have seen something in this man, and I am not the kind of person who would ever choose anyone in preference to him." The Prophet, having witnessed this, took Zayd out to the Ḥijr[29] and said "O all those who are present, witness that Zayd [hereby] becomes my [adopted] son, with mutual rights of inheritance." When Zayd's father and paternal uncle saw this, they were satisfied and went away.

[Zayd b. Ḥārithah] was thus called Zayd b. Muḥammad until God revealed Islam. I was told all this by al-Ḥārith [b. Muḥammad]—Ibn Sa'd—Hishām b. Muḥammad [al-Kalbī]—his father [Muḥammad al-Kalbī], Jamīl b. Marthad al-Ṭā'ī, and others.

[Hishām] related part of the story on the authority of his [2301]
father—[Bādhām] Abū Ṣāliḥ—['Abdallāh] Ibn 'Abbās. Through the chain of transmission going back to Ibn 'Abbās, [Hishām] related [the following]: The Prophet gave to [Zayd] in marriage Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb al-Asadiyyah, whose mother was Umaymah bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.[30] Zayd later divorced her, and the Prophet married her. The Munāfiqūn[31] made this a topic of their conversation and reviled the Prophet, saying "Muḥammad prohibits [marriage] with the [former] wives of one's own sons, but he married the [former] wife of his son Zayd." As a result of this God revealed the following verse: "Muḥammad is not the father of any of your men, nay, he is the messenger of God and the seal of the prophets . . . ," etc.[32] God also revealed the verse "Call them by their fathers' names,"[33] so from that day onward [Zayd] was called

29. The sacred place in front of the Ka'bah where sacrifices were made, oaths taken, etc.; see Rubin, "Ka'ba."

30. That is, a paternal aunt of the Prophet. When Jaḥsh, originally of the bedouin tribe of Asad, decided to settle in Mecca, he became an ally of the leader Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams and married Umaymah, daughter of the rival leader, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, grandfather of the Prophet. See Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 357; Kister, "On Strangers and Allies," 138–39.

31. Usually translated as "the Hypocrites," this term refers to Muḥammad's opponents among the Muslims in Medina. See "Munāfiḳūn," *EI*², VII, 561–62 (A. A. Brockett); Lings, 237–39; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 274–83.

32. Qur'ān, 33:40 On the doctrine of the Seal of the Prophets, see Y. Friedmann, "Finality."

33. Qur'ān 33:5. This may also be translated as "trace their pedigrees back to their [real] fathers," and, indeed, the verse has both meanings at once. The declara-

Zayd b. Ḥārithah, and [other] adopted sons were named after their [real] fathers. Al-Miqdād was called [ibn] ʿAmr after he had been named al- Miqdād b. al-Aswad since al-Aswad b. ʿAbd Yāghūth had adopted him.

Zayd was killed in Jumādā I/September that year at the age of fifty-five.

It was reported that his *kunyah* was Abū Salamah.

According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar [al-Wāqidī]—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Usāmah b. Zayd[34]—his father: The Prophet was ten years Zayd's senior. Zayd was a short, flat-nosed man, of a very dark brown skin; his *kunyah* was Abū Usāmah.

Zayd participated in the battles of Badr and Uḥud[35] and was appointed deputy in Medina when the Prophet left for the raid of al-Muraysīʿ.[36] Zayd also took part in the event of the Ditch (al-Khandaq), the expedition to al-Ḥudaybiyyah, and the conquest of Khaybar.[37] He was one of the famous archers among the Prophet's Companions.

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tion was aimed at refuting the charge of incest raised against Muḥammad. See pp. 26, 180–82, below.

34. That is, great-grandson of Zayd.

35. Badr lies southwest of Medina; it was the site of the Muslims' first victory over their major enemy, the Quraysh. The battle took place in the spring of 2/624, two years after the Prophet's Emigration. Uḥud is a mountain near Medina where Muḥammad and his followers were defeated by the Quraysh and their allies in the year 3/625. See Kennedy, 35, 37–38; Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 1–16, 21–29; Guillaume, 289–314, 370–426; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 37–91, 101–48; Caetani, I, 472–96, 541–65; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 15, 20; "Badr," *EI*², I, 867–88 (W. M. Watt); al-Wāqidī, 12–172, 199–333; Ibn Hishām, II, 257–374, III, 64–178; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 288–308, 311–38; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1284–1359, 1383–1425.

36. In the year 5/626. See al-Wāqidī, 404–13; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 175–90. It was also called the raid of Banū al-Muṣṭaliq; see Ibn Hishām, III, 302–9. Here, however, Abū Dharr, not Zayd, acted as the Prophet's deputy. See also Guillaume, 490–93; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1511–17.

37. Al-Khandaq (the Ditch) is the name given in Muslim tradition to the siege by the Quraysh and their allies of Medina in the year 5/627. It is related that the Muslims dug a ditch to defend the town, and the besiegers eventually dispersed without achieving any result. See "Khandaḳ," *EI*², IV, 1020 (W. M. Watt); Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 35–39; Guillaume, 456–61; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 190–210; Caetani, I, 611–26; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1463–85. Al-Ḥudaybiyyah is a place near Mecca where Muḥammad concluded a ten-year peace treaty with the Meccans. See "Ḥudaybiya," *EI*², III, 539 (W. M. Watt); Watt, "Expedition"; Lecker, "Ḥudaybiyya-Treaty"; Hawting, "Ḥudaybiyya"; Guillaume, 499–510; Lings, 247–56; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 241–64; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1528–59.

Thābit b. al-Jidhʿ of the Banū Salimah of the Anṣār, that is, Thābit b. Thaʿlabah b. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥarām b. Kaʿb.[38]

Al-Jidhʿ was [the nickname of] Thaʿlabah b. Kaʿb, who was so called, as was reported, because of his bravery and courage. Another version of the name is Thābit b. Thaʿlabah al-Jadhaʿ.[39] [2302]

Thābit witnessed the ʿAqabah meeting with the seventy Anṣārīs who swore allegiance to the Prophet that night.[40] He [also] participated in the battles of Badr, Uḥud, and the Ditch and the expedition to al-Ḥudaybiyyah, the conquest of Khaybar, the conquest of Mecca, the battle of Ḥunayn, and the [siege of] al-Ṭāʾif,[41] where he was killed and became a *shahīd*.

[The Year 9]
(April 20, 630–April 8, 631)

In the year 9/630, in Shaʿbān/November, Umm Kulthūm, daughter of the Prophet, died.[42]

The Prophet said the ritual prayer over her bier, and it was reported that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās, and Usāmah b. Zayd descended into her grave.[43] She is the one to whom Umm

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38. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 55; Ibn Saʿd, III/2, 110–11; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 247. On the Anṣār see "Anṣār," *EI*², I, 514–15 (W. M. Watt); Hasson, "Contribution."

39. *Jidhʿ* means a palm trunk (conveying the notion of hardiness), whereas *jadhaʿ* means a strong young man.

40. See "ʿAḳaba," *EI*², I, 314 (W. M. Watt); Guillaume, 198–207; Kister, "Papyrus."

41. In the year 8/630 Mecca fell to the Muslims with hardly any resistance. It was then that most of the Quraysh, in particular the noble families, were converted to Islam. Shortly afterward the Thaqīf, the ruling tribe of the nearby town al-Ṭāʾif, organized a bedouin army, which was defeated by Muḥammad at a place called Ḥunayn. Muḥammad then laid siege to al-Ṭāʾif but had to withdraw without achieving any result. Shortly afterward, however, the Thaqīf joined Islam of their own volition. See Kennedy, 42–43; Guillaume, 540–61, 587–92; Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 65–73; Wellhausen, *Muḥammad*, 319–73; Caetani, II, 105–79; Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 36; Kister, "Ṭāʾif"; al-Wāqidī, 780–992; Ibn Hishām, IV, 31–129, 182–88; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 353–68; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 1618–44, 1654–74.

42. Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, 57; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 401.

43. Descending into the grave of the deceased was apparently a pre-Islamic custom, at least in Medina. It was sometimes, but not regularly, practiced by the Prophet in person. Historians of Medina mention five such instances. See ʿUmar b. Shabbah, I, 121–24; al-Samhūdī, III, 897–99. The practice continued in early Islam;