

The background of the cover is a textured, reddish-brown surface, possibly a rock face, covered with numerous light-colored, stylized silhouettes. These silhouettes include various animals, such as deer, goats, and monkeys, as well as human figures in different poses, some appearing to be in motion or engaged in activities. The overall style is reminiscent of ancient petroglyphs or pictographs.

# Animal Sacrifice and the Origins of Islam

Brannon Wheeler



## **Animal Sacrifice and the Origins of Islam**

Islam is the only biblical religion that still practices animal sacrifice. Indeed, every year more than a million animals are shipped to Mecca from all over the world to be slaughtered during the Muslim Ḥajj. This multidisciplinary volume is the first to examine the physical foundations of this practice and the significance of the ritual. Brannon Wheeler uses both textual analysis and various types of material evidence to gain insight into the role of animal sacrifice in Islam. He provides a “thick description” of the elaborate camel sacrifice performed by Muhammad, which serves as the model for future Ḥajj sacrifices. Wheeler integrates biblical and classical Arabic sources with evidence from zooarchaeology and the rock art of ancient Arabia to gain insight into an event that reportedly occurred 1,400 years ago. His book encourages a more nuanced and expansive conception of “sacrifice” in the history of religion.

Brannon Wheeler is Professor of History at the United States Naval Academy. A recipient of Fulbright fellowships for research in Jordan, Egypt, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and Israel, he has been a visiting scholar at various institutions throughout the Middle East, Europe, and the United States.



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# Contents

<i>Preface</i>	<i>page vii</i>
Introduction: William Robertson Smith and the First Camel Sacrifice	I
1 Animal Sacrifices in the Life of the Prophet Muhammad	39
2 Burials of Camels at the Tombs of Warriors	80
3 Pagan Origins of Muslim Ḥajj Sacrifice	150
4 Abraham as the Originator of the Ḥajj Sacrifice	198
5 Distribution of the Body of the Prophet Muhammad	239
6 Martyred Bodies and the Demarcation of Territory	282
Conclusions: Sacrifice and Nostalgia for the Origins of Religion	330
<i>Bibliography</i>	359
<i>Index</i>	459





## Preface

When I first read about the prophet Muhammad’s camel sacrifice, I was surprised that I had never heard about it before, especially since I had spent so much time thinking about the background and influence of the St. Nilus camel sacrifice in the work of William Robertson Smith.

Every year more than a million animals are shipped to Mecca from all over the world to be slaughtered during the Muslim Ḥajj. Islam, unlike other biblical religions such as Judaism and Christianity, still practices animal sacrifice. According to Muslim scholars, the prophet Muhammad established the annual sacrifice as part of the Ḥajj, to be celebrated at the same time by all Muslims around the world as the “festival of sacrifice” [‘Īd al-aḏḥā], following the example of Abraham. Yet in the Bible and in Muslim exegesis of the Quran, Abraham is said to have sacrificed a wild ram in the place of his son. So, why do Muslim scholars claim that the prophet Muhammad, when he performed this sacrifice and marked the origins of Islam as the “religion of Abraham” at the conclusion of his Ḥajj, sacrificed 100 camels?

Several research trips to the Middle East and eastern Mediterranean allowed me to see firsthand archaeological evidence for ancient and late antique camel sacrifices, including the burial of camels alongside humans interred with ceremonial weapons and armor. These trips consisted of visits to Oman (2004), Saudi Arabia (2013), the United Arab Emirates (2013), and Qatar (2013) in part funded by a Fulbright fellowship and sponsored by the Ministry of Awqāf and Religious Affairs in Muscat, the Institute for Islamic World Studies at Sheikh Zayed University in Abu Dhabi, and the liberal arts division of Texas A&M University in Doha. Special thanks are due to Meteb Almahmoud for helping me to spend

time in several locations throughout the Hijāz, including al-‘Ulā and Madā’in Šāliḥ. During an earlier trip to Qatar (2009), the Qatar Museum Authority was particularly helpful in taking me to rock art and ancient burial sites around the island.

A subsequent research trip to Lebanon and Jordan (2017) was supported in part by grants from the International Institute of Islamic Thought, and the American Public University. Hani Hayajneh, Romel Gharib, and Wessam Esaïd were instrumental in showing me sites in the desert near al-Azraq and elsewhere. Their personal guidance and published work are a wealth of knowledge about the region and the work of regional archaeologists. Glenn Joey Corbett not only introduced me to the right people and provided invaluable insights regarding particular sites but also shared with me all of his references on the archaeology relating to camels in Jordan and Arabia more widely.

A research residency, funded by a Fulbright fellowship, at the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies in Amman (2018) gave me the opportunity to complete my research and writing on what became [Chapter 2](#) of this book. The writing of [Chapters 1](#) and [4](#), as well as most of the fieldwork used in [Chapter 3](#), was made possible by a fellowship at the King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies in Riyadh (2019). The King Faisal Center sponsored my visits to many sites with significance to this book including Jubbah, Ḥā’il, ‘Uyūn al-Jawā’, Buraydah, al-Tā’if, al-Bāḥah, Bīshah, and sites near Abhā. My longtime friend Mohamed Harawy put me in touch with Sulayman al-Theeb, who, in turn, gave me access to everything I wanted to see in the Kingdom. During the same visit, I was also able to visit a number of sites in Bahrain, following up on an earlier visit to the island in 2009.

Portions of some chapters were developed from lectures given at various venues throughout the world. Thank you to Francesca Bellino and her graduate students at the University of Turin for all their helpful comments on my presentation on Cain, Abraham, and ritualized hunting in pre-Islamic Arabia (2015). An invitation to speak at the Kazakh Academy of Law and Humanities in Astana gave me the opportunity to think further about ancient Mecca (2007). Parts of [Chapter 6](#) were adapted from talks I gave on “Jihād” and martyrdom in Islam at the Federal Bureau of Investigations Headquarters (2010) and the University of Edinburgh (2009), and a paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association (2009). Particularly helpful in shaping my general conception of the cosmogonic character of the prophet Muhammad’s camel sacrifice were the questions and comments

I received from an invited lecture at Creighton University (2008), and the David and Sherry Berz Religious Studies Lecture at George Washington University (2011). Thank you to John Calvert and to Kelly Pemberton for giving me these opportunities, and for their support for my work. Versions of parts of [Chapter 5](#) and the conclusion were published as “Gift of the Body in Islam: The Prophet Muhammad’s Camel Sacrifice and Distribution of Hair and Nails at his Farewell Pilgrimage,” *Numen* 57 (2010): 341–388.

A Fulbright fellowship also supported a summer of research in Israel, where I was sponsored by the Department of Arabic Language and Literature at the Hebrew University and the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle East Studies at Tel Aviv University. It was good to see Michael Lecker again – his ideas and example of scholarship have been guiding me since taking an independent study with him in 1985. His influence on this book, especially in [Chapter 6](#), should be evident. Uzi Avner’s writings, his correspondence, and his guided tour through the desert wadis near Eilat provided me with many helpful suggestions. Yohanan Friedmann was kind enough to include me on the program of the fourteenth annual international colloquium “From Jāhiliyya to Islam” at the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Jerusalem, where I presented a version of what is now [Chapter 3](#). A version of the paper, much improved by the comments of the editors and external reviewers, appears in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*. The comments and questions from the many talented and knowledgeable scholars at the colloquium, including Robert Hoyland, Christian Robin, Ahmad Al-Jallad, and Christian Lange, were all extremely helpful. I also want to thank Naftali Meshel for introducing me to Omer Michaelis and sharing with me his fascinating research on sacrifice and the ambiguity of language.

A visiting research position at the University of Chicago Center in Paris enabled me to finish writing several chapters and introduced me to a number of French scholars whose research informed my ideas about the role of animals and violence in religion. Frédéric Keck was kind enough to host me at the Laboratoire d’Anthropologie Sociale and the Bibliothèque Claude Lévi-Strauss at L’École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. The opening chapter of his most recent book allowed me to see new connections between Robertson Smith and Lévi-Strauss. Clarisse Herrenschildt treated me like a life-long friend and introduced me to Jean Lassègue and the intellectual culture of Paris.

A version of [Chapter 2](#) was read and critiqued by my colleagues at the United States Naval Academy. Special thanks are due to Matthew

Dziennik, Ernest Tucker, Thomas Brennan, Benjamin Armstrong, and especially John Freymann. Thank you to the faculty development fund at the Naval Academy for supporting the publication of the full bibliography in what follows. Bruce Lincoln and Mary Thurlkill read the entire book manuscript and gave me detailed comments on each chapter. I consider them both to be what seems to be increasingly rare these days – students of “religion” in a generic and comparative sense.

My most sincere appreciation is to my family for putting up with all of my crazy ideas, seeming obsession with all things related to camels (including llamas and alpacas), and dozens of trips to places not on the map. Most of all, I thank my eternal companion and muse, Deborah Wheeler, for her unfailing patience and inspiring brilliance.

## Introduction

### *William Robertson Smith and the First Camel Sacrifice*

Given that the modern study of religion is based in large part on the description of a camel sacrifice said to have been performed by a group of Arabs in fifth or sixth century CE Sinai, it is surprising that so little attention has been given to the camel sacrifice of the prophet Muhammad. Just shortly before his death, ten years after his emigration to Medina, the prophet Muhammad performed a valedictory or “good-bye pilgrimage” [ḥajjat al-wadāʿ] at Mecca. At the conclusion of the pilgrimage he made an elaborate sacrifice of camels.

Ibn ʿAbbās said: The Apostle of God, on his farewell pilgrimage, drove to sacrifice 100 camels. He slaughtered 30 of them, then he ordered ʿAlī to slaughter those that remained. The Apostle of God said: “Distribute the meat, the skin, and the coverings among the people but do not give any of it to the butcher. Take for us from each camel a piece of the meat and put it in a single pot so that we might eat from the meat and drink from the broth.” So he did it.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to distributing the camels and their trappings, the prophet Muhammad is reported to have passed out to his followers the hairs shaved from his head.

The Apostle of God related that all Minā is a place of sacrifice, all the valley of Mecca is a place of sacrifice. Then the Apostle of God shaved his head – that is Muʿamar b. ʿAbdallāh shaved it – and the Apostle of God said to him: “Here” and he pointed with his hand to the right side, and he shaved it, and then the left side, and he distributed his hair. He gave half of it to Abū Ṭalḥah al-Anṣārī – that is the hair of the left side of his head – and said “Here Abū Ṭalḥah.” It is said that he gave it to Umm Sulaym the wife of Abū Ṭalḥah. And it is said, by Abū Kurayb, that he gave the other half of it – that is, the hair of the right side – to the people one and two hairs at a time.<sup>2</sup>

Several ḥadīth reports relate that Abū Ṭalḥah distributed one share of the prophet Muhammad's hair to each of the men, and his wife Umm Sulaym two shares to each of the women.<sup>3</sup> Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 855)<sup>4</sup> preserves a report that every single hair from the prophet Muhammad's head was collected by his followers. Other traditions mention that the camels slaughtered by 'Alī had been driven by him from Yemen,<sup>5</sup> that the slaughter took place among the "stones" or "pillars" [al-jamarāt] at which pilgrims throw stones,<sup>6</sup> and that one of the male camels driven by the prophet Muhammad had a silver ring in its nose.<sup>7</sup>

Immediately preceding this sacrifice, the prophet Muhammad delivered a special sermon in which he proclaimed the onset of a new era, abolishing certain pre-Islamic practices, reiterating the obligatory practices of Islam, and disjoining the new Islamic calendar from the solar year by eliminating the intercalary month.<sup>8</sup> Among the injunctions the prophet Muhammad is said to have instituted at this time are the prohibition of temporary marriage,<sup>9</sup> stoning as punishment for adultery,<sup>10</sup> the cancelation of debts from pre-Islamic times,<sup>11</sup> assigning the value of wergild for certain crimes,<sup>12</sup> that women cannot spend their husband's money without permission,<sup>13</sup> and the rules for bequests, wills, and inheritance.<sup>14</sup> He established that prayer, fasting, and offerings guaranteed entry into paradise,<sup>15</sup> prohibited polytheists from entering Mecca, and disallowed the practice of performing the pilgrimage naked.<sup>16</sup> A number of reports describe the prophet Muhammad as having performed his farewell pilgrimage on a camel so that the people could see him and ask him questions about religion.<sup>17</sup>

According to Muslim exegesis, Q 5:3 was revealed at the time of this sermon and sacrifice.<sup>18</sup> Coming after a lengthy list of prohibitions relating to the eating of meat, God proclaims that "Islam" has been completed. "Today I have perfected for you my religion, completed my grace upon you, and blessed you with Islam as a religion." In a report preserved in the authoritative ḥadīth collection of Abū Dā'ūd, the prophet Muhammad compares his sermon and sacrifice with the creation of the world at the beginning of time. "Time has now completed a cycle like the form of a day when God created the heavens and the earth."<sup>19</sup> Muslim exegetes report that, after the revelation of this verse the prophet Muhammad received no further revelations. The sermon and sacrifice serve not only to complete the scriptural text that would be the Quran and conclude the mission of the prophet Muhammad, but to end all revelation, making Muhammad the final "seal" of the Prophets.

A number of reports describe this culminating sermon and sacrifice in explicit eschatological terms signaling the end of the current world and

the founding of the new order under the leadership of Muhammad. The coming of trials and afflictions [fitnah] are proclaimed by the prophet Muhammad to include attacks on the Ka‘bah itself and its destruction by an Ethiopian ruler,<sup>20</sup> the death of the nonbelieving people of Mecca,<sup>21</sup> infighting among the Quraysh,<sup>22</sup> and the earth at the Wādī al-Baidah swallowing the enemies of Islam.<sup>23</sup> The prophet Muhammad’s entry into Mecca for this final pilgrimage is portrayed as that of a warrior king, and in several ḥadīth reports the prophet Muhammad equates his pilgrimage and sacrifice with the blood and wealth of his followers that will establish Mecca as the final capital and cultic center of the new world.<sup>24</sup>

Ibn ‘Umar: The Apostle of God stood, on the day of sacrifice, between the pillars during his pilgrimage and he said: “What day is this?” They said: “The day of sacrifice.” He said: “What land is this?” They said: “This is the sacred land of God.” He said: “What month is this?” They said: “The sacred month of God.” He said: “This is the day of the greatest pilgrimage. Your blood, your belongings, and your honor are a sacred obligation on you like the sacredness of this land, this month, and this day.” Then he said: “Have I fulfilled my mission?” They said: “Yes.” Then the Prophet started: “God bear witness,” he said goodbye, and the people said: “This is the farewell pilgrimage.”<sup>25</sup>

This camel sacrifice marks the end of the prophet Muhammad’s mission and the origins of the Islamic civilization that is built upon and succeeds that mission.

These aspects of the prophet Muhammad’s sacrifice suggest at least a casual comparison with the Indo-European, and especially Iranian, idea of the world being created from the self-sacrifice and dismemberment of a king. The distribution of the camel and of Muhammad’s body parts along with the eating and drinking might be linked with the Christian notion of Jesus offering bread and wine as his flesh and blood in the Last Supper just before his death. Indian and other Asian traditions tell how the Buddha gives away pieces of his body in order to ensure the emergence of and to protect his future community. In a number of myths from the ancient Near East a primordial king creates the world and constructs civilization from the carcass of a slain beast. Medieval and modern Muslim conceptions of martyrdom emphasize scattering one’s body on the battlefield in defense of or in an effort to expand and maintain Islamic civilization.

What is the meaning of the prophet Muhammad’s camel sacrifice? How is the distribution of the camels related to the distribution of Muhammad’s own body parts? And why is this elaborate practice linked to an eschatological closure of the old world and opening of Islamic civilization as a new creation?

## CAMEL SACRIFICE OF ST. NILUS

A conception of sacrifice, dominated by William Robertson Smith's interpretation of an account attributed to a certain St. Nilus in which a group of Arabs devour whole a white camel, has played an integral role in the development of the modern study of religion. The account is found in a brief excursus on the customs of the "barbarians" who live in the region of Arabia bordered by the Red Sea and the River Jordan.

They especially like to offer children distinguished by beauty and the bloom of youth. These they sacrifice on piles of stones at dawn . . . But if no children are available, they make a camel that is white and free from blemishes bend down on its knees. Then they circle around it three times in a procession that is drawn out by the multitude of participants involved. The person who leads in the procession and in singing a hymn they compose for the start is either one of their kings or one of their priests distinguished by old age. After the third circuit, but before the throng has finished its hymn, while the last refrain is still carrying on their tongues, this man draws a sword and vigorously strikes at the victim's sinews. Eagerly, he is the first to have a taste of the blood.<sup>26</sup> Then the rest run up with daggers drawn. Some cut off just a small patch of hide and hair, others seize whatever flesh they see and hack away, while others go straight for the innards and entrails. No part of the sacrifice is left unconsumed, so that nothing remains to be seen when the sun appears. They do not even refrain from eating bone and marrow, gradually overcoming its hardness and toughness through perseverance.<sup>27</sup>

Earlier in this section (III.1) the author states that the victim of such sacrifices is "the best of their spoils," which they obtained by "robbing people on roads that they watch in ambush" and from their "bandit raids" particularly on Christian pilgrims. It is also explained that the flesh of camels is not eaten raw but "softened" with "heat from a fire only insofar as it makes it yield to their teeth without having to be too forcefully torn" when it is consumed.

The full title of the St. Nilus text, found in the earliest complete Greek manuscripts, is "Narrations by Nilus the Monk of the Slaughter of the Monks on Mount Sinai and the Captivity of His Son, Theodulus." According to Fabricius Conca, the text is preserved in two recensions in four manuscripts.<sup>28</sup> The earliest of these Greek texts is found in the Synaxarion of Constantinople from the tenth century CE.<sup>29</sup> Also as early as the tenth century the author of the Narrations is identified as Nilus of Ancyra (modern Ankara), reported to have died at the beginning of the fifth century (c. 430 CE). This Nilus of Ancyra is known for a number of other works including commentaries on the Bible and a series of letters.<sup>30</sup> He is first identified as a biblical exegete in the sixth-century CE catena of



Procopius of Gaza (d. c. 526),<sup>31</sup> and the letters themselves appear to have been edited during the sixth century.<sup>32</sup> It is not at all clear, however, that this Nilus of Ancyra is to be identified with the Nilus to whom the Narrations are attributed.<sup>33</sup>

Discovered appended to a ninth-century (886 CE) manuscript of a copy of the Report of the Sinai monk Ammonius is a Syriac excerpt or fragment of the Narrations of Nilus.<sup>34</sup> The short Syriac text of just three paragraphs, compared to the seven sections of the full tenth-century Greek manuscripts, corresponds to sections IV.11–14 and VI.11–12. It does not contain the episode describing the camel sacrifice or the larger section on the customs of the Arabs of the Sinai (sections III.1–3). The scribe of the Ammonius text to which the Narrations fragment is appended states that the Syriac translation was made from a Greek text dated to the eighth century (767 CE) but this statement might not extend to the appendix of the Narrations fragment itself. From the manuscript evidence alone, it is possible that the description of the camel sacrifice is based on a post-Islamic event or at least informed by practices or reports and perceptions of practices from a period considerably later than the fifth century CE.

Based on other evidence, recent scholarship has attempted to date and locate the provenance of the Narrations of St. Nilus earlier than the eighth through tenth centuries CE. Some scholars put the writing of the Greek original of the Narrations in the late sixth century when the monastery at St. Catherine's was said to be flourishing.<sup>35</sup> Daniel Caner argues that the Narrations lacks references to key details from the late sixth century, such as references to coenobitic monasticism, the fortifications below Mt. Sinai, and the church leadership in Pharan, suggesting an earlier date for the composition of the text.<sup>36</sup> Others, following Karl Heussi, propose that the Narrations was written in Elusa rather than the Sinai.<sup>37</sup> In the fourth century CE the city of Elusa is reported to have had a temple to Venus that was frequented by Arabs from the surrounding desert.<sup>38</sup> Heussi goes so far as to assign the precise date of 411 CE to the Narrations based on his identification of an earlier attack mentioned in the text with the attack described by Ammonius around 370 CE.<sup>39</sup>

The uncertainty of the date and provenance, and identity of the author of the Narrations with Nilus of Ancyra, has led some scholars to contend that the Narrations, as a whole or in part, has no ethnographic value but is instead based on late antique literary romances. Heussi, for example, followed by later editors of the Greek text, observe that certain elements of the Narrations parallel commonly found themes and literary tropes

such as the first-person narrative, dreams and flashbacks, bandit raids, captivity of monks, sacrifice of virgins, and emphasize moral themes such as chastity, providence, and fate.<sup>40</sup> Other scholarship points to specific texts, such as the “Letter to Heliodorus” of Nilus Ancyra, the first half of the third book of the second- or third-century CE *Leucippe and Clitophon* by Achilles Tatius, and perhaps the late-first-century CE Fourth Maccabees, that contain themes and certain words and phrases similar to those in the Narrations.<sup>41</sup> Joseph Henninger questions everything about the account, except for the camel, specifically calling into question that the sacrifice took place before sunrise, was presided over by a priest or king, involved the recitation of hymns and circumambulation, that the victim would be dismembered alive and eaten raw, that human sacrifice was practiced among the Arabs, and that the camel in lieu of the boy was offered to Venus.<sup>42</sup>

Some scholars, suspicious of the “mindless” and “bestial” nature of the act described, reject the camel sacrifice in particular.<sup>43</sup> Typical of the “sensationalist” literary tropes of the time, the description of the camel sacrifice in the Narrations has “no ethnographic value but reveals only a knowledge of the rhetorical-pathetic genre” of the Hellenistic novel.<sup>44</sup> Yet other scholars argue that the Narrations display an informed knowledge of the topographic and local conditions of the Sinai, and that the description of the raid on the monks and massacre of hermits fits what is known from other historical records.<sup>45</sup> In addition, the Narrations contains none of the traditional Christian references found in the other works attributed to Nilus of Ancyra or any of the eremitic literature of the time, especially the fourth- or fifth-century CE Report of Ammonius.<sup>46</sup> There are only two references to the New Testament, no references to Jesus Christ, none of the traditional language used for hermits and monks, no miracles, and no demons.<sup>47</sup>

Closer examination, based on more recent archaeological, epigraphic, and ethnographic studies, reveals that wholesale rejections of the Narrations, and its description of the camel sacrifice in particular, might be premature. For example, the offering of sacrifices to the “morning star” or the Roman Venus is well-attested among the Arabs of the Sinai, the Arabian peninsula and elsewhere. According to the fifth-century Isaac of Antioch, the “tribe of the sons of Hagar offer sacrifice to the star goddess.”<sup>48</sup> In his fourth-century *Life of Hilarion*, Jerome mentions an annual festival at a temple of Venus attended by Saracens from the deserts surrounding Elusa.<sup>49</sup> That Venus was associated with and worshipped in late antiquity as the Arab goddess al-‘Uzzā is found in the eighth-century

work of John of Damascus and in the tenth-century Syriac–Arabic dictionary of Ḥasan Bar Bahlūl.<sup>50</sup> Arabic sources attest to the worship of Venus, identified with the so-called three daughters of Allah (al-‘Uzzā, Manāt, al-Lāt) in pre-Islamic Mecca, and Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 819 CE) relates that the prophet Muhammad himself said “I offered a white sheep to al-‘Uzzā when I was still a follower of the religion of my people.”<sup>51</sup> Epigraphic evidence attests to sacrifices offered to Manāt, al-Lāt, and al-‘Uzzā, and the worship of al-‘Uzzā is found at Petra, Edessa, and Palmyra.<sup>52</sup>

Other aspects of the camel sacrifice described in the Narrations, such as evidence for cult officials and cult sites dedicated to Venus and al-‘Uzzā in the Sinai, are corroborated by other sources. The account of the Piacenza pilgrim, who visited Christian sites in Sinai and Palestine in the late sixth century, mentions a marble stone on the slopes of Mt. Sinai tended by an Arab priest.<sup>53</sup> Two inscriptions from the late antique Sinai refer to priests [kāhin] serving al-‘Uzzā.<sup>54</sup> The singing of hymns to al-‘Uzzā is attested at Petra, and evidence for circumambulation of a cult site accompanied by liturgical practices is widespread in the ancient world.<sup>55</sup> The eating of sacrificed meat raw or only partially cooked is also a practice attested among the Arabs and in the ancient world more broadly.<sup>56</sup> The fourth-century writings of Amianus Marcellinus mention a Saracen soldier drinking the blood of a Goth,<sup>57</sup> and an Islamic ḥadīth report refers to the pre-Islamic practice of sacrificing animals by flaying them alive.<sup>58</sup> Distributing among the participants of the sacrifice the skins, accouterments, and other nonedible parts of the victim is also found in various Arab and non-Arab contexts.

Human sacrifice, as the original object of the offering, is also reported not to have been uncommon among Arabs in the pre-Islamic period. John Moschus, who traveled to and lived in the Sinai in the late sixth century, relates a story in which a Christian monk, with divine help, confronts a group of Saracens who are taking a captive boy to be sacrificed by their priest.<sup>59</sup> In another account from a sixth-century Syriac text, two Christian monks are captured by Arabs in the Sinai and taken to their camp to be offered as a sacrifice.<sup>60</sup> Zachariah of Mitylene, writing in the late fifth century, describes how the Arab king al-Nu‘mān abducted 400 virgins from a church in Emesa and sacrificed them to al-‘Uzzā in the Lakhmid capital of al-Ḥīrah.<sup>61</sup> In his *De Abstinencia*, Porphyry claims that certain Arabs bury under a stone altar a boy they sacrifice each year.<sup>62</sup> The capture of Christians by Arabs for the purpose of sacrifice is a theme found in literary romances of the time, including the sixth-century *History of the Great Deeds of Bishop Paul of Qentos and Pries*

*John of Edessa*, and the second-century romance of *Leucippe and Clitophon* attributed to Achilles Tatius in which Leucippe appears to be sacrificed by bandits in Egypt.<sup>63</sup>

That Arab nomads were known for both stealing property and abducting people to be offered to their deities is widely reported and commonly found as a theme in literary accounts of Christian monks living on the edges of the desert in late antiquity. The *Sirat 'Antar* gives numerous examples of human sacrifice of captured members of the tribe responsible for the hero's death, performed at the tombs of fallen warriors.<sup>64</sup> Camels and young boys in particular seem to have been the target of such bandit raids.<sup>65</sup> 'Amr b. al-Ahtam (d. after 717 CE) describes the practice of flaying camels while still alive.<sup>66</sup> The use of crude stone altars, made out of a pile of stones, and the association of this piled altar as a tomb is widely attested in pre-Islamic and early Islamic sources.<sup>67</sup> And the association of these sacrifices with Venus, identified with al-'Uzzā, Balti-Beltis, and the morning star, is attested more widely among Arabs outside of the peninsula.<sup>68</sup> Some scholars have linked Venus with Manāt.<sup>69</sup> According to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Azraqī (fl. 800s CE), doves were considered sacred in pre-Islamic Mecca, and elsewhere, in Rome and in Syria, doves were sacrificed to and linked to the worship of Venus.<sup>70</sup>

Maybe it does not matter whether the camel sacrifice described by St. Nilus "really happened" or not. Certainly, the larger narrative in which the camel sacrifice is situated, and the description of the sacrifice itself, share in the conventions of late antique literary romances. Yet the "fictional" character of a wide range of "sources" including chronicles, histories, biographies, and travelogues is to be taken for granted, and not just in late antiquity. And certainly, a variety of other texts attest to the not uncommon occurrence of Arabs in late antiquity sacrificing camels and virgins to Venus and al-'Uzzā, the use of crude stone altars, and the flaying alive of camels. It is not unlikely that, as the oxymoronic statement goes, the St. Nilus camel sacrifice is a "true story" or perhaps based on "actual" events. In any case, the camel sacrifice became a "fact" when it was showcased by Robertson Smith at the foundations of his argument, exemplifying the origins of religion. It became a fact in the origins of "religion" as these origins came to be understood in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

#### SACRIFICE AND THE TOTEM MEAL

It is well known that the theories of religion developed by both Emile Durkheim and Sigmund Freud at the beginning of the twentieth century

depend upon St. Nilus' description of the camel sacrifice as interpreted by William Robertson Smith in his first set of Lectures on the Religion of the Semites.<sup>71</sup> Freud, who also cites Durkheim, introduces Robertson Smith just before the "spectacle of the totem meal," which is a ritualized repetition of a primal horde of brothers who devour their father.<sup>72</sup> For Freud, Robertson Smith supplies first that sacrifice was related to totemism, but more importantly that the sacrificial animal was identical with the totem animal. The sacrificial animal, whose meat was forbidden to be consumed except in the context of certain rituals in which the whole clan participated, was itself considered to be a blood-member of the clan.<sup>73</sup> It is this point, combined with Freud's earlier conclusion that "the totem animal is in reality a substitute for the father," that allows Freud to postulate a cannibalistic meal at the origins of "all" later religions.<sup>74</sup>

Durkheim, too, uses Robertson Smith's identification of the sacrificial meal with the totem meal as the lynchpin for explaining why religion continues to exist in human society.<sup>75</sup>

According to Smith, sacrificial banquets have the object of making the worshipper and his god communicate in the same flesh, in order to form a bond of kinship between them.<sup>76</sup>

A man of the Kangaroo clan believes himself and feels himself a kangaroo; it is by this quality that he defines himself; it is this which marks his place in the society.<sup>77</sup>

But Durkheim regards the fusion of sacrifice and totemism as imperfect. For Durkheim, the purpose of this identification of the clan with the animal, affected through the communal meal, is to focus the attention of the participating individuals on their collective existence. The "God" that the animal represents is "nothing more nor less than society transfigured and personified."<sup>78</sup> In this sense, the rituals imposed by religion, and in particular the symbolism of the animal being consumed in the sacrificial and totem meals, are necessary ingredients for the creation and maintenance of social relations.

Although they might not so easily be conflated, nor does this brief synopsis provide adequate detail for such a comparison, both Durkheim and Freud highlight salient aspects of contemporary understandings of sacrifice in the history of religions. These include that the act of sacrifice, or a primordial act that is later repeated as sacrifice, is at the origins of human society.<sup>79</sup> For both Durkheim and Freud, as for Robertson Smith, the act of sacrifice creates and maintains a social order based on exogamy guaranteed by totemism. Society is a series of artificial relations allowing the group to transcend the more limited connections of its members based

on natural, blood ties. The other salient feature of the model of sacrifice Durkheim and Freud adopt from Robertson Smith is that the identification of the victim (that which is being sacrificed) with the clan (those doing the sacrifice) and the God (to whom the sacrifice is being offered). This “God” might be a substitute for the father figure, a hypostatization and abstraction of society, but as it was for Robertson Smith, the key for Durkheim and Freud is that the sacrificial meal unites people into a society by providing them with a common, divine, or totemic identity.

Aside from the historical context and relative ethnographic value of the St. Nilus camel sacrifice, Robertson Smith and later Durkheim and Freud’s use of it to develop a general theory of religion in which sacrifice and totemism are paired is not without its critics. Perhaps the most penetrating and devastating critique is that leveled by Claude Lévi-Strauss. In his reconstruction of the evidence for what had been called “totemism,” Lévi-Strauss reveals his near exasperation with the coupling of totemism and sacrifice.

That it should have been possible to regard totemism as the origin of sacrifice in the history of religion remains, after so long, a matter of astonishment. Even if, for convenience, one were to agree to grant totemism a semblance of reality, the two institutions would only look the more contrasting and incompatible.<sup>80</sup>

This view is signaled earlier.

Every sacrifice implies a solidarity of nature between officiant, god, and the thing sacrificed, whether this is an animal, a plant, or an object which is treated as though it were alive, since its destruction is meaningful only in the form of a holocaust. Thus the idea of sacrifice also bears within it the germ of a confusion with the animal, a confusion which entails the risk of being extended beyond man to the very god. In amalgamating sacrifice and totemism, a means was found of explaining the former as a survival or as a vestige of the latter.<sup>81</sup>

Lévi-Strauss is critiquing a certain notion of sacrifice that, when imagined by earlier ethnography to have developed from the classificatory systems labeled as totemism, demeans totemic thought.

For Lévi-Strauss, both “sacrifice” and “totemism” are scientific illusions but, as institutions reified by the ethnographic scholarship of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the elements that go into the scholarly concepts of sacrifice and totemism are in opposition. Sacrifice is a practice that uses artificial objects (domesticated animals and plants) to erase a natural difference (between people and God). Totemism is a system or mode of thought that uses natural objects (wild animals and plants) to create artificial difference (among groups of people).

The distinctions created by totemism allow the formation of kinship ties through exogamy. The purpose of sacrifice is to substitute, and thus equate the animal with the clan and with the God. Substitution confuses the very distinctions necessary for exogamic relations.<sup>82</sup> Sacrifice is about the “reign of continuity” and thus lacks “good sense” because it falsely equates a series of natural objects with a nonexistent deity.<sup>83</sup>

It is important to note that Lévi-Strauss is not really interested in critiquing a given theory of sacrifice but in protecting his own notions of how so-called totemism works as a system of classification.<sup>84</sup> He resists ritual, and sacrifice in particular, because it is based on affinity, imitation, and contagion, a serial model that opposes the structural reason of totemism.<sup>85</sup> Borrowing from the linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure, Lévi-Strauss sees totemism as a metonymic mode of discourse in which the name of one thing replaces the name of something else – the clan is named after an animal that is an individual example of its species (totem). Sacrifice applies a metaphor to an object to which it is not literally applicable – the clan is the animal is the God.<sup>86</sup> This discontinuity in modes of discourse entails, for Lévi-Strauss, that the type of logic associated with so-called totemism could not have been at the origins of the function of what is called sacrifice. Even putting aside that sacrifice lacks the objective foundations of totemism, because thought and myth are always epistemologically prior to practice and ritual, then sacrifice as a type of ritual could not have arisen from totemism. Dismissing sacrifice and ritual in general, Lévi-Strauss is able to focus on his more nuanced and inclusive explanation of what had previously been identified as totemic thought.<sup>87</sup>

The crux of Lévi-Strauss’ critique of the fusion of sacrifice and totemism is the idea that, in sacrifice, the clan is identified with the animal and both are identified with the deity. Sacrifice is supposed to use the animal to make the clan equivalent to the god. From the biblical evidence and its rabbinic interpretation, the ancient Israelites do seem to identify themselves with the domesticated animal that is the victim in sacrifice, just as is the case with the association of the clan with the animal in the definition of sacrifice put forward by Robertson Smith. According to the fifteenth-century Portuguese exegete Isaac ben Judah Abarbanel (1437–1508) the types of animals required by Yahweh to be sacrificed correspond to the major figures in the early history of Israel. The sacrifice of bovines is a reference to Abraham (Gen 18:7), sheep to Isaac (Gen 22:13), and goats to Jacob (Gen 27:9).<sup>88</sup> In his commentary on Leviticus, Rashi (Rabbi Shlomo Yitzchaki, 1040–1105) defines what is meant by “herd” and

“flock” animals in Leviticus 1:2. The sacrificial victim must not have been bestialized, worshipped as a god, have gored someone to death, be diseased, and must be male, not of indeterminate gender or a hermaphrodite.<sup>89</sup> These stipulations make the specified herd and flock animals parallel to a healthy and ritually pure Israelite male. Abraham ben Meir Ibn Ezra (1089–1167) adds that the animal must be eight days old, just as a male Israelite newborn is circumcised at eight days old.<sup>90</sup> Philo reiterates that the animal must be male, and adds that the individual animals were checked by the priests to be sure they met the stipulations.<sup>91</sup> Leviticus Rabbah equates sheep with Israel,<sup>92</sup> and Mōsheh ben Nāḥmān (Nahmanides, 1194–1270) distinguishes the “herd” and “flock” animals to be identified with the Israelites whereas other domesticated animals are equivalent to non-Israelites, and wild animals to noncivilized people.<sup>93</sup>

#### SACRIFICE IN LEVITICUS

Chapters 1–5 of Leviticus outline, from the perspective of the person making the offering, the sacrifices Yahweh commands the Israelites to make at the tent of meeting during their wandering in the wilderness after the revelation at Sinai. Chapters 6–7 recount the sacrifices from the perspective of the priests.<sup>94</sup> The first sacrifice is the “burnt” or “whole” [‘olā] offering, thus called because all of the animal, excepting its skin, which goes to the officiating priest, is consumed by fire on the altar.<sup>95</sup> Because of the parallels found in Syria, the Hittites, and other groups in ancient Anatolia (but not in Arabia, Egypt, and Mesopotamia), many scholars consider this to be the oldest form of Israelite sacrifice. Burnt offerings are made by Noah (Gen 8:20) and Abraham (Gen 22), are said to have been practiced by the Canaanites and Moabites (Num 23:15, 1 Kgs 18:38, 2 Kgs 3:27, 10:24), and Rabbinic exegesis regards the other sacrifices outlined in Leviticus as post-Sinai.<sup>96</sup>

In order for this burnt offering to be “acceptable to” or “wanted by” [raṣōn] Yahweh, the animal must be offered willingly (Lev 22:19–20, Jer 6:20) by the Israelite seeking Yahweh’s acceptance. Referring to Isaiah 61:8 in his commentary on Leviticus 1:2, Ibn Ezra stipulates that the person making the offering cannot steal the animal from another person but must “own” the animal. In his exegesis of Leviticus 1:3, Rashi explains that the person must freely give the animal just as the animal must, of its own accord, be willing to be slaughtered. The term used for sacrifice, “Qorbān” is to “bring near” and refers to gifts brought to Yahweh, including such items as carts, draft animals (Num 7:3), and



spoils of war (Num 31:5).<sup>97</sup> The burnt offering is offered not for a specific intentional sin or crime but for what the rabbis define as “sins of thought” and inadvertent or unwitting sins.<sup>98</sup> Nahmanides (Lev 1:4) says it is for thoughts “not recognized by anyone but God.” Other rabbinic scholarship stipulates the burnt offering for neglecting to perform certain commandments.<sup>99</sup>

The burnt-offering sacrifice is not about identifying with God. Referring to Exodus 3:12–16, Ibn Ezra states that the burnt offering is a ransom that is paid by each Israelite male, for expiation [le-kappēr] (Lev 9:7, 14:20, 16:24).<sup>100</sup> Note that, in Mesopotamian texts, it is only the priests and not the person on whose behalf the sacrifice is being offered who are allowed to perform any part of the ritual or even read the ritual texts.<sup>101</sup> In Exodus 5:3 Moses and Aaron claim they need to travel three days into the wilderness to offer such a sacrifice in order to avoid having Yahweh smite them with plague or sword. The burnt offering is used not to become like Yahweh but to appease him and keep him from destroying them for their failings. It is a gift designed to placate Yahweh.<sup>102</sup> David makes a burnt offering to ward off a plague in 2 Samuel 24:21–25, and Israel makes a burnt offering to Yahweh after their defeat by Benjamin in Judges 20:26. Saul’s sacrifice to Yahweh at Mizpah is accepted (1 Sam 7:9) but not his burnt offering at Gilgal (1 Sam 13:12), after having disobeyed Yahweh.<sup>103</sup>

And although the animal is identified with the person making the offering (and with “Israel” in the larger sense), the animal is not identified with Yahweh. On the contrary, the act of offering the animal appears designed to emphasize the contrast separating human from divine, earthly from heavenly existence. According to Leviticus Rabbah (22:8), the function of sacrifice can be explained by comparison to a king (Yahweh) who has a son (Israel) addicted to eating carcasses and forbidden meat. The Israelites, having been living in Egypt prior to their wandering in the wilderness, would have had access to meat only from the slaughter of animals offered to pagan deities.<sup>104</sup> Maimonides (Abū ‘Imrān Mūsā b. Maymūn, 1135–1204) makes the argument that the Israelites were commanded to sacrifice the particular animals that are worshipped by pagans as representations of their deities: sheep in Egypt, goats among the Sabaeans, and cows among the Indians.<sup>105</sup> The purpose of offering these animals was for the Israelites to eliminate precisely that which was the representation of human sin.<sup>106</sup>

Nahmanides goes even further. Referring to Lev 3:16, Nahmanides argues that the animals are the “food” of Yahweh, that the Israelites are

commanded to feed Yahweh their domesticated animals. Yet it is not because Yahweh requires food that the animals must be fed to him, but because the animal is a substitute and representation of the sinful human nature of the person making the offering.<sup>107</sup>

Since human deeds are a combination of thought, speech, and action, God commanded that, when one brings a sacrifice to atone for sin, one lays hands on the animal (action), confesses (speech), burns the kidneys (which are the organs of thought and desire) along with the limbs (corresponding to the arms and legs of the man, which do all his work), and dashes the blood (corresponding to his own lifeblood) against the altar. When a man does all these things, he must realize that he has sinned against his God with his body and with his soul, and that it would have been fitting for his own blood to be spilled and his own body burnt were it not for the acceptance of the Creator. For God has accepted this sacrifice as atonement in exchange for the man – its blood for his, its life for his, its limbs and organs for his.<sup>108</sup>

The specific animals commanded to be offered were not present in the garden of Eden, were not part of natural creation but were artificially produced, through domestication, by people needing to survive outside of Eden. Yahweh is “fed” the physical evidence of human nature, the result of the original sin that caused the first humans to fall from their heavenly existence, to become human. The more recent prohibitions of Leviticus, of eating certain animals and being required to eat others, recalls the earlier, initial allowance of meat eating in Genesis 9:3–4, and the fact that all meat had, and should have been forbidden to be eaten.<sup>109</sup> Destroying the manmade animal and returning its God-made blood to Yahweh is to remind Israel that its human state is a result of disobeying its God.<sup>110</sup> Just as the golden calf is “fed” to the Israelites who worshipped it at Sinai as a punishment for their sin,<sup>111</sup> or the blood thrown on the Israelites by Moses (Ex 24:8),<sup>112</sup> the other Levitical sacrifices require the priests and the rest of Israel to “eat” the evidence of their sin.

That the elimination, through burning and consumption, of certain animals was punitive is also indicated by the specific requirements incumbent upon the Israelites. Any sacrifice requiring fire must be kindled using wood, which, presumably, would not be in abundant supply for a people wandering in the desert. A nomadic people regularly offering large numbers of domesticated animals, animals that would otherwise serve as prime breeding stock and provide for other daily essentials, is not economically practical.<sup>113</sup> Yahweh’s instructions stipulate that even the remains of the animal subsequent to the actual sacrifice (slaughter, burning, eating) must also be eliminated and may not enter back into use

without invalidating the entire ritual.<sup>114</sup> Abarbanel, in his comments on Lev 1:17, refers to the “stink” that must have come from the remains of the daily slaughter of even 100 animals requiring, at the least, the clearing of the area and nightly disposal of the corpses.

According to Lévi-Strauss, the act of killing the animal breaks the link equating the clan and the God, but Leviticus does not posit such an equation.<sup>115</sup> Rather, the animal and its elimination recall the primordial break separating humans from God, the fall from Eden. Israel is commanded to be “holy” as Yahweh is holy (Lev 11:44–45, 19:2, 20:7, 26), yet nowhere in the biblical text does Yahweh shed blood. Yahweh kills people by drowning (Gen 6:7, Exod 14:28), fire (Gen 19:4–5, Lev 10:1–3, Num 11:1–3, 16:35), salt (Gen 19:26), plague (Num 11:4–38, 16:49, 25:9), being swallowed by the earth (Num 16:27–32), hailstones (Josh 10:10–11), and various wild animals (Num 21:4–9, 1 Kgs 13:1–24, 20:35–36, 2 Kgs 2:23–24). Eating blood is strictly prohibited (Gen 9:3–4, Lev 3:17, 6:27, 17:10–14), and the spilt blood of animals, whether slaughtered for one of the ritual sacrifices or hunted, must be deposited in the ground at the base of the altar (Lev 17:3–4) at the feet of Yahweh.<sup>116</sup> The stipulation that the Israelites regularly perform activities in direct opposition to those of the God they are commanded to be like would not seem to be performed with the intention of magically transforming the Israelites from their fallen human state into a more Yahweh-like state.

Although it might help to account for so-called totemic thought, the characterization of sacrifice as conflating the animal and clan with the god is based on a limited range of examples and ethnographic detail. For example, Lévi-Strauss appears to rely entirely on the description of sacrifice among the Nuer people as developed by the ethnography of E. E. Evans-Pritchard.<sup>117</sup> Subsequent scholarship has called into question the whole notion of an expiatory sacrifice among the Nuer, and more specifically the substitution of a cucumber for an egg for a chick for a hen for a goat for an ox.<sup>118</sup> Just as do Durkheim, Freud, and Robertson Smith, Lévi-Strauss employs his own epistemological criteria and intellectual program to privilege thought over action and totemism over sacrifice.<sup>119</sup> This prioritizing of thought and concept over action is expressed in the evaluation of ritual as futile. Ritual does not magically cancel time, transport its participants to another place, or transform them into something they are not. Rather, ritual reminds its participants that the utopian existence recalled in myth is a place and time to which they cannot return by their own means.<sup>120</sup> The !Kung Bushmen do not believe that their rain dance will produce rain any more than Muslims believe they are no longer

human and incapable of sleeping and urinating after performing purification rituals.<sup>121</sup>

#### SACRIFICE AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Such rituals are best not seen as devices for the magical transformation of human nature but rather as reminders of the profane and impure status of human existence. They are about the generation and display of social difference, and thus social identity. The examples in Leviticus suggest that sacrificial ritual is not designed to erase the natural difference separating people from God or to equate the clan with its deity.<sup>122</sup> Indeed, *Leviticus Rabbah* 1:1–2 states that the purpose of all the commandments in Leviticus is to distinguish the lower and upper worlds. As do the other rituals in Leviticus, the sacrifices serve also to make spatial and social distinctions between Israel and non-Israelites, and within and among Israel itself.<sup>123</sup> The location of the ritual is a spatial map with Yahweh and the tent of meeting at its center into which only Moses and Aaron may enter, followed by the altar at the entrance of the tent where the priests officiate, followed by the larger Israelite camp itself bound by certain ritual rules separating Israel from other nations. The timing of each sacrifice is linked to particular times of the day and particular days of the year, and when the meat must be eaten is also specified according to each sacrifice. Depending on the sacrifice performed, none of the meat is eaten, some of it is eaten only by the priests, or all Israel eats. Only Yahweh receives the fat and the blood, and the priests receive the animal hides.<sup>124</sup> Rabbinic exegesis specifies the quartering and apportioning of the animal into discrete pieces including the fat, head, innards, lungs, liver, flanks, neck, windpipe, and kidneys.<sup>125</sup>

Other sacrifices in the ancient world clearly functioned to emphasize temporal, spatial, and social distinctions between and among different groups of people. In ancient Greek sacrifice, for example, the inequality of the portions offered to the gods and distributed to the people present and not present at the ritual delineates a series of social relations. Depending on the instance of sacrifice, the deity might receive a tongue,<sup>126</sup> horn,<sup>127</sup> tail,<sup>128</sup> thigh bones wrapped in fat, or the gall bladder.<sup>129</sup> The officiating priest might also receive the portions allotted to the deity. The animal itself is led to the altar by a slave.<sup>130</sup> Those offering the sacrifice constitute the smallest social grouping and eat the viscera (liver, lungs, spleen, kidneys, heart) roasted on skewers over an open fire.<sup>131</sup> Those present at the feast at which the sacrifice is being performed eat portions of the

rest of the animal meat, boiled in a cauldron, apportioned by weight and distributed by lot. The entrails are made into sausages and distributed to the rest of society not present at the festival. The different parts of the animals as well as the different textures of the prepared meat mark social status.<sup>132</sup> Noncitizens and non-Greeks, with some exceptions, even when present at the festival, are not allowed to eat from the sacrificed animal.<sup>133</sup>

In the ancient world sacrifice was the primary means by which meat and other foods were distributed to society. The state – represented by the king and warrior class who acquired the animals through raids and hunts, secured and protected the territory on which domesticated animals were raised and crops farmed, built the temple and subsidized the priests who oversaw the sacrifice – controlled access to food production.<sup>134</sup> Certain types of animals were reserved for certain occasions and for certain social classes, and specific parts of the animals were assigned to particular people. Citizenship in the Greek state is what entitled people to meat from sacrifices and dining rituals determined the distribution of which pieces of meat to whom.<sup>135</sup> Because of its association with sacrifice, meat had a special status, and the fat of meat in particular, as surplus and as wealth.<sup>136</sup> Among the Dogon in central Mali certain types of animals such as dogs and goats are eaten only by people belonging to specific social classes or tribal groups.<sup>137</sup> The Eveny of Kamchatka sacrifice reindeer as a means to demarcate boundaries and property rights within and between tribal groupings.<sup>138</sup>

Not unlike other “sacrifices” both in the ancient world and among nonliterate peoples, the Australian Intichiuma functions to generate difference, and thus social identity. It displays social hierarchy and economic disparity.<sup>139</sup> The ritual eating of the totem is limited to the initiated men of the clan, but also includes the granting of ornaments to men initiated into other totems in the tribe. During the hunt for the kangaroo, the men are not allowed to drink water because it is a totem for a related clan and is responsible for rain and fertility, but the totem animals of other clans can be eaten.<sup>140</sup> Hunting for the totem animal is prohibited in certain areas, and the activity delineates the overlapping territorial boundaries of each clan. The totem animal itself is differentiated, with only certain parts, such as those parts of the kangaroo that taste the best, allowed to be eaten. And the ritual involves fasting and penance, including head-butting, hitting stomachs with a stone, and spilling blood to signify each individual clan member’s responsibility for the break between the clan now and the Alcheringa time when the ritual was not needed.<sup>141</sup>

It is perhaps unfortunate that the concept of “sacrifice” rather than “totem meal” made its way from Robertson Smith through Durkheim and Freud into the modern study of religion. In part, this might have avoided the critique of identifying the sacrificial victim with the totem, and helped to obstruct an insistence on “sacrifice” as a mechanism solely for erasing difference between gods and people. For Durkheim, the “communion meal” [communion alimentaire] is the centerpiece of the sacrifice and of religion in its most elemental form.<sup>142</sup> For Durkheim, the Intichiuma is a “sacrifice” because it involves the eating of a “sacred being” [être sacré] by those who adore it as such.<sup>143</sup>

A man of the Kangaroo clan believes himself and feels himself a kangaroo; it is by this quality that he defines himself; it is this which marks his place in the society. In order to keep it, he takes a little of the flesh of this same animal into his own body from time to time.<sup>144</sup>

It is the participation of each individual in this meal of the totem (i.e., eating that which they all agree, at least for the sake of the meal, is a “sacred being” emblematic of their identity as a group) that renews the “artificial bond of kinship [pour créer entre ceux qui y assistent un lien de parenté artificielle]” by which they are all united.<sup>145</sup>

It is important to note that, for Durkheim, this artificial kinship is not “created” by the meal, but rather that the common act of eating and conceding to the emblematic character of the shared food reminds the individuals of their common bond. Indeed, it is the real difference between the kangaroo and the clan – that the individual members of the clan are not in fact the animal they are consuming, nor is the animal the actual totem – that allows for the individual’s consent to the symbolic nature of the clan’s collective identity as kangaroos. There is a necessary symbiotic relationship between the sacred being that is consumed and the society consuming it as being sacred.

Thus we are able to say that men make their gods, or, at least, make them live; but at the same time, it is from them that they live themselves. So they are regularly guilty of the circle which, according to Smith, is implied in the very idea of a sacrificial tribute: they give to the sacred beings a little of what they receive from them, and they receive from them all that they give.<sup>146</sup>

So the “sacrifice” is not just the eating (which is the sacred being’s gift of its body for the sustenance of the people) but also the “gift” of acknowledging the sacred character of the being that is shared (as food, and as being sacred) by the people. Each individual must recognize the emblem as being emblematic of how they want themselves, or agree to have themselves, represented.

The real reason for the existence of the cults, even of those which are the most materialistic in appearance, is not to be sought in the acts which they prescribe, but in the internal and moral regeneration which these acts aid in bringing about. The things which the worshipper really gives his gods are not the foods which he places upon the altars, nor the blood which he lets flow from his veins: it is his thought.<sup>147</sup>

Ritual is not about serving the gods, but rather concerns serving society by getting individuals to consent to pay attention to the conventions by which the collective intends to identify itself.

And giving the gods “his thought” does not mean the worshipper must believe he really is a kangaroo, that the flesh and blood he consumes is the actual living body of a sacred being. He must, for the ritual to be effective, consent to the need to treat the particular kangaroo as though it were a sacred being, and that he and his fellow initiates are themselves kangaroos, meaning that the “kangaroo” is the agreed-upon emblem of the group. It is by participating in the communal meal of the kangaroo as a ritual that the worshipper consents to the idea that the animal represents the “sacred being” the group says that it is. Being a “ritual” meal entails that the participants “pay attention” or think about the symbolic significance of eating together the animal that is said to represent them as a group.<sup>148</sup>

Sacrifice is more communication than communion, not just between God and society, but among the individuals within the group, and between the group and those outside of the group. The common conception formed by the “totem meal” is sharing the consent that the totem is emblematic of the group but also that it is not emblematic of other groups. For Lévi-Strauss, what separates totemism from sacrifice is the former’s generation of difference on the basis of “us” not being “them,” but agreeing to the sacred character of the animal being eaten requires differentiating between those of us who participate in this sacrifice and those others who do not. Eating creates difference: only Yahweh eats the burnt offering, only the priests partake of the sin [ḥaṭṭa’t] offering, and only Israel eats the “whole” [shelāmīm] offering. Even in the camel sacrifice described by St. Nilus, it is the king or priest who gets first dibs, and the apportioning of the hide and hair, innards and entrails, bone and marrow at least suggests social differentiation among the participants. The very bifurcation of the world into sacred and profane, the kind of binary differentiation that, for Lévi-Strauss, generates the kind of difference necessary for thought, arises from the experience of both unity and discontinuity with the totem produced by participation in the sacrifice – a kind of: “We are the kangaroo totem because you are not” statement.

If ritual is a way of paying attention to what is sacred, then it is always a matter of negotiating among competing claims for attention. By focusing attention on the animal as an agreed-upon representation of a sacred being, sacrifice allows the group to assert its collective identity among contending claimants. Perhaps it is the visceral experience of violence that focuses attention, the palpable sensation of eating together that creates a common social bond, or the tangible restrictions on sex that reify social identity. The elements of the meal, taken as a whole, cannot be separated out and isolated from the context of what makes it a ritual. In this sense, like word choice in discourse, making something sacred must always be in the context of other choices. It is about the group representing itself as it wants others to perceive it.

#### OUTLINE

The following chapters provide a “thick description” of the elaborate camel sacrifice performed by the prophet Muhammad at the conclusion of his farewell pilgrimage just before his death. This study is intended both to help explain the particulars of an event that is reported to have occurred some 1,400 years ago, and to encourage the construction of a more nuanced and expansive conception of “sacrifice” in the history of religion.

**Chapter 1** begins by asking how the early Islamic Arabic sources describe the prophet Muhammad’s practice of sacrifices throughout his life, and how these might be connected to his final sacrifice. Why did the prophet Muhammad perform a camel sacrifice at the conclusion of the one time he performed the Ḥajj? Later Muslim jurisprudence constructs an ordered set of instructions from what appears to be an otherwise haphazard collection of sacrificial practices from the life of the prophet Muhammad. Muslim jurists prescribe animal sacrifice during the pilgrimage for various violations of the sanctuary and a pilgrim’s sacralized state, including for conjoining the ‘Umrah and the Ḥajj. Given that his performance of the Ḥajj was intended to illustrate correct practice for future Muslims, it is unlikely that the prophet Muhammad made any ritual mistakes, and it is not certain that he conjoined the two pilgrimages. In pre-Islamic times the pagan “‘umrah” coincided with first-fruit sacrifices in the spring, and the pagan “ḥajj” took place at the annual Dhū al-Majāz fair during the first ten days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, involving tribal competitions, ritualized hunts, and the sacrifice of animals to mountain-top storm-gods. Muslim sources portray the prophet Muhammad’s



farewell Ḥajj, his sacrifice included, as incorporating elements from both of these pre-Islamic festivals.

**Chapter 2** looks at archaeological evidence from the Arabian peninsula for the sacrifice and burial of camels and horses alongside the tombs of what appear to be warriors, interred with weapons and armor. Similar practices are known from the ancient Near East and Greece where the burial of horses, donkeys, and other riding equids at the graves of warriors and kings seems to commemorate the role of these individuals and the military technology they used to secure territory and social prosperity. This link between human burial and the sacrifice of riding animals may be related to the pre- and early Islamic tradition of killing camels at the funerals of prominent people, illustrated by the instructions given by ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ at his death. Other well-known Indo-European sacrificial rituals, such as the Ashvamedha in India and Equus October in Rome, exemplify the link between the sacrifice of horses and remembering the origins of the society that performs the practice. To sacrifice camels in late antique Arabia may have been a way to symbolize the significance of the animals as a sign of position, rank, and power but also as an epitome of what allowed for the military and economic dominance of the Arabs in the deserts of the ancient world.

**Chapter 3** shows how Muslim exegetes and jurists appropriate to their definition of the prescribed Ḥajj sacrifice what they report as pre-Islamic pagan hunting activities. Specific rituals, exemplified by the practice of the prophet Muhammad, for acquiring, transporting, killing, and apportioning the sacrificial victim continue customs linked with pre-Islamic fertility rites. Certain hunting rituals, including the offering of wild animals to goddesses to ensure the fertility of springtime lambing and calving, are attested in epigraphic and archaeological evidence from pre-Islamic Arabia. An examination of rock art sites, ancient hunting grounds including kites and other natural traps, and the practices of modern pastoralists are consistent with what Arabic Islamic sources describe as hunting rituals performed in and around Mecca and other desert and mountain sanctuaries. The Ḥajj rituals performed by Muslims outside of Mecca, from ‘Arafāt to al-Muzdalifah and Minā, closely parallel the ritualized hunt-like competitions reported to have been a part of the pre-Islamic ḥajj at the Dhū al-Majāz fair. Muslim jurists themselves confirm the continuity of these sacrificial practices, stipulating a series of small differences between the pagan and Islamic versions of the rituals.

**Chapter 4** asks why Muslim scholars identified the biblical Abraham as the one who established the Islamic practice of animal sacrifice as part of

the Ḥajj rituals. Abraham builds the Ka‘bah in Mecca as the earliest temple to God, the first temple that survives the destruction of the later post-Moses Solomonic temple in Jerusalem. Muslim scholars portray Abraham as the original Muslim, sacrificing wild animals, living a pastoral life in the desert, and calling on all future Muslims to make pilgrimage to the desert sanctuary at Mecca. By attributing to Abraham the origins of certain pre-Islamic “pagan” practices, such as fertility rites associated with ritual hunting to offer captured prey at the mountain sanctuaries of storm-gods, Muslims imagined a peculiarly “Arab” Abraham. This Abraham, and especially his role in founding the ritual of sacrifice, puts Muslims in direct dialogue with and contradistinction to Jews, Christians, and others who identified themselves with a biblical heritage.

Chapter 5 explains how the accounts of the prophet Muhammad’s distribution of the camel meat, skins, and coverings along with his hair and nails can be understood as a cosmogonic myth in which a primordial being is dismembered at the origins of society. Muslim jurists explain that offering animals redeems the body of the pilgrim for a violation against the sanctity of the Ḥajj, and that the original purpose was to fulfill the ritual requirement of offering a substitute animal and pieces of the pilgrims’ own bodies as atonement. Numerous pre-Islamic traditions, many cited by Muslim scholars and evident from the Bible and its exegesis, demonstrate the link between the partitioned body of the animal and the individual or group for whom it is offered. Hair and other removed or “dead” body parts are often used in place of and to symbolize the otherwise intact body of the person or society. The prophet Muhammad’s own “dead” body, including artificial relics which came into contact with his living body, play a significant role in the establishment of Islam by his earliest followers.

Chapter 6 suggests a link between the prophet Muhammad’s camel sacrifice and the Muslim conception of martyrs using their corpses and detached body parts to demarcate territory. Muslim martyrs sought to integrate their bodies into the territorial boundaries of protected spaces, including the borders of Islam spreading outward from Mecca. The prophet Muhammad distributed pieces of his body, and the proceeds of the sacrificed camels, to his followers, who were then responsible to expand and nurture the Muslim community. At many locations throughout the Arabian peninsula and the ancient world more broadly human and animal burials were associated with places of sacrifice and sanctuaries. Mecca, not unlike Jerusalem and Medina but also Kūfah and other

early centers of Muslim worship, was considered to be the burial place of prophets and other prominent leaders. The prophet Muhammad's camel sacrifice served as the original model, both symbolic and real, for the Dār al-Islām.

A synthesis of the broad but interrelated concepts developed in these chapters is meant to converge on the idea that sacrifice stands at the origins of religion. Both Muslim scholarship and nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Christian European scholars of religion believed that the ritual meal of a dismembered animal could be used to represent the true significance and purpose of religion. The modern study of religion used as its model the camel "sacrifice" described by St. Nilus. Muslim scholarship utilized the example of the prophet Muhammad. It might not be simply coincidental that these two sacrifices had so much in common – not only that in each Arabs slaughtered and ate camels captured in combat, that the camels substituted for a person, and that the act both signified and produced a communal solidarity among its participants, a social bond that could be maintained and replicated by the ritual performance of the original act. It also might not be merely serendipitous that both so closely resembled the Eucharist and that Christ's distribution of his body and blood for his disciples to form the Church as the "body of Christ" looks a lot like other ancient Near Eastern and Indo-European myths of creation in which the body of a primal being is dismembered to form the world.

To examine the claim that a camel sacrifice stands at the origins of religion is both a reference to the act as the beginning of religion, but also a recognition of the formative influence of this example in certain scholars of religion. The two cannot be disentangled, and may, in fact, turn out to be the same thing.

## NOTES

- 1 'Alī Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabīyah fī sīrah al-amīn al-ma'mūn* (Beirut, n.d.), 3:328.
- 2 al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabīyah fī sīrah al-amīn al-ma'mūn*, 3:328.
- 3 See Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Damascus, 1981), 4:33; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* (Beirut, n.d.), 15:324–326; Abū Dā'ūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut, 1980), 2:78.
- 4 All dates of death are CE unless otherwise noted.
- 5 See Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir and others (Delhi, 1937), 9:7; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 20:36; Ismā'īl b.

- 'Umar Ibn Kathīr, *al-Fuṣūl fī sirah al-rasūl*, ed. Muḥammad al-'Id al-Khaṭrāwī and Muḥī al-Dīn Matū (Beirut, 1999), 217–218, 270; Muḥammad Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *al-Sīrah al-nabawiyah al-musammā 'uyūn al-atḥar fī funūn al-maghāzī wa al-shamā'il wa al-siyar* (Cairo, 2011), 351.
- 6 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī (Cairo, 1952), 25:3174.
- 7 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3192; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:7.
- 8 On the sermon at the conclusion of the farewell pilgrimage, see 'Abd al-Mālik Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawiyah*, ed. Ṭaha 'Abd al-Rūf Sa'd (Beirut, n.d.), 6:5–12; Alfred Guillaume, trans., *The Life of Muhammad* (Karachi, 1955), 649–652; Richard Bell, “Muhammad’s Pilgrimage Proclamation,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 69 (1937): 233–244; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956); Devin Stewart, “Farewell Pilgrimage,” in *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, ed. Jane McAuliffe and others (Leiden, 2012), 2:178–180. See also Peter Wright, “Critical Approaches to the ‘Farewell Khutba’ in Ibn Ishaq’s Life of the Prophet,” *Comparative Islamic Studies* 6.1–2 (2010): 215–248. On the calendar and its reform, see Mahmoud Effendi, *Sur le calendrier Arabe avant l’Islamisme* (Paris, 1858), 109–192; Hashim Amir-Ali, “The ‘Month’ in the Quran,” *Islamic Culture* 51 (1997): 21–30; Johann Fück, “Zu an-nasi’ (Koran 9,37),” *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 5 (1933): 280–285; Axel Moberg, *An-Nasi’ (Koran 9,37) in der islamischen Tradition* (Lund, 1931); Barbara Stowasser, *The Day Begins at Sunset: Perceptions of Time in the Islamic World* (London, 2014), esp. 14–30.
- 9 See Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan* 12:27.
- 10 See al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 30:5.
- 11 See al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 14:67.
- 12 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 21:277; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 7:37.
- 13 See al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 48:73.
- 14 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 22:2817.
- 15 See al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 6:73; Abū Zakariyā Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Nawawī, *Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn* in Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ 'Uthaymīn and 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad Aḥmad Ṭayyār, *Sharḥ Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn min kalām Sayyid al-Mursalīn* (Riyadh, 1995), 2:36.
- 16 See Muslim, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:491.
- 17 See Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 11:160; Muslim, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:281; 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan* (Beirut, n.d.), 24:1.
- 18 See the references in Ismā'il Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm* (Beirut, n.d.), on Q 5:3.
- 19 Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 11:227.
- 20 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3173; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 24:2877–2880, 2904.
- 21 See al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 24:2619.
- 22 See Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 20:32; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 36:6, 17.

- 23 See al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 24:2877–2879.
- 24 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 21:277; 25:3173–3174; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 33:2; al-Nawawī, *Riyāḍ al-ṣalīḥin*, 18:14.
- 25 Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3174.
- 26 J. Henninger, “Is der sogenannte Nilus-Bericht eine brauchbare religionsgeschichtliche Quelle?” *Anthropos* 50 (1955): 81–148 translates this line as referring to a blood libation.
- 27 III.2–3 of Narrations, translated in Daniel F. Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai: Including Translations of Pseudo-Nilus' Narrations, Ammonious' Report on the Slaughter of the Monks of Sinai and Rhaithou, and Anastasius of Sinai's Tales of the Sinai Fathers*, Translated Texts for Historians 53 (Liverpool, 2010), 94–95. For the Greek with Latin translation, see P. Poussines, *Narrationes de caede monachorum montis Sinae et captivitate Theoduli ejus filii*, *Patrologia Graeca* 79.589–693 (Paris, 1639).
- 28 See F. Conca, *Nilus Ancyranus Narratio* (Leipzig, 1983). For a modern Greek translation, see D. G. Tsames and K. G. Katsanes, *To Martyrologion tou Sina: periechi keimena kai metaphraseie peri tōn agōnōn, palaismatōn ai martyriōn tōn anairethentōn hagion paterōn en tōi theovadistōi orei Sina kai tēi sinaitikēi erēmōi hina mimēsamenei tēn aretēn tōn martyron toutōn kakei tōn stephanōn dynethōmen autois koinōnēsai* (Thessaloniki, 1989), 256–356.
- 29 See Hippolyte Delehaye, ed., *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano*, Propylaeum ad AS Novembris (Brussels, 1902).
- 30 On the letters and the Bible commentary, see Alan Cameron, “The Authenticity of the Letters of St. Nilus of Ancyra,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 17 (1976): 181–196; J. Gribomont, “La tradition manuscrite de S. Nil. I: La Correspondance,” *Studia Monastica* 11 (1969): 231–267; Karl Heussi, *Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen*, *Texte und Untersuchungen* 3 (Leipzig, 1917), esp. 31–123 (reprinted as *Classics in the History of Early Christian Literature* 43 [Piscataway, NJ, 2010]). The standard edition is found in Jean-Paul Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae* 79 (Paris, 1869), cols. 280B–285A based on Leo Allacci, *S. Nili ascetae, discipuli S. Joannis Chrysostomi, Epistolarum libri IV* (Rome, 1668). For a more recent list of manuscripts, see Georgios Fatorous, “Zu den Briefen des Hl. Neilos von Ankyra,” in *L'epistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique* (Paris, 2003), 21–30. On the issue of homoeroticism in the letters, see Christian Gaspar, “‘The Spirit of Fornication, Whom the Children of the Hellenes Used to Call Eros’: Problematizations of Male Homoeroticism in Late Antique Monastic Milieus,” in *New Europe College Yearbook 2002–2003*, ed. Irina Vainovski-Milhai, 239–279 (Bucharest, 2005); Nancy Deusen, *Chastity: A Study in Perception, Ideals, Opposition* (Leiden, 2008), esp. 156–174.
- 31 See Cameron, “The Authenticity of the Letters of St. Nilus of Ancyra,” 195; N. G. Wilson, “A Chapter in the History of Scholia,” *Catholic Quarterly* 17 (1967): 252–254.

- 32 See Cameron, "The Authenticity of the Letters of St. Nilus of Ancyra," 194–195; J. Quasten, *Patrology III* (Utrecht, 1960), esp. 175, 502–503.
- 33 For the scholarship arguing that the Nilus of the Narrations is to be identified with Nilus of Ancyra, see Conca, *Nilus Ancyranus Narratio*; H. Ringshausen, "Zur Verfasserschaft und Chronologie der dem Nilus Ancyranus zugeschriebenen Werke," PhD dissertation, Goethe-Universität zu Frankfurt am Main, 1967. For the scholarship questioning the identity of the two authors, see M. Link, *Die Erzählung des Pseudo-Neilos – ein spätantiker Märtyrerroman* (Leipzig, 2005); Heussi, *Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen*; Karl Heussi, "Nilus der Asket und der Überfall der Mönche am Sinai," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 37 (1916): 107–121. More nuanced discussions can be found in Anne Richmond Seville, "Ascetics and Society in Nilus of Ancyra: Old Testament Imagery as a Model for Personal and Social Reform," PhD dissertation, Catholic University of America, 2008; Foteini Theodorou, "Nilus' Narrations: Micro-Level Teaching, a New Criterion on Stylistic Differentiation," *Byzantion* 63 (1993): 224–236.
- 34 For the Syriac fragment, see A. Binggeli, "La version syriaque des Récits d'Anastase le Sinaïte et l'activité des moines syriaques au Mont Sinaï aux VIIIe–IXe siècles," in *Patrimoine syriaque. Actes du Colloque IX. Les Syriaques transmetteurs de civilisations: L'expérience du Bilād el-Shām à l'époque umayyade* (Antelais, 2005), 165–177; Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai*, 136–137. The manuscript is MS Vaticanus Syriacus 623 originally from St. Catherine's in the Sinai. See A. Binggeli, "Anastase le Sinaïte, Récits sur le Sinaï et Récits utiles à l'ame: édition traduction, commentaire," 2 vols., PhD dissertation, University of Paris, 2001; A. Binggeli, "Un nouveau témoin des Narrationes d'Anastase le Sinaïte dans les membra disiecta d'un manuscrit sinaïtique (Sinaiticus MG 6 + MG 21)," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 62 (2004): 261–268.
- 35 See R. Devreesse, "Le christianisme dans la péninsule sinaïtique des origines à l'arrivée des musulmans," *Revue Biblique* 49 (1940): 205–223, esp. 220–222; R. Devreesse, "Les christianisme dans le sud Palestinien (Négeb)," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 20 (1940): 235–251; P.-L. Gatier, "Les traditions et l'histoire du Sinaï du IVe au VIIe siècle," in *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*, ed. T. Fahd, 499–533, Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce Antiquités 10 (Leiden, 1989), esp. 518; Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai*, 75–76.
- 36 See Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai*, 76, 15n58 (on church leadership in Pharan), 25–33 (on the fortifications).
- 37 See Heussi, *Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen*, 152n11; Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai*, 73–83, 138; R. Solzbacher, *Mönche, Pilger und Sarazenen: Studien zum Frühchristentum auf der südlichen Sinaihalbinsel – Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn islamischer*

- Herrschaft* (Altenberge, 1989), esp. 248. On Elusa in late antiquity see A. Negev, "Survey and Trial Excavations at Haluza (Elusa), 1973," *Israel Exploration Journal* 26 (1976): 92–93; A. Negev, *Greek Inscriptions from the Negev* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1981), esp. 73–76; Philip Mayerson, "The City of Elusa in the Literary Sources of the Fourth–Sixth Centuries," *Israel Exploration Journal* 33 (1983): 247–253; Philip Mayerson, "The Desert of Southern Palestine According to Byzantine Sources," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107 (1963): 162–167.
- 38 See Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers 2.6.309; W. D. Ward, *Mirage of the Saracen: Christians and Nomads in the Sinai Peninsula in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, CA, 2014); W. D. Ward, "In the Province Recently Called Palestine Salutaris': Provincial Changes in Palestine and Arabia in the Late Third and Fourth Centuries C.E.," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 181 (2012): 289–302.
- 39 See Heussi, *Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen*, 147, 154n4; Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai*, 76.
- 40 See Heussi, *Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen*, 147, 154n4; Conca, *Nilus Ancyranus Narratio*; Link, *Die Erzählung des Pseudo-Neilos*. See Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai*, 77, for a summary of this position.
- 41 See Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai*, 73–73, 77–79. For the "Letter to Heliodorus" of Nilus of Ancyra, see J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collection* 13 (Florence, 1767; Paris, 1901), 32C–33C; L. Allacci, *Patrologia Graeca* 79.580B–581B; Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai*, 138–140; Cameron, "The Authenticity of the Letters of St. Nilus of Ancyra"; H. Thümmel, "Neilos von Ankrya und die bilder," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 71 (1978): 10–21; Heussi, *Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen*, 31–123. For the work of Achilles Tatius, see E. Vilborg, *Tatius: Leucippe and Clitophon* (Stockholm, 1955–1962); J. J. Winkler, trans., "Achilles Tatius, 'Leucippe and Kleitophon,'" in *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, ed. B. R. Reardon (Berkeley, CA, 1989), 170–284; A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika de Lollianos: Fragmente eines neuen griechischen Romans* (Bonn, 1972). On Fourth Maccabees, see J. W. van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees* (Leiden, 1997); T. Rajak, "Dying for the Law: The Martyr's Portrait in Jewish-Greek Literature," in *Portraits: Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire*, ed. M. J. Edwards and S. Swain (Oxford, 1997), 39–68, esp. 57–68; L. V. Rutgers, "The Importance of Scripture in the Conflict between Jews and Christians: The Example of Antioch," in *The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World*, ed. L. V. Rutgers and others (Louvain, 1998), 287–303; M. Schatkin, "The Maccabean Martyrs," *Vigiliae Christianae* 28 (1974): 97–113; B. Shaw, "Body/Power/Identity: Passions of the Martyrs," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4 (1996): 269–312.

- 42 See Joseph Henninger, "Ist der sogenanntmte Nilus-Bericht eine brachbare religionsgeschichtliche," *Anthropos* 50 (1955): 81-148; Joseph Henninger, *Les fêtes de printemps chez Sémites et la Pâque israélite* (Paris, 1975), esp. 37-50. See the critique in Margit Wardburg, "William Robertson Smith and the Study of Religion," *Religion* 19 (1989): 41-61, esp. 40-43.
- 43 See the evaluation in David Frankfurter, "Ritual as Accusation and Atrocity: Satanic Ritual Abuse, Gnostic Libertinism and Primal Murders," *History of Religions* 40 (2001): 352-380, esp. 365-366.
- 44 Mircea Eliade, *Occultism, Witchcraft, and Cultural Fashions: Essays in Comparative Religion* (Chicago, IL, 1976), 7. On Protestant objections to sacrifice, see Ivan Strenski, *Theology and the First Theory of Sacrifice* (Leiden, 2003), esp. 93-100; Daniel Ullucci, *The Christian Rejection of Animal Sacrifice* (Oxford, 2011), esp. 17-20.
- 45 See William Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths* (London, 1968; reprinted Winona Lake, IN, 1994), esp. 239-240; V. Christides, "Once again the Narrations of Nilus Sinaiticus," *Byzantion* 43 (1973): 39-50, esp. 43-44; Philip Mayerson, "Observations on the 'Nilus' Narrationes: Evidence for an Unknown Christian Sect?" *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 12 (1975): 51-74, esp. 51-52; Mayerson, "The Desert of Southern Palestine According to Byzantine Sources."
- 46 See Mayerson, "Observations on the 'Nilus' Narrationes," 55.
- 47 See Mayerson, "Observations on the 'Nilus' Narrationes," 55.
- 48 See G. Bickell, *Sancti Isaaci Antiocheni, doctoris Syrorum, opera Omnia* (Giessen, 1873-1877), 1:449; P. Bedjan, *Sancti Isaaci Syri Antiocheni homiliae syriacae* (Paris, 1903), 244.
- 49 See Jerome, *Life of Hilarion*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 23, 41 (Paris, 1844-1845); Caroline White, trans., *Early Christian Lives* (New York, 1998), 102-103. See Caner, *History and Historiography from the Late Antique Sinai*, 14; Peter Alpass, *The Religious Life of Nabataea* (Leiden, 2013), 162; Irfan Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (Washington, DC, 1984), 289.
- 50 See Rubens Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Hassano Bar Bahlule* (Paris, 1888-1901); John of Damascus, *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne (Turnholt, 1966), 94:674. Also see the references collected in J. B. Segal, "Arabs in Syriac Literature before the Rise of Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 4 (1984): 89-123, esp. 112-114; Robert Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Princeton, NJ, 1997), 105-107, 480-489; Richard Frank and James Montgomery, *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy: From the Many to the One* (Leuven, 2006), 89.
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- 138 See the discussion in Rane Willerslev and others, “Sacrifice as the Ideal Hunt: A Cosmological Explanation for the Origin of Reindeer Domestication,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 21 (2014): 1–23; B. Laufer, “The Reindeer and Its Domestication,” *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association* 4 (1917): 91–147; A. Leeds, “Reindeer Herding and Chukchi Social Institutions,” in *Man, Culture and Animals*, ed. A. Leeds and A. Vayda (Washington, DC, 1965), 87–128. Also helpful are G. Hatt, “Rensdyrnomadismens elementer,” *Det Kongelige Geografiske Selskab* 7 (1918): 241–269; I. Krupnik, *Arctic Adaptations: Native Whalers and Reindeer Herders of Northern Eurasia* (Hanover, NH, 1993); J. L. Jernsletten and K. Klovov, *Sustainable Reindeer Husbandry* (Tromsø, 2002).
- 139 See the critique of Frazer’s theory in Bronislaw Malinowski, “The Economic Aspects of the Intichiuma Ceremonies,” in *The Early Writings of Bronislaw Malinowski*, ed. Robert Thornton and others (Cambridge, 1912), 209–228.
- 140 On this point, see John Knight, “The Anonymity of the Hunt: A Critique of Hunting as Sharing,” *Current Anthropology* 53 (2012): 334–355. Compare with Tim Ingold, *Hunters, Pastoralists, and Ranchers: Reindeer Economies and their Transformations* (Cambridge, 2007), 144–200.
- 141 For these and other practices among the northern Australian tribes, see Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), chapter 4, esp. 172–205.
- 142 See Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 338–343 in English, and 325–328 in the original.
- 143 Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 339 in English and 327 in original.

- 144 Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 338 and 326 in the original.
- 145 Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 337 English, 325 original.
- 146 Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 341 English, 329 original.
- 147 Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 346 English, 333 original.
- 148 The phrase “paying attention” to define ritual activity is taken from J. Z. Smith, *To Take Place* (Chicago, IL, 1977), 103. For a critique, see Ronald Grimes, *Rite Out of Place: Ritual, Media, and the Arts* (New York, 2006), 102–108.

## Animal Sacrifices in the Life of the Prophet Muhammad

Already in the fifth century BCE it is evident that, among the communities living in the littoral around the eastern Mediterranean, people were becoming uneasy with the idea of animal sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> By the end of the first century CE, many religious groups, including Christians, Jews, and some pagans, had abandoned altogether the practice of animal sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> The concept of “sacrifice” remained, and perhaps became more central to the development of Christian myth and ritual in direct proportion to the discontinuation of actual animal sacrifice accompanied by violence, blood, and burning. Although the New Testament provides instances of Christian sacrifice at the temple in Jerusalem,<sup>3</sup> Christianity quite literally terminated the ritual killing of animals, replacing it with a single, unique, and timeless sacrifice, the effects of which can be claimed through the ritual meal of the Eucharist. Groups within Judaism had already begun to reject the “second” temple and its sacrificial cult, in some cases replacing the temple and animal sacrifice with asceticism, textual production, and messianic expectations of an eschatological temple.<sup>4</sup>

As older, smaller, and more homogenous agrarian-based societies gave way to more urbanized and cosmopolitan settings, definitions of religious practices tended to become less tied to rural economies.<sup>5</sup> Especially among the literate urban elites, the idea of feeding or appeasing the gods with offerings of animals must have seemed increasingly alien to the economy and social fabric of the world in which they were living. Whether it can be shown that a transition from hunting to sacrifice accompanies a shift from nomadic to agrarian social structures, or that the disappearance of animal sacrifice is linked with further social and technological advancements, the discontinuation of certain practices

coincided with specific social and cultural changes. Along with the more obviously heinous practice of child sacrifice, animal sacrifice was “sublimated” to a variety of other practices including circumcision, the Eucharist, and textual exegesis. Attempts to explain why Christianity and Judaism abandoned animal sacrifice are not uncommon,<sup>6</sup> yet little attention has been paid to the continuation or perhaps return to animal sacrifice in Islam.

The Muslim insistence on the continued practice of animal sacrifice, not only accompanying a visit to the Ka‘bah but also in conjunction with the two annual holidays unbound by geography, may even seem like a conscious reaction to the Christian rejection. Yet the eventual relaxation of the requirement of animal sacrifice, and the elimination of many of the specific rites that made Islamic sacrifice distinct, may also reflect changing attitudes toward the practice.<sup>7</sup> The centers of Muslim scholarship, compiling and interpreting foundational Quran and ḥadīth texts and traditions – places like Damascus, Baghdad, and Cairo, and later Bukhārah, Granada, and Qayrawān – were no longer close to and familiar with the Arabia of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries CE. Nor was a medieval pilgrimage to Mecca likely to conjure historically informed images of the ritual’s origins.

This chapter serves to raise a number of questions related to what the early Islamic Arabic sources say about the animal sacrifices performed by the prophet Muhammad and how these were related to his single unique performance of the Ḥajj at the end of his life. Later Muslim jurisprudence stipulates that pilgrims must perform an animal sacrifice if they conjoin a performance of an ‘Umrah with a Ḥajj, but Muslim sources are unclear that the prophet Muhammad’s camel sacrifice was designated to fulfill that requirement, or even that he conjoined the two rituals. The prophet Muhammad is reported to have made numerous sacrifices during his adult life, provided animals for others to sacrifice, and given instructions for others to perform sacrifices. Yet, with the possible exception of the episode at al-Ḥudaybiyah, Muslim sources do not explain how the camel sacrifice was related to the Ḥajj. Muslim sources do depict competition, in pre-Islamic times, between the pagan “ḥajj” coinciding with the annual Dhū al-Majāz fair during the first ten days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and the pagan “‘umrah” centered on the Ka‘bah in Mecca during the springtime month of Rajab. Drawing on these Muslim sources, it is evident that the prophet Muhammad’s Ḥajj, his sacrifice included, incorporated pagan elements from both of these pre-Islamic rituals. Muslim jurisprudence and other scholarship codify the untidy character of the extant ḥadīth reports,

and seem to imagine and even romanticize the role of the prophet Muhammad in replacing paganism with Islam.

WHAT ANIMAL SACRIFICES DID THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD  
PERFORM?

Although its origins are roughly half a millennium later than Christianity, Islam emerges from and is rooted in a social and economic context experiencing a transition from semi-nomadic to semi-agrarian and more settled urban modes of life. Not unlike how early Christianity merged different biblical practices to define what would become the concept of sacrifice used by the Church, Muslim scholarship attempts to systematize a variety of pre-Islamic sacrifices associated with the practice of the prophet Muhammad. The eventual “classical” result is a single instance of sacrifice, performed in different ways and for various reasons, that takes place at Minā outside of Mecca at the conclusion of the Ḥajj pilgrimage.

Muslim scholars explain that the prophet Muhammad’s farewell pilgrimage was the only time he performed what would later become the full Ḥajj, and as such his example served to inform how Muslim jurists define the practices required of later pilgrims. In his recension of the biography of the prophet Muhammad, ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishām (d. 833) preserves an account given by ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ regarding the rituals at al-Muzdalifah.

‘Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ told me that when the Apostle of God stood at ‘Arafah he said: “This is the place of standing, to the mountain around which it sits, all of ‘Arafah is a place of standing.” When he stood at Quzah on the morning of al-Muzdalifah, he said: “This place of standing and all of al-Muzdalifah is a place of standing.” Then when he sacrificed at the place of sacrifice at Minā he said: “This is the place of sacrifice and all Minā is a place of sacrifice.” The Apostle of God completed the Ḥajj and showed them their rituals, he taught them what God made obligatory for them from their Ḥajj: the place of standing, the throwing of the stones, the circumambulation of the temple, what he had allowed for them from their Ḥajj and what he had forbidden for them. It was the pilgrimage of completion and the farewell pilgrimage because the Apostle of God did not perform the Ḥajj after that.<sup>8</sup>

Although he did the Ḥajj only once, the prophet Muhammad is reported to have performed what would later be known as the ‘Umrah a number of times. According to some ḥadīth reports, the farewell pilgrimage was actually supposed to be a conjoined version of what would be understood as an ‘Umrah and a Ḥajj.<sup>9</sup>

According to different ḥadīth reports, the prophet Muhammad performed an “‘Umrah” a limited number of times after receiving his first revelations. Reports attributed to Anas b. Mālik and Qatādah claim that the prophet Muhammad performed an ‘Umrah four different times,<sup>10</sup> and other reports attributed to Mālik b. Anas (d. 795) in the *Muwatṭā’* assert that the ‘Umrah was performed three times.<sup>11</sup> In another report preserved by Abū Dā’ūd, ‘Ā’ishah claims that the prophet Muhammad did the ‘Umrah only twice, once in Dhū al-Qa‘dah and once in Shawwāl.<sup>12</sup> Abū Dā’ūd claims that all of them were performed in Dhū al-Qa‘dah except for the one he did conjoined to his farewell Ḥajj.<sup>13</sup> A report preserved in al-Bukhārī and by Mālik b. Anas states that the prophet Muhammad performed an ‘Umrah from al-Ji‘rānah, following the battle of Ḥunayn.<sup>14</sup> Using these examples of the prophet Muhammad, later Muslim jurisprudence defines the ‘Umrah as being a series of rituals focused only on the Ka‘bah and its immediate precincts in Mecca.

Although later jurisprudence does not require a sacrifice at the conclusion of each ‘Umrah, it seems that the prophet Muhammad considered a sacrifice to be an essential part of the ritual. A number of ḥadīth reports state that when the prophet Muhammad performed his farewell pilgrimage he did the rituals for an ‘Umrah and a Ḥajj conjoined [qiran]. In a report attributed to ‘Imrān b. Ḥusayn, the prophet Muhammad performed the ‘Umrah and Ḥajj conjoined and “then died before he could forbid it, and before Quranic verses were revealed [yanzilu al-Qur‘ān] with its prohibition.”<sup>15</sup> Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Ibn Ḥajar (1372–1449) relates that ‘Ā’ishah is reported to have claimed that the prophet Muhammad said only one set of circumambulations and running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah is necessary when conjoining an ‘Umrah and the Ḥajj rituals.<sup>16</sup> A number of other ḥadīth reports state that the prophet Muhammad conjoined the ‘Umrah and Ḥajj rituals,<sup>17</sup> and some mention that he brought an animal to sacrifice because he was conjoining the two rites.<sup>18</sup>

Ḥadīth reports also describe the prophet Muhammad as having supplied sacrificial animals or performed sacrifices on behalf of others. For example, he is said to have sacrificed cows for one or more of his wives. In some cases, the cow is sacrificed for all of his family,<sup>19</sup> himself and his family,<sup>20</sup> his wives,<sup>21</sup> or just for ‘Ā’ishah.<sup>22</sup> In one report ‘Ā’ishah explains that people accompanying the prophet Muhammad on his farewell Ḥajj who did not have an animal to sacrifice were required to stop after completing only the Meccan portion of the rituals, and that meat was sent to her from a cow sacrificed on her behalf by the prophet Muhammad.<sup>23</sup> It is reported that each camel or cow sacrificed sufficed

for seven people.<sup>24</sup> Some versions provide more detail, describing how the cow was sacrificed specifically for ‘Ā’ishah because when she reached Sarif she realized she was menstruating but still wanted to complete the Ḥajj. The prophet Muhammad therefore told her not to circumambulate the Ka‘bah and sacrificed a cow for her.<sup>25</sup> This would seem to conform with another report in which a group of people set out to complete the Ḥajj with the prophet Muhammad, but they did not have any sacrificial animals with them. After cutting short their Ḥajj, and making it an ‘Umrah by stopping before going out of Mecca toward al-Muzdalifah and ‘Arafāt, the people reentered a sacred pilgrim state [iḥram] and performed the rest of the Ḥajj rituals; they were required by the prophet Muhammad to perform a sacrifice for having done an ‘Umrah and Ḥajj in succession [tamattu’].<sup>26</sup>

That the prophet Muhammad would require a sacrifice for pilgrims who left and then reentered their sacralized [iḥram] state between the rites at Mecca and those at al-Muzdalifah and ‘Arafāt accords with later Muslim jurisprudence. A ḥadīth report given on the authority of Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh states that a group of people did a successive [tamattu’] performance of the ‘Umrah and Ḥajj with the prophet Muhammad and thus performed the sacrifice of a cow.<sup>27</sup> What these reports and later legal interpretation do not explain is the reason for the prophet Muhammad to make a sacrifice on each of his visits to the Ka‘bah,<sup>28</sup> thus seeming to set a precedent requiring a sacrifice along with the other rites of what would be understood as an ‘Umrah.<sup>29</sup> Certainly, the prophet Muhammad would not be doing the sacrifice to compensate for a ritual mistake. There are no records of the prophet Muhammad engaging in the premature cutting of his hair and nails, sex, or hunting and eating wild game while sacralized, or illegally hunting the wild animals in the sanctuary while not sacralized.<sup>30</sup>

Muslim jurisprudence requires a sacrifice to be offered in only two circumstances. First, a blood sacrifice is required if pilgrims violate their sacred state [iḥrām] by committing one of a number of “crimes” or ritual violations, including sex and killing or eating wild animals from the Meccan sanctuary. A sacrifice is required for a non-pilgrim who kills or eats the meat of prey inside the boundaries of the Meccan sanctuary, and thus violates the sanctuary itself. Some jurists, such as Abū Ḥanīfah, on the basis of Q 5:95, make sacrifice incumbent on a person who points to prey that is then killed and eaten. Ḥanafī jurists also stipulate, using the legal principle of “convenience” [iḥtisān], that only one animal is to be sacrificed even if the pointing, killing, and eating by a single person should

constitute three separate violations. Other jurists differ on whether there are specific domesticated animals that are to be assigned as the equivalent for certain wild animals or whether a domesticated animal equivalent in value to the prey is sufficient. Inscriptions and other evidence provide ample evidence for restrictions on and the penalties for trespassing on sanctuaries in various locations throughout the Arabian peninsula in pre-Islamic times. This might also be reflected in the Islamic legal ruling requiring that animals to be sacrificed in Mecca must be brought in from outside of the sanctuary.

Second, while Muslim jurists do not require a sacrifice for the performance of the Ḥajj itself [ifrād], they do require a sacrifice if someone performs the ‘Umrah conjoined to the Ḥajj [qiran] or performs them consecutively [tamattu’], leaving the sacred state of being a pilgrim [iḥrām] between the two sets of rituals. According to Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Rushd (d. 1198), Muslim jurists agree that a sacrifice is required for the consecutive [tamattu’] performance of the ‘Umrah and Ḥajj and some jurists maintain that a sacrifice is required for the conjoined [qiran] performance of the ‘Umrah and Ḥajj.<sup>31</sup> Yaḥyā b. Abī al-Khayr al-‘Imrānī (d. 1163) states that a person performing the consecutive [tamattu’] ‘Umrah and Ḥajj is not required to make a sacrifice at the time of the pilgrimage but can delay the sacrifice until his death.<sup>32</sup>

Some jurists maintain that the obligation of a sacrifice here is due to the pilgrim not assuming the sacred state of being a pilgrim [iḥrām] for the Ḥajj when entering the sanctuary, consistent with its obligation for violating the sanctuary by killing the wild animals within its boundaries. In this case, a sacrifice is not required if the pilgrim assumes the sacred state, performs the ‘Umrah, exits the sanctuary and the sacred state, then takes on the sacred state anew and enters the sanctuary to perform the Ḥajj rituals. According to some jurists, only the meat of the sacrifices offered for the concurrent [tamattu’] and conjoined [qirān] pilgrimages may be eaten by the pilgrim making the offering. On the basis of Q 5:95, some jurists restrict the location of the sacrifice and the distribution of its meat to the Meccan sanctuary, the domesticated animal being slaughtered and eaten in the same area as where it is illegal to kill and eat the wild animal.<sup>33</sup> The Ḥanbalī scholar Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad Ibn Qudāmah (d. 1223) states that if a person vows to make a sacrifice, and does not specify the location, then that person is required to deliver it to the poor people of the Meccan sanctuary based on Q 22:33.<sup>34</sup>



Muslim jurists emphasize that these precedents indicate that dissolution of the sacred state is affected by the sacrifice of certain types of domesticated animals. A sacrifice is also required for pilgrims who cut their hair or pare their nails prematurely, thus engaging in an act that is supposed to be performed subsequent to leaving the sacred state of being a pilgrim. In addition, an animal sacrifice is required for sex. Some jurists maintain that while in the sacred state of being a pilgrim, married couples are technically not married and therefore sexual relations are not allowed. Other scholars hold that requiring a sacrifice for sex is because sex, like cutting hair and paring nails, is an activity that only takes place after the pilgrimage rituals have been completed. In each of these cases, lying behind the jurists' legal opinions are the precedents of the prophet Muhammad having concluded each of his pilgrimages, including his "farewell" Ḥajj, with an animal sacrifice.

Although according to later Muslim jurisprudence the performance of an animal sacrifice appears to be obligatory only to expiate for certain ritual mistakes, a number of the regulations prescribed by the jurists indicate that the pre-Islamic practice of the sacrifice was the central reason for the visit to the Ka'bah. Ibn Qudāmah cites the centrality of the sacrifice as the cause for Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's requirement of distributing the meat inside the sanctuary, even if the sacrifice itself took place elsewhere.<sup>35</sup> In the tenth-century redaction of the *Akḥbār Makkah*, Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqīdī (d. 822) is cited as reporting that in pre-Islamic times the people used to perform sacrifices and shave their heads at the site of the idols of Isāf and Nā'ilah.<sup>36</sup> It is also reported that people used to shave their heads at the site of the cult object representing Manāt after performing sacrifices at Minā.<sup>37</sup> Ibn Qudāmah, based on the practice of the prophet Muhammad, states that sacrifices are to be performed at the same location as the ritual shaving of the head.<sup>38</sup> According to Ibn Hishām, the grandfather of the prophet Muhammad made a sacrifice at the idols of Isāf and Nā'ilah, where the Meccans performed their sacrifices.<sup>39</sup> Aḥmad Ibn Sa'd (784–845) reports that sacrifices were offered to the "Rabb" of the sanctuary at Mecca, a title that is found in Q 106:3 [rabb hādha al-bayt] and attributed to other deities such as al-Lāt at al-Ṭā'if.<sup>40</sup> The *Akḥbār Makkah* preserves a report that seven idols [aṣnām] were set up by 'Amr b. Laḥī, in Minā, the location where the prophet Muhammad later made his camel sacrifice at the conclusion of his Ḥajj.<sup>41</sup>

Exegesis of Q 22:26–38 connects the institution of animal sacrifice to Abraham's establishment of the pilgrimage, revealed in year 2 AH at the time of battle of Badr after the revelation of Q 2:136–147 and the change

of the direction of prayer from Jerusalem to Mecca.<sup>42</sup> Ismā‘īl b. ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373) cites a number of ḥadīth reports associating details of Q 22:26–38 with the sacrifice at Minā, but Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) relates three accounts specifically linking the verses to the building of the Ka‘bah in Mecca.<sup>43</sup> Verse 33 clearly states that the sacrifice is to take place at the Ka‘bah [al-bayt al-‘atīq], not at Minā. There are ḥadīth reports mentioning that the prophet Muhammad performed what later scholarship considers an “aḍḥā” sacrifice [uḍḥīyah] before he ever did the full Ḥajj,<sup>44</sup> and a number relating that the prophet Muhammad performed a sacrifice of two horned black-and-white rams.<sup>45</sup> Most of these reports do not provide any context as to when or where the ram sacrifice took place, and it is unclear how later scholarship could understand these as being “aḍḥā” sacrifices before the Islamic Ḥajj had been established. According to al-Wāqidī, for ten years the prophet Muhammad performed “aḍḥā” sacrifices every year in Medina after his Hijrah, until he was able to perform the full Ḥajj at the end of his life.<sup>46</sup>

Some ḥadīth reports mention that ‘Ā’ishah was present when the prophet Muhammad sacrificed the two rams.<sup>47</sup> In others, the prophet Muhammad comes down from his minbar (presumably in Medina) and performs the sacrifice,<sup>48</sup> and in a report preserved by Abū Dā’ūd the sacrifice takes place specifically in Medina.<sup>49</sup> Others state that the sacrifice happened at a “place of sacrifice” [manḥar] or a place of prayer [muṣallā].<sup>50</sup> Some ḥadīth reports put the sacrifice of the two horned black-and-white rams in the context of the prophet Muhammad’s performance of his farewell Ḥajj,<sup>51</sup> and a long report given on the authority of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakrah claims that the sacrifice of the two multicolored horned rams took place in Mecca on the 10th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah,<sup>52</sup> but these traditions do not explain why the prophet Muhammad would be performing an “aḍḥā” sacrifice in Mecca rather than Minā or how he would have made the sacrifice before he had performed his farewell Ḥajj, establishing the practice. One report, related on the authority of Abū Bakrah, claims that the prophet Muhammad shared the two sacrificed black-and-white rams among his followers at the end of his farewell pilgrimage.<sup>53</sup> It would seem that, before the establishment of the Islamic Ḥajj rites, a sacrifice on the 10th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah would coincide with the pagan festivities of the three pre-Islamic fairs culminating at ‘Arafāt.<sup>54</sup>

That sacrifices were performed in Mecca rather than at Minā is evident even after the death of the prophet Muhammad. According to a report preserved by Mālik b. Anas, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar claimed to have

completed both the ‘Umrah and Ḥajj by doing only a single set of circumambulations around the Ka‘bah and sacrificing an animal.<sup>55</sup> Although this special shortened version is said to have been due to the effects of the ongoing conflict between al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, Ibn ‘Umar’s actions indicate not only that it was these two elements that were considered essential to the pilgrimage, but also that the sacrifice was performed near the Ka‘bah rather than at Minā, al-Muzdalifah, and ‘Arafāt.<sup>56</sup> Another report, given on the authority of ‘Ikrimah, establishes that the penalty for a married couple having sex during the Ḥajj is sacrificing an animal in Mecca after performing an ‘Umrah.<sup>57</sup> In the report preserved by Mālik b. Anas, Ibn ‘Umar explicitly states that his practice is intended to override the prophet Muhammad’s precedent of making a sacrifice not at Minā or at the Ka‘bah but on the outskirts of Mecca when he was kept from an actual visit to the Ka‘bah to make the sacrifice.

According to Ibn Hishām, the prophet Muhammad intended to circumambulate the Ka‘bah because of a dream but he and his followers were stopped at al-Ḥudaybiyah by the Meccans.<sup>58</sup> Muslim scholars link this incident to the revelation of Q 2:196 and 48:25, suggesting that the sacrifice itself was more important than the actual visitation of the Ka‘bah.<sup>59</sup> “They are the ones who disbelieve and kept you from the masjid al-ḥarām, and the sacrificial animals were detained from reaching the place of sacrifice” (Q 48:25). Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) notes that this verse refers to a time when the Prophet and a large group of his followers came to Dhū al-Ḥulayfah on the outskirts of Medina, where they marked [qalada, sha‘ara] a sacrificial animal [hadī] and sanctified it for the ‘Umrah [aḥrama bi-‘umrah].<sup>60</sup> Although these are the standard terms found in later legal descriptions of the pilgrimage sacrifice, the marking of the camel with a sandal around its neck [qalada] and the marking of its body by piercing its hump [sha‘ara] were the terms used for preparing the sacrifice, specifically a camel, to be sent to the Ka‘bah in pre-Islamic times. That the animals were sanctified for a visit to Mecca while still on the outskirts of Medina suggests that performing a sacrifice was the primary purpose of visiting the Ka‘bah at that time. According to Ibn Hishām, the prophet Muhammad brought with him seventy camels, one for every ten of his followers.<sup>61</sup> That the prophet Muhammad and his followers shaved their heads following this sacrifice, at al-Ḥudaybiyah, although they did not enter the precincts of Mecca and circumambulate the Ka‘bah, indicates that it was the sacrifice that was considered essential to completing the

ritual. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 1149) explains that the Prophet’s sacrifice of camels at al-Ḥudaybiyah, rather than in the sanctuary at Mecca, was an exception made by the revelation of Q 48:25.<sup>62</sup> The Meccans are reported not to have allowed the animals to be brought to the Ka‘bah, although Q 2:158 evinces that such a practice seems to have been established.<sup>63</sup>

Reports of pilgrimages to specific sites in and around Mecca in pre-Islamic times for the purpose of making a sacrifice are consistent with what is known from other sanctuaries in the Ḥijāz and used by Arabs in the wider area of the peninsula and Fertile Crescent. Numerous Safaitic inscriptions from the basalt desert in southern Syria refer to sacrifices [ḍbh] to various deities, including Ba‘al-Shamin, Lāt, Ilāt, and Ruḍā, some of them offered on behalf of relatives or tribes.<sup>64</sup> One Safaitic inscription specifies that the sacrifice consisted of “two camels for Ilāt and Ruḍa” [hgmln qyn l’lt w rdw].<sup>65</sup> The Greek historian Herodotus (3.8–9) describes an oath between Arabs involving the smearing of blood on seven stones while invoking the names of deities, and the *Shifā‘ al-ghirām* of Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Makkī (d. 1429) states that the sanctuary in Mecca was marked off by a series of standing stones [anṣāb] erected on all sides except for the direction of Ḥaddah, Juddah, and al-Ji‘rānah.<sup>66</sup> Places of sacrifice were often stationed at the outskirts of the sanctuary proper, as attested at Hatra and Palmyra.<sup>67</sup> In the Negev and Sinai, standing stones arranged in lines and clusters were commonly used to demarcate special areas near settlements of the fourth and third millennia BCE, and earlier examples can be found at Çatal Hüyük in Anatolia.<sup>68</sup> Abū ‘Abdallāh Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 1229) mentions the erection of markers [akhlīyah] to show the boundaries of an unnamed sanctuary [ḥimā] in the Arabian peninsula.<sup>69</sup> A long South Arabic inscription at Itwat describes a series of rules to be followed by those visiting the sanctuary to take part in the sacrifice of first fruits and animals.<sup>70</sup>

Sites within Mecca that are later included as part of the Muslim rites for the ‘Umrah and the Ḥajj are reported to have been used by pagans in pre-Islamic times for sacrifices. Ibn al-Kalbī reports that the idols Isāf and Na‘ilah were the location of sacrifices in pre-Islamic times, although some reports place the idols at the bottom of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah or elsewhere in Mecca rather than adjacent to the Ka‘bah.<sup>71</sup> In his exegesis of Q 2:158, al-Suyūṭī preserves a report given on the authority of the Kufan ‘Āmir b. Sharāḥīl b. ‘Abd al-Sha‘bī that associates al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah with pre-Islamic pagan practices. “The idol at al-Ṣafā was called Isāf and the idol at al-Marwah was called Nā‘ilah. In pre-Islamic times the people

used to circumambulate the temple [al-bayt] and run between the two locations, rubbing the two idols.”<sup>72</sup>

In another report, given on the authority of Qatādah, it is stated that in pre-Islamic times the people of the Tihāmah used to run circuits between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah, and Mujāhid reports that the running between the two rocks at al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah was practiced by people in the pre-Islamic period.<sup>73</sup> The early legal debates over what constitutes a performance of an “‘Umrah” and a “Ḥajj” – the running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah, circumambulation of the Ka‘bah, where and when, if required, a sacrifice is to be performed – may be evidence of the process by which the various pre-Islamic elements were subsumed into the obligatory Islamic pilgrimage.<sup>74</sup> Suyūṭī records that, after circumambulating the Ka‘bah, the prophet Muhammad forbade Zayd b. Ḥārithah from stroking the idols of Isāf and Nā‘ilah, the implication being that it was related to the pagan practice of smearing the blood of sacrifice on the images.<sup>75</sup>

Muslim scholarship is not always specific, nor does it seem to agree on the locations where the prophet Muhammad is reported to have performed some of his various sacrifices. According to a ḥadīth report preserved by Mālik b. Anas, the prophet Muhammad said that if someone vows to slaughter [jazūr] a camel or cow then he can sacrifice it wherever he wants, but if he makes a vow to offer a sacrificial animal [badanah] then he must slaughter it at the Ka‘bah or at Minā on the day of sacrificing [yawm al-naḥr].<sup>76</sup> Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh relates that the prophet Muhammad performed the sacrifice of a ram, saying: “In the name of God, God is great, this is for me and for those from my community who did not perform a sacrifice [yuḍḥhi].”<sup>77</sup> Abū Dā‘ūd reports that the prophet Muhammad used to sacrifice [naḥara] a camel [jazūr] or a cow when he returned to Medina from traveling.<sup>78</sup> Another report states that the prophet Muhammad sacrificed [ḍaḥḥā] a sheep while traveling and ate its meat until he reached Medina.<sup>79</sup> Other reports relate that the prophet Muhammad and his followers shared a cow or camel that was sacrificed while traveling.<sup>80</sup>

Several of the Arabic terms used in later Islamic discourse to name places of Muslim worship associated with Mecca and the Ḥajj in particular are attested designating pre-Islamic cult sites in isolated locations. The Arabic “mosque” [msgd], for example, is used in Nabataean contexts in reference to cult niches and steles found at places of pilgrimage.<sup>81</sup> An Aramaic inscription from Elephantine uses “mesgida” to indicate the general area of the cult, and an Aramaic papyri from fifth-century BCE

Hermoupolis (modern-day al-Ashmūnīn) refers to the “sanctuary of Bethel” [ḥerem Bethel]. Another Aramaic inscription from the second or third century CE refers to a “mountain sanctuary” [ṭur meṣgidā].<sup>82</sup> An inscription from Taymā’ mentions a “tent” [mškn’] connected to a “protected area” [ḥṭm], perhaps a temporary shrine used to house the cult objects representing the male and female deities invoked.<sup>83</sup> A number of ritual “places” [’tr] are marked in Nabataean on mountainsides and difficult-to-reach outcrops on cliff faces around Jabal Ithlib in Madā’in Šālīḥ.<sup>84</sup> References to cult officiants [afkal] are found on rocks and standing stones placed outside urban or settled areas, suggesting that the usage of the term could apply to remote shrines.<sup>85</sup>

The prophet Muhammad is said to have performed a sheep sacrifice for the birth of his grandsons Ḥusayn and Ḥasan,<sup>86</sup> and to have given permission or recommended the practice to his followers.<sup>87</sup> In addition to slaughtering animals, the ritual includes shaving the child’s head, giving the weight of the hair in silver or gold to buy food for the poor, and naming the child.<sup>88</sup> Other rituals associated with the birth of children, such as placing a chewed date in the child’s mouth, are attributed to the prophet Muhammad. In his commentary on the ḥadīth reports in al-Bukhārī, Ibn Ḥajar refers to pagan practices such as wiping the child’s head with the blood of the sacrificial victim, that suggest the prophet Muhammad’s practice was a continuation of pre-Islamic pagan traditions.<sup>89</sup> Reports of other practices such as the burial of the hair in the ground, offering the shorn hair to deities, and the idea that the animal was a substitute for shedding the blood of the child itself have led some scholars to conclude that the ‘Aqīqah was a variant of other sacrifices of firstling produce, animals, and children.<sup>90</sup>

Muslim tradition preserves accounts of the prophet Muhammad performing other pre-Islamic sacrifices both before and after he started receiving revelations. Ibn al-Kalbī relates that the prophet Muhammad said: “I offered [ahday-tu] a white sheep to al-‘Uzzā when I was following the religion of my people.”<sup>91</sup> A long account of the prophet Muhammad’s encounter with Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl, related by Usāmah b. Zayd on the authority of his father Zayd b. Ḥārithah, suggests something similar.

The Apostle of God slaughtered a lamb for one of the stones [li-nuṣubin min al-anṣābi], then he roasted it and carried it with him. Then Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl met us in the upper part of the valley. It was on one of the hot days of Mecca. When we met we greeted each other with the Jāhiliyah greeting: *in ‘am ṣabāḥan!* The Apostle of God said: “Why do I see you, Ibn ‘Amr, hated by your people?” He said: “This hatred is not my doing. I found them associating false gods with

God and I refused to do the same. I intended the religion of Abraham. I came to the rabbis [aḥbār] of Yathrib and found them worshipping God but associating other gods with him. Then to myself I said: 'This is not the religion that I seek,' and I traveled until I came to the learned Jews of Syria. A man from among them said: 'You are asking about a religion which no one we know follows, except an old man in Arabia [jazīrah].' I came to him and he asked me: 'To which people do you belong?' I said: 'I am from the people of thorns and acacia trees, from the people of the sanctuary of God [ḥaram allāh].' He told me: 'Return! For God the blessed and exalted is rising up the star of a prophet who has already or is about to appear. Follow him because he will worship God according to the religion about which you are asking.' Zayd b. 'Amr said: 'So I came, but I have not seen anything. The Apostle of God said: 'Would you like some food?' Zayd b. 'Amr said: 'Yes.' Then Muhammad put before him the lamb. Zayd b. 'Amr said: 'To what did you sacrifice it, Muhammad?' He said: 'To one of the stones.' Zayd b. 'Amr said: 'I do not eat anything sacrificed for a god other than God.'" The Apostle of God went on his way and after a short time he was given prophethood.<sup>92</sup>

In another report, attributed by Yūnus b. Bukayr to Ibn Ishāq, the prophet Muhammad says the "bag of meat" was from "sacrifices to our idols,"<sup>93</sup> suggesting that it was part of the well-known traditions that were used in the *Sirah al-nabawīyah* of Ibn Hishām. In other versions the prophet Muhammad, after leaving Zayd b. 'Amr, circumambulates the Ka'bah but forbids Zayd b. Ḥārithah from wiping the idols of Isāf and Na'ilah.<sup>94</sup> In a report found in al-Bukhārī the scene is changed and has the prophet Muhammad refusing to eat the meat offered to pagan deities before Zayd b. 'Amr also refuses it.<sup>95</sup>

According to al-Azraqī, in pre-Islamic times people used to visit the shrine of al-'Uzzā at Nakhlah after circumambulating the Ka'bah in Mecca. They would do circumambulations at Nakhlah and spend a day in retreat [akifūn] at the sanctuary of al-'Uzzā before shaving, cutting their nails, exiting their sacred state [iḥram], and ending the pilgrimage.<sup>96</sup> Similar practices are reported for the shrine of Manāt in Qudayd and that of al-Lāt in al-Ṭā'if. The shrine dedicated to Allāt at al-Ṭā'if contained a cubic rock shaped like the Ka'bah in Mecca.<sup>97</sup> Ibn Hishām preserves reports that the prophet Muhammad stayed on Jabal al-Nūr in the Ḥirā' cave on his way back from al-Ṭā'if, seeking protection from Meccans who opposed him.<sup>98</sup> The Umayyad governor of Mecca Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī arranged to have water piped to the mosque at the Ka'bah from a spring on Jabal Thabīr.<sup>99</sup> Yāqūt states that Thabīr, along with Ḥirā' and Thawr, were the three main mountains around Mecca that were used for the seasonal rituals of the pre-Islamic ḥajj.<sup>100</sup> The pre-Islamic sage Luqmān b. 'Ād used to ascend a certain mountain and face

the rising sun when he prayed, a practice that is forbidden by the prophet Muhammad and in Q 50:39.<sup>101</sup>

Muslim jurists stipulate that the ritual run [iḥḍāḥ] of the Ḥajj must begin after the sun has set, postponing the earlier pagan practice of beginning the ritual run just as the sun starts to sink. Likewise, the ritual standing [wuqūf] at al-Muzdalifah used to begin when the first rays from the morning sun lit the top of Mount Thabīr.<sup>102</sup> According to Saʿīd Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217), during his visit to Mecca at the end of the twelfth century CE, pilgrims would still perform the ritual run [iḥḍāḥ] when the sun rested on the mountain tops as a greeting and farewell to the sun god. Reports of fires kindled at al-Muzdalifah in pre-Islamic times, associated with the storm god Quzaḥ, have led some to suggest that the rites were linked to other Near Eastern spring festivals such as Zagmuk, Nawruz, and Easter.<sup>103</sup> Ibn Jubayr mentions a related ritual observed by the people of Mecca at the well of Zamzam during the month of Shaʿbān,<sup>104</sup> and according to a tradition preserved in al-Ṭabarī, the middle night in the month of Shaʿbān was considered a new year like the Laylat al-Qadr during Ramaḍān.<sup>105</sup> The prophet Muhammad is reported to have linked the new year to the first ten days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah by explaining that the fasting would compensate for the sins of the previous year.<sup>106</sup> He is said to have fasted more during Shaʿbān than any other month save Ramaḍān, and the month is considered sacred to the dead.<sup>107</sup>

Given the close association of these and similar sanctuaries with hunting, it could be that the rituals reported to have been performed there were understood as visits to the consorts of the storm god Quzaḥ, whose rites formed the core of the stay at the mountains just outside of Mecca during the first ten days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. Muslim sources claim that the animals driven to ʿArafāt and al-Muzdalifah, by the side of which the two ritual standings were performed, and slaughtered at the foot of Mount Thabīr, were part of the worship of Quzaḥ and the goddesses in the surrounding and nearby sanctuaries. Reports of “taḥannuth” being practiced, by the prophet Muhammad and others on the mountains surrounding Mecca during Ramaḍān may also be related to these rituals.<sup>108</sup> The use of mountainside sanctuaries for retreats, as pilgrimage destinations, and as places of animal sacrifice is widespread in the ancient Near East and Mediterranean. These include almost two dozen altar sites in Minoan Crete, such as those atop Mount Juktas, the so-called fire sanctuaries of Baʿal, and various mountain cult sites.<sup>109</sup>

Muslim sources identify the “ḥijr” with the enclosure, also known as the “ḥaṭīm,” now attached to the Kaʿbah in Mecca. Exegesis of Q 5:103



gives special ritual significance to the structure in the context of the Ḥajj.<sup>110</sup> The word itself is understood to be synonymous with “ḥarām,” and is said to have delineated the boundaries of the Meccan sanctuary in pre-Islamic times. It was set with cult objects such as the statues of Manāf, Hubal, Isāf, and Nā’ilah marking places of sacrifice.<sup>111</sup> Muslim exegesis identifies the “ḥijr” as a pen [zarb] for the sheep of Ishmael,<sup>112</sup> as a grove of arāk trees for goats, and the “jidār” built by the Jurhum.<sup>113</sup> Muslim exegetical association of the “ḥijr” with Ishmael’s sheep might also reflect an attempt to provide a biblical pedigree for the pre-Islamic practice of establishing special keeps for consecrated animals.<sup>114</sup> The term “ḥijr” is also used in Q 6:138 to indicate a reserve for cattle and crops, which, variously identified, appears to have been understood as an area where animals consecrated for sacrifice, but not necessarily slaughtered, were held.<sup>115</sup>

Apart from these direct references to pagan sacrifices, there are no reports that the prophet Muhammad had a special place to perform his sacrifices separate from the pagan sacrifice spots, indicating that he might have made his sacrifices at the same locations. In the ninth year after the Hijrah, the prophet Muhammad sent twenty camels to be sacrificed by a group of Muslims performing a Ḥajj to Mecca.<sup>116</sup> The group was led by Abū Bakr who had an additional five camels for sacrifice, but the location of the sacrifice, performed after a stop at the pillars [jamarāt] is only specified as the “place of sacrifice” [al-manḥar]. Both al-Wāqidī and Ibn Kathīr remark that access to the Ka’bah was allowed by a special truce the Prophet arranged with the Meccans, and the Ḥajj rituals of the Muslims were possible only because the Meccans were not using them for their pagan rituals.<sup>117</sup> Ibn Hishām and others describe how the prophet Muhammad was responsible for tearing down and destroying the pagan idols and Christian icons both within the Ka’bah and in its precincts. It is evident, then, that the prophet Muhammad would have, in his earlier visits to Mecca from Medina, circumambulated the Ka’bah and made the circuit between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah with the non-Islamic worship sites intact.

It is possible that some of the traditions identifying the dates on which the prophet Muhammad performed his visits to and sacrifices at the Ka’bah were reactions to the reports that he participated in the pre-Islamic fertility rites associated with the month of Rajab in Mecca. A number of different reports attributed to ‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr, going back to ‘Ā’ishah and Ibn ‘Umar, specifically claim that the prophet Muhammad did not perform ‘Umrah during the month of Rajab.<sup>118</sup>

In a report transmitted by Mujāhid, Ibn ‘Umar states that the prophet Muhammad did perform ‘Umrah during Rajab,<sup>119</sup> although elsewhere ‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr relates Ibn ‘Umar’s claim that he was present each time the prophet Muhammad performed ‘Umrah and none of these were during Rajab.<sup>120</sup> In another report, ‘Ā’ishah and Ibn ‘Umar disagree, in the presence of ‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr, on when the prophet Muhammad performed ‘Umrah.<sup>121</sup> A similar reaction might be observed in the reports concerning the prophet Muhammad fasting during Rajab, and conflicting reports about performing the so-called Rajab sacrifices.<sup>122</sup>

Even after the death of the prophet Muhammad, Mu‘āwiya is reported to have sent “scents” to the Ka‘bah during Rajab as he did during the Ḥajj.<sup>123</sup> According to the thirteenth-century traveler Yūsuf b. Ya‘qūb Ibn Muḥāwir, the people of Sarw performed the ‘Umra on the first day of Rajab, because they were guaranteed by ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb that this would count as doing the Ḥajj. Perhaps the allowance was made on account of the great quantities of foodstuffs they brought with them, supplying the Meccans with specialty items from Yemen.<sup>124</sup> He also reports that the people of Laḥj and Abyan made pilgrimage during the month of Rajab.<sup>125</sup> Muslim exegesis of Q 6:143–144 refers to offerings made mainly during the month of Rajab and featuring the sacrifice of firstborn animals from every herd.<sup>126</sup> People are reported to have practiced ritual seclusion [i’tikāf] during Rajab, as during Ramaḍān,<sup>127</sup> and the “night of the ascension” [laylat al-mir‘āj], parallel to the “night of fate” [laylat al-qadr], which falls during the month of Ramaḍān, is celebrated on the 26th or 27th of Rajab. Special ritual practices for the “night of the ascension” are reported, with disapproval, by Muslim jurists, involving prayers, recitations, eating and drinking, and vigils in mosques.<sup>128</sup> The common practice of performing ‘Umrah during Ramaḍān and the close associations linking this month with the new year might also indicate the prevalence of ‘Umrah and Ḥajj practices during Rajab.<sup>129</sup>

It is interesting to note that the prophet Muhammad is said to have declared sacred the same four months, at the conclusion of his farewell pilgrimage, setting the precedent for the Islamic Ḥajj rites, that in pre-Islamic times marked the two different sets of festivals centered on the Ka‘bah and on ‘Arafāt.<sup>130</sup> A ḥadīth report in which the prophet Muhammad gives instructions for a first-fruits sacrifice during Rajab is also set at the time he delivers his final sermon at the end of his farewell pilgrimage.<sup>131</sup> In a report given on the authority of Mikhnaf b. Sulaym, the prophet Muhammad makes incumbent upon each household the annual offering of a “ḍaḥīyah” and an “‘atīrah” sacrifice, explaining that

the ‘atīrah sacrifice is what the people call the “Rajab sacrifice” [rajabīyah].<sup>132</sup> The prophet Muhammad is said to have given instructions on how to perform a “first-fruits” [fara‘] sacrifice,<sup>133</sup> and ‘Ā’ishah relates that the prophet Muhammad used to sacrifice one sheep for every fifty sheep he owned. In other reports the prophet Muhammad allows any sacrifice, including the fara‘ and ‘atīrah, saying there is “nothing wrong” with Rajab sacrifices.<sup>134</sup> Abū Dā’ūd explains that this “first-fruits” sacrifice was the first offspring of a camel [awwal mā tuntaju al-ib], and that the pagans used to sacrifice it to their idols [li-ṭawāghīt-him], then eat the meat and throw its skin on a tree, adding that the ‘atīrah was offered during the first ten days of Rajab.<sup>135</sup> Bukhārī gives an almost identical explanation of the fara‘ and ‘atīrah sacrifices but cites a report on the authority of Abū Hurayrah that the prophet Muhammad said: “There is no fara‘ and there is no ‘atīrah!” meaning that the sacrifices are prohibited in Islam.<sup>136</sup> Tirmidhī includes the same report from Abū Hurayrah and comments that the pre-Islamic “ḥajj” was during the months of Shawwāl, Dhū al-Qa’dah, and the first ten days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah and the ‘atīrah was offered during Rajab.<sup>137</sup>

#### PRE-ISLAMIC ḤAJJ AND ‘UMRAH

In pre-Islamic times, the term “ḥajj” seems to have been used to designate rituals tied to harvests, hunting, and the markets at which these seasonal events were celebrated. A pre-Islamic Minaean inscription from the Ḥijāz announces a “ḥajj” to Nikrah,<sup>138</sup> and the Christian heresiographer Epiphanius (d. 403) mentions a “Aggathalbaeith” which could be a reference to a “ḥajjat al-bayt” as a pilgrimage or other rituals associated with a “temple” [bayt] or other sanctuary in the northern Ḥijāz or in Syria.<sup>139</sup> The Babylonian Talmud mentions a “ḥajj of the Arabs” [ḥagtā de-ṭayy’ī] at a place called Nashra “located in Arabia,” one of five temples [bate ‘avödöt] at which Gentiles worshipped idols.<sup>140</sup> The Arabs are referred to as “merchants” and, in what could be a reference to the variable intercalation of the pre-Islamic calendar, both the Talmud and Rashi’s commentary on the passage explain that the date of this Arab “ḥajj” is not fixed from year to year.<sup>141</sup> Inscriptions from Taymā’ record visits to cultic sites for expiation and healing,<sup>142</sup> and the root ḤGG is used as a verb in Liḥyānite, Thamūdic, Ṣafaitic, and Sabaic inscriptions.<sup>143</sup>

Certain pre-Islamic practices, and the vestiges of these practices in early Islam indicate that the “ḥajj” associated with the areas near Mecca designated a set of rituals taking place apart from those later understood

to constitute the “*umrah*” focused on the Ka‘bah. Muslim sources describe practices indicating that the “*hajj*” was centered on places outside of Mecca: the hills of ‘Arafāt, al-Muzdalifah, and Minā. The “*hajj*” is said to have taken place during the first ten days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah following the summer date harvests that were celebrated in the annual markets of ‘Ukāz, Majannah, and Dhū al-Majāz at the end of the previous month of Dhū al-Qa‘dah.<sup>144</sup> According to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Qurayb al-Aṣma‘ī (d. 813), ‘Ukāz came first, followed in the last ten days of Dhū al-Qa‘dah by Majanna, and by Dhū al-Majāz in the first eight days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.<sup>145</sup> Each of the three markets was geographically closer to Mecca, with the last at Dhū al-Majāz taking place on the side of Mount Kawkab in the valley adjacent to ‘Arafāt.<sup>146</sup> Dhū al-Ḥijjah was followed by the month of Muḥarram, and together they formed a three-month period. Rajab, which fell earlier in the year, was the month during which the firstling sacrifices took place, and during which the ritual circumambulation of the Ka‘bah and the circuits between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah took place in pre-Islamic times.<sup>147</sup>

Bukhārī records a statement from Ibn ‘Abbās that links these annual seasonal markets to the “*hajj*” and the revelation of Q 2:198.<sup>148</sup> Exegetes record an alternate reading of Q 2:198 by Ibn ‘Abbās, adding “in the season of the *hajj*” following “there is no harm in you seeking the bounty of your Lord” at the start of the verse.<sup>149</sup> Perhaps indicating that a competition had existed between these markets and Mecca, Ibn Kathīr explains that Q 2:198 was revealed because some early Muslims were abstaining from buying and selling during the first days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, as had been the practice at the markets leading up to the “*hajj*” at ‘Arafāt and al-Muzdalifah.<sup>150</sup> Some scholars have proposed that the later Islamic ritual of throwing stones at the three pillars [*ramī al-jamarāt*] may have originated as a pre-Islamic practice, perhaps both symbolic and practical, of putting rocks in the soil of the valley between ‘Arafāt and Minā to keep the Meccans from cultivating the land.<sup>151</sup> Another tradition is that people used to throw rocks when a sale was concluded, suggesting that the Islamic ritual was reinterpreting a practice tied to the exchange of merchandise at pre-Islamic market fairs.

The different festivals for which people made pilgrimage were seasonal. Rajab was the month for the firstling offerings of the ‘*atīrah* and the *fara‘*, also both called “*Rajabīyah*” sacrifices. These sacrifices occurred in the spring, and were likely accompanying the rituals centered on the Ka‘bah, circumambulation [*ṭawwāf*], and the circuits between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah. Ibn al-Kalbī reports that a pilgrimage to Mecca was sometimes

also attached to a visit to one of the goddess shrines to offer a sacrifice. Variant traditions regarding hunted and domesticated animals as sacrificial victims might reflect a tension or just different practices among more settled versus more nomadic tribal groups. Offering a wild gazelle for 'atīrah, perhaps at the shrine of al-'Uzzā, al-Manāt, or al-Lāt, is a spring-time sacrifice whereas the hunting rituals that took place in the valley between Mount Thawr and Mount Thabīr occurred in the late summer and early fall accompanying the fairs of 'Ukāz, Majannah, and Dhū al-Majāz.

Competition between the rituals at the Ka'bah and those at 'Arafāt, al-Muzdalifah, and Minā might also be reflected in the many traditions about the prophet Muhammad fasting or not fasting during the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. Abū Dā'ūd preserves a report from 'Ā'ishah that the prophet Muhammad did not fast during the first ten days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah,<sup>152</sup> and similar reports are found in other ḥadīth collections.<sup>153</sup> Some ḥadīth reports state that the prophet Muhammad did fast during those days.<sup>154</sup> Ibn Ḥajar mentions that Sa'īd b. Jubayr fasted on those days, following the example of the prophet Muhammad, and several ḥadīth reports state that the prophet Muhammad fasted on the ninth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.<sup>155</sup> In his commentary linking Q 89:1-2 to Q 2:203, Ibn Kathīr cites the saying of Ibn 'Abbās linked to Q 2:198 allowing commercial activities during the beginning on Dhū al-Ḥijjah.<sup>156</sup>

Commenting on a statement from 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr on locations near al-Muzdalifah, Mālik b. Anas cites Q 2:197 and explains that "jīdāl" refers to the Quraysh criticizing the other Arabs doing the ritual standing [wuqūf] at 'Arafāt.<sup>157</sup> The so-called Ḥums, known for their attachment to the Meccan sanctuary, and the Ka'bah in particular, are reported to have refused to perform the ritual standing [wuqūf] at 'Arafāt, and instead did a substitute standing at al-Muzdalifah.<sup>158</sup> The widely remembered ḥadīth report of the prophet Muhammad declaring all al-Muzdalifah and 'Arafāt as a place to perform the ritual standing may have been a reaction to these competing locations.<sup>159</sup> According to Snouck Hurgronje, the prophet Muhammad's statement, in his farewell pilgrimage, regarding the practice of "standing" [wuqūf] at 'Arafāt and the sacrifice at Minā was intended to replace discrete pre-Islamic practices with a unified series of rituals centered on the Ka'bah in Mecca.<sup>160</sup>

Muslim scholarship ties the practice of ritual seclusion [i'tikāf] to Ramaḍān, and in particular to the "night of fate" [laylat al-qadr] on which the Quran is supposed to have been revealed.<sup>161</sup> According to Muslim jurisprudence, i'tikāf can be performed in any mosque, can

involve only fasting without a retreat, and is not required of all Muslims.<sup>162</sup> Yet the prophet Muhammad is said to have performed *i'tikāf* during the month of Shawwāl.<sup>163</sup> Accounts that the prophet Muhammad practiced fasting and retreating to *Ḥirā'* for the entire month of Ramaḍān [taḥannuth] would seem to overlap with reports that he practiced *i'tikāf* by fasting in a retreat near the Ka'bah. 'Ā'ishah is said to have performed "jīwār" on Mount Thabīr in a "Turkish tent" [qubbah turkīyah].<sup>164</sup> That the prophet Muhammad was following a pre-Islamic ritual is apparent from reports that other Meccans, such as the so-called *Ḥums*, did *i'tikāf* before Islam,<sup>165</sup> and 'Umar is said to have made a vow to practice *i'tikāf* before he became Muslim.<sup>166</sup>

It is evident that, in pre-Islamic times, the *i'tikāf*, like the Rajab sacrifices, focused on the Ka'bah in Mecca despite reports of ritual retreats in other locations. The use of the term "jīwār" to refer to the prophet Muhammad's practice indicates that it was understood to be associated with taking up temporary residence away from home, and some reports maintain that the *i'tikāf* should only be practiced in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem.<sup>167</sup> The ritual involved fasting, especially abstaining from sex, and staying in a specially constructed temporary structure, including a particular kind of red tent [khubbā'] made not from the hair of camels, sheep or goats but from down or wool.<sup>168</sup> Elsewhere the prophet Muhammad is said to have resided in a "tabernacle" made of palm branches.<sup>169</sup> Muslim exegetes explain that Q 2:187 was revealed to forbid sex during the *i'tikāf*, suggesting that sex was allowed in pre-Islamic times. Ibn 'Abbās claims that people would leave the mosque, go home and have sex, perform ablutions, and return to the *i'tikāf*.<sup>170</sup> A number of ḥadīth reports claim that the prophet Muhammad's contact with his wives, 'Ā'ishah in particular, during *i'tikāf* were allowed because she was menstruating and he only touched her through a cloth.

According to Ibn Kathīr, the prophet Muhammad performed some of the same rituals for the erection of his tent at Hudaybiyah as he would later stipulate for the performance of the full Islamic Ḥajj conjoining the rites centered on the Ka'bah with those from 'Arafāt, al-Muzdalifah, and Minā. He pitched his tent in a space outside of the sanctuary, slaughtered the camels, and then had his head shaved.<sup>171</sup> Use of a special tent in lieu of the Ka'bah seems to parallel the use of portable shrines to house deities among certain groups in pre-Islamic times. A bas relief on the temple of Bel at Palmyra shows what appears to be a tent-shrine mounted on horseback.<sup>172</sup> Another example is known from Ḥawrān.<sup>173</sup> In the ancient world more broadly defined, special cult tents were pitched during

seasonal spring festivals and ritual hunts in order to house weapons, clothing, and for the bathing of cult objects.<sup>174</sup> Hittites erected “tents” [pithoi] in the autumn to store ceremonial objects that would be retrieved on the occasion of the spring harvest.<sup>175</sup> The earliest attested shrines for Apollo were temporary structures built of laurel branches and were destroyed or burned when the deity left Delphi at the onset of winter.<sup>176</sup> A seal discovered at Hagia Triada near the southern coast of Crete shows what appears to be two men dressed in ceremonial garb emerging from a tent-like structure.<sup>177</sup> Similar examples of temporary cult structures accompanying animal sacrifices and used to house and dress cult objects tied to seasonal festivals are attested among the Mycenaeans and from a number of Bronze Age sites in the Aegean.<sup>178</sup>

According to reports preserved in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, the prophet Muhammad used to observe i’tikāf in a structure not unlike the biblical “sukkah,” a temporary structure made of palm branches.<sup>179</sup> Ibn Ishāq claims that similar rites were practiced by the pagan Meccans.<sup>180</sup> This could be related to Ibn al-Kalbī’s report that people used to build their own temples to house the images of their gods.<sup>181</sup> The pre-Islamic Arab poet Abū Qays Ṣirma b. Abī Anas is said to have built his own private sanctuary to practice “asceticism” [tarahhub],<sup>182</sup> and seclusion away from regular settlements is a recurring aspect of the ritual practices [taḥannuf, taḥannuth] associated with the ḥanīfs. The pre-Islamic religious group known as the Ḥums observed certain dietary restrictions related to dairy, used special tents not made of camel hair, and did not participate in the rites of the pre-Islamic ḥajj outside of Mecca at ‘Arafāt and al-Muzdalifah.<sup>183</sup> Biblical and Jewish law similarly stipulates that the “sukkah” should not be made of impure materials, and that the roof in particular must be organic and biodegradable.<sup>184</sup>

Ugaritic texts from Ras Shamra describe a “dwelling of branches” [mṭbt’ zmr] where a sacrifice is offered by the king during the autumnal new year celebrations.<sup>185</sup> The Israelite “festival of ingathering” [ḥagg hasif] (Exodus 23:16) or fruit harvest included family pilgrimages and sacrifices (I Sam 1:3–21) and pre-Israelite practices including dancing of virgins in the vineyards (Judges 21:19). Not unlike the connection between the i’tikāf tent and the Ka’bah, the date of the Israelite harvest festival coincided with the month in which the Jerusalem temple was completed (1 Kings 6:38 and 12:32). Other sources explain that the seasonal “tabernacle” [khubbā’] used by the prophet Muhammad for i’tikāf designated a tent made only from wool or the hair of camels and goats that would have been slaughtered in the spring.<sup>186</sup> This temporary

structure was to be like the Bedouin “bayt” – a word designating “house” and “temple” pitched with two or three poles. In part this could be a rejection of the practice of the Ḥums wearing garments not made of wool or hair,<sup>187</sup> and using tents of “red leather” as a repository for the stone idols of the tribe.<sup>188</sup> According to Muslim sources, the Ka‘bah [bayt allāh] itself was originally a “tent” erected by Adam without a roof, and the structure was rebuilt by Quṣayy and provided with a roof of organic materials.

Many of the ritual practices associated [taḥannuf or taḥannuth] with the so-called ḥanīfs of pre-Islamic Mecca are said to have involved retreats on mountains and in hunting and nature preserves.<sup>189</sup> Ibn Ishāq reports that the prophet Muhammad’s family, Khadijah at that time, practiced retreats with him at Ḥirā’ on Jabal al-Nūr.<sup>190</sup> Some traditions claim this extended retreat took place during the month of Rajab, linking it to the other seasonal spring ceremonies that are said to have taken place during the pre-Islamic ‘umrah rituals centered on the Ka‘bah. Other Muslim scholars, perhaps as part of an attempt to align the pagan practice more closely with Islam, state that the prophet Muhammad retreated to the mountain solitude during the month of Ramaḍān.<sup>191</sup> In his *Sirah*, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī (d. 1549) says that the prophet Muhammad used to feed the poor who visited him during his retreats in the Ḥirā’ cave.<sup>192</sup> Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl is reported to have retreated into a tent near Ḥirā’ as part of his “ḥanīf” practices. After his death he was buried inside the mountain.<sup>193</sup>

Ibn al-Kalbī claims that, in pre-Islamic times, people only visited Mecca for the Ka‘bah but did not live there permanently, a practice that seems to be reflected in the early Islamic idea that no permanent structures, other than the Ka‘bah, should be erected in Mecca.<sup>194</sup> Indeed, Mecca does not appear in any literature before the middle of the eighth century CE, nor is there any known archaeological evidence of the city existing in the pre-Islamic period.<sup>195</sup> It is tempting to note the archaeological and literary evidence indicating that a number of early Umayyad mosques were oriented not toward Mecca but to a location much further north in the Ḥijāz.<sup>196</sup> That the observance of a “ḥajj” tied to certain seasons is evident from the timing of the fairs at ‘Ukāz, Majannah, and Dhū al-Majāz with the date harvest. The sacred month of Rajab, in which a pilgrimage and sacrifice in Mecca were observed, was timed to coincide with the spring. In Q 28:27 the word “ḥijāj” is used to indicate “seasons” or “years.” The etymological association of the root ḤGG with “dancing” has also been interpreted as designating the types of celebratory rituals used as harvest festivals.<sup>197</sup>



Muslim sources make it clear that in pre-Islamic times and even in the early Islamic period, Mecca was a ritual site to be visited by pilgrims, not considered a place of permanent residence. Several Muslim sources indicate that Mecca was only “formed” and populated for trade with Syria in the summer and Ethiopia in the winter.<sup>198</sup> In the reports about the Ḥajj led by Abū Bakr in the ninth year after the Hijrah, it is stated that only the small delegation of Muslims were allowed to be in Mecca during their visit.<sup>199</sup> Followers of the prophet Muhammad are said to have refused to stay in secluded residence [jiwār] in Mecca following performance of a Ḥajj or ‘Umrah.<sup>200</sup> In another report, the prophet Muhammad is said to have stated that “Mecca is the residence only of those people who already live there,” and is said to have declared it illegal for the inhabitants of Mecca to rent or sell their dwellings.<sup>201</sup> ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz is reported to have written a letter prohibiting the renting of houses in Mecca. Later exegesis on Q 22:25 interprets these and other statements as referring to the Meccans blocking access to the Ka‘bah.<sup>202</sup> Q 14:37 refers to Mecca as a “sterile valley” [wādī ghayr dhī zar‘] and other names for Mecca include “kutha” and “‘arsh,” both words meaning “huts” or “tents” in Arabic.<sup>203</sup>

#### SOURCES AND QUESTIONS

Despite the logical link between the prophet Muhammad’s camel sacrifice at the conclusion of his Ḥajj and his earlier practice of offering aḍḥā sacrifices on the same date, Muslim sources do not entirely explain how the two are related.

A report on the authority of ‘Ā’ishah states that the prophet Muhammad said “Aḍḥā is the day people sacrifice [yuḍaḥī],”<sup>204</sup> and another on the authority of Anas b. Mālīk states that the prophet Muhammad slaughtered two black and white rams after addressing his followers on the day of Aḍḥā.<sup>205</sup> In another version he slaughters seven camels along with the two black-and-white rams.<sup>206</sup> In another report the prophet Muhammad instructs his followers to pray and then sacrifice, in order to act in accordance with his sunnah [wa-man ta‘ala fa-qad aṣāba sunnata-nā].<sup>207</sup> Ibn ‘Umar claims that the prophet Muhammad used to perform sacrifices at the place of prayer [muṣall-an].<sup>208</sup> The prophet Muhammad is reported to have given ‘Uqbah b. ‘Āmir sheep to distribute to his followers to sacrifice.<sup>209</sup> Some reports allude to a sacrifice, stating that seven people would share a cow and ten a camel on ‘Īd al-aḍḥā when traveling with the prophet Muhammad.<sup>210</sup> Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh relates that people used to take “aḍḥā meat” [luḥūm al-aḍḥā] back to Medina during

the lifetime of the prophet Muhammad.<sup>211</sup> Others say that on that day he used to pray, take a bath,<sup>212</sup> pray after planting a spear in the ground,<sup>213</sup> and that he allowed music and singing girls during the holiday.<sup>214</sup> These reports do not indicate a link between the sacrifice, performing the Ḥajj, or to the practice of Abraham.

Muslim exegetes link the aḏḥā sacrifice to Q 22:34. 'Ikrimah is cited as saying that the phrase “to every people we gave a ritual [mansak-an]” refers to “sacrifice” [dhabḥ-an] in general. Mujāhid says it refers to the “spilling of blood” [ihrā al-damā’], and Ibn ‘Abbās claims it is a holiday [‘īd]. Zayd b. Aslam takes the term “mansak-an” as a noun of place [ism al-makān] and says it refers to Mecca, the only such place given to Muslims. According to Qatādah, the term refers to the Ḥajj, and Ibn al-‘Arabī notes that the term is only used in connection with the Ḥajj.<sup>215</sup> Suyūṭī relates a story, given on the authority of Abū Hurayrah, regarding the angel Gabriel telling the prophet Muhammad about the sacrifice of Abraham.

Gabriel came down and said to the Prophet: “How do you like our ‘īd?” He [Gabriel] said: “The people of heaven take pride in it . . . Know Muhammad that a young sheep [jadha’] is better than the best of goats, and a young sheep is better than the best of cows, and a young sheep is better than the best of camels. If God had known something better, he would have redeemed Abraham with it.”<sup>216</sup>

Presumably the redemption of Abraham here refers to his sacrifice of an animal in place of his son, prefiguring the later aḏḥā sacrifice, but the connection is not made explicit.

It appears that later Muslim scholarship provides a degree of systematization to the origins of the prophet Muhammad’s practice of sacrifice. That these practices were supposed to have been linked with the so-called ḥanīfs in Mecca, and continuing practices were supposed to have originated in the time of Abraham and his original establishment of rites relative to the Ka‘bah, does not capture fully the nuances and details of the performance.<sup>217</sup> The imaginations and prescriptions of “classical” scholars of Islamic law and theology are not always entirely consistent with what other Arabic sources report for the actual practices in and around Mecca and the Ḥajj. Even as late as the nineteenth century, Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca during the month of Rajab exhibited many elements consistent with the pre-Islamic practices reported by classical Arabic sources.<sup>218</sup> During his visit to Mecca in the twelfth century, Ibn Jubayr described the feast of Rajab, involving mountain tribes entering and throwing themselves against the curtains of the Ka‘bah, driving

animals to slaughter, and nocturnal dancing and ritual greeting of the spring new moon.

Knowledge of conditions in Mecca at the beginning of the seventh century CE were not widely available until the middle of the eighth century at the earliest, if not until the beginning of the ninth century, and it is clear from more recent discoveries of documentary sources such as inscriptions and archaeological finds that the Arabic sources paint a picture that is ill-informed, out of date, or both.<sup>219</sup> Of course, providing what some modern historians might consider an “accurate” record of Arabia on the eve of Islam and the life of the prophet Muhammad might well not have been the aim of early writers such as Ibn Hishām, Ibn al-Kalbī, and al-Wāqidī. The authoritative collections of ḥadīth reports, compiled roughly two centuries after the death of the prophet Muhammad, had their own agendas related to law, popular piety and practice, and state sponsorship of certain forms of institutionalized knowledge. Much of the legal scholarship attempting to standardize and regulate Muslim practice, despite the conflicting character of the legal opinions compiled, emerges even later.<sup>220</sup>

Information from early Muslim sources on the prophet Muhammad’s sacrifice of 100 camels at the conclusion of his farewell pilgrimage raise more questions than they answer. Although the account of the sacrifice is usually attributed to Ibn ‘Abbās, it is not found in the earliest biography of Ibn Ishāq or Ibn Hishām but is only first referenced in the authoritative collections of ḥadīth reports.<sup>221</sup> For example, why did the Prophet perform a sacrifice at the conclusion of his Ḥajj? How did he know how to perform the sacrifice? Was it related to the “aḏḥā” sacrifices he is said to have performed, and why would he perform these when he had not yet given his followers the example of how to perform the full Islamic Ḥajj? Perhaps most significantly, if (as much later Muslim scholarship claims) Abraham’s animal sacrifice in place of his son at Minā was the example being followed by the prophet Muhammad, then why did Muhammad sacrifice 100 camels?

#### NOTES

- 1 See the comments on specific examples in Stanley Stowers, “Greeks Who Sacrifice and Those Who Do Not: Toward an Anthropology of Greek Religion,” in *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne A. Meeks*, ed. L. Michael White and O. Larry Yarbrough

- (Minneapolis, MN, 1995), 293–333; Stanley Stowers, “On the Comparison of Blood in Ancient Israelite and Greek Sacrifice,” *Hesed ve-emet: Essays in Honor of Ernest Frerichs*, ed. Jodi Magness and Seymour Gitin (Atlanta, GA, 1998), 179–194. For views on a world without sacrifice, see David Ullucci, “Before Animal Sacrifice, A Myth of Innocence,” *Religion and Theology* 15 (2008): 357–374.
- 2 See Maria-Zoe Petropoulou, *Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion, Judaism, and Christianity, 100 BC–AD 200* (Oxford, 2008); Robert Daly, *Christian Sacrifice: The Judaeo-Christian Background before Origen* (Washington, DC, 1978); Laura Nasrallah, “The Embarrassment of Blood: Early Christians and Others on Sacrifice, War, and Rational Worship,” in *Ancient Mediterranean Sacrifice*, ed. Jennifer Wright Knust and Zsuzsanna Várhelyi (Oxford, 2011), 142–166; Christian A. Eberhart, ed., *Ritual and Metaphor: Sacrifice in the Bible* (Atlanta, GA, 2011).
  - 3 For the attitude of Jesus toward sacrifice and the temple cult see Paula Fredrikson, *Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews: A Jewish Life and the Emergence of Christianity* (London, 2001); and Paula Fredrikson, *From Jesus to Christ: The Origins of the New Testament Images of Jesus* (New Haven, CT, 2000); J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, trans. F. H. and C. H. Cave (Philadelphia, PA, 1978); E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London, 1995); G. Vermes, *The Changing Faces of Jesus* (London, 2000), esp. 199. On Jesus and Paul and sacrifices at temple, see Petropoulou, *Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Greek Religion*, esp. 225–236.
  - 4 See, for example, Dennis Green, “To ‘... Send Up, Like the Smoke of Incense, the Works of the Law’: The Similarity of Views on an Alternative to Temple Sacrifice by Three Jewish Sectarian Movements of the Late Second Temple Period,” in *Religion in the Ancient World*, ed. Matthew Dillon (Amsterdam, 1996), 165–175; F. S. Naiden, “Rejected Sacrifice in Greek and Hebrew Religion,” *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 6 (2006): 186–223.
  - 5 For some useful background, see Folkert van Straten, “Greek Sacrificial Representations: Livestock Prices and Religious Mentality,” in *Gifts to the Gods: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985*, ed. T. Linders and G. Nordquist, 159–170 (Stockholm, 1987); and van Straten, *Hiera Kala*.
  - 6 For a study of how the rejection of animal sacrifice emerged with Christianity, see Daniel Ullucci, *The Christian Rejection of Animal Sacrifice* (Oxford, 2012); and Daniel Ullucci, “The End of Animal Sacrifice,” PhD dissertation, Brown University, 2009.
  - 7 See, for example, the discussion of this unease from a contemporary context in Magfirah Dahlan-Taylor, “Beyond Barbarity and Concealment: Animal Sacrifice and Religious Slaughter in Islamic Responses to Postdomesticity,” *Culture and Religion* 17 (2016): 352–365.

- 8 See J. Chelhod, "Hady," in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 53–54; Ahmad Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, ed. E. Sachau (Leiden, 1904–1908), 1:92; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sira al-nabawīyah*, 1:146.
- 9 See in particular Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyah al-mujtāhid wa nihāyat al-muqtaṣid*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad Ma'ūd and 'Ādil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Wujūd (Beirut, 1996); and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, *Hāshiyat aṭ-Ṭaḥṭāwī 'alā Marāqī al-falāḥ sharḥ Nūr al-īdāḥ li-Ḥasan Ibn 'Ammār Ibn 'Alī Shurunbalālī*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khālīdī (Beirut, 2009), 1:555.
- 10 Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-nabawīyah*, 970/652.
- 11 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 26:3, 7–8; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 9:6, 3; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 4:1117; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 11:647, 272. Mujāhid reports that Ibn 'Umar said the prophet Muhammad only did 'Umrah twice, but then also reports that 'Ā'ishah said Ibn 'Umar knew it was three times in addition to the last one he conjoined to his farewell Ḥajj. Compare with Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 11:590, 57.
- 12 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1253; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:7, 815–816; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 26:3, 6 and see 64:43 (293); Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 11:647; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3117.
- 13 See Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭā'*, ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī (Beirut, n.d.), 20:56 (761). See also the evidence for three occurrences in Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 93; and Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'an al-aẓīm*, on Q 3:247.
- 14 See Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 11:647, 271.
- 15 Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 24:2727. Compare *Sunan*, 24:2631; and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:22, 166.
- 16 See Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar, *Bulūgh al-marām min adillat al-aḥkām* (Riyadh, 2017), 6:5, 774. Compare the commentary in 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Dahhāmī, *Sharḥ kitāb al-ḥajj min bulūgh al-marām* (Beirut, 2017). Compare Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3088; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:26, 198; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:77, 121.
- 17 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 24, 3085; 25, 3088; Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 24, 2932, 2725; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:34, 49; 25:63, 100.
- 18 See Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 24:2745; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:125, 202; 25:33, 46; 26:11, 21; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:26, 200.
- 19 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 26:3255.
- 20 See Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭā'*, 23, 2401.
- 21 See Abu Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 11:1750 (581); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 26, 3253.
- 22 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:62, 1319.
- 23 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:17, 1211 (134).
- 24 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:62, 1318.
- 25 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 73:10, 5559 (15); 6:1, 294 (1), 25:124, 1720 (198), 56:105, 2952 (164); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25, 2076; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:17, 1211 (127). In al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 73:3, 5548 (4) and al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 1, 292, the

- prophet Muhammad sends the meat to his wives. Compare the accounts in Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 11:590, 1782 (62) and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:17, 1211 (128).
- 26 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:17, 1213 (149).
- 27 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:62, 1318; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 43:16, 4393; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 16:1035, 2807 (20) and reports that people practiced this during the prophet Muhammad's lifetime without receiving any comment from him: Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:62, 1318e.
- 28 See Ibn Kathīr, *al-Fuṣū'l fī sirah al-rasūl*, 3:311–313; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:66, 904; 19:8, 1502; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 26, 3252, 3254; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 16:1035, 2809; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:62, 1318.
- 29 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:102, 1688 (167); Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwattā'*, 23, 1040; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:62, 1318.
- 30 For sacrifice as expiatory, see Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 1:131, 351; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 14, 1396; 14, 1399; 10:59, 864; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 11:31, 929; 11:4, 881 (6); al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:6, 499; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 7:2, 850a (14); Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwattā'*, 5:226.
- 31 See *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest*, ed. C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 1965), 82; Mark Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemītischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), 270; Ḥ. M. Al-Qudrah, "Dirāsah mu'ğamiyyah li-'l-fāz al-nuqūš al-liḥyāniyyah fī iṭār al-luġāt al-sāmiyyah al-ġanūbiyyah," Unpublished MA dissertation, Irbid, 1993, 102–103, 217, 219; G. E. Mendenhall and Fawwaz al-Khrayseheh, "Comparative Thamudic and Safaitic Glossary," Unpublished manuscript, n.d., 21; A. F. L. Beeston and others, *Sabaic Dictionary* (Beirut, 1982). 66.
- 32 On the etymology, see Julian Morgenstern, "The Etymological History of the Three Hebrew Synonyms for 'To Dance,' HGG, HLL and KRR, and Their Cultural Significance," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 36 (1916): 321–332, esp. 326–328. On the use of dance at seasonal festivals, see Theodor Gaster, *Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1950), passim.
- 33 See Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mujtāhid wa nihāyat al-muqtaṣid*, 3:396.
- 34 Yahyā b. Abī al-Khayr al-Imrānī, *al-Bayān fī fiqh al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥijāzī Aḥmad al-Saqqā (Beirut, 2002), 4:393.
- 35 See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣnām*; Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Azraqī, *Akḥbār Makkah*, ed. Rushdī al-Ṣāliḥ Malḥas (Beirut, 1982); Fahd, *Le Pantheon de l'Arabie centrale*; and Taufiq Fahd, "Isāf wa-Nā'ila," in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 4:91–92.
- 36 See Hawting, "Pilgrimage," in *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, 4:91–99; Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥlah al-ḥijāzīyah: li-walī al-ni'am al-ḥajj 'Abbas Ḥilmū Bāshā al-thānī khidūw Miṣr* (Cairo, 1911); Reuven Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands: The Evolution of the Abraham–Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis* (New York, 1990), esp. 63–71.

- 37 See Abū Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, ed. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī and ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilw (Cairo, 1986), 5:451.
- 38 See al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makkah*, 2:234.
- 39 See al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makkah*, 1:73; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 55/39.
- 40 See Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, 5:450; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3:12–14; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2:860–861; Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 1:430–431; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, on Q 2:196; Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (Cairo, 1895), 4:240–244; al-‘Imrānī, *al-Bayān fī fiqh al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī*, 4:392.
- 41 See Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 97–100/66–68.
- 42 See Abū ‘Abdallāh Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goege (Leiden, 1892), 3:790, 912; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 102; William Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites: The Fundamental Institutions*, 3rd ed., ed. Stanley Cook (London, 1927), 140–163.
- 43 See M. A. Ghul, “The Pilgrimage at Itwat,” *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 14 (1984): 33–39.
- 44 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 26, 3243.
- 45 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 73:7, 5553 (9), 5554 (10), 5564 (20), 97:13, 7399 (28); al-Nasā‘ī, *Sunan*, 43:14, 4385 (25), 4386 (26), 4388 (28), 4390 (30), 19:30, 1588 (33); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 26, 3248; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 19:19, 1520 (32); Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 16:1032, 2796 (9). Compare al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 19:17, 1517 (29).
- 46 See Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. J. Marsden Jones (London, 1966), 1008; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 19:11, 1507 (18) and compare 1506 (17); Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 4955. See the discussion in Gerald Hawting, “The Slaughter of a Ḍaḥīyya during Ḥajj and the Origins of ‘Īd al-aḍḥā,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 31 (2006): 58–73.
- 47 See Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 16:1032, 2792 (5); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 45:3, 1967 (28).
- 48 Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 16:1036, 2810 (23).
- 49 See Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 16:1032, 2793 (6).
- 50 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 73:6, 5551 (7), 5552 (8).
- 51 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:119, 1714 (192), 25:117, 1712 (190).
- 52 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:9, 1679b (43).
- 53 See Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Qirā li-qāsid Umm al-Qurā*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā’ (Cairo, 1970), 499, cited in Hawting, “The Slaughter of a Ḍaḥīyya,” 63.
- 54 For earlier theories, see Hawting, “The Slaughter of a Ḍaḥīyya,” esp. 61–66; Joseph Chelhod, “Le sacrifice arabe nommé ḍaḥīyya,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 142 (1952): 206–215.
- 55 See the short note in Richard Bell, “The Origin of the Id al-Adha,” *Muslim World* 23 (1933): 117–120; William Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman* (Oxford, 1961), 112–124.

- 56 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, on Q 22:38; Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Tabarī, *Jamīʿ al-bayān fi taʾwīl al-Qurʾān* (Beirut, 1412), on Q 22:29.
- 57 See Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭāʾ*, 20:100.
- 58 Compare with Ibn ʿUmar’s statement in Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭāʾ*, 20:62.
- 59 On Ḥudaybiyah, see Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 7:60, 3024; Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, 24, 2862; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:904 (97).
- 60 See Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭāʾ*, 20:165.
- 61 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 74 of 499–500.
- 62 See Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fi al-tafsīr al-maʾthūr* (Beirut, 1990), on Q 48:25.
- 63 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 74 of 499–500.
- 64 See Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:92; Chelhod, “Hady,” 3:53–54; Wensinck and Fahd, “Rabb,” in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 8:330; William Montgomery Watt, “The Qurʾān and Belief in a ‘High God,’” *Der Islam* 56 (1979): 205–211; Gerald Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to History* (Cambridge, 1999), esp. 20–44.
- 65 See al-Azraqī, *Akhhār Makkah*, 2:176.
- 66 See G. Ryckmans, “Le sacrifice DBH dans les inscriptions safaïtiques,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23 (1950–1951): 431–433; *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, pars quinta: Inscriptiones Saracenicas Continentes* (Paris, 1889–1931), 875, 852, 3946, 4359, 1658; Enno Littman, *Thamūd und Šafā: Studien zur altnorarabischen Inschriftenkunde* (Leipzig, 1940), 649.
- 67 See *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, 1658; R. Dussaud and F. Macler, *Voyage archeologique au Šafā et dans le Djebel ed-Drūz* (Paris, 1901), 388.
- 68 See Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad al-Makkī, *Shifāʾ al-ghirām bi-akhhār al-balad al-ḥarām* (Cairo, 1961), 1:72.
- 69 See, for example E. Douglas Van Buren, “Places of Sacrifice (‘Opferstätten’),” *Iraq* 14 (1952): 76–92.
- 70 See Uzi Avner, “Ancient Cult Sites in the Negev and Sinai Deserts,” *Tel Aviv* 11 (1984): 115–131; Udo Worschech, “The Burial Ground of ar-Raha al-Muʿarrajah,” *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 44 (2000): 193–200.
- 71 al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fi al-tafsīr al-maʾthūr*, on Q 2:158.
- 72 See Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan*, 11:647, 274
- 73 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 56:187, 272; Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭāʾ*, Ḥajj 20:56, 761. For sources on the battle of Hunayn, see H. Lammens and ʿAbd al-Hafez Kamal, “Hunayn,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd ed.
- 74 See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fi al-tafsīr al-maʾthūr*, on Q 2:158.
- 75 See ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-kubrā: Kifāyat al-ṭālib al-labīb fi khaṣāʾiṣ al-Ḥabīb* (Beirut, 1980), 1:89; Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥakīm al-Nisābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn fi al-ḥadīth* (Hederabad, 1916), 3:216–217; al-Dhahabī, *Siyār aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Bashār ʿAwwād Maʾrūf (Beirut, 1992), 1:90–91. See the discussion in



- M. J. Kister, "Bag of Meat: A Study of an Early Ḥadīth," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 33 (1970): 271.
- 76 See Mālik b. Anas, *Muwattāʾ*, 20:890.
- 77 See Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan*, 16:1036, 2810 (23).
- 78 See Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan*, 28:4, 3747. Compare al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 56:199, 3089 (294).
- 79 See Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan*, 16:1039, 2814 (27).
- 80 See al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 19:8, 1501; al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, 43:15, 4392; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 26, 3251.
- 81 For these references, see John Healey, *The Religion of the Nabataeans* (Leiden, 2001), s.v. MSGDA; *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions, Handbook of Oriental Studies*, ed. J. Hoftijzer and others, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1997), s.v. MSGDA, 663, where the word is used to refer to a "sanctuary." For other attestations on altars or steles, see Javier Teixidor, *The Pagan God: Popular Religion in the Greco-Roman Near East* (Princeton, NJ, 1977), 85; Eno Littmann, *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909*. Division 4: Semitic Inscriptions (Leiden, 1914-1949), 73, 22-23.
- 82 See the reference in J. T. Milik, "Les papyrus araméens d'Hermoupolis et les cultes syro-phéniciens en Égypte perse," *Biblica* 48 (1967): 546-622, esp. 565 cited in Teixidor, *The Pagan God*, 87. Teixidor speculates that the Arabic deity Aʿra (Greek Aarras) mentioned in the bilingual inscription from Umm al-Jimal could be derived from the Arabic Gh-R-Y, meaning "dyed object," and refer to a cult object or location dyed with the blood of animals killed there. For the Altar to Zeus Betylos at Dura Europos in third century CE, see H. Seyrig in M. I. Rostovtzeff, ed., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* 4 (New Haven, CT, 1933), 68-71, no. 168. Also see J. Teixidor, "The Altars Found at Hatra," *Sumer* 21 (1965): 85-92.
- 83 See Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Theeb, *Aramaic and Nabataean Inscriptions from North-West Saudi Arabia* (Riyadh, 1993), no. 1:2. Also see the references to temporary shrines in Fuad Safar, "Hatra Inscriptions," *Sumer* 27 (1971): 3-14, esp. 3-5; Fuad Safar, *al-Ḥaḍar: Madīnah al-shams* (Baghdad, 1974), 415; B. Aggoula, "Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes IV," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 49 (1975/1976): 469-488, esp. 481-483; Rainer Degen and others, *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* (Wiesbaden, 1972-1978), 68-72; Francesco Vattioni, *Le iscrizioni di Hatra* (Napoli, 1981), 90-91; B. Aggoula, "Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes XI," *Syria* 64 (1987): 91-106, esp. 101-106.
- 84 See, for example, Antonin Jaussen and Raphael Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie* (Paris, 1922), 1:54, 1:43, 1:57 (=CIS 2:235).
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- 86 See Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭā'*, 26, 1075.
- 87 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 71:2, 5471 (6); 5472 (7); Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭā'*, 26, 1070.
- 88 See al-'Imrānī, *al-Bayān fī fiqh al-Imām al-Shāfi'ī*, 4:441–442; Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭā'*, 26:2; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:99; Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh Ḥākīm al-Nisābūrī, *al-Mustadarak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn* (Beirut, 1990), 4:237; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 77:276; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 37:13.
- 89 See Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī bi-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Beirut, 1988), 9:484 on al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 71:1. Compare Eijub Abela, "Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palyastinaverreins* 7 (1884): 79–118.
- 90 See Joseph Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes: Recherches sur l'évolution, la nature et la fonction des rites sacrificiels en Arabie occidentale* (Paris, 1955), esp. 99–100; Rudolf Kriss and Hubert Kriss-Heinrich, *Volks Glaube im Bereich des Islam* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 1:31–52; F. Aubaile-Sallenave, "Les Rituels de naissance dans le monde musulman," in *Sacrifice en Islam: Espaces et temps d'un rituel*, ed. P. Bonte and others (Paris, 1999), 125–160.
- 91 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-asnām*, 19; trans. Paris as *Book of Idols*, 16–17.
- 92 Al-Khargūshī, *Sharaf al-Muṣṭafā*, fols. 27b–28a, cited in Kister, "A Bag of Meat," 270; Nisābūrī, *al-Mustadarak 'alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, 3:216–217; al-Dhahabī, *Siyār al-nubalā'*, 1:90–91, 160–161.
- 93 Qarawīyūn manuscript 727, folios 37b–38a cited in A. Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph 1 (Manchester, 1950), Arabic 59, English translation, 27–28. See Kister, "A Bag of Meat," 267.
- 94 See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī tafsīr al-ma'thūr* on Q 2:125.
- 95 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 63:24, 3826 (52).
- 96 See Azraqī, *Akhhār Makkah*, 1:126–127.
- 97 See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-asnām*, 16; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 917–919.
- 98 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 251.
- 99 See (anon), "Thabīr," in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v.

- 100 See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 2:72–74; al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makkah*, 2:107.
- 101 On the tradition, see Aziz al-Azmeh, *The Emergence of Islam in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2014), 187 citing the *Akhhbār* of ʿUbayd b. Sharya, 377. On Q 50:39 and the prophet Muhammad’s prohibition, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:53.
- 102 See Arent Jan Wensinck, *Arabic New Year and the Feast of Tabernacles*, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afd. letterkunde. Nieuwe reeks, 25,2 (Amsterdam, 1925), 16; M. T. Houtsma, “Hetskopelisme en het steenwerpen te Mina,” in *Verlagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen* (1904): 185–217, esp. 207.
- 103 See Heinrich Zimmern, “Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest,” *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 58 (1906): 130–133.
- 104 See Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Jubayr, *Riḥlah*, ed. W. Wright and M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1907), 208.
- 105 See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fī taʾwīl al-Qurʾān*, on Q 30:59.
- 106 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 7:39, 40; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 8:46; Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭʾāʾ*, 20:133; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 13:196. See Wensinck, “Arabic New Year and the Feast of Tabernacles,” 18.
- 107 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 30:52; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 13:175, 177; Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers* (Batavia, 1893).
- 108 See Wensinck, “Arabic New Year and the Feast of Tabernacles,” 18–19; Houtsma, “Hetskopelisme en het steenwerpen te Mina,” 185–217, says Ramadan was a common Semitic mourning period. Antonin Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908), 390–392, says that the bedouins who do not fast during Ramaḍān still mark its end with an animal sacrifice.
- 109 See some of the examples discussed in A. A. D. Peatfield, “The Topography of Minoan Peak Sanctuaries,” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 78 (1983): 273–279.
- 110 See Uri Rubin, Rubin, “Ḥanifiyya and Kaʿba: An Inquiry into the Arabian Pre-Islamic Background of dīn Ibrāhīm,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 13 (1990): 85–112, at 106; Reinhart Dozy, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka: von Davids Zeit bis in’s fünft Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung. Ein Beitrag zur alttestamentlichen Kritik und zur Erforschung des Ursprungs des Islam* (Leipzig, 1864), 80–82 referring to the biblical context (Num 32:16, 24, 36; I Sam 24:3; Zeph 2:6) of “jidār” as a pen for sheep and other domesticated animals.
- 111 See Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Qirā li-qāsid umm al-qurā*, 569; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, 3:438–439; Rubin, “Ḥanifiyya and Kaʿba,” 92.
- 112 See the references and discussion in Rubin, “The Kaʿba.”
- 113 For references, see al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 2:795 and 832; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4:185; Fahd, *Le Pantheon de l’Arabie centrale a la veille*

- de l'hégire*, 39; al-Azraqī, *Akbbār Makkah*, 75; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣnām*, 29; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 56–57 and 77; Rubin, “Ḥanīfiyya and Ka‘ba,” 106.
- 114 See al-Azraqī, *Akbbār Makkah*, 31; Ibn Ḥajr, *Fath al-bārī*, 6:289; Lüling 372n47; Rubin, “Ḥanīfiyya and Ka‘ba,” 106.
- 115 See Fahd, “Consecration of Animals,” in the *Encyclopaedia of the Quran*, s.v.
- 116 On the incident, see Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 919; Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, 617; al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 1076–1078; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Fuṣūl fī sīrah al-rasūl*, 4:48–52.
- 117 For a discussion of these sources and events, see Gerd Marie Adna, *Muhammad and the Formation of Sacrifice*, Europäische Hochschulschriften 944 (Frankfurt, 2014), 176–179.
- 118 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 26:3, 1777 (5); al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:93, 936 (129).
- 119 See al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:93, 937 (130).
- 120 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25, 3112.
- 121 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 64:43, 4253–4254 (288); 26:3, 1775–1776 (4); 15:35, 1254 (242), 1255 (243).
- 122 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 37:2, 2069 (24); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 7, 1815; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 13:34, 1557 (232); Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 14:822, 2430 (118). Compare al-Nasā‘ī, *Sunan*, 22:70, 2357 (268).
- 123 See Muḥammad Jarallāh Ibn Zaḥīrah, *al-Jāmi‘ al-laṭīf fī faḍā’il Makkah wa ahli-hā wa bīna’ al-bayt al-sharīf* (Cairo, 1921), 110, cited in M. J. Kister, “Rajab Is the Month of God?: A Study in the Persistence of an Early Tradition,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971): 191–223, esp. 220.
- 124 See Yūsuf b. Ya‘qūb Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis: prae-missis capitibus de Mecca et parte regionis Hiḡāz, qui liber inscribitur: Ta’rīḥ al-mustabṣir, secundum codicem Constantinopolitanum Hagiae Sophiae 3080, collato codice Leidensi Or. 5572*, ed. O. Löfgren (Leiden, 1951–1954), 1:26 cited by Kister, “Rajab Is the Month of God,” 220.
- 125 See Ibn Mujāwir, *Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis*, 1:190 cited by Kister, “Rajab Is the Month of God,” 222.
- 126 On this, see Henninger, *Les fêtes de printemps*, 37–44; Fahd, “Consecration of Animals,” in the *Encyclopaedia of the Qur‘ān*, s.v.
- 127 See Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Ḥayyān al-Wakī, *Akbbār al-quḍāt*, ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Marāghī (Cairo, 1947), 2:325, 360, cited in Kister, “Rajab Is the Month of God,” 220.
- 128 See the references given in Kister, “Rajab Is the Month of God,” 221–222.
- 129 See, for example, the correspondences between Ramaḍān, Sha‘bān, and the new year in Wensinck, “Arabic New Year and the Feast of Tabernacles,” esp. 12–15.
- 130 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 28:9, 1679 (42); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 97:24, 7447 (73), 73:5, 5550 (6), 64:77, 4406 (428), 65, 4662, 59:2, 3197 (8); Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 11:635, 1947 (227). For scholarship on this issue, see Dorothea

- Müller, “Ḥadīṭ-Aussagen zum Erstlingsopfer,” in *Fischer Festgabe für Hans Wehr* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 93–96; Kister, “‘Rajab Is the Month of God,’” 191–223.
- 131 See al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, 41:2, 4230 (9).
- 132 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 26, 3245; Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 16:1, 2788; al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, 41:1, 4222 (1), 4223 (2), 4225 (4).
- 133 See al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, 41:2, 4230 (9), 41:2, 4231 (10), 41:2, 4229 (8); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 27, 3287; Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 16:1048, 2830 (43).
- 134 See al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, 41:1, 4226 (5), 4228; 4228 (7), 4229 (8), and 4230 (9), 4231 (10); 4232 (11), 4233 (12).
- 135 See Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 16:1048, 2833 (46).
- 136 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 71:4, 5474 (10) and compare 71:3, 5473 (9).
- 137 See al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi’ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 19:15, 1512 (23). Compare al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 64:70, 4376–4377 (401).
- 138 See M. J. Kister, “Some Reports Concerning Mecca from Jāhiliyya to Islam,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 15 (1972): 61–93, esp. 86–88.
- 139 See the discussion in Patricia Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (Piscataway, NJ, 2004), 134–137, citing al-Baladhūrī; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1969), 1:37, 150; Patricia Crone, “Quraysh and the Roman Army: Making Sense of the Meccan Leather Trade,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 70 (2007): 63–88. Compare the discussion of this issue in David King, “The Orientation of Medieval Islamic Religious Architecture and Cities,” *Journal of the History of Astronomy* 26 (1995): 253–274.
- 140 See Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, 29 (2:298); David Muller and Julius Euling, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, 8; J. H. Mordtmann, *Beitrage Zur Minaischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1897), 8.
- 141 See Henri Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l’hégire* (Rome, 1924), 131 and 153–154. See the discussion of this reference in Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*, 134–136 and in Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge, 1977), 23–24.
- 142 For the reference, see Babylonian Talmud, ‘Avodah Zara 11b. For Nashra and its possible relationship to eagle and vulture symbolism, see Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 27; William Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, 1903), 209; W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838* (London, 1872), 768b, 19; Theodor Nöldeke, “Review of *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*,” *Deutsche Morgenländische Zeitung* 40 (1886): 148–187, esp. 186, citing George Phillips, ed. and trans., *The Doctrine of Addai* (London, 1876), 24. Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, 4:781 says Nasr associated with al-‘Uzzā by Christian poet al-Akḥṭal.

- 143 For a review of recent scholarship on pre-Islamic calendars, and especially the variable timing of the “sacred months,” see Christine Rink and Rahlf Hansen, “Der altarabische Kalender,” in *Sonne, Mond und Sterne – Meilensteine der Astronomiegeschichte Zum 100 jährigen Jubiläum der Hamburger Sternwarte in Bergedorf, Nuncius Hamburgensis*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften, Band 29, ed. Gudrun Wolfschidt (Hamburg, 2013), 199–249. There is a general overview in Adolf Grohmann, *Arabische Chronologie* (Leiden, 1966).
- 144 See Abū Bakr Ibn ‘Arabī, *Aḥkām al-Qur’ān*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Atā’ (Beirut, n.d.), on Q 48:25.
- 145 According to Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, s.v., the location of the sacrifice at al-Ḥudaybiyah is partially within the boundaries of the sanctuary but is not within the circuit of the pilgrimage. He states that the distance between al-Ḥudaybiyah and the Ka’bah is more than a day leading camels. It is approximately sixteen miles from the Ka’bah to the location of the Masjid al-Ḥudaybiyah today.
- 146 On some of these fairs, see Sa’īd al-Afghānī, *Aswāq al-‘Arab fī al-jāhiliyah wa al-Islām* (Damascus, 1960), esp. 277–343; Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, 4:142; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 88–91. On the location of ‘Ukāz, see Khalid al-Muaikel, “Sūq ‘Ukāz in al-Ṭā’if: Archaeological Survey of an Islamic Site,” *al-‘Uṣūr al-Wuṣṭā* 7 (1995): 1–7.
- 147 See Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, 5:55–59, cited in Michael Bonner, “Time Has Come Full Circle’: Markets, Fairs and the Calendar in Arabia before Islam,” in *The Islamic Scholarly Tradition: Studies in History, Law, and Thought in Honor of Professor Michael Allan Cook*, ed. Michael Cook and others (Leiden, 2011), 15–46, esp. 26–27.
- 148 See Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, 5:55–59; Bonner, “Time Has Come Full Circle,” 26. For the so-called ḥadīth al-aswāq on the sequence and location of the pre-Islamic fairs in the Arabian peninsula, see Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-muḥabbar* (Hyderabad, 1941); Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad al-Marqūqī, *Kitāb al-azmina wa al-amkina* (Hyderabad, 1914). These are discussed in Bonner, “Time Has Come Full Circle,” 23–28.
- 149 On the months, see Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Mas’ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa ma’ādin al-jawhar* (Beirut, 1965–1966), 3:323, para. 1311; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-āthār al-bāqiyah ‘an al-qurūn al-khālīyah* (Beirut, 2000), trans. Eduard Sachau, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* (Frankfurt, 1984), 61–62. For the reference to the practice of not fighting during these months, see Caesariensis Procopius, *De bello persico*, ed. Raffaele Maffei (Rome, 1509), 2:16, 18.
- 150 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 34:266.
- 151 See, for example, al-Ṭabarī, *Jamī’ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān* on Q 2:198; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘aẓīm* on Q 2:198.

- 152 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʿān al-ʿaẓīm* on Q 2198. Also see the brief discussion in Bonner, “Time Has Come Full Circle,” 40–42.
- 153 For different interpretations of the pre-Islamic practice, see Houtsma, “Het skopelisme en het steenwerpen te Mina,” 185–217; Edmond Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l’Afrique du Nord* (Brussels, 2013), 430–432; G. van Vloten, “De Uitdrukking as-Sjaitān ar-ragīm en het steenen werpen bij Mina,” in *Feestbundel aan Prof. M. J. de Goeje op den 6den October 1891 Aangeboden door Eenige Oud-Leerlingen* (Leiden, 1891), 33–43.
- 154 See Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 14:829, 127 (2439).
- 155 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 14:9, 10; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 6:51; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 6:42, 124, 190.
- 156 See Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 14:828, 125 (2437); al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ Muslim*, 1176; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 6:288, 21829, 26991; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 6:52; al-Nasāʿī, *Sunan*, 22:83; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 7:39.
- 157 See Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 21829; Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*; al-Nasāʿī, *Sunan*.
- 158 See Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭāʾ*, 20: 176.
- 159 See al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 10, 29, 11–13.
- 160 See al-Azraqī, *Akbbār Makkah*, 124; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, s.v. Makkah. On the Ḥums, see M. Kister, “Mecca and Tamīm (Aspects of Their Relations),” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8 (1965): 132–142; Carl Rathjens, *Die Pilgerfahrt nach Mekka: von der Weibrachstrasse zur Ölwirtschaft* (Hamburg, 1948), 72–73; Harry Munt, “Ḥums,” in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd ed.
- 161 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 10:135, 32:3, 33:6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 17, 18, 57; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 14:1–6; Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 14:77, 78; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 6:71, 72, 79; al-Nasāʿī, *Sunan*, 13:98; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 7:56, 58.
- 162 See Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 14:80; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 19:3; Qasṭallānī says Ḥanafīs and Malikīs require fasting along with Abū Dāʿūd and al-Ṭabarī. Shāfiʿīs prefer fasting and retreat.
- 163 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 33:6, 7, 14, 18; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 14:6, 7; Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 14:77; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 7:59; Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭāʾ*, 19:6.
- 164 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:64.
- 165 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-nabawīyah*, 151–152.
- 166 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 33:5, 15, 16, 57:19, 64:54, 83:29; Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 8014; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 7:60; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 2:82, 153.
- 167 For the tradition allowing iʿtikāf in any jāmiʿ mosque, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 33:1; Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 14:80; Mālik b. Anas, *Muwatṭāʾ*, 19:3. See the discussion in Wensinck, “Arabic New Year and the Feast of Tabernacles,” 15.
- 168 See Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qasṭillānī, *Irsbād al-sārī li-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Beirut, n.d.), 3:502; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 33:16; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 14:6; Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 14:77; al-Nasāʿī, *Sunan*, 8:18; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 7:59, 62; and see Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 2:67 and 129; Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd

- al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-musīr fī 'ilm al-tafsīr*, ed. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Mahrī (Beirut, 2001).
- 169 See Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 2:129, 4:348.
- 170 See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī ta'wīl al-Qur'ān* on Q 2:187.
- 171 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm* on Q 3:230.
- 172 On this see Lucinda Dirven, *The Palmyrenes of Dura-Europos: A Study of Religious Interaction in Roman Syria* (Leiden, 1999), esp. 83–84; Henri Lammens, “Le culte des bētyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites,” in his *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire* (Beirut, 1928), 127–128.
- 173 See J.-M. Dentzer, “Naiskoi du Hauran et qubbah Arabe,” in *Petra and the Caravan Cities*, ed. F. Zayadine (Amman, 1990), 209.
- 174 See Nanno Marinatos, *Minoan Sacrificial Ritual: Cult Practice and Symbolism*. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen. Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae 8, IX (Stockholm, 1986), 57–58.
- 175 See A. Archi, “Fetes de printemps et automne et reintegration rituelle d'images de culte dans l'Anatolie hittite,” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5 (1973): 7–27, esp. 14–17.
- 176 See C. Sourvinou-Inwood, “The Myth of the Early Temples at Delphi,” *Classical Quarterly* 29 (1979): 231–251, esp. 237–238.
- 177 See Suzanne Peterson Murray, “Reconsidering the Room of the Ladies at Akrotiri,” in *Charis: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr*, ed. Anne Proctor Chapin, *Hesperia Supplement* 33 (Athens, 2004), 101–130, esp. 126.
- 178 See Martin Persson Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund, 1927), esp. 230–235; E. Townsend Vermeule, *Götterkult*, trans. Maria and Hans-Günter Buchholz (Göttingen, 1974), 3, chapter 5; B. Rutkowski, *Cult Places of the Aegean* (New Haven, CT, 1986); Hélène Whittaker, *Mycenaean Cult Buildings: A Study of Their Architecture and Function in the Context of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean*, Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens (Bergen, 1997); Nicholas G. Blackwell, “Contextualizing Mycenaean Hoards: Metal Control on the Greek Mainland at the End of the Bronze Age,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 122 (2018): 509–539.
- 179 See Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 2:129, 4:348, cited in Wensinck, “Arabic New Year and the Feast of Tabernacles,” 15–17.
- 180 See the discussion of this passage in Gustav Weil, *Mohammed der Prophet. Sein Leben un seine Lehre* (Stuttgart, 1843), 151.
- 181 See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-asnām*, 28.
- 182 See the sources and discussion in Rubin, “Ḥanafīyyah and Ka'ba,” 98.
- 183 See the description in Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 126–129; and the overview of the sources in Kister, “Mecca and Tamim,” 132–134. A possible explanation for the Ḥums dietary restrictions is offered by Antonin Jaussen, who says that the Moab Bedouins abstain from milk and butter in spring



- until the products are first offered to a holy man [walī]. See Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 364.
- 184 See the references in Nehemiah 8:13–18, Zechariah 14:16–19; Leviticus 23:23–44; Mishnah, Sukkah 1:1–5:8; Tosefta, Sukkah, 1:1–4:28; Palestinian Talmud, Sukka, 1a; Babylonian Talmud, Sukkah, 2a–56b.
- 185 RS 18.056.
- 186 See al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 8:18 (22); al-Qaṣṣillānī, *Irshād*, 3:502.
- 187 See Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, *Historiae. Edidit indicesque adjecit M. Th. Houtsma* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1883), 1:297.
- 188 see Henri Lammens, *Le culte de betyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes preislamites*, Bulletin de l'institut francais d'archeologie orientale 17 (Frankfurt, 1917), 39–101.
- 189 On the use of the term and the relationship of “taḥannuf” and “taḥannuth” see A. Guillaume, “tahannuf = tahannuth Hebrew – A Contribution to Hebrew Lexicography,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954): 1–12; M. J. Kister, “Al-taḥannuth: An Enquiry into the Meaning of a Term,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 31 (1968): 223–236; N. Calder, “Hīnth, birr, tabarrur, taḥannuth: An Inquiry into the Arabic Vocabulary of Vows,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 51 (1988): 214–239; H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran* (London 1902), 19n94; compare with S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden, 1966), 93n2. See the discussion of these views in G. R. Hawting, “Taḥannuth,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.
- 190 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, cited in Kister, “Al-taḥannuth,” 225; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-asmā' bi-mā li-l-nabī min al-aḥwāl wa al-amwāl wa al-ḥafadah wa al-matā'*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo, 1941), I, 12, I. 10.
- 191 See 'Alī b Ibrāhīm Nūr al-Dīn Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'uyūn fī sīrat al-Amīn al-Ma'mūn* (Cairo, 1964), I, 271; 'Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifāh al-ṣafwa* (Hyderabad, 1355), 1:27; Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad al-Majlisi, *Bihār al-anwār* (Beirut, 2011), XVIII, 189; Kister, “Al-taḥannuth,” 223–224.
- 192 See al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabīyah*, 1:271–272. See Kister, “Al-taḥannuth,” 235–236.
- 193 See Kister, “Al-taḥannuth,” 232, citing Ibn Hishām, *al-sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 1:246; 'Alī b. Ḥasan Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb ta'rikh Dimashq al-kabīr* (Beirut, 1399), 6:29; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Fuṣūl fī sīrah al-rasūl*, 1:154–155; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:381.
- 194 See Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest* (Leiden, 1880), esp. 68–124; Wensinck, “Ḥadždj,” 3:31–33; Houtsma, “Hetskopolisme en het steenwerpen te Mina,” 185–187.

- 195 See, for example, Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:149; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 11:56, 64; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 7:54; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 24:200; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25, 54, 71. Also see the discussion of these ḥadīth reports in Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, esp. 150; Wensinck, "Mawkiḥ," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.
- 196 See the discussion of this reference in Juan Gil, *Continuatio Byzantia Arabica*. Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 65 (Turnhout, 2018), in Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 21–22; Dan Gibson, *Early Islamic Qiblas* (Vancouver, 2017), esp. 199; Dan Gibson, *Qur'anic Geography: A Survey and Evaluation of the Geographical References in the Qur'an with Suggested Solutions for Various Problems and Issues* (Vancouver, 2011), esp. 267 and 396. Gibson's conclusions regarding Petra do not match the available archaeological or literary evidence.
- 197 For these inscriptions see Frederick Victor Winnet and W. L. Reed. *Ancient Records for North Arabia* (Toronto, 1970), 9, 10, 63, all at Taymā' and Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, 52:2 = Winnett, *A Study of the Libyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1937), 12, location not specified.
- 198 See al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 196; Julius Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina: das ist Vakīdī's Kitāb alMaghazi* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1978), 100; Birūnī, *Āthār al-bāqiyah 'an al-qurūn al-khāliyah*, 328; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 3:705, 4:416.
- 199 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-nabawīyah*, 919; Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, 617; al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 1076–1078; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Fuṣūl fī sirah al-rasūl*, 4:48–52.
- 200 See 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā' bi akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā*, ed. M. Muḥyi al-Dīn al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1955), 1:50–51.
- 201 See Aḥmad b. Yaḥyia al-Balādhūrī, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, trans. Philip Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State* (New York, 1916–1924), 43.
- 202 See, for example, Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 22:25.
- 203 For these references, see al-Azraqī, *Akbbār Makkah*, 197; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 4:617; and the references and descriptions in William Robertson Smith, "Mecca," in *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (Cambridge, 1910–1911), 15:950–959 but cited as Q 14:40, and his *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 157–158.
- 204 See al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 8:78 (802).
- 205 See al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 19:30 (1588).
- 206 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:117 (190).
- 207 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 73:7 (11).
- 208 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 13:22 (31).
- 209 see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:117 (190), 73:2 (5547).
- 210 See Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:66 (98); 19:8 (1501); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 26:3251.

- 211 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 73:16 (23).
- 212 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 5:1376.
- 213 See al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 19:10 (1565); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 13:13 (21).
- 214 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 63:43 (157).
- 215 See Ibn al-'Arabī, *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, on Q 22:34.
- 216 Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fi al-tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, on Q 22:34.
- 217 See Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-bārī*, 3:438. On these references, see Rubin, "Ḥanifiyya and Ka'ba," esp. 92.
- 218 See the examples in Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* cited in Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 227–228.
- 219 On using documentary evidence to evaluate early Islamic Arabic sources, see Ahmad al-Jallad on Ibn al-Kalbī at <https://staging.threadreaderapp.com/thread/1048068329620082688.html>. For an extensive examination of the early Islamic historical tradition, see Fred Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 14 (Princeton, NJ, 1998) and his more recent but briefer "Muhammad und die frühe islamische Gemeinschaft aus historischer Sicht," *ASIA* 68 (2014): 439–451. Also significant is his *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam* (Cambridge, 2010). Older but still useful is Albrecht Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsüberlieferung* (Bonn, 1973); John Wansbrough, *The Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* (Oxford, 1978).
- 220 See the convincing analyses of Norman Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1993), esp. his discussion of text transmission among circles of scholars and students. Also see the social context in Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1995).
- 221 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 6:1 mentions the 100 camels and says the prophet Muhammad drove 63 and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib the rest. Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:7, also includes the division of the camels between the prophet Muhammad and 'Alī, and adds that the prophet Muhammad slaughtered and cooked the meat and drank the broth. Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3278 and 3190 record the same. 25:3218 says 'Alī was the one who distributed the camel meat, covers, and skins. 25:3174 specifies that the sacrifice took place between the pillars.

## Burials of Camels at the Tombs of Warriors

In a problematic but insightful and heuristically helpful study, Jonathan Z. Smith argues that animal sacrifice commemorates a cultural achievement that lies at the origins of society.<sup>1</sup> He argues that the sacrifice of a domesticated animal is the controlled and scripted killing of an animal artificially produced by human management, an animal that has ceased to be wholly wild and natural.<sup>2</sup> By ritually killing an animal taken from their domesticated stock, agrarian and pastoralist societies thus celebrate the one technological advance that allowed them to gain economic and political dominance over older nomadic and hunter-gatherer societies.

It is true that not all instances of “sacrifice” involve killing a domesticated animal, or that “sacrificing” an animal requires it to be killed. J. Z. Smith himself has already acknowledged this in proffering the example of ritual bear hunting in Siberia, noting that the hunter relies on the use of traps and snares to immobilize the bear so that it can be slaughtered ceremonially.<sup>3</sup> The capture of wild animals for later slaughter, as well as the “taming” of otherwise non-domesticated species through captivity or raising from birth for the purpose of ritual slaughtering is not uncommon.<sup>4</sup> Hundreds of wild animals are involved in the Ashvamedha “horse” sacrifice, and various examples of wild animal sacrifices exist in ancient Greece.<sup>5</sup> Muslim commentaries on Q 5:103 describe a number of pre-Islamic practices [‘awā’id] in which camels were “sacrificed” without being killed.<sup>6</sup>

Differentiating between the ritual “hunting” of wild animals and the “sacrifice” of domesticated livestock is not an unuseful theoretical move, and has been employed with suggestive results in explaining the social and economic transition of certain cultures.<sup>7</sup> Yet to categorize something as

“hunting” or “sacrifice” on the basis of whether the animal victim is wild or domesticated can be misleading. In part, this is because such a distinction fails to recognize a more elastic and nuanced notion of “domestication” that takes into account some of the quasi-domesticated species,<sup>8</sup> such as the reindeer among the Sami in Lapland, and the camel among the Arabs in Arabia. Focusing on domesticated livestock alone can also restrict too closely a definition of sacrifice that might otherwise exclude other significant aspects of the practice besides how the animal is killed.

But what J. Z. Smith does capture is the link between the offering of the animal and the achievement that produced it for elimination in the first place. By paying attention to the animal rather than the act of killing it, J. Z. Smith allows for the conception of “sacrifice” to elaborate on the acquisition of the animal and, perhaps more importantly, how obtaining the animal reflects on the culture that produced the means to acquire it. For the bear hunters it is the technology of traps and snares along with culturally specific techniques that is celebrated in the kill.<sup>9</sup> For J. Z. Smith it is everything that marks the “shift from the hunter-and-gatherer’s social world of immediacy, skill, and chance to a social world of futurity and planning – of the capacity for continuity of time and place.”<sup>10</sup> What J. Z. Smith suggests is that the ceremonial killing of animals might be understood as an opportunity for the society performing or remembering the practice to meditate on the social and cultural significance of what acquiring the animal means.

**Chapter 2** examines what appears to be the relationship between the sacrifice and burial of camels alongside the graves of prominent people. This includes the instructions of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ for the killing of camels at his death and archaeological evidence from the Arabian peninsula for the burial of camels at the tombs of people buried with weapons and armor. This practice is compared with the burial of horses, donkeys, and other equids in ancient Greece and the Near East, examples that seem also to connect the sacrifice of certain riding animals with the death of human warriors and kings. These examples posit that the link between animal sacrifice and human burial was meant to symbolize the origins of the society responsible for the practice. Preliminary conclusions drawn from an analysis of two prominent Indo-European rituals – the Ashvamedha and Equus October – suggest that horse sacrifice represents a link between the security of territory and social prosperity. Camel sacrifice among certain Arab groups at the end of late antiquity may have been a way to reflect on the significance of the camel as the “domesticated” animal par excellence that allowed for a unique military and economic dominance of Arabs on the edges of the ancient world.

## CAMEL SACRIFICE AND FUNERALS

Recalling certain elements of the prophet Muhammad's camel sacrifice at the conclusion of his farewell pilgrimage, the famed Muslim military commander 'Amr b. al-Āṣ (governor of Palestine 634–639, governor of Egypt 640–646, 658–664) is said to have ordered the sacrifice of a camel and the distribution of its meat at his death. The account is found in the collection of authoritative ḥadīth reports compiled by Muslim as related by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shamāsah al-Mahrī.

When I die neither female mourners [nā'ihah] nor fire is to accompany me. When you bury me, pile the earth in a pile then stand around my grave while a camel sacrifice is made and the meat distributed so that I am in your company and envision what response to give to the messengers of my Lord.<sup>11</sup>

This bequest comes at the end of a long statement given by 'Amr b. al-Āṣ at the time of his death in which he describes his conversion to Islam and his pledge of allegiance to the prophet Muhammad in Medina. The prophet Muhammad is reported to have said that “Islam wipes out what was in the past, that the Hijrah wipes out what was in the past, and the Ḥajj wipes out what was in the past.”<sup>12</sup> That Islam, the Hijrah to Medina, and the Ḥajj to Mecca in particular, constitutes a new beginning is also found in other ḥadīth reports, as is the expiatory effect of sacrifice.<sup>13</sup>

The elements of the funerary sacrifice requested by 'Amr b. al-Āṣ emphasize a break with pre-Islamic practices. Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 1277) explains that the instructions of 'Amr were specific in not wanting his funeral to resemble those of earlier Arab custom in which hired mourners and fire was used, and the non-Islamic practice of sitting as opposed to standing around the tomb.<sup>14</sup> The description of the earth being piled upon the grave might also be a reference to distinguishing the shape of his grave from the widespread pre-Islamic use of a mound of rocks to create a cairn at the burial site.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps underlining these differences, Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Damīrī (d. 1405) claims that 'Amr b. al-Āṣ was the first to order camel slaughter [juzūr] in Mecca.<sup>16</sup> In his biography of 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī (d. 1348) records that 'Amr's son 'Abdallāh reported that his father made a bequest that when he died he be washed three times (with water, pure [qīrāḥ] water, and water with camphor), that he be dressed and robed, carried on a bed [sarīr] by two people, and put in a tomb that is piled with earth.<sup>17</sup> In other accounts, 'Amr b. al-Āṣ requests that he be guarded at his death, and continues to recite the *shahādah* until he dies.<sup>18</sup> As with the ḥadīth report attributed to Ibn

Shamāsah, in these accounts the particular practices requested for the funeral appear to be linked with ‘Amr’s role in the early Muslim conquests and the origins of Islamic civilization.

Not unlike the limitations placed on the eating of animals distributed in the context of the so-called totem meal, Islamic legal traditions restrict the eating of camel meat and the use of camel slaughter sites for other ritual practices. A number of Muslim scholars, based in part on the practices of the followers of the prophet Muhammad and later authorities, maintain that eating camel meat causes ritual impurity. According to a number of different ḥadīth reports, the prophet Muhammad said that ritual purification [wuḍūʿ] was required for [eating] camel meat but not for the meat of other animals like sheep and goats.<sup>19</sup> This injunction is related to other reports that the prophet Muhammad required ritual purification following the eating of something that is touched by fire or changed by fire, such as having its color changed by being heated or cooked.<sup>20</sup> Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal preserves a report that the prophet Muhammad required ritual purification for eating any meat,<sup>21</sup> and another in which “touching water” before praying after having eaten meat is required.<sup>22</sup> This could also be related to the more general injunction to wash one’s hands before and after eating.<sup>23</sup> The Shāfiʿī scholar Yaḥyāʿ b. Abī al-Khayr claims that the distinction separating camel from other meats derives from the offensive smell [zuhūmah] of camel, and other authorities report that the prophet Muhammad specifically allowed for the eating of sheep meat and cooked grains [suwayq] without performing ritual purification.<sup>24</sup>

The special restrictions attached to eating camel are closely tied to death and to funerary sacrifices in particular. According to Herodotus the Libyans only ate bull meat when it was sacrificed at a funeral after the mourners had undergone a period of fasting.<sup>25</sup> Some Arab traditions prohibit the killing of any camel except for ritual purposes,<sup>26</sup> and other restrictions on camels include harnessing, the use of camel hides, and the specific rules regarding the offering [zakāt] of camels.<sup>27</sup> Islamic legal authorities disallow Muslims to pray in a place where a camel has kneeled, the position from which a camel is commonly slaughtered by the slitting of its throat. It is reported that the prophet Muhammad did allow prayer in places where sheep and goats were kept.<sup>28</sup> Camels are said to be related to jinn, that to dream of camels is to dream of jinn or to dream of death.<sup>29</sup> Feeding people for a week following the death of a person is commended in Islamic practice,<sup>30</sup> and a Moroccan tradition maintains that the prophet Muhammad said “He who does not eat of my

camels does not belong to my people.”<sup>31</sup> Abū ‘Uthmān ‘Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 868) states that there is a maternal kinship [khu‘ūlah] between Arabs and camels, and other traditions claim that eating camel is equivalent to being a Muslim.<sup>32</sup>

According to al-Jāḥiẓ the earth drinks the blood of camels only.<sup>33</sup> This could be a reference to the notion, found both in biblical exegesis and in Greek myth, that the earth is punished for its role in aiding humans to defy the gods. In the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* of Pseudo-Philo, for example, God punishes the earth after swallowing the blood of Abel (Genesis 4) just as the earth swallows Korah (Numbers 16).<sup>34</sup> Both Cain and Korah are cursed to suffer and not allowed to die, exiled from normal life, because they failed to offer the requisite sacrifices to Yahweh. Like Prometheus, who is cursed for having given fire to humans and having gotten the gods to accept the inedible parts of sacrificed animals, saving the good parts for humans to eat, Korah is faulted for arguing with God and his representative Moses over the food provided to the Israelites.<sup>35</sup> The camel and its sacrifice at the tombs of military leaders is a testament to human achievement, and the proceeds of the sacrifice are distributed to people, not burnt in an offering to God.

Prohibiting Muslim ritual practices in a place where a camel has kneeled might also be related to the close association of camel sacrifice and pre-Islamic pagan religious practices. Simeon the Stylite forbade his Bedouin converts to eat camel meat because of its link with pagan worship.<sup>36</sup> Exegesis on Q 3:93 links prohibitions on camel meat and milk to Israelite practices that were abrogated by Islam.<sup>37</sup> Restrictions on eating animals associated with certain deities is commonplace in the ancient world.<sup>38</sup> That camels are descended from devils or jinn could be derived from this peculiar connection between camels and pagan deities in pre-Islamic rituals.<sup>39</sup> The connection between cairns, pillars, and other cult objects as places of camel sacrifice and the worship of certain pagan deities is evident from the practice of stoning the “satan” pillars near Mīna at the conclusion of the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>40</sup> The classical Greek word “herm” used for “cairn” is derived from the name of the god Hermes, and the Arabic word “wathan” used for “idol” also has the meaning of a stone marking sacred territory.<sup>41</sup> According to medieval Arabic lexicographers the term used for camel sacrifice [juzūr] also refers to the “place of assembly” of people.<sup>42</sup> It is reported that the tomb of the Arab chieftain and poet ‘Amir b. al-Ṭufayl was surrounded by a one-mile circumference area, marked by standing stones [anṣāb], in which there were rules on animal grazing and trespass by people and their mounts.<sup>43</sup>



Such cairns and cult objects are also used as places to mark the vowing of oaths, and the areas around certain grave sites are treated as places of sanctuary and refuge.<sup>44</sup>

Like the camel sacrifice of the prophet Muhammad performed at the conclusion of his mission and just before his death, that to be performed at the grave of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ stands at the origins of Islamic civilization. In the descriptions of the sacrifices of both men, the focus is not on the acquisition and killing but on the distribution of the animals. Ibn Mājah preserves two ḥadīth reports in which ‘Alī b. Abi Ṭālib is instructed by the prophet Muhammad to distribute to the people present the meat, skin, and the coverings of the camels sacrificed at the conclusion of the farewell pilgrimage.<sup>45</sup> Another account is found in the *Sunan* of Abū Dā‘ūd narrated by ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Adī b. al-Khiyār.<sup>46</sup> Later biographies of the prophet Muhammad, such as that of Faṭḥ al-Dīn b. Sayyid al-Nās (d. 1334) and Ibn Kathīr mention the distribution of the meat, the hides, and the coverings or pack-saddles [jalāl].<sup>47</sup> The remains of the camels provide not only food but also the basic elements for sustaining Arab life and a sharing of wealth.<sup>48</sup> Muslim exegesis of Q 16:80 explains that the products of animals are granted by God to the Arabs for the specific requirements of their life, including tents as houses made from animal hair, wool, and fur.<sup>49</sup> This transition from the old “jāhilīyah” world of ignorance and chaos in which the staples of life had to be acquired through warfare and hunting is replaced by the establishment of a new order in which God, through his Prophet and his successors, provide for the community.

Islamic sources preserve accounts of pre-Islamic camel sacrifices, performed as a means to display a person’s high status as a provider of food and other essentials to society. In his *Kitāb al-bukhalā’*, al-Jāhīz refers to a funeral for two people at which hundreds of camels were sacrificed,<sup>50</sup> and describes the general practice of sacrificing camels to feed people when passing the grave of a leader famous for his generosity.<sup>51</sup> Other examples of sacrificing camels at tombs, especially those camels that had belonged to the person buried at the site, are found in early and pre-Islamic contexts.<sup>52</sup> The pre-Islamic Arab poet Ḥātim al-Ṭā‘ī is said to raise from the dead and slaughter camels for people passing by his grave, marked by stone figures of female mourners.<sup>53</sup> Hunters passing by the grave of Shahwān b. ‘Īsā, the chieftain of the Banū Dabāb buried near Tripoli, are said to be successful in obtaining prey for food when calling upon Shahwān.<sup>54</sup> In the *Majnūn Laylā*, the poet offers the spilled blood of a she-camel over the grave of his father.<sup>55</sup> The *Tāj al-‘arūs* of Muḥammad

al-Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī (d. 1790) defines one of the meanings of the root ‘-Q-R as referring to the pre-Islamic practice of competition in the slaughtering of camels in order to display one’s status, sometimes done at graves, with the number of camels corresponding to the standing of the deceased.<sup>56</sup>

According to al-Damīrī, the political status of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ is reflected in the magnitude of the camel sacrifice to be made at his death. “‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ was the ruler [kabīr] of Egypt and the greatest of its people. The slaughtered camel was meant to distinguish him from any other person, in its slaughter at his death and the distribution of his meat after his death, the equivalent of nine *ardābb* of gold.”<sup>57</sup> Depending on the exact unit of measurement intended by the Arabic “*ardābb*,” approximately 7 cubic feet per *ardābb*, derived perhaps from Old Persian or Greek, the amount of gold said to be equivalent to the value of the slaughtered camels is enormous and suggests that a large number of animals were offered. Examples of camels and other animals being sacrificed at the tombs of tribal leaders and military heroes is common in literary descriptions of pre-Islamic and early Islamic practices. Sacrificial banquets are said to have been performed at the tomb of Rabī‘a b. Mukaddam, ‘Antarah b. Shaddād,<sup>58</sup> and the tombs of the eponymous tribal ancestors of the Tamīmī and Quḍā‘a tribes continued to be sites of pilgrimage.<sup>59</sup> Muslim exegesis of Q 2:196 refers to eulogies sung to ancestors at Mīna, the site of the sacrifice following the pilgrimage to Mecca, and Ibn al-Sarrāj is reported to have performed regular sacrifices in honor of the prophet Muhammad.<sup>60</sup>

That the distribution of food and other goods from the large-scale camel sacrifice at the tomb of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ was meant to symbolize a break with pre-Islamic practices is indicated by the outright prohibition of using camel sacrifice for individuals to compete with one another for personal fame and glory.

Ghalib slaughtered [‘aqara] a female camel and distributed it among the houses of the clan. A portion was brought to Suhaym, who became angry and returned it, and then slaughtered one of his own camels. Ghalib then slaughtered another one, and they competed with one another in slaughtering camels [fa-ta‘aqaru] until Suhaym ran out. Then, when Suhaym arrived in Kufah, the people criticized him. He attempted to make an excuse saying he had been away from his own herd. He sent for a hundred camels which he slaughtered over the trash dump of Kufah. The Caliph ‘Alī [b. Abī Ṭālib] said: “This was sacrificed for the worship of something other than God, so do not eat it.” It remained there until the wild animals and dogs ate it.<sup>61</sup>

Both Abū Dā‘ūd and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal preserve reports that this practice of competing in the slaughtering of camels [‘aqr] was prohibited in

Islam.<sup>62</sup> Yet it is clear from the continuation of other pre-Islamic forms of sacrifice, such as those performed during the month of Rajab, and the continuation of camel sacrifices at funerals in Islamic practices,<sup>63</sup> that it was not the slaughtering of camels that was at issue. What appears to be the issue is wasting the produce from the sacrifice, offering it “to something other than God,” for the sake of the glory of individuals. The exegesis of Q 9:28 and other verses stresses that it is the responsibility of the leader to preserve and distribute the surplus [faḍl] allotted to him for the well-being of the community.<sup>64</sup>

The description of the extravagant funerary sacrifice at the death of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ seems to emphasize not only discontinuity with the past but the specific role of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ in establishing the new civilization as a key military commander and ruler. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ was personally responsible for and participated in a number of key victories of the Muslim forces against both the Romans and the Sasanians. He is described not only as a military commander but also as a “king” and more suitable for the caliphate than the founder of the first Islamic state following the immediate successors to the prophet Muhammad.

He was among the eminent of the Quraysh, cunning, resolute, capable, and of foresight in battle, among the most honored of the kings of the Arabs [mulūk al-‘Arab], the most noble of those who made Hijrah to Medina. God forgive and pardon him! If it had not been for his love of this world and engaging in command he would have been suited for the caliphate. He had precedence that Mu‘āwiyah did not, for he had been in command over Abū Bakr and ‘Umar because of his foresight and cunning in command.<sup>65</sup>

He was put in charge of the battle at Dhāt al-Salāsil by the prophet Muhammad commanding both Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.<sup>66</sup> According to a number of reports, ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ is said to have been converted to Islam by the Negus of Ethiopia, and to have emigrated to Medina to join the prophet Muhammad with Walīd b. Khālīd and ‘Uthmān b. Ṭalḥah, both of whom held prominent positions among the Quraysh in Mecca.<sup>67</sup> His leadership was instrumental in defeating the Sasanian client state of the Lakhmids at al-Ḥīrah and the Roman client state of the Ghassanids at al-Mu‘tah. After conquering Alexandria, ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ founded Fustāṭ as the new capital where he also established the first mosque in Egypt. He was governor in Egypt under Abū Bakr and later ruled in Egypt as a virtual partner to Mu‘āwiyah in Syria.<sup>68</sup>

The close connection between camel sacrifices and social status, especially military leadership, is found among the cultures which were conquered by the early Muslim armies. Sacrifices of camels and other animals

are linked with royal activities such as hunting, the establishment of sanctuaries, building projects, and military conflicts in the inscriptions and material evidence from South Arabia. Numerous examples of elaborate sacrifices accompanying coronations and other rituals associated with kingship exist from ancient Egypt and later in Ethiopia.<sup>69</sup> A camel petroglyph from Wādī Nasīb in the Sinai is accompanied by a hieroglyphic inscription with the title King Nemare of Upper and Lower Egypt,<sup>70</sup> and a horse was found buried in a large perhaps royal tomb in Thebes.<sup>71</sup> In Egypt especially camels were associated with the role of Arabs in the military invasions of the Assyrians and the Persians, and the Romans used camel-borne Arab troops in Egypt.<sup>72</sup> Even in Islamic times Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ḥamdūn (d. 1167) records a tradition of a camel being sacrificed at the tomb of an Ethiopian king.<sup>73</sup> Practices such as the use of camels to carry the king's treasure and to pull the king's chariot,<sup>74</sup> the existence of royal camel herds,<sup>75</sup> and the king's use of camels in battle and in hunting,<sup>76</sup> and to pay tribute attest to the association of camels and kingship in pre-Islamic Iran.<sup>77</sup> The association of camels with warfare and raiding continues into the Islamic period and is found among Bedouin tribes in modern times.<sup>78</sup> The role of the king, as that of the pre-Islamic hero, is to provide food and shelter to his people, through battle, the hunt, or sacrifice.<sup>79</sup> In pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry, contests between rivals, often as a substitute for actual battle, are decided by the person able to provide more meat and furnishings by the hocking of large numbers of camels.<sup>80</sup>

That camels were associated with Arabs and with Arab military units and tactics in particular is evident from a number of ancient sources.<sup>81</sup> Arabian camel cavalry are depicted in reliefs from the Assyrian palace at Nineveh, as are camels used for military transport. The Kurkh Monolith of Shalmaneser III (858–824 BCE) refers to “1,000 camels of Gindibu” although the monolith itself shows images of two-humped Bactrian camels.<sup>82</sup> Egyptian pharaohs may also have used Arab camels for military transport.<sup>83</sup> Herodotus describes Arab military in the armies of Xerxes mounted on camels.<sup>84</sup> Alexander used Arab forces in Gaza, and Arab camel cavalry are known to have been used by the Persians, by Nabonidus, and by the Romans, who had special units deployed on the frontier in Syria and the Arabian peninsula.<sup>85</sup> The *Periplus* connects Arab warfare with the camel, as does Pliny.<sup>86</sup> Pre-Islamic Arabic poetry portrays wars, such as the so-called War of Basūs, as being fought over and with camels.<sup>87</sup> According to a report recorded by Richard Burton, a pregnant camel is a sign of war.<sup>88</sup>

## CAMEL SACRIFICE AND BURIAL

This pre-Islamic practice of sacrificing camels at the tombs of military leaders and notables continued to be observed in early Islamic times and is remembered in classical Arabic sources as the “*baliyah*” sacrifice.<sup>89</sup> A camel or sometimes a horse is said to have been tied to the grave of its master or hamstringed or hocked and allowed to starve to death.<sup>90</sup> It is reported that, in some cases, the animals were burnt or were sacrificed and stuffed with a special grass [*thumām*], and in some cases the animal served as the meal for the funeral feast [*waḍīmah*] at the tomb.<sup>91</sup> Developing the link between the status of the deceased person and the sacrificed animal, later Muslim scholars link this practice with a more Islamic notion of the afterlife in which the sacrificed animal serves as a mount on the day of judgment for the virtuous person at whose tomb it was buried.<sup>92</sup> The type and quality of the animal was supposed to correspond to the relative prestige of the person for whom it was buried.<sup>93</sup> Other Muslim scholars ban the sacrifice of camels altogether for Islamic rituals because of the use of camel sacrifice for pagan funeral rites in pre-Islamic times.<sup>94</sup> Archaeological evidence shows that camel sacrifice was associated with pre-Islamic Arab sanctuaries and necropolises, and indicates that camels seem to have been confined for life and sometimes starved in the territory surrounding pagan shrines.<sup>95</sup>

The offering to pre-Islamic shrines, of camels and their accouterments along with other animals and coverings, is specifically linked with Arab and Iranian kingship. An Aramaic inscription from what is now known as Tell al-Maskhāṭa documents the gift to a local shrine of “*Ilāt*” by the Arab “King of Kedar.”<sup>96</sup> Votive offerings, including animals and weapons, are reported to have been given to the Ka‘bah in Mecca in pre-Islamic times by Arab and Iranian kings.<sup>97</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, the king of Yemen [Tubba‘] supplied the Ka‘bah in Mecca with its first covering [*kiswā*].<sup>98</sup> Reports that ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar used to offer to the Ka‘bah the coverings from the animals he sacrificed when making pilgrimage to Mecca show that such practices continued into the early Islamic period. In another report the prophet Muhammad ordered the death of Ibn Khaṭal for hanging on the covering of the Ka‘bah.<sup>99</sup> Abū Lahab, one of the paternal uncles of the prophet Muhammad, is said to have stolen the golden gazelles offered to the Ka‘bah in pre-Islamic times, and for this his hands were cursed in Q III:I.<sup>100</sup>

The sacrifice and burial of camels, and other animals, at the graves of people is widely attested throughout the Arabian peninsula in pre-Islamic

times. Fully articulated, semi-complete, and partial camel skeletons have been uncovered buried next to human tombs, connected to human tombs, within human tombs, in the vicinity of human tombs, and in tombs by themselves otherwise connected with human burials. A now empty cave-tomb at al-Rukbah in the Wādī Ghabr of the Ḥaḍramawt features an inscription describing the construction of the tomb and the sacrifice of a camel in addition to the erection of stone pillars and a funerary monument.<sup>101</sup> At sites near Beles in Yemen and al-Hammariyat near Bat in the Oman peninsula sacrificed camels were found buried near a ridge where human burials took place.<sup>102</sup> There are isolated examples from Palestine and Syria,<sup>103</sup> and there are images of camels on cairns and other grave markers without any other evidence of camel sacrifice.<sup>104</sup> Additional human–camel burials and burials of camels in the vicinity of human burials have been identified at Qaryat al-Faw,<sup>105</sup> al-Rabadha,<sup>106</sup> Bi'r Ḥimā,<sup>107</sup> Jidd Ḥafṣ,<sup>108</sup> Wādī Ramm,<sup>109</sup> Merzu'ah and Maysar,<sup>110</sup> Baynumah, Bat,<sup>111</sup> 'Alī,<sup>112</sup> and Dhahran.<sup>113</sup> Most of these burials have been dated to the Hellenistic and late antique periods but some are earlier or later.<sup>114</sup> The burial of a sacrificed camel at Jabal al-Buḥaiṣ (near al-Madam) has been dated to the middle seventh century CE when the area would have been under Islamic rule, and another nearby at Jabal al-'Imālah has been dated to the late Sasanian or early Islamic period.<sup>115</sup>

The most extensive example of camels and horses being sacrificed and buried at a human tomb comes from the excavations of Mleiha in the interior of the Oman peninsula. Arranged next to and around four human graves are buried twelve camels and two horses, all on a north–south and east–west axis. Two of the camels are buried at the entrance of two human graves. One of these human graves also has a horse with gold-encrusted tack buried adjacent and a camel is buried in the central chamber, with two other camels buried nearby. All of the camels are buried in the kneeling position, and appear to have died after having their necks pulled back and throats slit. Several of the camels were Bactrian-dromedary hybrids, and all of them appear to have been at their prime for breeding and riding. The position of the animal and human graves suggest that the burials were not a single event but that the Mleiha location was used at different times for human burials accompanied by camels and horse sacrifices.

At the site of al-Buḥaiṣ 12, some 20 kilometers south of Mleiha, there is a single camel burial at the entrance to a grave chamber in which was interred a man buried with iron arrowheads.<sup>116</sup> Included also were ram-shaped figurines, perhaps indicating that the person buried was a

hunter.<sup>117</sup> The presence of the arrowheads, and the fact that this burial was in the vicinity of other human burials accompanied by iron and bronze weapons, has indicated to some scholars that the person was a warrior.<sup>118</sup> The burial of a camel nearby, at Jabal al-‘Imālah, dated to the Hellenistic or Sasanian period, is close to a tomb in which was buried a man holding an iron spear with an iron pike in the ground above his shoulder and another tomb containing a man with a long iron sword.<sup>119</sup> From the position of the camel skeleton at Jabal al-‘Imālah it is likely that the animal was forced into the burial pit alive, where it may or may not have had its throat slit before being buried.<sup>120</sup>

Grave goods buried at Mleiha, along with the camels and horses, also appear to indicate the social status of the humans who would have been buried there. These grave goods include a number of weapons, pottery, and a bronze bowl fragment featuring a scene with horse and camel riders.<sup>121</sup> Similar bowls with hunting scenes found at other locations in the Oman peninsula and the southern Arabian peninsula suggest that this could be an example of the so-called Phoenician bowl.<sup>122</sup> Other objects found at the site, such as Seleuco-Parthian coinage, an Aramaic inscription attesting to the building of a funerary marker, and names known to be used among the Syrian Arabs of the northern Ḥijāz, show the larger cultural context of the necropolis at Mleiha.<sup>123</sup> More importantly, the inclusion of important and expensive goods in the tombs, such as gold beads and gold-studded horse tack, appears to refer to the relative social status and rank of the humans buried there.<sup>124</sup> The size and type of grave, the grave markers and funerary monuments themselves all point to the relative social status of the burials.<sup>125</sup> Horse burials are rare in the Arabian peninsula,<sup>126</sup> and the fact that the camels sacrificed were all of prime age and included Bactrian-dromedary hybrids is evidence of the relative wealth associated with the burial.<sup>127</sup> The burial of a donkey at Shakūrah in Bahrain suggests that animals of lesser value were used to indicate lower social status.<sup>128</sup> Literary and archaeozoological evidence indicates that Bactrian-dromedary hybrids were not only valued for their additional size and strength, and uncommon in the Arabian peninsula, but were also considered a sign of wealth elsewhere in the Near East and Asia.<sup>129</sup>

That camel sacrifices seem specifically to have accompanied the burial of warriors and military leaders is reflected in the burial of weapons at human gravesites at Mleiha, Jebel al-‘Imālah, and other sites around the Arabian peninsula.<sup>130</sup> It has been noted that the camel burials are located adjacent to the “most sumptuous graves” at Mleiha,<sup>131</sup> which might have

been designated for nobility.<sup>132</sup> Eponyms and the presence of weapons at camel–human burial sites in Yemen evince martial and high social rank.<sup>133</sup> At al-Dūr in Umm al-Quwayn a human grave included a camel burial and a sword and scabbard. The camel was buried in a crouched position with its neck apparently severed.<sup>134</sup> An iron hoard at ‘Ibrī in Oman, linked to Samad period burials, includes daggers and other weapons buried only with the men, and also includes the burial of animals associated with human remains.<sup>135</sup> A camel burial with a human at al-Fuwaydah in Oman includes iron arrowheads and two swords.<sup>136</sup> At a number of sites in Bahrain, including Janussan,<sup>137</sup> ‘Ain Jawān,<sup>138</sup> and Sār al-Jisr, human burials are accompanied by camels as well as iron and bronze weapons and tools such as spearheads, arrowheads, iron armor, iron rods, swords, daggers, and seals featuring horned animals including gazelles and bulls.<sup>139</sup> The burial of horse–rider and horse figurines in the Hellenistic sanctuary at Tell Khazneh, along with inscriptions specifying dedications and sacrifices by soldiers, attests to a similar practice on the island of Ikaros (Failaka).<sup>140</sup> Interred at a human burial site near Doha in Qatar is a camel buried in the kneeling position with its neck severed and the hind quarters of a second camel in the same kneeling position. The human grave mound and that of the camels includes fragments of iron and bronze objects.<sup>141</sup>

A number of factors indicate that the sacrifice of camels and burial of weapons are specifically intended to signify the special historic status of the people with whom they are buried. From a pair of tumuli tombs in southern Iraq was recovered a golden wreath in addition to other grave goods that indicate the people buried there were remembered as athletes or warriors.<sup>142</sup> Many of the weapons buried in the tombs appear to be ceremonial in nature. Iron swords with bronze loop handles, swords ornamented with ivory disks, spiked helmets in imitation of much older Assyrian and Iranian styles, and double-edged swords resembling weapons featured in rock carvings of ancient Mesopotamian kings have all been found interred with humans near camel burials.<sup>143</sup> The so-called broad lunate-pommeled dagger is a particularly good example of this type of symbolic weapon burial. The reuse of tombs, especially monumental tombs and tombs associated with earlier epochs and civilizations, also suggests an attempt to link burials with older civilizations and the cultural precedence they represent.<sup>144</sup> Certain images on coins and other objects buried in the tombs depicting mythological themes linked with heroes from pre-Islamic poetry and kings from Iran, Rome, Ethiopia, and Egypt help to inform the symbolic context and significance of these burials.<sup>145</sup>



The specific objects buried alongside the humans and camels parallel the depictions of ritualized hunt and combat scenes found throughout the Arabian peninsula going back to prehistoric times.<sup>146</sup>

Many of the camels and other animals placed within and adjacent to human tombs appear to have been sacrificed and buried subsequent to the human burial. Zooarchaeological analysis of the camel and horse burials from Mleiha and other locations shows that the animals were placed into a pit adjacent to the human tomb where they were slaughtered.<sup>147</sup> The camel sacrifices lining the northern edge of the necropolis appear to have been buried later than the human and animal burials arranged in a specific pattern toward the center.<sup>148</sup> An inscription from the Ruqbah tomb near Hureyhar reads “place for camel” and it has been proposed that the name “Raybun” for the site of camel burials in southern Arabia means “place of camel.”<sup>149</sup> Most of the burials include what have been identified as “pilgrim flasks,” typically a glass container with a wide circular body and a narrow neck.<sup>150</sup> Glass flasks buried with camels and the burial of animal limbs, both real and terracotta, in the human and animal tombs shows a connection between pilgrimage and the burials.<sup>151</sup> These and the recovery of other eating utensils indicate that visiting tombs, animal sacrifice, and eating ritual meals, all known to be common from other areas in the Near East and ancient world, were practices associated with these Arabian necropolises.<sup>152</sup>

Similar practices are known from earlier times, including evidence from prehistoric contexts. Because of the large number of burials found on Bahrain some scholars have postulated that the island was a burial site in Sumerian times for people from other areas, to which pilgrimage would be made.<sup>153</sup> Large bone deposits, almost exclusively camel, at al-Safouh, Ra’s al-Ḥadd, and Baynunah indicate what might be specialized camel-hunting zones related to the ritualized camel hunt scenes found at places such as Jabal Qārah, Ṣa’dah, and Shuwaymis.<sup>154</sup> The association of pilgrimage with centers of ritual activity, graves, and these hunting zones is evident from the human tombs linked with the burial of cultic objects such as bronze serpents and vessels marked with serpent representations at Quṣayṣ in Dubai and the earlier strata of the hundreds of burials in a single grave used over centuries at Jabal al-Buḥais.<sup>155</sup> The discovery of the so-called cattle shrines at Shi’b Kheshiya near Manayzah at the eastern end of the Ḥaḍramawt where the skulls of cattle were buried in a circle and later marked by a ring of stone slabs exemplifies the linkage of pilgrimage, sacrifice, and the “social boundary defense.”<sup>156</sup> Each of the more than a dozen extant platforms at the site, with 40–50 skulls each,

would have required at least 60 sacrifices from almost a dozen households, the meat supporting the participation of perhaps 5,000 people.<sup>157</sup> A Neolithic mound of Dugong bones on the island of Akab has been interpreted as one of the earliest examples of a shrine-like monument, to which pilgrimage was made, constructed from the remains of hunted or ritually slaughtered prey.<sup>158</sup>

Evidence for an established set of rituals connected to the visitation of tombs, including pilgrimage, erection of a stone marker or altar, offering of an animal at or near the erected stone, and a shared meal is widespread. The use of special ceremonial spaces for these rituals exist in a variety of contexts throughout the Mediterranean and Arabian peninsula,<sup>159</sup> and specific ties to funerary rites at tomb sites is known from Nabataean practices at Petra, Madā'in Šāliḥ, and Dūmat al-Jundal. Comparable evidence exists for Palmyra and Dura Europos.<sup>160</sup> Inscriptions and other archaeological evidence attest to these practices in southern Arabia, including graffiti from pilgrims in Shabwa, and stones in Ma'rib bearing the dates of pilgrimages made there.<sup>161</sup> At larger sites, connected to temples and in the vicinity of public altars, what appear to be banquet halls were constructed for the ritual meals. Smaller private sites, such as those at Dūmat al-Jandal, feature special places for the consumption of meals, confirmed by the recovery of food receptacles and eating utensils, near the altar and tombs.<sup>162</sup> That camels were sacrificed and offered as part of a ritual meal at tombs of prominent figures in the early Islamic period is consistent with what was practiced in Arabia in pre-Islamic times.<sup>163</sup>

#### HORSE SACRIFICE AND BURIALS

Outside of the Arabian peninsula there is widespread archaeological evidence that the horse and other equids, rather than the camel, were sacrificed and buried to denote the tombs of military leaders and those of other people associated with territorial and political claims. Horses and other equids, along with dogs, were buried adjacent to and at the entrance to human tombs in the Khābūr river basin of northeastern Syria, at Tell Arbid and Tell Mozan.<sup>164</sup> The sacrifice and burial of horses with human remains could be linked to the place of certain domesticated animals in the ecological conditions that supported the larger-scale civilization that developed at the cities in the Khābūr basin, or perhaps a hunting culture that predated more expansive settlement patterns.<sup>165</sup> The burial of horses along with dogs and weapons, especially in the larger vaulted chamber graves from the Akkadian and post-Akkadian periods, might be directly

linked to the graves of occupation forces or local Khābūr-basin people linked with the dominating culture of southern Mesopotamia.<sup>166</sup> The burial of horses in the royal cemeteries at El Kurru, where twenty-four horses were buried in a standing position, and Meroe are clearly linked to the funeral ceremonies of the Kushite kings, who are said to have initiated the custom of sacrificing horses to distinguish the tombs of kings.<sup>167</sup>

Horse and dog sacrifices are attested among the Amorites at Mari and Tell al-Rimah, as are horse and donkey sacrifices throughout Mesopotamia.<sup>168</sup> Donkeys in particular seem to be associated with kingship in Amorite culture and the civilizations where the Amorites had influence. Donkey and human burials, often including weapons, are found at Tell Mozan and Tell Brak, throughout Mesopotamia, and in Palestine.<sup>169</sup> Others are attested among the royal tombs of Umm al-Marra, Tell al-Sweyhat, Halwa, and Tell al-Dab'a.<sup>170</sup> In the Amorite letters from Mari, donkey sacrifices are commonly mentioned as a part of the ritual of concluding a contract or treaty;<sup>171</sup> a donkey sacrifice is mentioned at Ugarit,<sup>172</sup> the Sumerian king is called a "proud donkey,"<sup>173</sup> and the "Day of the Donkey" is specified as a holiday in certain ritual calendars.<sup>174</sup> A letter from the Mari palace states that because he is the "king of the Khana" Zimri-Lim should ride not on a horse but on a donkey, and royalty is associated with donkey riding in 2 Samuel (16:2, 17:23, 18:9), Jeremiah (32:19, 36:30), and the prophecy in Zechariah 9:9.<sup>175</sup> Zooarchaeological evidence shows that the donkeys were not eaten but interred whole, perhaps alive, into the tomb.<sup>176</sup> The burial of donkeys could be a way to commemorate the technological advantage represented by the chariot, or be specific to the status of the person making the burial, but depositing the animal in the midst of the sanctuary could have been a way of marking the location as belonging, either directly or indirectly, to Amorite culture and its sphere of influence.<sup>177</sup>

A similar case has been made for the burials of horses and donkeys throughout greater Palestine and Egypt, connected with the invasions and settlement of the Hyksos people.<sup>178</sup> Hyksos burials at Azor include men and horses buried side by side, and a tomb in Jericho contains the remains of a horse or donkey.<sup>179</sup> At Tell al-Dab'a, the Hyksos capital in the Nile Delta, a donkey is buried at the entrance of human tombs, and a donkey is buried in a pit near a human tomb containing horse bones at Tell al-Maskhūṭā nearby.<sup>180</sup> Near Gaza, donkeys and horses are buried alongside human graves in Lachish, Gath,<sup>181</sup> Tell Haror, Tell Jemmeh, and Tell al-'Ajjūl.<sup>182</sup> The horses and donkeys may represent the influence of the use of chariots and mounted cavalry by the Hyksos.<sup>183</sup> In part, using the

domesticated horse, and the donkey, allowed the Hyksos to dominate the areas where these burials occur.<sup>184</sup> The burial of weapons, especially swords and daggers, along with the donkeys and humans, emphasizes the military role for which the Hyksos were known in their conquest and control of southern Palestine and the Nile Delta.<sup>185</sup>

Not unlike the burial of the “Persian rider” terracotta figurines at shrines in Arabia and Mesopotamia,<sup>186</sup> the burial of horses and donkeys alongside human graves among the Amorites and in Iran seems to indicate an attempt to associate the human dead with a particular cultural and political identity. As pack animals for desert trade networks and desert mining operations, donkeys were a key economic asset and played an integral part in allowing for the expansion and spread of political control and cultural influence.<sup>187</sup> Horse burials adjacent to human tombs are found at the Hittite site of Osmankeyesi, and other sites in greater Iran including Dinkha Tepe, Hasanlu, Godin Tepe,<sup>188</sup> Baba Jan,<sup>189</sup> and a first-century BCE tomb at Shahr-i Qumis.<sup>190</sup> Weapons buried in these human tombs, along with dogs, horses, and other gear including horse tack might be references to the acts of conquest and state building that allowed these people to settle the territory where they are buried. The grave goods accompanying the human burials identify the sites as belonging to certain cultural influences characterized by new technologies, new ethnic identities, and a cultural shift between the time of the burials and an earlier cultural age.

Modern scholarship has taken the presence of horse sacrifices and burials as evidence of an Indo-Iranian or Indo-European influence just as donkeys are used to indicate Amorite culture and camels Arab culture.<sup>191</sup> Perhaps the most elaborate example is the Ashvamedha horse sacrifice practiced in ancient India involving the king, symbols of conquest, and more than 500 animals over a three-day period.<sup>192</sup> Examples from the Transcaucasus include the burial of horses, sometimes multiple horses, with humans along with bronze spears, arrowheads, daggers, and battle-axes.<sup>193</sup> Often examples from different Indo-European cultures are interpreted to be fertility rites, especially cases of horse sacrifice and other rituals with horses supposed to have been performed by kings. Some scholars have interpreted the connection between kingship and horse sacrifice, along with other factors, to be linked with fertility rites.<sup>194</sup> It may be the case that the use of horses in some royal rituals incorporates elements of fertility rites but most examples of horse sacrifice and burial with humans, including those linked with kingship, appear to be associated with conquest and the military technology that allows for it.

The widespread evidence of horse burial among separated Indo-European societies, as well as among certain groups in the ancient Near East suggests that the burial of horses and other equids, along with weapons and other implements of warfare, are meant to commemorate what allowed these peoples to dominate the societies in which they established themselves.<sup>195</sup>

The earliest examples of horse use and domestication in the Near East and eastern Mediterranean basin are tied to military conquest and the symbolism of state power. An Akkadian cylinder seal from the late third millennium (2375–2000 BCE) represents a ridden mount trampling underfoot a prostrate man, not unlike examples of people trampled by war chariots from even earlier contexts.<sup>196</sup> A gold dagger sheath from a ceremonial weapon offered to the warrior god Reshef at the Temple of the Obelisks in Byblos (ca. 2000–1600 BCE) features a rider, perhaps the king of Byblos, armed with a sickle sword being presented with what appear to be wild and domesticated animal offerings.<sup>197</sup> Figures of armed deities on horseback leading in battle are found in representations from Egypt during the Hyksos periods and among the Hittites.<sup>198</sup> Numerous pictorial and textual sources attest to the close linkage of warriors and kings with the use of horses by the Assyrians.<sup>199</sup> A text from the fifth century BCE details the armor and weapons used by the typical mounted warrior, including 130 arrows and 2 spears.<sup>200</sup> The Persians were well-known for their use of horses in battle, and were defined by their ability to shoot arrows from horseback.<sup>201</sup>

Many weapons interred alongside horses and other equids in human graves appear to be ceremonial in nature. Certain types and styles of weapons such as lunate-pommeled daggers and duckbill and fenestrated axes are found in a wide variety of horse and human burials from different times, cultures, and places.<sup>202</sup> Spears and lances are specifically associated with the burial of mounted fighters.<sup>203</sup> The weapons themselves are often not only decorated but their general construction and design, including poor hafting, shows that they were not made for actual use in combat.<sup>204</sup> Many of the tombs appeared to be staged in the positioning of the human and animal bodies and objects, the dressing of the corpses, the placing of the weapons and other grave goods, and the funerary rituals themselves including sacrifices at the time of burial and later.<sup>205</sup> This staging includes the reuse of older monumental tombs, artwork on tomb walls, and the burial of particular weapons and other objects that recall scenes from mythical contexts.<sup>206</sup>

The inclusion of certain weapons and other implements of war along with horse burials indicates that the symbolism of such burials had

widespread geographical and temporal resonance.<sup>207</sup> Burial of horse bits and other types of equid tack in addition to specific ceremonial weapons associated with human and horse burials, both within and outside of ritual contexts, point to the role played by certain martial technologies in the significance of these deposits.<sup>208</sup> Iron bits allowed for the better braking power necessary for the more effective use of horses in military contexts, both as draught animals for chariots and as mounts, especially in ranked battle and for the use of weapons such as bow and arrow or sword and spear that require two hands.<sup>209</sup> Sometimes the horses are buried with the bits in their mouths, or ornamental bronze tack and weapons decorated with ivory are buried alongside the horses, or just the bits and the tack are buried without any animals.<sup>210</sup> Many burials are of multiple horses indicating chariot teams or of entire chariots. Although some of these horse teams would have been used to transport the human bodies to the grave, the burial of chariots and their use in funerary rituals might have served to commemorate the rank and military standing of the humans with whom they are buried, and refer back to the decisive role played by the war chariot in conquest and political expansion in the Near East and eastern Mediterranean basin.<sup>211</sup>

In addition to horses, weapons, and other military items, dogs appear to have been sacrificed and buried in warrior tombs as implements of warfare. Dog sacrifices were widespread among Indo-European groups including the Hittites and in Greece.<sup>212</sup> The burial of dogs with humans, with and without horses or donkeys and weapons, is also found throughout the Near East.<sup>213</sup> Dog burials are found in most if not all of the cultures that bury horses and other equids along with weapons in human graves.<sup>214</sup> Alongside other human tombs containing both dogs and horses with single humans, tomb 18 at Politiko from Mycenaean Cyprus contained the skeleton of a single dog buried with the remains of more than a dozen humans, perhaps indicating a band of warriors.<sup>215</sup> Funerary steles featuring dogs on the Greek mainland have been interpreted as owing to the influence of martial components of Near Eastern cultures.<sup>216</sup> Herodotus says that horses and dogs are associated with leaders among the Babylonians, and in the Achaemenid royal household there was a specific official in charge of both dogs and horses.<sup>217</sup> In many of these contexts dogs are clearly linked with war and hunting, and seem to have been sacrificed and buried as a military symbol. The third-century Roman author Claudius Aelianus reports that sacred dogs were kept in the sanctuary of the god of fire and war, and the Spartans are said to have sacrificed dogs to Ares-Enyalios.<sup>218</sup>

That the burials of humans, along with other implements of war, were used to demarcate and lay claim to territory is evident from a variety of widely dispersed examples. In some areas, the erection of stone and bone monuments, many marking burials, is linked to human movement using horses, camels, and other domesticated animals that allow for the extension of a given culture's range of movement and influence.<sup>219</sup> Often the monuments themselves are constructed from the remains, or bear images of the animals whose hunting is made possible by the increased range enabled by domesticated mounts.<sup>220</sup> Markers are used to signify political and cultural boundaries and alliances, and some of the earliest evidence indicates that human burials were used to mark a group's control of specific plots of land for farming.<sup>221</sup> Theories linking the use of ritual pits to fertility rites appear to be secondary to or as a consequence of placing a particular area under the control of a given society or state.<sup>222</sup> Evidence from prehistoric sites in Europe shows a link between the domestication of horses and cultivation in the natural habitats of wild species.<sup>223</sup> In Greece and throughout the Near East, pits were dug for the ritual disposal of objects, animals, and humans near sanctuaries and places associated with political and social identity.<sup>224</sup> Ritual pits and shaft graves were used for the burial of warriors with their weapons and mounts, dogs, and as a place to perform sacrifices to "ancestors" who lived 500–1,000 years earlier.<sup>225</sup>

Certain aspects of the prehistoric construction and erection of *khirigsuur* and deer-stone complexes throughout inner Asia correspond to key features present in the staging and burial of camels and equids throughout the Mediterranean and Near East. Some scholars consider the deer-stones themselves to symbolize or be representations of dead warriors.<sup>226</sup> Many of the complexes and individual stone monuments mark human graves and contain horses, images of animals, and weapons.<sup>227</sup> In addition to horses, other animals such as sheep and goats appear to have been sacrificed at these sites.<sup>228</sup> The deer-stones are frequently engraved with images of wild animals and with ornamental arms such as war hammers, daggers, and shields.<sup>229</sup> Sacrifice was used in the staging of the burials and monuments, including animal heads buried in a circle around the base of the deer-stone like the stone enclosures surrounding the *khirigsuur* mounds.<sup>230</sup> Not unlike the context for the warrior burials in the Near East and Mediterranean, the deer-stones and *khirigsuur* complexes appear to date from a time when the societies that built them were transitioning from a hunting to pastoral-based society. Scholars have argued that these Bronze Age burials memorialize warriors who led group migrations, or that the monuments were a means to mark

boundaries and alliances among dispersed pastoral communities.<sup>231</sup> The spread of these monuments and burials across such a large region show not only the important role, both symbolic and in terms of mobility, of the domesticated horse, but also the range of certain cultural norms and symbols related to specific social and economic shifts in the area.<sup>232</sup>

#### SACRIFICE AND SOCIAL ORIGINS

Perhaps the best-known example of horse sacrifice is that of ancient India, the *Ashvamedha*, an elaborate year-long ritual involving twenty-one sacrificial stakes, ten sets of eighteen victims in addition to the primary set consisting of the horse, a hornless he-goat, and a *gayal*.<sup>233</sup> The ritual includes an additional eleven sets of ten wild animals. By some accounts there are over 500 animals involved in total.<sup>234</sup> Many of the elements found in the practice of horse or camel sacrifice found elsewhere in the ancient world – representation of military leadership, the use of ceremonial weapons, and the marking of territory – are found in the *Ashvamedha*.

According to different Vedic texts, the purpose of the sacrifice is to bring prosperity to the community.<sup>235</sup> The person making the sacrifice – the king, the warrior class he represents, and the community he embodies – is to be granted sons, horses, continued dominion, and rivers full of water. After being roasted and dismembered, the horse is offered to the god *Prajapati* and to all the members of the warrior class. It is the warrior class, of which the king is a part, that is responsible for the well-being of the community with their acts of conquest, control, and protection of the territory which provide the basic necessities of life. *Prajapati*, progenitor of the warrior class, is the god of creation, fertility, and social prosperity. He is sometimes said to be the personification of the primary elements of creation and life: time, sun, and fire. In the *Upanishads* and later texts, the sacrifice itself is seen as cosmogonic, recalling the primordial dismemberment and distribution of body parts to create the world and the four castes.<sup>236</sup>

As the centerpiece of the various animal sacrifices, the horse epitomizes the prosperity produced by and commemorated in the overall ritual. Horses are not indigenous to India but were introduced in the migrations and invasions that brought to dominance the Aryan culture. Because of the difficulties involved in breeding the horses in India it was necessary for the stock to be replenished by the capture and importation of fresh horse stock from outside. The horse itself was not only a symbol of the king and



the warrior class that used horses to draw war chariots, but represented the implement that allowed for the Aryan conquest of India and the continued control of the territory that secured the expanded prosperity of the newfound civilization.<sup>237</sup> The horse to be sacrificed was released to wander through unconquered territories, accompanied and protected by the warrior class, for a full year before the sacrifice. Its safe return to be sacrificed proved the authority of the king over the places visited by the horse.<sup>238</sup> Territory is literally marked off by the erection of the stakes and the animals placed between them in the course of the Ashvamedha. During the ritual a war chariot is pulled around the altar by the horse to be sacrificed. The altar represents the center of the world, and thus its ritual encirclement by the war chariot is a symbolic encompassing of conquered territory.<sup>239</sup> The ritual is a reminder of the war chariot technology and the domestication of the horse required for its use that stand at the origins of Vedic India.

A not dissimilar sacrifice was practiced in ancient Rome, the Equus October or “October horse” sacrifice. Like the Ashvamedha, the Equus October was performed by the warrior class to display the necessary link between control of territory and provisioning the state. Securing territory leads to social prosperity: food and water resources, safety from external and internal threats, and cultural hegemony.<sup>240</sup> Just as the chariot was pulled around the altar in the Ashvamedha, the Equus October involved chariot races around the Campus Martius in Rome, the stadium field a symbolic substitute for the actual battlefield, the races a ritualized extension of actual combat. One of the horses pulling the winning chariot was pierced with a spear and then sacrificed.<sup>241</sup> The ritual was performed in the middle of October, coinciding with the end of both the agricultural season and the period of military campaigns.

Like the horse in the Ashvamedha, the horse sacrificed in the Equus October conflates the king and the warrior class with fertility.<sup>242</sup> Several classical authors explain that the horse, not normally eaten as opposed to an ox which would constitute the usual sacrificial animal,<sup>243</sup> symbolized both war and prosperity.<sup>244</sup> The tail of the sacrificed horse, perhaps a literal or figurative euphemism for the horse’s penis, was used to anoint the rex regalia with blood.<sup>245</sup> The head, offered to Mars,<sup>246</sup> possession of which was the source of ritual combat,<sup>247</sup> was also considered an omen of fertility.<sup>248</sup> Dio Cassius reports that Caesar took the heads of two rebel military leaders to the royal hearth after sacrificing them in apparent imitation of the Equus October at the Campus Martius.<sup>249</sup> That the mythology of the god Mars himself, in whose name the sacrifice was

offered and with whom the king and warrior class identified,<sup>250</sup> was tied to agrarian fertility is evident from a number of contexts.<sup>251</sup> Mars, and by extension the king and the warrior class, ensured fertility by securing the territory from which the crops could be produced.<sup>252</sup>

Some Greek and Roman historians claim that the Equus October recalls the founding myth of Roman society. According to the Greek historian Timaeus, repeated by Polybius, the horse sacrifice was a way for the Romans to commemorate their Trojan origins, using a spear to transfix the military implement that led to the fall of Troy.<sup>253</sup> This tradition might also be related to the legend of the sword of Aeneas, transferred from Priam at Troy, and buried along with the Trojan prince at the future site of Rome.<sup>254</sup> Although horse sacrifice was practiced widely by other Indo-European peoples,<sup>255</sup> the Equus October was the only Roman instance of horse sacrifice, suggesting that the Roman ritual be interpreted as a vestige of the migrations that brought the horse and the hegemony that accompanied it at the origins of Rome. In the Ver Sacrum ritual among the Sabine ancestors of Rome, all the humans and domesticated animals born the subsequent spring are dedicated to Mars and, upon reaching maturity, migrate away from their home community to occupy new territory and establish a sedentary agrarian social order.<sup>256</sup> This migratory sacrifice of offspring were in return for Mars' military protection of the land and its produce, and not unlike in the Ashvamedha, the dedicated children and animals were led to what would be newly conquered territory by Mars himself in the form of a horse.<sup>257</sup>

In both the Equus October and the Ashvamedha, and perhaps also in other ancient and prehistoric rituals, the horse epitomizes that which allowed for the foundations of the society for which it is the object of sacrifice. It is the domestication and use of the horse as a military technology that enabled the Indo-Europeans to dominate, culturally and politically, the regions into which they moved: India, Iran, Greece, Europe.<sup>258</sup> In these civilizations the sacrifice of horses appears to recall the prehistoric origins of these peoples. Examples of rituals focused on horses – their display, slaughter, dismemberment, being eaten, burial – among certain classes in archaic Greece, the Near East, and Europe coincides with, and thus their later repetition recalls, the arrival of social orders based on the technologies of horse domestication.<sup>259</sup> The various rituals identifying the king and warrior class with the horse assert the necessary link between the securing of territory and the development of a social order allowing for increased production and prosperity.

The burial of horses at the tombs of kings and warriors seems to have accompanied horse sacrifices and may have served a similar ritual

function. That horses and items related to the development of equestrian technology, including saddles, bits, stirrups, shoes, and equestrian vehicles such as chariots, were buried at the tombs of warriors alongside other implements of war such as ornamental and functional swords, daggers, and arrowheads, indicates their representation of military technology. Inscriptions on buried signet rings and reliefs marking Minoan tombs in Crete provide examples of this relationship between equestrian technology and the cultural dominance of certain classes and equestrian technologies.<sup>260</sup> Throughout the Aegean, the erection of altars and monuments, the burial of horses and weapons, and representations linking these with fertility at so-called royal tombs attests to the coincidence of these practices with migrations of cultures remembering a social order enabled by horse technologies.<sup>261</sup>

Just as horse sacrifice and burial could be used by certain classes to commemorate their origins, the camel was seen both by Arabs themselves and by non-Arabs as typifying Arabian society.<sup>262</sup> In the ancient world, the camel was used as a kind of trope to designate Arabs and the regions they inhabited.<sup>263</sup> In their monumental inscriptions, Assyrian kings listed the tribute of camels given to them by conquered Arabs. A fragmentary Assyrian inscription detailing the military expeditions of Esarhaddon to Egypt and through the northern Arabian peninsula mentions the use of camels supplied by Arab vassals, and the Heidel prism mentions the tribute of camels given by “Haza’il king of KUR a-ri-bi” to Esarhaddon as tribute.<sup>264</sup> An inscription of Tiglath Pileser III (744–727 BCE) mentions the tribute of camels [ibile] and she-camels [naqati] by Zabibe “Queen of the Arabs.”<sup>265</sup> The Khorsabad Annals of Sargon II (721–705 BCE) lists a tribute of camels from the king of Saba and Shamsi “Queen of the Arabs,”<sup>266</sup> and the account of Sennacherib’s campaign against the Arabs in 691 BCE mentions the capture of 1,000 camels.<sup>267</sup> Camels designated the land of the Arabs,<sup>268</sup> and was treated, both by the Arabs and by non-Arabs, as a type of Arab currency.

The camel was for the Arabs, as the horse was for Indo-European peoples, an implement of warfare. In ancient and late antique sources, camels were associated with Arab kings and queens, with Arab military units and tactics, and specifically with the capacities of camel-mounted troops in desert warfare.<sup>269</sup> A Palmyrene inscription from Dura Europos illustrates that to be a camel-rider was an honored position.<sup>270</sup> Unlike the horse, the camel, because of its relatively slow speed but long range, does not seem to have been used primarily as a charging animal but rather as a means to transport troops and supplies to the battlefield.<sup>271</sup> Indeed, Arab

troops are known to have ridden camels to the battlefield, where they mounted horses for combat.<sup>272</sup> Camel-mounted cavalry were used in combat by Arabs, and according to Herodotus, the “smell” of camels is said to spook horses in combat.<sup>273</sup> Camels require less water and food (and eat thorny desert plants), are better designed to walk on sand, and are taller, providing a higher mounted position – but horses are faster, more maneuverable, and provide a steadier ride.<sup>274</sup>

Camel sacrifice at the tombs of warriors marked the status and role of the person buried. Military leaders are commemorated for establishing and maintaining the current social order: conquering territory and securing prosperity for the community. Note that alongside horses and camels, the “sacrifice” or burial of other implements of war (chariots, swords, armor, dogs) featured items specific to the technological gains (helmets, stirrups, bits, horseshoes)<sup>275</sup> that allowed the warrior class to function as leaders in originating and preserving society.<sup>276</sup> An Iron Age burial of weapons, perhaps dedicated to a war deity, such as weapon burials at bogs in Scandinavia and ritual pits in Thrace, suggests analogous ceremonial practices commemorating cultural achievements linked with military conquest.<sup>277</sup> Like the Equus October, Ashvamedha, and other rituals focused on weapons and technologies tied to conquest, these “sacrifices” recall a type of primordial link between securing territory and social development.

In the case of Arabia, the camel was the *sine qua non*, utilized with specialized technologies for hunting, raiding, and warfare, that allowed for certain Arab societies to control and eventually extend cultural hegemony over extended territories.<sup>278</sup> The stability and control provided by the development of the so-called attack [*shadād*] saddle, such as bits and stirrups among the peoples that used horses, enabled societies in the northern deserts of the Arabian peninsula to employ the camel’s top speed and use new weaponry (armor and the lance in particular) while mounted.<sup>279</sup> A “saddle-bow” construction allowed people to ride on the hump rather than the crupper as required by the older style of the *Ḥawlānī* saddle used earlier in southern Arabia. The stability of this saddle, along with the extended range of the domesticated camel, not only provided a military advantage but allowed the northern Arabs to distinguish themselves from the cultural and political identity of the southern Arabs. As the Ashvamedha and Equus October sacrifices among Indo-European peoples identified the origins of social prosperity with the control of territory by the warrior class, so the sacrifice of a camel could be used to assert a symbolic connection between conquest and the social order of what would become the Ummah.

## CAMEL AS EPITOME

It might be argued that the camel is a totem for the Arabs, that the camel for the Arabs shares certain key characteristics with the conception of the relationship of particular animals, plants, and objects to the social groups with which they are associated.

In his work on animals, al-Jāḥiẓ highlights the significant role played by camels in history and compares the elephant as the symbol of the Indians to the camel as the symbol of the Arabs.<sup>280</sup> As a social marker for Arabs, the use of the camel is widespread and familiar in visual and literary depictions throughout the ancient world.<sup>281</sup> In a report given on the authority of ‘Urwah b. al-Bārqi, the prophet Muhammad says the “camel is power [‘azz] to its family.”<sup>282</sup> The camel is said to have a strong body, be fleet of feet, and carry a load as large as a house with a person on its back. It produces food, drink, clothing, coverings, and can be said to be a house in and of itself.<sup>283</sup> In ḥadīth reports given on the authority of Ibn ‘Umar and Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, the prophet Muhammad compares the Quran to the camel.<sup>284</sup> The Muslim exegesis of Q 88:17 claims the camel was created especially by God providing for the existence of human society in the desert.<sup>285</sup> Camels are fabled for their bite, their spines, and coarse hair. Jāḥiẓ goes to great lengths to catalogue the uses of the camel, including as a sacrifice, and to make possible settled life in the desert environment of Arabia.<sup>286</sup> According to the traditions collected by al-Jāḥiẓ and others, wild camels do not exist except for those left by God in the Wābar wilderness as a sign of the destroyed peoples of Ād and Thamūd. All camels are considered to be domesticated.<sup>287</sup>

The camel, both in reality and as a symbol, is the epitome of settled life in Arabia. It is emblematic of Arabs, their value as military units and as wealth, the close parallels between the habitats and lifestyle (whether real or perceived) of both,<sup>288</sup> and because of the common mythological linking of Arabs and camels.<sup>289</sup> Like the restrictions placed on the killing and eating of the species representing the totem, Muslim jurists require ritual purification after touching or eating camel meat.<sup>290</sup> Muslims are forbidden to pray on the spot where a camel sat, and camel flesh is supposed to have magical and medicinal qualities.<sup>291</sup> The ninth-century philologist and grammarian al-Aṣma‘ī dedicated an entire book to a study of camel-related vocabulary in Arabic poetry informed by ethnographic research among Bedouin from the desert near Baṣrah.<sup>292</sup> Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purcell identified 5,774 Arabic words for camels and camel-related things.<sup>293</sup>

The camel is the domesticated animal par excellence of the Arabs, and is itself an epitome of a certain type of Arab society. Camels and Arabs formed a symbiotic relationship. Not unlike the evolution of certain other “domesticated” species such as the Yak in Tibet and the reindeer among the Sami people in Lapland, the survival of the Arabian dromedary as a species owes as much to Arab pastoralists as nomadic pastoralism as a way of life owes to the camel. Dromedaries, like dogs during the ice age,<sup>294</sup> survived and became a species because of their close relationship with the pastoral Arabs who needed the camels for their own survival and dominance of their desert environment.<sup>295</sup> Camel raiding by competing neighboring tribes allowed the camels to maintain the genetic variations necessary to breed successfully, as did intertribal marriage among people.<sup>296</sup>

Harnessing the full potential of the domesticated camel may have been what allowed the Arabs of the Ḥijāz to dominate the economy and culture of the Near East and eastern Mediterranean at the end of late antiquity.<sup>297</sup> Camels enabled certain “bedouin” groups to evolve a portable existence exploiting the changing economic, political, and ecological conditions of Arabia at the end of antiquity in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries CE.<sup>298</sup> Large-scale ecological changes, such as earthquakes and volcanic activity, and the spread of disease, may have encouraged certain types of tribal systems enabled by the development and availability of camel and tent technology.<sup>299</sup> Combining camel and tent technology afforded certain groups the ability to cope with and take advantage of these ecological changes with greater movement and range between settlements, allowing them to increase their web of tribal alliances and access to water sources and prey, capitalize on long-distance trade routes, and develop new relationships with more sedentary societies.<sup>300</sup>

To sacrifice a camel is to communicate in a language representing a certain “Arab” identity inclusive of all Arabs regardless of tribe or social status, at a funeral, to display certain qualities such as hospitality and generosity, or to demonstrate the security and prosperity of the place where the animal is offered. The camel is a recognized symbol, the offering of which asserted not only the Arab identity but also the heroic status of the one performing the offering. Sacrificing camels could be seen as the Arab equivalent, perhaps self-consciously so, of the Greco-Roman and Indo-Iranian horse sacrifice. Camel sacrifice was utilized, both by those doing the act and by those far removed in time and place interpreting the act, to commemorate the newfound cultural dominance that marked the origins of Islam.

## NOTES

- 1 See Jonathan Z. Smith, "The Domestication of Sacrifice," in *Violent Origins: Walter Burkert, René Girard, and Jonathan Z. Smith on Ritual Killing and Cultural Formation*, ed. Robert Hamerton-Kelly (Stanford, CA, 1987), 191–205.
- 2 See Smith, "The Domestication of Sacrifice," 201; and Jonathan Z. Smith, "The Bare Facts of Ritual," *History of Religions* 20 (1980): 112–127, esp. 116–117 [= in his *Imagining Religion* (Chicago, IL, 1985), 53–65, esp. 57–58].
- 3 See Smith, "The Bare Facts of Ritual," passim; A. Irving Hallowell, "Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere," *American Anthropologist* n. s. 28 (1926): 1–175.
- 4 See the provocative arguments in Valerio Valeri, "Wild Victims: Hunting as Sacrifice and Sacrifice as Hunting in Huauhu," *History of Religions* 34 (1994): 101–131. On "taming" bears for sacrifice, see Heonik Kwon, "Play the Bear: Myth and Ritual in East Siberia," *History of Religions* 38 (1999): 373–387; E. A. Aleskseenko, "The Cult of the Bear among the Ket (Yenisei Ostyaks)," in *Popular Beliefs and Folklore Tradition in Siberia*, ed. Vilmos Diószegi (Budapest, 1968), 175–192.
- 5 See, for example, Paul Stengel, *Opfergebräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig, 1910), 197–202, cited in Valeri, "Wild Victims," 111–112.
- 6 See the discussion in T. Fahd, "Consecration of Animals," in the *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, s.v.
- 7 See the theoretical reconstruction of Burkert, *Homo Necans*, esp. 1–87. For the classic formulation, see K. Meuli, "Griechische Opfergebräuche," in *Phyllobolia: Festschrift Peter von der Mühl*, ed. Olof Gigon (Basel, 1946), 185–288.
- 8 J. Z. Smith defines what he means by "domestication" on p. 199 of his "The Domestication of Sacrifice," citing Peter J. Ucko and G. W. Dimbleby, eds., *The Domestication and Exploitation of Plants and Animals* (Chicago, IL, 1969); Erich Isaac, *Geography of Domestication* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1970); Edmund R. Leach, "Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse," in *New Directions in the Study of Language*, ed. E. H. Lenneberg (Cambridge, 1964), 23–63; S. J. Tambiah, "Animals Are Good to Think and Good to Prohibit," *Ethnology* 8 (1969): 432–459.
- 9 See Smith, "The Bare Facts of Ritual," 61, and the trapping of bears among the Yenesei in the Yeneseysk Province in Henry Lansdell, *Through Siberia*, 4th ed. (London, 1883), 209–210.
- 10 Smith, "The Domestication of Sacrifice," 199.
- 11 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:54.
- 12 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:54.
- 13 For the exegesis of Q 39:53 as linked to the expiation of earlier sins, according to Ibn ʿAbbās, see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*, ed.

- Hāmid Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir (Cairo, 2002), on Q 39:53; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 65:39 (4810); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:54 (122); Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, on Q 39:53 (with a different chain of transmission); al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmiʿ li-ahkām al-Qurʾān*, on Q 39:53 (citing Muslim). Also see the commentary on Q 25:68.
- 14 See Abū Zakarīya Yahyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ al-Nawawī ʿalā ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad ʿAllūsh (Riyadh, 2004) on Muslim 1:54. On these practices in pre-Islamic times, see Goldziher, “On the Veneration of the Dead,” esp. 228/251–230/254; Leor Halevi, *Muhammad’s Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society* (New York, 2007), 116.
- 15 See William and Fidelity Lancaster, “Observations on Death, Burial, Graves and Graveyards at Various Locations in Ra’s al-Khaimah Emirate, UAE, and Musandam wilayat, Oman, Using Local Concerns,” in *Death and Burial in Arabia and Beyond: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Lloyd Weeks (Oxford, 2010), 319–328, esp. 327.
- 16 See al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, 1:278.
- 17 See Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Bashār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Beirut, 1992), 3:76. For this account also see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 4:260; ʿAlī b. Ḥasan Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. ʿAlī Sirī (Beirut, 1995–1998), 13:269.
- 18 See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 3:75–76.
- 19 See Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 1:128; Muslim 1:275; al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, 185; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:122–123; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 1:166; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 4:303, 5:100; ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī Ibn al-Jārūd, *Muntaqā min-al sunan al-musnadah ʿan Rasūl Allāh*, ed. Masʿad ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Saʿdanī (Beirut, 1996), 125, 26; Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥussayn al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Bayhaqī al-kubrā* (Riyadh, 2013), 1:158, 159.
- 20 See al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:116–119; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 1:164; al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, 1:108; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Taḥāwī, *Sharḥ maʾānī l-āthār*, ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 2013), 1:65–66. For a discussion of these reports and later legal positions based on them, see Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyah al-mujtahid wa nihāyah al-muqtaṣid*, 1:505–516.
- 21 See Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 4:180.
- 22 See Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 1:400.
- 23 See the discussion in ʿImrānī, *al-Bayān fī fiqh al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī*, 1:295–297. Compare Abū Naʿīm Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Isfahānī, *Taʾrīkh Isfahān* (Riyadh, 2003), 2:216, for the report that the prophet Muhammad was eating with his hand when heard the call for prayer and he wiped his hands, one on the other, and went to prayer without performing ritual purification.
- 24 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:310–312; ʿImrānī, *al-Bayān fī fiqh al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī*, 1:297.
- 25 See Herodotus, 3:39 and 4:186.
- 26 See Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 115n2; Charles Pellat, “Sur quelques noms d’animaux en arabe classique,” *Comptes rendus du groupe*



- linguistique d'études chamito-semitiques* 8 (1960): 95–99. Also see the more recent examples in Edward Westermarck, *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation* (London, 1933), 105–106.
- 27 See the traditions discussed in 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān* (Beirut, 1998), 5:570, 2:176, 7:86, 4:224.
- 28 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3:97, 4:50, 5:9–10; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:66, 8:48; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, 1:30. Also compare the traditions in Westermarck, *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation*, 131.
- 29 See al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, 6:383; Richard Burton, *Arabian Nights* (New York, 1932), 6:92n cited in Irwin, *Camel*, 97.
- 30 See al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī li-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 2:527; Goldziher, "On the Veneration of the Dead," 243.
- 31 Cited in Westermarck, *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation*, 105–106.
- 32 See al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, 1:100; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 115n2; Westermarck, *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation*, 105–106; Hekmat Dirbas, "The Sacrifice of Riding Animals in Amorite and Arabic Traditions," *Subartu* 8 (2014): 3–12.
- 33 See al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, 4:201.
- 34 See D. J. Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* 2:297–377, esp. 323–324; H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (Leiden, 1996) on Numbers 16; Bruce Fisk, *Do You Not Remember? Scripture, Story and Exegesis in the Rewritten Bible of Pseudo-Philo* (Sheffield, 2001).
- 35 See the argument in Bruce Fisk, "Gaps in the Story, Cracks in the Earth: The Exile of Cain and the Destruction of Korah in Pseudo-Philo," in *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture*, ed. Craig Evans (London, 2004), 2:20–33; H. Jacobson, "Marginalia to Pseudo-Philo *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* and to the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*," *Revue des Études Juives* 142 (1983): 455–459.
- 36 See Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrhus, *Interpretatio quatuordecim epistolarum s. Pauli apostoli*, ed. Jacques Simond and Johann August Nösselt (Halaë Magdeburgicae, 1771), 3:1274. For this reference see Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 114; Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 262.
- 37 See Brannon Wheeler, "Food of the Book or Food of Israel? Israelite and Jewish Food Laws in the Muslim Exegesis of Quran 3:93," in *Food and Judaism*, ed. Leonard J. Greenspoon and others (Omaha, NE, 2005), 281–296.
- 38 See, for example, the list in Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 290–302.
- 39 See al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:71; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:63; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, 1:20. See the discussion in G. Van Vloten,

- “Daemonen, Geister und Zaubersprüche bei den alten Arabern,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 7 (1893): 169–187, 233–247, esp. 239–240.
- 40 On the associations of camel sacrifices, physical markers, and pagan deities, see Stetkevych, *Muḥammad and the Golden Bough*, esp. 43–46.
- 41 See Stetkevych, *Muḥammad and the Golden Bough*, 45–46; Strabo, 8:343, 17:818.
- 42 Lane, *Arabic–English Lexicon*, s.v.
- 43 See al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 15:139; Goldziher, “On the Veneration of the Dead,” 235.
- 44 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 818; Goldziher, “On the Veneration of the Dead,” 236. On the South Arabic “maḥmā” as a part of the temple precincts like the North Arabic “himā” see Johannes Heinrich Mordtmann and David Heinrich Müller *Sabäische Denkmäler* (Wien, 1853), 74.
- 45 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3218, 26:3277.
- 46 See Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 9:1629.
- 47 See Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, ‘*Uyūn al-athār fī funūn al-maghāzī wa al-shamā’il wa al-siyar*, 345–354, esp. 351; Ismā’il b. ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr, *al-Fuṣūl fī sīrah al-rasūl*, ed. Muḥammad al-‘Id al-Khaṭrāwī and Muḥī al-Dīn Matū, trans. Trevor Le Gassick, *The Life of the Prophet Muhammad* (Doha, 2000), 4:170.4:170.
- 48 See H. Eisenstein, *Einführung in die arabische Zoographie: Das tierkundliche Wissen in der arabisch-islamischen Literatur* (Berlin, 1991); A. Ambros, “Gestaltung und Funktionen der Biosphäre im Koran,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 140 (1990): 290–325.
- 49 See Ṭabarī, *Jāmi’ al-bayān fī ta’wīl al-Qur’ān*, on Q 16:80; al-Suyūṭī, *Darr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr al-ma’tūr*, on Q 16:80.
- 50 See ‘Amr b. Bāḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-bukhālā’*, ed. Muḥammad Askandarānī (Beirut, 2008), 107. Also see 88–89.
- 51 See ‘Amr b. Bāḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-maḥāsīn wa al-aḍḍād*, ed. Gerlof van Vloten, *Kitāb al-musammā bi-l-maḥāsīn wa al-aḍḍād = Le livre des beautés et des ntitheses* (Leiden, 1898), 38; Goldziher, “On the Veneration of the Dead,” 219.
- 52 See, for example, al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 2:331; Yāqūt, *Mu‘ajam al-buldān*, 1:392, 3:26–27. For these references and other examples, see Dirbas, “The Sacrifice of Riding Animals,” 3–12.
- 53 See Edward William Lane and Stanley Lane-Poole, *Stories from the Thousand and One Nights*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1937), 2:295; R. Basset, “Notes sur les Mille et une nuits,” *Revue des Traditions Populaires [= Revue d’ethnographie et des traditions populaires]* 3 (1897): 146–152; Ḥātim al-Ṭā’ī, *Der Dīwān des arabischen Dichters Ḥātim Tej*, ed. and trans. Friedrich Schulthess (Leipzig, 1897), #14; C. van Arendonk, “Ḥātim al-Ṭā’ī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.; Irwin, *Camel*, 71–72.

- 54 See Rousseau, M. Alphonse. *Voyage du Scheikh et-Tidjani dans la régence de Tunis pendant les années 706, 707 et 708 de l'Hégire (1306–1309)* (Paris, 1853), 2:57–163; Goldziher, “Veneration of the Dead,” 213/234.
- 55 See ‘Abd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrāj, *Dīwān Majnūn Laylā* (Cairo, 1973), cited in Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd: The Poetics of Nostalgia in the Classical Arabic Nasīb* (Chicago, IL, 1993), 285n86.
- 56 See al-Zabidī, *Tāj al-‘arūs min awāhir al-qāmūs*, s.v. ‘-Q-R, 3:415; Irwin, *Camel*, 71.
- 57 Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā, *Hayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥasan Basj (Beirut, 1994), s.v. “juzūr” 1:280.
- 58 See al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 14:131; Celine Perron, *Femmes arabes: Avant et depuis l’Islamisme* (Paris, 1858), 80; *Sīrat ‘Antarah b. Shaddād*, 30:89. On these references, see Goldziher, “On the Veneration of the Dead,” 219–221.
- 59 See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 4:479; Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 19; Wüstenfeld, Register, 138. On these references, see Goldziher, “On the Veneration of the Dead,” 210.
- 60 On these references see Goldziher, “On the Veneration of the Dead,” 209 and 219.
- 61 Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 3:430–432; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, 142. See Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 90; M. J. Kister, “Ghalib b. Sa‘sa‘a,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 2:998. Cited in Michael Bonner, “Poverty and Charity in the Rise of Islam,” in *Poverty and Charity in Middle East Contexts*, ed. Michael Bonner and others (Albany, NY, 2003), 13–30, esp. 20–21.
- 62 See Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 21:70; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 3:197.
- 63 See Kister, “Rajab Is the Month of God,” 191–223.
- 64 See M. M. Bravmann, “The Surplus of Property: An Early Arab Social Concept,” *Der Islam* 38 (1962): 28–50; M. M. Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam* (Leiden, 1972), esp. 229–253; Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes*, esp. 191–198.
- 65 See al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, 3:59.
- 66 See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 7:18–19; 8:59–60; al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, 3:65.
- 67 See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 5:47–49; Ṭabarī, *Ta‘rīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 1601–1604. On the offices of different Quraysh families in Mecca see Khan, “Jahiliya,” 178.
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## Pagan Origins of Muslim Ḥajj Sacrifice

A Minoan bronze from fifteenth-century BCE Crete, acquired in 1921 by Captain Spencer-Churchill and now housed in the British Museum, shows a human figure flipping over the horns of an oversized galloping bull.<sup>1</sup> Similar scenes are found on frescoes from Mycenaean Tiryns, Minoan Knossos, and Avaris (Tell al-Dab‘a) in Hyksos Egypt,<sup>2</sup> cylinder seals from Babylonian Alalakh (Tell Atchana) in northern Syria,<sup>3</sup> and a vase from Hittite Hüseyindede Tepe in northern Anatolia.<sup>4</sup> From the images it is possible to conclude that these were wild bulls, not unlike those known from Sumerian mythology,<sup>5</sup> the wild Cretan bull captured by Heracles, and the later “Tauro-kathapsia” of the Roman circus.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the practice might have been meant both as displaying feats of strength and skill, but also as evoking a nostalgia for the heroic origins of the community and its mastery of the natural world.<sup>7</sup> Similar to the practice of burying horses and camels alongside warriors to recall their instrumental role in securing the territorial foundations of society, bull leaping may have been a way to draw attention to the accomplishment of harnessing the beast for human use. It was a practice that appears to have been part carnival, part competition, and part ritual, what has been called a kind of celebration or “glorification” of domestication.<sup>8</sup>

Something like this commemoration of domestication is evident in the rituals prescribed for acquiring, driving, slaughtering, and distributing the animal sacrificed at the end of the Islamic Ḥajj. Muslim jurisprudence incorporates into Islam pagan practices associated with fertility rites from pre-Islamic seasonal festivals. That the rituals connected with the Islamic Ḥajj sacrifice were already practiced in pre-Islamic times is evident not only from the Muslim sources themselves but also from archaeological,

epigraphic, and rock art evidence from ancient and late antique Arabia. Muslim scholars make the claim that the prophet Muhammad recovered the lost original monotheistic and biblical significance hidden in the fertility rites of the “ḥajj” that were practiced by the pagan Arabs on the eve of Islam. Adopting and reinterpreting these pagan fertility rituals as a corruption of earlier lost Abrahamic rites allowed Muslim scholars to see the “sacrifice” as recalling a symbolic and real transition from pre-Islamic hunting and fertility rites to a focus on certain domesticated animals as epitomizing the settled values of the other biblical religions encountered as Islam spread into the more urban milieu of the broader Near East and Mediterranean.

Chapter 3 examines the pagan roots of what Muslim exegetes and jurists describe as the rituals for obtaining, transporting, slaughtering, and distributing the animal sacrifice of the Ḥajj. Evidence from pre-Islamic and Islamic sources illustrate the significant role hunting played in acquiring an animal to be offered to a deity, perhaps as a thanksgiving for seasonal fertility. Ritual hunts are well-attested in a variety of pre-Islamic sources and in Arabic Islamic accounts of the pre-Islamic period. The presence of these reinterpreted pre-Islamic rites in the Islamic description and practice of the Ḥajj sacrifice indicates a conscious attempt for Muslim scholarship both to demonstrate the continuity linking the Ḥajj sacrifice with its posited Abrahamic origins, and to shift the symbolism of the ritual away from an exaltation of earthly fertility and toward a transcendent afterlife. Wild animals were replaced with domesticated livestock, the hunt with the ritual runnings and standings, the kill with the slaughter, the warrior and priest with the worshipper, and the trophy with the feeding of the community.

#### ACQUISITION

It is evident from a number of different sources that hunting and raiding played a role in the acquisition of sacrificial animals among the Arabs in the pre-Islamic period. According to a tradition preserved by Muḥammad b. Mukarram Ibn Manzūr (d. 1311) in his *Lisān al-‘Arab*, the ‘atīrah sacrifice involved the hunting of a gazelle. “A man used to say in the Jahiliyyah: ‘When my camels reach a hundred, I will give one of them as an ‘atīrah. When my sheep reach a hundred, I will hunt a gazelle [zabī] and sacrifice it [fa-dhabaḥa-hu].”<sup>9</sup> Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Salām al-Harawī (d. 838) explains that, in pre-Islamic times, a person would request something and make a vow that if he got it then he would sacrifice

one of his flock animals [ghanam-hu] in Rajab, and that one form of the vow was a request that a gazelle be taken instead of something befalling his flock animals.<sup>10</sup> The idea of the ‘atīrah as a substitution ritual is also indicated in other traditions such as the practice of a man rubbing the blood of the animal victim on the image of the deity while asserting that the blood was his own.<sup>11</sup>

Several inscriptions from southern Arabia mention the sacrifice of wild animals.<sup>12</sup> One inscription from the Ḥaḍramawt lists the killing of “four panthers, two lynxes, and six hundred ibexes” [w-hrgw ‘rb‘t nmr w-fhdyw wst m’ hm’ w’l]. Another lists “eighty-two young camels, twenty-five gazelles, and eight panthers” [w-tty w-tmnhy ḥwrw w-ḥmst w’šry šbym w-tmnwt fhd].<sup>13</sup> An inscription engraved on a cliff near Shabwa mentions the sacrifice of wild animals at the rebuilding of a temple.

Yada‘il Bayyin, king of Hadramawt, son of Rabb-Shams, of the freemen of Yuhab‘ir, he who transformed and altered the city Shabwat and rebuilt in stone the temple, roofed [and] paved the fortress, when they [the temple and the fortress] collapsed and [when] they [Yada‘il and his party] killed 35 bovines and 82 young camels and 25 gazelles and eight cheetahs at the fortress Anwadum.<sup>14</sup>

A Sabaean inscription on a stela near Ma‘rib commemorates a hunt by the “Mukarrib of Saba,” and a Minaean text mentions a first-fruits offering and sacrifice to several local gods.<sup>15</sup> Ritual hunts of wild goats, antelope, buffalo, and panthers are attested as part of the coronation of Abyssinian kings,<sup>16</sup> and are known from and found among later tribal groups in southern Arabia.<sup>17</sup> An inscription from Naqil al-Shijā‘ north of Ṣan‘ā‘ records a hunting expedition by the Ḥimyarī king Abū Karib As‘ad at the beginning of the fifth century CE.<sup>18</sup>

Classical Greek and Roman sources refer to hunts for antelope, steer, wild goats, onagers, wolves, boars, panthers, and tigers,<sup>19</sup> and the bones of a variety of wild species including gazelles, camels, and horses are frequently found at Greek sanctuaries.<sup>20</sup> Xenophon describes a sanctuary of the goddess Artemis at Skillous at which there was to be an annual festival with both the sacrifice of domesticated animals and a ritual hunt for wild boar and deer.<sup>21</sup> A ritual lion hunt is displayed on a series of reliefs from the Assyrian palace at Nineveh, and Ashurbanipal is said to have established his own royal hunting parks for this purpose.<sup>22</sup> In the Greek and Roman world, a royal lion hunt is reported to have demonstrated the legitimacy of Alexander the Great,<sup>23</sup> and the hunting of lions by the emperors Trajan and Hadrian is highlighted as evidence of their

character.<sup>24</sup> In his *Critias*, Plato describes a sacrifice in which ten princes hunt wild bulls, with only wooden poles and rope, in a special sanctuary dedicated to Poseidon. The sacrifice is to reaffirm their political position and adherence to the law.<sup>25</sup>

That such ritual hunts were familiar in central and northern Arabia is evident from widespread inscriptions and rock art. Other wild prey mentioned in the ritual hunts of the *Qaṣīdah* poetry, recalling those mentioned in South Arabic inscriptions, are featured in rock art throughout the Arabian peninsula, including the oryx, onager, and ostrich. Scenes at Jubbah, Jabal Arnan, and Shawaymis in the al-Jawf region show elaborate hunts with horned prey, mounts, and archers. Isolated images of hunted animals including camels, ostriches, and an assortment of horned prey, such as at Jabal Qurmah, can be found throughout the basalt desert on the northern edge of the al-Jawf extending into Syria.<sup>26</sup> Rock carvings often show hunting techniques such as the use of kites, pits, snares and nets, and both horses and camels to drive the prey in addition to stalking and ambushing prey. Weapons used include bow and arrow, spears and lances, and edged weapons such as daggers. Corresponding to later Arabic descriptions of pre-Islamic hunting, the rock art often includes what appear to be hunting dogs and trained felines.<sup>27</sup>

It is important to recognize that the location of the rock carvings is not necessarily the same as the location where the animal or actions portrayed in the scene are supposed to have taken place. Many, if not most, of the scenes are carved into rock faces at or near prominent mountains, at the edge of the desert. Jabal Qurmah is a large basalt-boulder-covered peak elevated above the relatively flat surrounding desert. Jabal al-‘Asāl rises more than 1,000 feet above the surrounding sand desert. The scenes at Jubbah are part of a single mountain outcropping approximately 70 kilometers into the Nafūd desert from its southern edge. Jabal Qārah comprises a series of distinctive rock formations distinct from the al-Ḥasā palm oasis. Other sites appear to have been chosen as a type of “open air” sanctuary such as that at Wādī Bajdha. The close association of mountains with sanctuaries is well-known, and the association of storm gods, in particular, with mountains is known from Arabia and the wider region.

A number of rock art scenes from Bi’r Ḥimā and other sites include female figures usually identified, both by archaeologists and locals, as goddesses.<sup>28</sup> It is important to note that not all scholars are agreed that these female figures represent goddesses or are even “female” figures.<sup>29</sup> Some of these figures are almost “life-sized,” measuring up to two meters in height, especially compared with the much smaller surrounding images

of hunters and prey. The goddess figures at Bi'r Ḥimā have prominent hips and are shown with waist-long braids, some with what appear to be metal ringlets attached.<sup>30</sup> Whether these figures could represent divine beings or ordinary women, their placement vis-à-vis scenes of hunting and raiding at least suggest a connection between these activities and the symbolic significance of the female form. The positioning of the arms of the female figures, raised toward the sky, has been interpreted to indicate their divine status but may also be a more specific gesture pointing to the sky and the bringing of rain and fertility. The upright arms of goddess images from other Near East and Mediterranean contexts are sometimes interpreted to symbolize horns, the moon, and fertility. Inanna is often represented holding objects symbolizing her association with war, hunting, and fertility. Ishtar has her arms raised and is standing on two horned gazelle-like animals. At Juddah there is a scene with a life-size male figure that has sometimes been interpreted as a tribal leader or king. Accompanying the camel-hunting scenes at Jabal Kawkab are female figures similar to those found at Bi'r Ḥimā and elsewhere. Female figures with triangular torsos (carved larger than the surrounding figures) are found near scenes of bulls, possibly being hunted, at Wādī Bajdha northwest of Tabūk. The presence of these female figures might suggest that the accompanying hunt scene is intended to commemorate a ritual hunt performed for the featured goddess. Female deities are associated with hunting rituals in other parts of Arabia and the Mediterranean.

In southern Arabia the available evidence shows that the sacrificing of hunted animals was directed toward male and female deities associated with the weather and, by extension, fertility.<sup>31</sup> A Sabaic inscription from the Awām temple at Maḥram Bilqīs near Ma'rib records a hunt by a tribal military commander [wz']<sup>32</sup> for oryx and wild animals [wḥš]. The governor offers a horse and rider of bronze to the god Almaqah because his horse, injured on the hunt, was healed.<sup>33</sup> Numerous other Sabaic inscriptions employ the formula "when he hunted game of 'Athtar and Kirwam," attesting to the offering of hunted animals to 'Athtar the god of rain and his consort Kirwam the goddess of hunting.<sup>34</sup> One inscription mentions "300 animals" sacrificed to 'Athtar,<sup>35</sup> while another from Wādī Qānīyah mentions "100 animals" killed during the hunting season of the sun goddess Khinwān.<sup>36</sup> The erection of stones to mark the boundaries of hunting reserves dedicated to 'Athtar and Kirwam is found in other inscriptions.<sup>37</sup> The record of a votive sacrifice at a Qataban temple mentions two ibexes.<sup>38</sup> Other Qatabanian inscriptions refer to royal hunts dedicated to the sun goddess,<sup>39</sup> a Sabaic inscription records the

sun goddess Shamsu commanding a hunt for her,<sup>40</sup> and the sacrifice of an ibex to the sun goddess is found in an inscription from Shibām al-Ghirās.<sup>41</sup> Another hunting scene with archers hunting rows of gazelle, ibex, and onager is part of the temple at Banāt ‘Ād in the al-Jawf region of Yemen.<sup>42</sup>

Wild animal sacrifices and ritual hunts for the purpose of ensuring fertility are known from the wider ancient Near East and Mediterranean. In ancient Egypt, for example, the Pharaoh hunted and sacrificed wild bulls and hippopotamuses as part of ceremonies designed to ensure the flooding of the Nile.<sup>43</sup> Sacrifices of hunted animals to the god Assur, often portrayed wielding his bow, are said to reinforce the alignment of heaven and earth.<sup>44</sup> In the sanctuary of Demeter, known as the goddess of agricultural produce, was found the phalanx of a gazelle that was presumably hunted and brought to the temple as an offering.<sup>45</sup> Greeks offered fish to Aphrodite, and fish offerings along with other wild prey from hunts were given to Artemis.<sup>46</sup> The offering of wild animals to Artemis, in particular, seems to have been connected both with her role as goddess of hunting and war, but also with her role in ensuring fertility through both animal and human reproduction.<sup>47</sup> That hunting gods were also war gods is evident from the mythical connection, illustrated in the Ashvamedha and the Equus October sacrifices reviewed in [Chapter 1](#), between the warrior and social prosperity ensured by the securing of territory for fertile crops.<sup>48</sup>

The tradition that the horns of an animal sacrificed in pre-Islamic times were stored inside the Ka‘bah in Mecca could be understood as another reference to wild animals being offered. Various reports preserved by different Muslim scholars claim that the horns were from the ram sacrificed by Abraham in Mecca, that they were brought to Mecca from Jerusalem, had been stored in the Ka‘bah and only discovered later after having already disintegrated, or hung until one of the times during the early Islamic period when the Ka‘bah was destroyed.<sup>49</sup> It is possible that the association with Abraham, like the biblical etiologies assigned to other pre-Islamic objects, locations, and rituals, is a later interpolation. The association of the horns with Abraham might also be evidence of early Muslim exegesis that identified Abraham’s sacrifice with a wild ram or other horned prey such as an ibex [wa‘l] or “wild mountain goat” [tays]. In a report given on the authority of al-Ḥasan and repeated in al-Ṭabarī and others, it is said that the sacrificial animal was an ibex [wa‘l].<sup>50</sup> Ṭabarī also cites Ibn ‘Abbās, who says the animal was an ibex [wa‘l], and al-Ḥasan, who says it was a “wild goat [tays] from the she-goats [tays

min al-arwī] that came down upon him from Thabīr.”<sup>51</sup> Later reports replace the wild goat with the ram but retain that the ram came down to Abraham from mount Thabīr to Abraham at Minā.<sup>52</sup>

The ritual display of horns as evidence of a hunted sacrifice is widespread in the ancient world, and is specifically associated with Artemis and other deities responsible for seasonal fertility.<sup>53</sup> In addition to the reports of the horns of a sacrificed animal being stored or displayed at the Ka‘bah in early Islamic times, horns were used to portray goddesses associated with Mecca in other Arabian sanctuaries. Goddesses known in and around Mecca in pre-Islamic times were associated with other deities worshipped in the region, such as Ishtar and Venus, who were often depicted as being horned.<sup>54</sup> Standing stone images of al-Lāt erected at Madā’in Šāliḥ and on Jabal Ramm in Wādī Ramm depict the goddess as being horned.<sup>55</sup> Images of al-‘Uzzā, such as the one found at Jabal al-Zanṭūr in Petra, depict the goddess with horns.<sup>56</sup> The association of goddesses and horned animals, especially the gazelle and ibex, is evident from the use of certain Arabic female names in pre-Islamic and Islamic sources.<sup>57</sup> Yāqūt states that it was the thorny Sidr tree, perhaps because of the similarity of the long curved thorns to the horns of sacrificed animals, that distinguished the worship of al-‘Uzzā at her guarded sanctuary.<sup>58</sup> The widespread use of horned altars throughout the region suggests that the horns on the goddess images might be related to the animals they received as offerings.

Muslim sources also report that in pre-Islamic times two golden gazelles were buried under the Ka‘bah, perhaps in a special storeroom, along with a number of weapons identified with divine origins.<sup>59</sup> The storage and burial of votive wild animals offered to a sanctuary, sometimes along with ceremonial weapons, is known from other ancient contexts. In one of the letters sent to King Zimri-Lim of Mari, there is mention of the weapons of the storm-god being kept at the regional temple of Terqa (Tell Asharah) on the banks of the Euphrates: “The weapons of Adad of Aleppo have arrived in the temple of Dagan in Terqa.”<sup>60</sup> Examples of weapons found at ancient sanctuaries include the golden axes and daggers from the temple of the Obelisks at Byblos, the weapons found at the city of Ugarit, and others found at excavations in ancient Israel.<sup>61</sup> Metal and stone representations of hunted animals as sacrificial victims – including ibex and bulls, camels and horses, snakes and mice, as well as ceremonial weapons – are not uncommon as votive offerings in other Arabian contexts.<sup>62</sup> Inscriptions from southern Arabia mention the offering of a golden bull, several single golden camels, two



golden camels, and four golden camels alongside live bulls, camels, a mule, a horse and its tack, various “small animals,” and agricultural produce.<sup>63</sup> Sacrifices of camels and other wild animals are recorded in Safaitic, Thamudic, and other North Arabic inscriptions found throughout the peninsula and Syria. Carved images of gazelle, lions, ostriches, and entire hunting scenes might be understood as a kind of votive offering recording ritual acts at a particular location.

#### ISLAMIC SACRIFICES AND HUNTING RITUALS

The Islamic sacrifices described by Muslim jurisprudence, based on the reported example of the prophet Muhammad, include a number of practices that appear to be related to other hunting rituals of the pre-Islamic period. According to Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. 1295), pre-Islamic practices included hanging pairs of shoes [taqlīd al-naʿl] on the animals brought for sacrifice, and covering the animals with special cloths [julūl] in which holes were made to expose the ritual scarring of the animals, marks designed to show that the animals were consecrated for sacrifice.<sup>64</sup>

Mālik b. Anas provides a full account of the practice based on the example of the Ibn ʿUmar.

When he designated a sacrificial animal [ahdā hadīy-an] from Medina, he would garland it [qallada-hu] and mark it [ashʿara-hu] at Dhū al-Hūlayfah, garlanding it before marking it, but [doing] this in one place, while facing the Qiblah. He would garland it with two sandals and mark it on the left side. Then it would be driven with him until he did the ritual standing [yūqqafa] with it with the people at ʿArafat, then do the ritual run [yadfaʿu] with it, with the people when they did the ritual run. When he arrived at Minā on the morning of the slaughter [ghadāh al-nahr] he would sacrifice it before shaving or cutting [his hair]. He would slaughter his sacrificial animal with his own hands, lining them up standing and facing the Qiblah. Then he would eat and feed others [with the meat].<sup>65</sup>

Islamic law stipulates that, in addition to being marked with a garland, the animal to be sacrificed must also be marked by its own blood, caused to flow by a wound inflicted by the person offering the sacrifice.<sup>66</sup> Muslim scholars explain that the verb used for “marking” [šʿr] the animal by drawing its blood is related to the root meaning of “knowledge” and hence “marking” the animal is a way of making known that it is designated as a sacrificial victim. Muslim jurists do not, however, explain why the animal needs to be marked with both a garland and by its own blood, other than repeating that this was the example given by the practice of the prophet Muhammad.

A number of ḥadīth reports relate that the prophet Muhammad marked animals for sacrifice by drawing their blood. For example, Ibn Mājah reports on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās that the prophet Muhammad marked the sacrificial animal [ash‘ar al-hadi] on the right side of the hump and wiped the blood from it.<sup>67</sup> A similar report also related by Ibn ‘Abbās states that the prophet Muhammad “marked his camel [ash‘ar budna-hu] on the right side and the blood flowed from it, and he marked it [wa-ash‘ara-hā].”<sup>68</sup> In some reports, the prophet Muhammad is said to have “wiped the blood from it,” perhaps indicating that he wiped the blood from the wound onto the hide of the camel, making a visible mark with the animal’s own blood. Exegesis on Q 2:198 and lexicographers explain that the verb “mark” [ish‘ara] means “drawing blood” [idmā], and also refers to killing a person by spilling his blood and marking him for death. Some jurists disagree about whether the animal is to be wounded on the right or the left side, but the specification of the mark being on the animal’s “hump” indicates that the marking only occurred with camels.<sup>69</sup> There are no reports of cows or herd animals being marked with their own blood, and camels are stipulated to be slaughtered while they are standing, unlike any other animal.<sup>70</sup>

Many of the rock art hunting or raiding scenes portray what appears to be the “marking” describing in Muslim ritual and legal texts. Figures wielding spears attack camels, often piercing the camels through their flanks and the side of the hump. One report states that the prophet Muhammad used a blade to slaughter his sacrificial animals,<sup>71</sup> but in another report Ibn ‘Umar slaughters his camel with his spear, thrusting it through the animal’s throat “until the spear came out under its shoulder.”<sup>72</sup> Some of the rock art scenes at Bī‘r Ḥimā feature what have been interpreted as camel hunting scenes, and camel images are copious throughout the rock art of the region.<sup>73</sup> Sites at Jabal Kawkab in north-western Yemen also have scenes that appear to represent the hunting of camels.<sup>74</sup> An alabaster relief accompanied by a Sabaic inscription invoking the south Arabian storm god ‘Athtar to whom hunted animals were offered shows a camel being pierced by a figure mounted on a war horse. The spearhead is shown passing through the camel’s side from above, the tip emerging with lines depicting what might be blood flowing from it.<sup>75</sup> Similar scenes alongside Safaitic inscriptions show a mounted figure piercing a camel through its hump.<sup>76</sup>

Whether the hunts portrayed at these sites are of “wild” camels, the “hunting” or “raiding” of domesticated camels, or a nostalgic “memory” of such activities, cannot be deduced from the images.<sup>77</sup> There is no direct

evidence linking any of the images to particular practices, to specific inscriptions, or even to one another. There is clear evidence of animal sacrifice in Safaitic and other regional inscriptions.<sup>78</sup> A variety of literary and ethnographic sources indicate that there seems to be little distinction in practice separating “hunting” and “raiding” as a means to acquire animals, including those which might eventually be slaughtered for ritual purposes.<sup>79</sup> Having been recorded in rock, these images do testify to the familiarity of the concept of hunting or marking camels in a manner consistent with what Muslim texts describe as part of the procedure of marking an animal for sacrifice.

The hunting of camels is supposed to have taken place as late as the fourth or fifth centuries CE, although there is evidence of wild camel hunts as late as Ottoman times.<sup>80</sup> In a survey of almost fifty rock art sites in northern Yemen, Michael Jung estimates that horse, ibex, and camels far outnumber the other animals.<sup>81</sup> Some rock scenes from the period immediately preceding Islam clearly show camel hunts rather than raids. In a rock art scene at Jabal Qārah near Hofūf, for example, it is obvious that a camel is being hunted. The scene includes two bowmen, what appears to be a human with a spear, and a hunting dog. The camel has a number of what appear to be spears protruding from its torso.<sup>82</sup> Safaitic inscriptions show images of prey including camels, ostriches, onagers, ibex, oryx, and predatory cats.<sup>83</sup> Another scene from graffiti at al-Rawḍah has a horse-mounted figure pointing his spear at what appears to be a two-humped Bactrian camel.<sup>84</sup> At Jabal al-‘Asāl, in the sand desert north of al-Riyādh, a hunting scene features horse riders hunting ibex with camels also present. The camel appears to have a spear stuck into its back,<sup>85</sup> and a scene from Qaryat al-Faw depicts a mounted hunter named Salim b. Ka‘b and a camel that has already been hit with a thrown spear protruding from the front of its neck and shoulder.<sup>86</sup> Numerous camel hunting scenes from much earlier, found in southern Arabia, attest to the antiquity of the practice, and may represent a remembered practice that was idealized or formalized in later ritual hunts when wild camels no longer existed.<sup>87</sup>

According to Ibn Rushd, it is the marking of the animal with its own blood that makes it a sacrifice.<sup>88</sup> This is based on the example of the prophet Muhammad when he set out with camels marked as sacrificial animals toward Mecca but was stopped at al-Ḥudaybiyah.<sup>89</sup> Since the camels had already been marked for sacrifice, they had to be sent on to Mecca to be slaughtered even after it became impossible for the prophet Muhammad to accompany the animals to the place of their

slaughter. After sending the animals, the prophet Muhammad and his followers de-sacralized from their pilgrim state by shaving and cutting their nails. In a number of ḥadīth reports, the prophet Muhammad states that an animal, once designated for sacrifice by being marked, must be sacrificed. It cannot be sold, traded for another animal, or released. If an animal is marked for sacrifice but then falls ill to the extent that it cannot be driven all the way to the place where it is to be slaughtered, the animal must be slaughtered on the way and its meat distributed as a sacrifice.<sup>90</sup> Even if the animal, after it has been designated as a sacrifice [ḥady], is attacked and mutilated by a wild animal like a wolf, assuming that the sacrificial animal was whole when it was designated as a sacrifice, it must be slaughtered and its meat distributed as a sacrifice.<sup>91</sup>

Other reports preserve additional details of sacrifices performed and instructed by the prophet Muhammad that reflect aspects of ritual hunting known from pre-Islamic Arabia. The driving, the standing, the running, and the slaughter of the animal all take place away from the Ka‘bah, in the plains and valleys between ‘Arafāt, al-Muzdalifah, and Minā, outside of Mecca. Muslim jurisprudence stipulates that animals designated for sacrifice by having been marked must be sacrificed in the “sanctuary” [ḥarām] but not at the Ka‘bah or in Mecca.<sup>92</sup> Exegesis on “until it reaches the Ka‘bah” in Q 5:95 is interpreted to mean that the meat of the animal be distributed to poor people in Mecca but that the slaughter itself should take place away from the Ka‘bah. Based on ḥadīth reports, Muslim jurisprudence also requires that the animal be obtained and driven in from outside the sanctuary. Mālik b. Anas states that the sacrificial animal must originate outside of the sanctuary [ḥaram] but allows that pilgrims can purchase animals inside the sanctuary if those animals have been imported from elsewhere.<sup>93</sup> The killing and the eating of the animals living within the sanctuary is restricted, and pilgrims are not allowed to hunt or eat the meat of any hunted animal once they have taken on the sacred pilgrim status [iḥram]. The use of techniques and methods not normally allowed for the slaughtering of domesticated animals is allowed for the killing of sacrificial animals, including piercing a camel with a spear and stabbing an animal in its thigh rather than slitting its throat.<sup>94</sup>

Ḥadīth reports indicate that it was only camels that the prophet Muhammad marked with blood, animals that he himself drove and slaughtered, and only a camel can have its hump pierced. In those cases where the prophet Muhammad is reported to have designated and sent

animals to be slaughtered as sacrifices while he stayed in Medina (and not taking on the sacred state of a pilgrim), he is said to have garlanded the animals only. One report, for example, relates that ‘Ā’ishah said: “I used to braid the garlands for the sacrificial animal [hadī] of the prophet Muhammad. His animal would be garlanded and then sent while he stayed not abstaining from the things from which a pilgrim [muḥrim] abstains.”<sup>95</sup>

Reports in which the prophet Muhammad sends off the animals while staying in Medina, not driving or slaughtering them himself, often specify that the garlands used to mark the animals as sacrifices were made from wool, garlands braided by ‘Ā’ishah for the prophet Muhammad.<sup>96</sup> There is a single ḥadīth report in al-Bukhārī in which ‘Ā’ishah says she braided garlands for the sacrificial animal [hady] of the prophet Muhammad before he entered the sacred pilgrim state [yuḥrim],<sup>97</sup> but in all the other reports ‘Ā’ishah states that she made the braided garlands when the prophet Muhammad was sending the animals while he stayed in Medina.<sup>98</sup> When the animal is marked with its own blood, having had its hump pierced by a spear, it is garlanded not with braided wool but with one or two “sandals” [na‘layn].<sup>99</sup>

Designating an animal as a sacrificial victim by hanging something around its neck is a practice well-known from the ancient world. Classical Greek sacrifices involved garlanding the animal with wreaths or fillets of wool.<sup>100</sup> The Hittite practice of adorning a sacrificial animal with red wool might be a symbolic representation of its blood.<sup>101</sup> There are numerous reports that ‘Ā’ishah used to “twist” or “braid” [fatala] the garlands [qalā’id] that the prophet Muhammad used for the animals he was going to sacrifice.<sup>102</sup> In several reports ‘Ā’ishah claims to have woven the garlands from “colored wool” [‘ihn],<sup>103</sup> and to have “matted” [lab-bada] her own hair in preparation for the sacrifice.<sup>104</sup> The use of wool might be related to a tradition that the hair or wool of the sacrificed animal accrues merit to the sacrificer.<sup>105</sup>

In his commentary on Q 5:2, al-Ṭabarī preserves various reports that identify the “garlands” [qalā’id] as being made from trees.<sup>106</sup> According to a tradition attributed to al-Suddī, the pre-Islamic Arabs used to go on pilgrimage during the sacred months, and would garland themselves and their she-camels with the bark of trees before returning home. They would use the bark from the trees of the sanctuary [liḥā’ shajarah min shajarah al-ḥaram]. A report given on the authority of ‘Aṭā’ says it was the bark of a “Samur” tree [liḥā’ al-samur] that grew in and around Mecca, described elsewhere as having small leaves, short thorns, and yellow fruit.<sup>107</sup> At the

end of his report ‘Aṭā’ adds that the Islamic prohibition against cutting the trees of the Meccan sanctuary was because the pagans used to make garlands from them. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, the Quraysh dedicated a sanctuary to al-‘Uzzā at a place called Suqām near Ḥurāḍ in Nakhlāt al-Sha’mīyah on the road from Mecca to al-Ṭā’if.<sup>108</sup> At this sanctuary, near a grotto called Ghabghab, were three “Samur” trees which the prophet Muhammad ordered Khālid b. al-Walīd to cut down. According to Ibn ‘Abbās there was a “she-devil” – an Abyssinian women with disheveled hair who may have been understood to be a manifestation of al-‘Uzzā or a priestess of the shrine – whom Khālid b. al-Walīd killed along with Dubayyah b. Haramī al-Sulamī, the custodian [sādin] of the shrine.<sup>109</sup>

Restrictions were placed on the trees in other locations, indicating that the practice of garlanding animals from the branches, leaves, and bark of certain trees was more widespread. Ibn Qudāmāh explains that it is forbidden for people to take anything from trees growing wild in the sanctuary of Mecca. Products of trees and other plants that are considered agriculture, such as nuts and fruit, are not restricted, but the taking of leaves, branches, and bark is specifically prohibited.<sup>110</sup> Similar prohibitions apply to Medina based on numerous ḥadīth reports in which the prophet Muhammad declares the city a sanctuary [ḥaram] and forbids the cutting of its trees. Some jurists designate the trees of Wādī Wajj as restricted based on a single ḥadīth report, narrated on the authority on ‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr from his father, in which the prophet Muhammad says: “The prey and branches of Wajj are sacred, sacred to God” [inna ṣayd wajj wa ‘iḍāha-hu ḥarām muḥarram li-llah].<sup>111</sup> Wādī Wajj is directly adjacent to the location of ‘Ukāz, approximately 40 kilometers northeast of al-Ṭā’if, and was likely the sanctuary associated with the annual pilgrimage and fair in pre-Islamic times. Several other pagan sanctuaries appear to have been preserved as part of Muslim practice including Dhū al-Ḥulayfah just outside of Medina, which is considered the first station of the Islamic Ḥajj. Before Islam, Dhū al-Ḥulayfah is supposed to have contained a sacred tree and a ritual stone [naṣab].<sup>112</sup> The location is also known as the “Wells of ‘Alī” [abyār ‘Alī] and is situated at the base between two mountains about 9 kilometers from Medina on the road to Mecca.

In addition to the Sumar tree associated with the sanctuary of al-‘Uzzā and the garlanding of animals, other special trees were venerated by the prophet Muhammad and his followers. Abū Dā’ūd dedicates a special section to the “cutting of the Sidr tree” in which he includes three reports. In one the prophet Muhammad says that anyone who cuts a Sidr tree

without good reason is damned to hell. In another, Ḥishām b. ‘Urwah claims that his father used wood from the Sidr tree for the door of his house, but adds that someone heard that the prophet Muhammad cursed [la’anā] anyone who cut a Sidr tree.<sup>113</sup> The use of Sidr leaves in washing corpses is specifically advised by the prophet Muhammad for the death of a pilgrim who is performing the rites at ‘Arafāt, and at the death of one of his daughters.<sup>114</sup> In another place the prophet Muhammad orders Qays b. ‘Aṣim to wash with water and Sidr after becoming Muslim.<sup>115</sup> These traditions could be related to the unique Sidr trees mentioned in the Quran, especially the heavenly “Sidr al-muntahā” in Q 53:10–18. In his commentary on Q 53:10–18, Ibn Kathīr relates that the prophet Muhammad said the Sidr trees of the garden of Eden will be without thorns and will have multicolored fruit of varying flavors. When he visited Medina, Richard Burton observed an old Sidr tree growing in the mosque near the tomb of the prophet Muhammad and his daughter Fāṭimah, the produce of which was being sold to pilgrims.<sup>116</sup>

Veneration of certain trees and restrictions placed on game and plants at certain sanctuaries underline the association of certain pre-Islamic deities with fertility and warfare.<sup>117</sup> Ibn Ḥajar relates that Wahb b. Munabbih advised people to grind Sidr leaves, mix with water, recite Quran verses over the mixture, drink three sips, and wash with the remaining mixture for the purpose of removing afflictions. This Sidr-leaf mixture is specifically intended to remedy sexual impotence.<sup>118</sup> The association of both Sumar and Sidr trees with fertility and strength is also evident from the use of the prized honey produced by bees from nectar gathered during the pollination of these two trees.<sup>119</sup> Ibn Kathīr narrates an episode in which the prophet Muhammad and his followers, on their way to Ḥunayn, came upon a big green Sidr tree. The prophet Muhammad’s followers, who had only recently renounced their paganism, asked for a tree like the Dhāt al-anwāt, a Sidr tree at which Arabs observed certain annual rituals related to combat. According to Ibn Kathīr, citing Ibn Ishāq, the Arabs used to visit it each year, hang their weapons on it, make sacrifices, and spend the day there.<sup>120</sup> A report given on the authority of Abū Wāqid al-Laythī states that the tree they saw on the way to Ḥunayn was the Dhāt al-anwāt Sidr tree. The report puts the episode in a biblical context, paralleling it with the Israelites requesting a golden calf from Moses,<sup>121</sup> and later Muslim scholarship emphasizes that the prophet Muhammad was stipulating the end to all pre-Islamic pagan practices.<sup>122</sup>

Ibn Kathīr insists that the prophet Muhammad did not venerate the Dhāt al-anwāt Sidr tree on his way to Ḥunayn but there was a special tree

at al-Ḥudaybiyah at which the prophet Muhammad prayed, cut his nails, and shaved his head after making his camel sacrifice there. Muslim exegesis claims that the “People of the Tree,” mentioned in Q 48:18 were the followers of the prophet Muhammad who made a pledge of allegiance to him at this special tree at al-Ḥudaybiyah. Mālik b. Anas relates that Ibn ‘Umar claimed there was a special tree in Wādī al-Surar near the twin mountains of al-Akhsayayin at Minā under which “the umbilical cords of seventy Prophets have been cut.”<sup>123</sup> Ṭabarī, on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih, tells of a date palm which is dressed in women’s garments and jewelry, and is considered the abode of the goddess whom the inhabitants of Najrān worship for one day each year.<sup>124</sup> According to a report preserved by Ibn Ḥajar from Ibn Sa’d related on the authority of Nafi’ the mawlah of Ibn ‘Umar, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭab chopped down the tree at al-Ḥudaybiyah because people were venerating it still after the death of the prophet Muhammad.<sup>125</sup> The tradition that ‘Umar is said to have cut down every tree under which the prophet Muhammad sat to curtail continued ritual acts at trees, or that he cut down only this tree because people could no longer be certain it was the right one, may reflect unease about pre-Islamic pagan practices linked with the prophet Muhammad.<sup>126</sup>

The cults of al-‘Uzzā and other goddesses associated with sanctuaries around Mecca are often situated and represented in connection with hunting and hunting preserves. These include Dhū al-Ḥulayfah and Wādī Wajj, in addition to those associated with particular goddesses such as Nakhlat al-Sha’miyah. Ibn al-Kalbī says the sanctuary of al-Lāt was in al-Ṭā’if in the mountains above and to the south of Mecca. The sanctuary of Manāh was said to be located at Wādī Qudayd on the edge of the mountains before the desert stretches about 27 kilometers to the mīqāt at Juḥfah near the Red Sea coast, approximately 300 kilometers from Medina and 150 kilometers from Mecca. Ibn al-Kalbī relates that people used to visit Mecca, perform the rites there, then return to the sanctuary of Manāh where they would shave their heads to de-sacralize and exit their pilgrim state.<sup>127</sup> Mecca itself is defined as a plant and animal preserve, as are other Islamic sites such as Medina. Muslim jurisprudence restricts the cutting of wild plants and the killing of wild animals found within the boundaries of the Meccan sanctuary. Some jurists, on the basis of Q 5:1–4, penalize not only the killing of prey within the sanctuary but also the act of hunting itself.

Examples of game preserves dedicated to specific deities, especially those linked with fertility and hunting, are well-known from South



Arabian inscriptions, A Sabaic inscription from Nihm in northwest Yemen marks the “preserve” [mḥgr] of the god Ta’lab at Nihm in Yemen.<sup>128</sup> This preserve is located on the slopes of Mount al-‘Adan at Ra’s al-Fawwār about 60 kilometers to the northeast of Ṣan‘ā’. A third-century CE inscription from Riyām declares the ritual hunting season for the god Ta’lab as mandatory.<sup>129</sup> The inscription specifically forbids people from bringing domesticated herd animals into the sanctuary and onto the mountain, and establishes the penalty for trespassing as amputation of a hand which is then to be placed in the preserve. This same penalty was supposed to have been enforced on Abū Lahab, the cousin of the prophet Muhammad, for desecrating the Ka’bah by stealing one of the golden gazelles that had been given as a votive offering to the sanctuary.<sup>130</sup> Yāqūt records a legend about a pre-Islamic god who had a sacred preserve of dedicated animals in the Ḥaḍramawt. If other domesticated animals came into this preserve the animals became “sacred” or “prohibited to their [previous] owners” [ḥarumat ‘alā arbābi-hā].<sup>131</sup>

Other inscriptions and markings on or with rocks testify to the existence of special hunting reserves in the Arabian deserts just before Islam. Desert kites scattered throughout the basalt deserts of Jordan, Syria, and northern Arabia were specially designed places for trapping and hunting.<sup>132</sup> Rock carvings depicting the kites and the hunts may have served both to commemorate the ritual and to demarcate the areas reserved for such activities.<sup>133</sup> The cairn of Hāni’ shows such a kite hunt, and other inscriptions and drawings within and along the basalt desert attest to similar activities in select locations.<sup>134</sup> The Sabaic term designating a special hunting enclave [’ḥbt] occurs in a number of inscriptions.<sup>135</sup> Protected hunting preserves are marked for the storm god ‘Athtar and his consort the hunting goddess Kirwam, including two places at Shi‘b ‘Aql near Ma’rib called Aryadī and Dānum.<sup>136</sup> Two other hunting preserves dedicated to ‘Athtar and Kirwam at Rabyatum and A’lumān are mentioned in a Sabaic inscription at the Awām temple.<sup>137</sup> Ritual hunts for these deities were performed at Naqīl al-Shijā’ according to a first-century CE inscription,<sup>138</sup> while a fifth-century CE inscription refers to ritual hunts for the god Raḥmanān at the same location.<sup>139</sup>

It is possible that the goddesses identified as the “daughters of Allāh” were paired, as hunting deities, with a male storm god, not unlike the pairing of hunting and storm gods throughout the wider Near East. The grouping together of the goddesses al-‘Uzzā, Manāt and al-Lāt in Q 53:19–20, and their identification by Muslim exegetes as the “daughters of Allāh” mentioned in Q 16:57 (and see 17:140, 37:149–151), seems

to be a later correlation of what were disparate and even competing goddess cults.<sup>140</sup> This is further evinced by the controversy of the so-called Satanic verse – “these are the goddesses on high, their intercession is to be sought” – that was supposed to have been inserted immediately following the names of the three goddesses in Q 53:20.<sup>141</sup> From Ibn al-Kalbī, it is known that the prophet Muhammad claimed to have made a sacrifice to al-‘Uzzā, and that her sanctuary was located some distance from the Ka‘bah on the road to al-Ṭā‘if. The sanctuary of al-Lāt was in al-Ṭā‘if itself, or perhaps at Wādī Wajj adjacent to ‘Ukāz, and al-Manāt was worshipped near Qudayd. Although Ibn al-Kalbī’s assigning certain goddesses to particular places and to specific tribes and tribal groupings might be too neat a reconstruction,<sup>142</sup> other sources indicate that “pilgrims” in pre-Islamic times might visit a number of different shrines, being gone from home for extended periods of time during the sacred months.

Of the three goddesses, al-‘Uzzā seems to have received the most attention both within Mecca and throughout the region among other Arabs. In contexts outside of Mecca, al-‘Uzzā is invoked as the consort of the weather god Ba‘al. Two inscriptions, one from Petra and the other from Jabal Ramm, link al-‘Uzzā with a god called “Lord of the House” [mar baitā] which is a term applied to the storm god Ba‘al Shamayim at Palmyra, and applied to God [allāh] in Q 106:3 [rabb hadhā al-bayt].<sup>143</sup> The liturgy [talbīyah] of the Ḥums, Madhḥij, and Thaḥīf mentioned submission to al-‘Uzzā along with al-Lāt, Manāt and others to the “high god” of Mecca.<sup>144</sup> ‘Uzzā is mentioned and sometimes paired with male weather deities among the Nabataeans, at Dedan, and Qaryat al-Faw, and is identified as Venus, and as Aphrodite at Edessa.<sup>145</sup> Epiphanius refers to hymns sung to a virgin goddess called “Khaabou” [Χααβου] in Arabic, said to be the mother of Dusares among the Nabataeans.<sup>146</sup> Genesis 14:5 mentions a place named after “horned Asherahs” [ashtarôt qarnayim] located east of the Jordan river, and an Asherah goddess is linked with an altar to the weather god Ba‘al in Judges 6:25. A town in Ḥarrān famed for its flowing fountains and associated with the horned goddess ‘Athtar was named after al-‘Uzzā, and a “garden of ‘Uzzā” linked by some with Ba‘al is mentioned as a royal burial ground for several kings of Judah in 2 Kings 21:18 and 26.<sup>147</sup> The pairing of al-‘Uzzā with a male storm god like Ba‘al closely parallels the marriage of ‘Athtar and Kirwam in south Arab inscriptions, and helped to explain the use of horns to represent the goddess.<sup>148</sup>

As with other hunting goddesses, such as Ishtar, who is associated with hunting, warfare, and seasonal fertility in Mesopotamia, al-‘Uzzā is

linked with ritualized warfare and blood-shedding. According to Porphyry, each year the Arabs sacrificed a virgin boy to a goddess, burying the body under her altar, which was made of carved stone.<sup>149</sup> Theodule son of St. Nilus describes the ritual of Muhammad and the cult of the standing stones [anṣāb] as being “barbaric” and bloody.<sup>150</sup> The *Kitāb al-aghānī* records an oath sworn to al-Lāt and al-‘Uzzā by the Lakhmid ruler al-Mundhīr IV.<sup>151</sup> Zacharius of Mitylene reports that Lakhmid rulers used to kidnap virgin boys from monasteries and raids on Christian villages to sacrifice them to al-‘Uzzā.<sup>152</sup> A similar incident is reported by St. Nilus himself.<sup>153</sup> Spartans used to sacrifice animals to Artemis, the goddess of the hunt, before going into battle. The name al-‘Uzzā itself is etymologically related to “power” [‘zz] and means something like “all-powerful” goddess. She is the equivalent of the Ruḏaw known from Assyrian and later Aramaic inscriptions as a deity of protection.<sup>154</sup>

#### QUZAḤ AS A STORM GOD

It is evident from traditions preserved in Islamic texts, and from references in other ancient sources, that the god Quzaḥ or Qaws Quzaḥ was a storm god associated with a ritual hunt at ‘Arafāt, al-Muzdalifah, and Minā in pre-Islamic times. Among the Edomites, the storm god Qos was clearly connected with hunting. Qos is called “Lord of the Animals” or “Lord of the Ostriches” in an inscription from Qīṭmīt.<sup>155</sup> Qos is attested as lord of an agricultural estate at Aroer in the Negev, and was offered hunted wild animals at his sanctuary at Qīṭmīt.<sup>156</sup> In addition to the bones of numerous ostriches and some wild boar, apparently given as votive offerings to Qos, terracotta fragments from the sanctuary at Qīṭmīt show hunting scenes of gazelle and lions along with images of camels and horses. Horned terracotta images perhaps representing Qos were found at Qīṭmīt, and a horned stele of Qos has been identified at Jabal Ṭāwilah near Petra.<sup>157</sup>

The word “Qaws” in Arabic and other Semitic languages means “bow” and was probably understood as a reference to the weapon of the storm god. “Qaws Quzaḥ” is a “rainbow” in classical Arabic, indicating that the name “Quzaḥ” was associated with stormy weather.<sup>158</sup> According to a tradition preserved by Yāqūt, the prophet Muhammad said “Do not say ‘Qaws Quzaḥ’ because Quzaḥ is the name of a satan, but say ‘Qaws Allāh’” and later Muslim angelology made Quzaḥ the name of the angel in charge of the rainbow.<sup>159</sup> The use of the word “Qaws” or

“Qos” to connote the storm god in Edom and among the Nabataeans and Assyrians, was probably as a symbol objectifying the deity, just as other weapons such as the trident, lightning, and arrows were used to represent other hunting and weather gods.<sup>160</sup> According to Josephus, the name of the Idumean deity was “Koze” and the use of the name “Qaws” among the Nabataeans might have been a shortened form of the longer epithet “Qaws of the Sharā Mountains” [qaws dhū sharā].<sup>161</sup>

Outside of Arabia, Qos is paired with an unnamed female consort who has been interpreted, on the basis of images, as an Edomite version of Ashtarte with whom al-‘Uzzā is associated. A number of scholars have identified Qos with the Nabataean Dusares or the “One of the Sharā mountains” [Dhū al-Sharā] with whom al-‘Uzzā is attested as a consort.<sup>162</sup> Qos, portrayed on a throne flanked by bulls and holding a thunderbolt, is also paired with a fertility goddess of the Syrian Atargatis type at Khirbet al-Tannūr on Jabal al-Tannūr at Petra.<sup>163</sup> A number of Hellenistic Greek texts depict the storm god Adados (from the Semitic Hadad) paired with the fertility goddess Atargatis. An altar from Kfar Yāsīf, approximately 11 kilometers inland from Acre, includes a dedication to Adados and Atargatis, and a stele from Dura-Europos portrays Hadad and Atargatis seated together. Hadad holds a bunch of wheat, indicating his responsibility for weather and fertility. Atargatis is flanked by lions, suggesting her connection to hunting and warfare.<sup>164</sup>

Like many other storm gods, Quzaḥ is associated with two mountains: ‘Arafāt and al-Muzdalifah, al-Thawr and al-Thabīr, or the twin peaks of al-Thabīr. One mountain is the site of his dwelling, and the other marks the boundary of his pasture preserve where hunted animals are brought as offerings to him. Many of the images from outside Arabia depict storm gods in the so-called smiting stance standing on two mountains.<sup>165</sup> In Ugaritic texts, Ba‘al is called “Lord of Mount Ṣaphôn” [Ba‘al Ṣaphôn].<sup>166</sup> He is portrayed, as early as the eighteenth century BCE on a votive stele from Ugarit, standing on two mountains.<sup>167</sup> A haematite cylinder seal from northern Syria shows Hadad standing on two mountains being presented a wild hare as an offering.<sup>168</sup> A register from Ras Shamra shows the storm god with a baboon, and a seal from Enkomi portrays him with a bird of prey.<sup>169</sup> A number of scenes from the rock walls of a mountain sanctuary in Yazilikaya near the ancient city of Hattusha show the storm god Teshub standing on two mountains or on predatory animals such as lions or panthers, and he is called “Lord of the Mountain.”<sup>170</sup> Lists of offerings to Teshub and his consort Hebat name specific mountain pairs in Syria and Kizzuwatna,<sup>171</sup> perhaps the best

known being Hazzi and Namni.<sup>172</sup> Another scene shows a kinglike figure offering what appear to be wild horned animals to Teshub.<sup>173</sup>

A number of images featuring the two mountains have the storm god accompanied by a female figure, sometimes interpreted as a goddess of fertility and warfare. A seal from Tell al-Dab'a in Egypt shows the Syrian storm god on two mountains standing beside a semi-naked female figure, emphasizing her navel and vagina.<sup>174</sup> That the female figure is a fertility goddess, often paired as a consort of the storm god, is suggested by the way she is portrayed and the inclusion of wild animals including a baboon, several birds, and a horned bull's head around her in the scene. In some other images, there are two female figures flanking the storm god, one semi-naked and the other winged, perhaps representing two aspects of the same goddess: fertility and warfare.<sup>175</sup> It is also possible that one or more of the female figures represent a priestess or perhaps a human incarnation of the goddess. Muslim sources claim that the goddess al-'Uzzā, regarded as a goddess of fertility and warfare, was represented by a naked Abyssinian woman who would emerge from one of the sacred trees growing at her sanctuary at Nakhlah al-Sham'iyyah.

Using a construction that parallels epithets used for the Edomite Qos and for other Syrian and Hittite storm gods, the Quzaḥ of 'Arafāt and al-Muzdalifah is called "Lord of the Mashā'ir," a phrase that might be understood as "Lord of the Mountains" or "Lord of the Mountain Pastures."<sup>176</sup> Classical Muslim exegesis on the term "mashā'ir al-ḥarām" in Q 2:198 preserves a tradition that in pre-Islamic times people used to leave 'Arafāt for al-Muzdalifah before the setting of the sun, when its glow lit up the two mountain tops, making it appear as if they had turbans [*'imā'im*] of light.<sup>177</sup> Ṭabarī records a report that Quzaḥ is the tip, crown, or "horn" [*qarn*] of the mountain.<sup>178</sup> In a report preserved by al-Tirmidhī, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib relates that the prophet Muhammad did a ritual standing [*wuqūf*] at Quzaḥ, designating all of the area around the mountain as the place for ritual standing.<sup>179</sup> Arabic lexicographers cite traditions that the "mashā'ir al-ḥarām" designates "a mountain in al-Muzdalifah called Quzaḥ."<sup>180</sup> By the medieval period, there was a stone structure erected on the mound in al-Muzdalifah, and today a mosque called "Masjid Mashā'ir al-Ḥarām" takes the place of the older identifications of the term. Other ḥadīth reports identify the "mashā'ir" as the two mountains 'Arafāt and al-Muzdalifah or the area between the two mountains, sometimes including the mountains themselves in the area, and sometimes defining a more expansive area all the way to the outskirts of Mecca.<sup>181</sup>

It is less important to identify exactly which “two mountains” are identified with Quzaḥ than to recognize that, as a storm god, he was linked with a mountain pair, and with specific rises where rituals directed toward him were performed. A number of Muslim sources preserve traditions that, in pre-Islamic times, people would make the ritual run [ifāḍah] toward the dwelling of Quzaḥ, starting at ‘Arafāt and ending at al-Muzdalifah. As Robertson Smith correctly notes, ‘Arafāt and al-Muzdalifah are “hills” and not really mountains, “bosses of weathered granite so common in the Hejaz” but still referred to as mountains.<sup>182</sup> Mount Thawr and Thabīr, at both ends of the long valley in which al-Muzdalifah and the “mashā‘ir” are situated, form the skyline along with Mount Ḥīrā’ further to the north. Mount Thabīr rises above Minā, and according to various reports, was the location of Abraham’s sacrifice of the wild ram or ibex, the horns of which were later kept at the Ka‘bah. Ibn ‘Abbās and Ibn Jubayr report that the altar was a rock attached to the foot of the mountain, but Ḥasan al-Baṣrī says it was at a location on the mountain, overlooking Minā itself.<sup>183</sup> Variety in the identification of which mountains were the “two mountains” of storm gods in northern Arabia, Syria and Anatolia is common and seems to be part of the tradition of designating certain locations as sanctuaries for the purpose of ritual performances.<sup>184</sup>

Storm gods elsewhere in Arabia are invoked by their association with mountain hunting pastures. South Arabian inscriptions to the god Tal‘ab, to whom hunted animals were sacrificed, is called “Lord of the Pastures” [makhliyy] in a Sabaic inscription found on a column reused in the construction of a mosque at al-Hārith near ancient Barrān (modern al-‘Ādī). The inscription also forbids shepherds from the wild, uncultivated lands of the mountain.<sup>185</sup> Another inscription calls Ta‘lab “Lord of the pastures” and grants to him the firstborn offspring of the animals pasturing in his preserve, like the firstling ‘atīrah sacrifice of animals mentioned in Muslim sources. An inscription at ancient Maṭīrat (modern Kharābet al-Quṭra) states that Ta‘lab “Lord of Qadmān” will grant a “large” increase to the person who sacrifices to him an animal annually in the month of Ṣurāb.<sup>186</sup> An inscription on a bronze cup refers to a preserve protected by Ta‘lab for the exclusive use of his people.<sup>187</sup> During his travels through the al-Jawf region on northern Arabia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Alois Musil reports finding a Jabal al-Qaws.<sup>188</sup> The Bible places the origins of the Israelite storm god Yahweh in northern Arabia, at Paran, Teman, and Seir. A ritual hunt is performed for him in Genesis 27:27–29, and he is invoked by the name

“El Shaddai,” which might refer to his lordship over the “two mountain pastures” as with other regional storm gods.

This apparent linkage of certain pre-Islamic fertility rites with locations and practices defined as part of the Islamic Ḥajj rituals is preserved by Muslim exegesis of the Quran and legal scholarship. According to an account given by al-Ṭabarī, ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umayr al-Laythī relates to Ibn al-Zubayr how Abraham did the ritual standing [wuqūf] with Ishmael and the “Muslims” with him at a “thorn-bush” marking the place of ritual standing [mawqif] at ‘Arafāt. Abraham is then supposed to have done a “ritual run” [ifāḍah] to al-Muzdalifah, spent the night there, and during the next day performed another ritual standing [wuqūf] “at Quzah of al-Muzdalifah.”<sup>189</sup> Yet Muslim scholars do not explain why Abraham would do these otherwise unprecedented actions or establish them for others to do as rituals. Other than some reports claiming that it was the archangel Gabriel who instructed Abraham in the performance of these rituals, there does not seem to be any indication of how these “rituals” are connecting to monotheistic worship, or to the Ka‘bah in Mecca. In his collection of traditions about pre-Islamic Mecca, al-Azraqī claims that the first ritual standing [wuqūf], at al-Muzdalifah, followed by the ritual running [ifāḍah] to ‘Arafāt, was practiced as part of the pre-Islamic “ḥajj” rituals that accompanied the festival of the Dhū al-Majāz market in the valley near ‘Arafāt and al-Muzdalifah.<sup>190</sup> Muslim jurisprudence asserts that the reference here to “Quzah” is not the name of a pagan storm god but is the name of the “place of ritual standing” [mawqif] of the Imam.<sup>191</sup>

Q 2:198–199 instructs Muslims that, after “doing ifāḍah” [fa-idhā afaḍ-tum] from ‘Arafāt, to remember God at the “mash‘ar al-ḥaram” before doing another “ifāḍah” from “where the people do ifāḍah” [thumma afdū min ḥaythu afāḍa al-nās].<sup>192</sup> In his commentary on these verses, al-Ṭabarī relates that Ibn Jurayj did not know the location of “mash‘ar al-ḥaram,” and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Aswas says that, when he asked, no one knew what it was.<sup>193</sup> Other exegetes claim that the phrase “where the people do ifāḍah” in verse 199 refers back to the initial performance of the ritual by Abraham and Ishmael although it might seem to be a reference to a practice by pagan Arabs in the more immediate pre-Islamic period. Q 2:158 identifies al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah with the “sha‘ā‘ir allāh,” a term which some Muslim exegesis applies collectively to all the rituals of the Islamic Ḥajj. Q 22:36 seems to equate “sacrificial animals” [al-budun] with the “sha‘ā‘ir allāh,” perhaps indicating that the practice of sacrificing animals is to be included in the term. This has led some to conclude that the singular “mash‘ar” or plural “mashā‘ir allāh”

be understood as a noun indicating the place [ism makān] where the “ish‘ār” (marking an animal with its own blood for sacrifice by piercing its hump) is done.<sup>194</sup> Exegetes compare this to the use of the term “manāsik” in Q 2:128, 2:200, 22:34 and 22:67, where it seems to name places where certain rituals, including sacrifice, are performed.<sup>195</sup>

Muslim sources explain that in pre-Islamic times the stations for the rituals of the Islamic Ḥajj were associated with pagan practices. The Ka‘bah housed other gods, sacrifices to pagan gods were performed at al-Şafā and al-Marwah, and a series of hunting rituals in the areas between ‘Arafāt, al-Muzdalifah, and Minā linked with the annual fair of Dhū al-Majāz. In modern times a mosque designates the “mash‘ir al-ḥarām” and a mosque is reported to have been built there in the medieval period although some pilgrims still refer to the “mash‘ar” as a “grove” near al-Muzdalifah.<sup>196</sup> Reports from early Muslims describing the area delineate the locations of the two ritual standings and the two ritual runs as if they are laying out the boundaries of a racecourse. When asked by Ibn Jurayj, ‘Aṭā’ delimits al-Muzdalifah as “when you run [ifāḍah] from the two valleys of ‘Arafāt, that to Muḥassir,” but does not include “the two valleys” themselves, “the valley of Arafat, and [the valley] from al-Muzdalifah, rather [these are] their two ifāḍah grounds [mufāḍā-humā].”<sup>197</sup> A number of ḥadīth reports claim that the prophet Muhammad used to speed up and rush through the valley of Muḥassar between al-Muzdalifah and Minā but rest in al-Muḥaṣṣab valley.<sup>198</sup> The ifāḍah starts like a race. Ibn ‘Umar explains that the “mash‘ar” is the “signal” to head to Mecca when the foot of the camel closest to the mountain falls.<sup>199</sup> As part of the pre-Islamic rituals associated with the Dhū al-Majāz market, it is the “sanctuary of Quzaḥ” that is the goal of the “ifāḍah” from ‘Arafāt to al-Muzdalifah. The “ifāḍah” is a “rush” or ritual run from the assembly point at ‘Arafāt to the dwelling of the god Quzaḥ at al-Muzdalifah, and from there to his altar at Minā.<sup>200</sup>

Note that Muslim jurisprudence does not require the pilgrim to spend the entire day doing the second ritual standing [wuqūf] at al-Muzdalifah as Abraham is reported to have done. Unlike the first ritual standing at ‘Arafāt, which if omitted by the pilgrim invalidates the entire Ḥajj, the second standing, if eliminated altogether, only requires an animal sacrifice but does not invalidate the whole Ḥajj for the pilgrim.<sup>201</sup> That the second ritual standing at al-Muzdalifah was shortened and never required as part of the Muslim “Ḥajj” rituals could be due to its association with the pre-Islamic practice of standing before the residence of Quzaḥ on his mountain. A similar intention might be responsible for the different reports that



the prophet Muhammad instructed people not to rush or make noise during the *ifāḍah* from ‘Arafāt to al-Muzdalifah, stating that “piety is not exciting the horses and camels” [inna al-birr laysa bi-ijaf al-khayl wa al-’ibl].<sup>202</sup> Mālik b. Anas preserves a report in which ‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr states that the prophet Muhammad went from ‘Arafāt to al-Muzdalifah at a “medium pace” but sped up whenever he had the opportunity, finding a gap in the crowd of others making the *ifāḍah* beside him.<sup>203</sup> Likewise, the legal stipulation that the Muslim pilgrim must intend only the worship of God rather than any other deity during the ritual standing at al-Muzdalifah could reflect concern about what was remembered, associating the location with the pagan deity Quzaḥ.

‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās is attributed with performing a ritual “standing” [wuqūf] remotely, connected in these reports with al-Başrah, to coincide with the ritual standing of the Ḥajj at ‘Arafāt.<sup>204</sup> He is said to have recited the entire Surah al-Baqarah during his standing.<sup>205</sup> Ibrāhīm al-Nakha’ī claims that he used to see people doing the ritual standing [yu’arrifūna] in the mosque in Kūfah.<sup>206</sup> The practice is reported to have taken place in other conquest cities [amṣār] such as Fuṣṭāṭ<sup>207</sup> and in Jerusalem.<sup>208</sup> It is possible that these remote standings were performed by Muslims accompanied by the animals they intended to sacrifice for “aḍḥā” coinciding with the end of the Ḥajj. A number of reports, such as that attributed to Ibn ‘Umar, require pilgrims to perform the ritual standing at ‘Arafāt with their sacrificial animals.<sup>209</sup> The continued practice of a ritual standing and sacrifice on the tenth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, apart from the physical location of the Islamic Ḥajj, might imply a link with the pre-Islamic ritual standing before either at ‘Arafāt and al-Muzdalifah.

Ritual hunts are known to have accompanied seasonal markets and other types of celebrations held in particular locations at certain times of the year. These activities are familiar from pre-Islamic Qaṣīdah poetry and reports of its public performance in Mecca and throughout the central and northern parts of Arabia. Rock art from the al-Ḥā’il region shows what appears to be “dancing” or some form of ritualized or celebratory activities alongside hunts.<sup>210</sup> Dancing, singing, and reciting poetry accompanies annual fairs and celebrations at a number of shrines, some linked with saints and others with deities, in the Ḥaḍramawt.<sup>211</sup> W. H. Ingrams observed a ritual dance reenacting a successful ibex hunt near Tarim, the hunters wearing the horns of their prey decorated with bells, singing, shouting, and dancing in circles.<sup>212</sup> Sabaeen and Qatabaeen inscriptions show that a special month was designated by name [Dhū al-Ṣayd] for hunting.<sup>213</sup> Another inscription states that the

god Ḥalfān punished people who postponed the timing of a ritual hunt.<sup>214</sup> The hymn of Wādī Qānīyah refers to the “hunting season” in which the goddess slew 100 animals, and classical Islamic sources discuss pre-Islamic traditions regarding seasonal hunting times.<sup>215</sup>

Many of the sources attesting to these hunts make it clear that the purpose of the ritual was to bring prosperity and fertility, and specifically to request rain from the mountain storm god to whom the hunt was dedicated. In the case of offerings made at the festival dedicated to Nabī Maṭar, at the foot of the highest mountain in the Ḥaḍramawt, the association with “rain” [maṭar] is evident.<sup>216</sup> Several Safaitic inscriptions near hunting grounds in Jordan call upon the storm god Ba‘al Shamayim [ba‘lshamēn] to provide rain, and in Palmyra he is invoked as a provider of rain.<sup>217</sup> Among the Nabataeans, Ba‘al Shamayim is invoked as a storm god, god of war, and protector of commercial fairs.<sup>218</sup> Requests for rain seem to have been offered atop Mount Abū Qubays just outside of Mecca in pre-Islamic times, the place where the prophet Muhammad is said to have stood when he pointed at the moon and it split into halves.

Attached to a number of mountain shrines throughout Arabia are sacred hunting grounds belonging to the god or saint to whom supplications for rain are made. Any animal bagged in this preserve must have at least some of its meat offered at the shrine.<sup>219</sup> The fairs of ‘Ukāz, Majannah, and Dhū al-Majāz always occurred during the same three months but the pre-Islamic calendar was intercalated to ensure that these months fell when the dates, hides, and other seasonal merchandise could be brought to the markets. Azraqī reports that these pre-Islamic fairs linked with the “ḥajj” to ‘Arafāt, al-Muzdalifah, and Minā continued into the Umayyad period and, according to Ibn Jubayr, still in the twelfth century CE a market was held for eight days following ‘Īd al-Aḍḥā “full of gems, unguents, precious drugs, and all rare merchandise from India, Iraq, Khurasan, and every part of the Muslim world.”<sup>220</sup>

#### FROM RAIN TO RESURRECTION

From the available evidence, the portrait of the “rituals” at these fairs seem to be part festivities, part competition, and part display. Some Muslim jurisprudence requires that the animal marked for sacrifice stand and perform with the pilgrim the ritual standings at ‘Arafāt and al-Muzdalifah. Several ḥadīth reports relate that the prophet Muhammad marked his she-camel with blood, garlanded it with two sandals, and it stood with him at Mount al-Baydah.<sup>221</sup> The ritual standing at ‘Arafāt is

an essential part of the ritual, without which the entire Ḥajj is invalidated.<sup>222</sup> The animal to be offered to the deity must be shown to be without defect, must be capable of being driven, and then stand ceremonially with its captor through a two-day course of ritual requirements. Although vestiges of hunting practices and fair-like feats, such as marking the animal with its own blood and driving it in a kind of race between mountains, may have eventually been reinterpreted or disappeared out of practical concerns, the rituals of the Islamic sacrifice ending the pilgrimage to Mecca are founded in and continue what appears to have been the late pre-Islamic context of the Ḥijāz.

Throughout the Arabian peninsula and the wider Near East, archaeological and epigraphic as well as literary evidence indicates that animal sacrifices were linked to celebrations of fertility. Domesticated animals were offered to fertility goddesses at springtime in recognition of the lambs, kids, and calves born into the flock and herd that season. Wild animals were hunted and driven to mountain sanctuaries where they were slaughtered to acknowledge the storm god's influence over nature and enemies of the community.<sup>223</sup> Not unlike how camels, horses, and donkeys were interred alongside warriors to commemorate the role of the dead in securing territory and bringing prosperity to the community, animals were paraded to shrines and offered to deities as a type of trophy. The favor of the gods proved in the wealth of the clan and its victory over competing groups is shown by the qualities of the animals offered at public exhibitions to which neighboring clans make pilgrimage: fairs and festivals, markets, and ritual ceremonies, celebrations and competitions.<sup>224</sup> Animals are offered to ensure the prosperity of the present and future generations but also to recall the status of the one making the sacrifice as a representative of his clan.<sup>225</sup> More so than the animal's death, its size, color, and features, along with the skill required in acquiring it (whether through selective breeding, hunting, raiding, or warfare), and the distribution of it (for food, clothing, shelter), are what is displayed in the sacrifice.

The God of the Quran is a storm god who brings fertility to his followers, both literally through rain and fresh water, but also figuratively through resurrection and immortality.

Q 10:24. The example of life in this world is like the water that we cause to fall from the sky to be absorbed by the plants of the earth that people and livestock eat, and then when the earth has been adorned and beautified its people suppose that they are the ones with power over it, and then our word comes, night and day, and we make it stubble [ḥaṣīd] as if it had never even flourished before. Like this we explain the signs for people to think about.

God punishes by reducing to “stubble” and to “dry straw” [huṭām] the earth used by those who do not acknowledge his creation and control of nature. He rewards by providing grain [ḥubb], grapes and herbs [‘inab wa qaḍb], olives and palms [zaytūn wa nakhl], gardens of shrubs [ḥadā’iq ghulb], fruit, and grass [fākihah wa abb], and livestock [an‘ām] (Q 8:24–32), and reviving dead land [arḍ jurūz] (Q 32:27).<sup>226</sup> The connection between God’s natural bounty and performing the Ḥajj is evident from the initiating ritual of the “day of watering” [yawm al-tarwīyah]. According to al-Azraqī, this ritual is related to bringing rain when it was done as part of the rituals practiced during the pre-Islamic ḥajj and fair that took place at Dhū al-Majāz near ‘Arafāt.<sup>227</sup> Special rituals centered on the well at Zamzam, including the ritual run between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah, also emphasize the connection between the Ḥajj and pre-Islamic fertility rites.<sup>228</sup> In pre-Islamic times, the stoning of the pillars was done to hasten autumn rains.<sup>229</sup>

The rituals of the Islamic sacrifice ending the pilgrimage to Mecca are interpreted by classical Arabic sources as having been significant and required adaptations of pagan practices. It appears already in the pre-Islamic ḥajj that older ritual hunts had themselves been further ritualized, with domesticated camels raised or captured in raids replacing wild hunted camels. That Arabs in pre-Islamic Arabia looked back to a time when wild camels were hunted might have been a romanticization of a bygone past, but an imagined past that provided an opportunity for a group to identify as “Arabs.” ‘Arafāt and al-Muzdalifah themselves are not “real” mountains but “ritual” ones, just as the ritual run [ifāḍah] and standing [wuqūf] through the “course” between them seem to replace a “real” hunt.<sup>230</sup> In part, the incorporation of these “sacrificial” rites with the hunting and offering of wild animals might evince an attempt by Muslim scholars to emphasize the “Arabian” character of the biblical Abraham who is supposed to have initiated them. It might also be that, by making a contrast between hunts designed to celebrate fertility and rituals linked to biblical notions of the afterlife, Muslim scholars wanted to highlight a transition from the pastoral and nomadic milieu of the ancient Arabian hunt to the later more cosmopolitan milieu of classical Islam.

#### NOTES

- 1 See A. Evans, “On a Minoan Bronze Group of a Galloping Bull and Acrobatic Figure from Crete: With Glyptic Comparisons and a Note on the Oxford Relief Showing the Taurokathapsia,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 41 (1921): 247–259.

- 2 On the representations of bull leaping at Tell al-Dab'a, see Tiziano Fantuzzi, "A Matter of Times': Tell el Dab'a and the Interlinked Chronologies of Minoan Crete and Egypt in the Bronze Age," MA Thesis Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 2013, esp. 28–33; M. C. Shaw, "Bull Leaping Frescoes at Knossos and Their Influence on the Tell el Dab'a Murals," *Ägyptien und Levante* 5 (1995): 91–120.
- 3 See Henri Seyrig, "Cylindre représentant une tauromachie," *Syria* 33 (1956): 165–174; Dominique Collon, "Bull-Leaping in Syria," *Ägyptien und Levante* 4 (1954): 81–88.
- 4 For the Anatolian evidence, see Tunc Sipahi, "New Evidence from Anatolia Regarding Bull-Leaping Scenes in the Art of the Aegean and the Near East," *Anatolica* 27 (2001): 107–125. For a general overview, see J. G. Younger, "Bronze Age Representations of Aegean Bull-Leaping," *American Journal of Archaeology* 80 (1976): 125–137.
- 5 On the bull in Sumerian mythology, see A. Soltysiak, "The Bull of Heaven in Mesopotamian Sources," *Culture and Cosmos* 5.3 (2001): 3–21; Louise Pryke, "The Bull of Heaven: Animality and Astronomy in Tablet VI of the Gilgamesh Epic," *Aram* 29 (2017): 161–168; A. Cavigneaux and F. N. H. Al-Rawi, "Gilgamesh et taureau de ciel," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* 57 (1993): 97–129. Compare with the interesting observations in Jeremy Black, "The Sumerians in Their Landscape," in *Riches Hidden in Secret Places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen*, ed. T. Abusch, 41–61 (Winona Lake, IN, 2002).
- 6 On the wild bulls, see Terentius Varro, *De re rustica*, ed. and trans. H. B. Ash and W. D. Hooper (Cambridge, 1979), ii.11–15; Kathleen Walsh, "Cattle of the Moon: Religion and Ritual in the Domestication and Early History of *Bos Primigenius* in the Mediterranean Region," PhD dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 1989, esp. 166–170. On the state of the "wild" bulls, see Frederick Simoons and Elizabeth Simoons, *A Ceremonial Ox of India: The Mithan in Nature, Culture, and History, with Notes on the Domestication of Common Cattle* (Madison, WI, 1968), esp. 271–279; Burkert, *Homo Necans*, 16, 43.
- 7 See the reflections on the role of nostalgia in hunting and the competition with agriculture in Daniel Herman, "The Hunter's Aim: The Cultural Politics of American Sport Hunters, 1880–1910," *Journal of Leisure Research* 35 (2003): 455–474; Michael Tichelar, *The History of Opposition to Blood Sports in Twentieth Century England* (Abingdon, 2016).
- 8 See the interpretations in James Mellaart, "Early Urban Communities in the Near East, c. 9000–3400 BC," in *The Origins of Civilization*, ed. P. R. S. Moorey (Oxford, 1978), 22–33, esp. 27; Ian Todd, *Çatal Hüyük in Perspective* (Menlo Park, VA, 1976), esp. 93–123.
- 9 Muḥammad b. Makram Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab* (Beirut, 1994), s.v. 'atīrah; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'arūs fī jawābir al-qamūs* (Beirut, 1414/1994), s.v.

- ‘atīrah; Edward Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1865), s.v. ‘-T-R characterizes the gazelle sacrifice as being due to the unwillingness of the person making a vow to perform an ‘atīrah to give up one of his flock animals.
- 10 See Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Salām al-Harawī, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* (Hyderabad, 1966), s.v. ‘atīrah; Ismā‘il b. Ḥammād al-Jawharī, *Tāj al-lughah was ṣiḥāḥ al-‘arabīyah* (Bulāq, 1865), s.v. ‘atīrah; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. ‘atīrah.
- 11 See Aḥmad Ibn Fāris, *Maqāyīs al-lughah* (London, 2013), s.v. ‘atīrah.
- 12 On sacrifice in southern Arabia, see Josef Henninger and P. Wilhelm Koppers, “Das Opfer in den altsüdarabischen Hochkulturen,” *Anthropos* 37–40 (1942–1945): 779–810.
- 13 For both of these inscriptions, see A. S. Drewes, “Some Hadrami Inscriptions,” *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 11 (1954): 94–94; H. St. J. B. Philby, “Three New Inscriptions from Hadramaut,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1945): 127–133. Also see Alessandra Avanzini, *Glossaire des inscriptions de l’Arabie du Sud II* (‘-h), (Florence, 1980) and A. G. Lundin, “Juznoarabskaja istoriceskaja napdis VI v.n.e. iz Mariba,” *Epigrafica Vostoka* 9 (1954): 3–23.
- 14 A. Jamme, *Classification descriptive generale des inscriptions sud-arabes* (Muscat, 1948), 949; A. Philby, *Sabaeen Inscriptions from Mahram Bilqis* (Baltimore, 1962), 84; A. F. L. Beeston in H. St. J. B. Philby, *Sheba’s Daughters* (London, 1939), 448c and 451–452; Ryckmans, *Répertoire d’epigraphie Sémitique*, 4912; Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 669–670.
- 15 On these two inscriptions, see A. Jamme, trans., “South-Arabian Inscriptions,” in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 663–670; Glaser 797 published in A. Grohmann, *Göttersymbole und Symboltiere auf Südarabischen Denkmälern* (Wien, 1915), 20–21 = Ryckmans, *Répertoire d’epigraphie Sémitique* 3625B = N. Rhodokanakis, “Altsabäische Texte II,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 39 (1932): 173–226, esp. 191–192 = Ryckmans, *Répertoire d’epigraphie Sémitique* 4177 = M. Höfner and N. Rhodokanakis, “Zur Interpretation altsüdarabischer Inschriften III,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 43 (1936): 211–234, esp. 213–214 = A. F. L. Beeston, *East and West in Sabaeen Inscriptions* (London, 1948), 83 = A. F. L. Beeston, “The Ritual Hunt,” *Le Muséon* 61 (1948): 183–196, esp. 184–185.
- 16 On these, see N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Texte I* (Leipzig, 1927), 92–93; Ryckmans, “Le religions Arabes préislamiques,” in *Historie générale des religions*, ed. M. Gorce and R. Mortier (Paris, 1947), esp. 326.
- 17 See the overview by Beeston, “The Ritual Hunt,” 183–196. See also D. Carruthers, *Arabian Adventure to the Great Nafud in Quest of the Oryx* (London, 1935), esp. 180–192.
- 18 See Mohammed Maraqtan, “Hunting in Pre-Islamic Arabia in Light of the Epigraphic Evidence,” *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 26 (2015):

- 208–234, esp. 220; M. A. Salami, *Sabäische Inschriften aus dem Hawlān* (Wiesbaden, 2011), 12–20.
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- 23 See Plutarch, *Plutarch’s Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, MA, 1959–1967), Alexander, 40; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 4.13.2.
- 24 On Trajan, see Pliny, *Letters, and Panegyricus*, ed. and trans. Betty Radice and others (Cambridge, MA, 1969), Panegyricus, 81. On Hadrian, see *Historia Augusta*, ed. and trans. David Magie (Cambridge, MA, 1921–1932), 26.3; Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, ed. and trans. Earnest Cary and others (Cambridge, MA, 1914), 69.10.2.
- 25 See Plato, *Critias*, 119d–120a in *Plato*, ed. and trans. Harold North Fowler and others (Cambridge, MA, 1996–2006).
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- 32 See A. F. L. Beeston and others, *Sabaic Dictionary* (Beirut, 1982), 167.
- 33 A. Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Mahram Bilqis* (Baltimore, MD, 1962), 1–16, figures 13, 14; Maraqtan, “Hunting in Pre-Islamic Arabia,” esp. 220–221.
- 34 See Ryckmans, *Répertoire d’épigraphie Sémitique*, 544/3, 4177/4; Y.85.AQ/7 = Iryānī, *Fi ta’riḫ al-Yaman*, 41 and compare Ryckmans, *Répertoire d’épigraphie Sémitique*, 3946/7 and Y.85.Y/1 = Iryānī, *Fi ta’riḫ al-Yaman*, 47, with only “Kirwam” mentioned. On these references see A. Sima, “Die Jagd im antiken Südarabien,” *Welt des Orients* 31 (2000): 84–109.
- 35 See Drewes, “Some Hadrami Inscriptions,” 94; Philby, “Three New Inscriptions from Hadramaut,” 127–133; Lundin, “Juznoarabskaja istoriceskaja napdis VI v.n.e. iz Mariba.”
- 36 See Qāniyah, 2, in Y. ‘Abdallāh, “Naqsh al-qaṣidh al-himyarīyah aw tarnīmat al-shams (Ṣūrah min al-adab al-dīnī fi al-Yaman al-qadīm),” *Raydān* 5 (1988): 81–100, esp. 92.



- 37 See Schm/Marib 23; Y.85.Y/1; Iryānī, *Fī ta'rikh al-Yaman*, 47; Ryckmans, *Répertorie d'épigraphie Sémitique*, 4177.
- 38 See 14 Ryckmans, *Répertorie d'épigraphie Sémitique*, 4336/Q183; CSAI 2:14 cited in C. Robin and M. Bāfaqīh, "Naqsh Aṣḥabī min Ḥaṣī," *Raydān* 2 (1979): 11–22; C. Robin and M. Bāfaqīh, "Deux nouvelles inscriptions de Radmān datant du IIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne," *Raydān* 4 (1981): 67–87.
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- 42 See M. Arbach and R. Andouin, *Ṣan'ā' National Museum: Collection of Epigraphic and Archaeological Artifacts from al-Jawf Sites* (San'a, 2007), 103–107; S. Antonini de Maigret, *South Arabian Art: Art History in Pre-Islamic Yemen* (Paris, 2012), 36; Maraqtan, "Hunting in Pre-Islamic Arabia in Light of the Epigraphic Evidence," 210.
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- 48 See the discussion of the Indo-European conception in Peter Jackson, "A Song Worth Fifty Cows: Graeco-Indo-Iranian Variations on the Etiology of Sacrifice," in *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 68/1, ed. Norbert Oettinger and others, 101–118 (Dettelbach, 2014). Compare with Jost Gippert, "How to Kill a Cow in Avestan," in *Mír Curad: Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, ed. Jay Jasanoff and others (Innsbruck, 1998), 165–181.
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- 55 See M. R. Savignac and G. Ryckmans, "Le sanctuaire dʿAllat à Iram (suite)," *Revue Biblique* 43 (1934): 572–591, esp. plates 38, 39, and figures 6 and 7, cited in F. V. Winnett, "The Daughters of Allah," *Muslim World* 30 (1940): 113–130, esp. 120–122. Scholars are still divided regarding the identification of these particular stones with al-Lāt in both locations. On the typology, see Robert Wenning, "The Betyls" of Petra," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 324 (2001): 79–95.
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- 57 See Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 195; Barton, "The Semitic Ishtar Cult (Continued)," esp. 65.

- 58 See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 3:694, cited in Barton, “The Semitic Ishtar Cult (Continued),” 63.
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- 61 See Gernez, “A New Study of Metal Weapons from Byblos,” 73–88; Töyräänvuori, “Weapons of the Storm God in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Traditions,” 172; E. Bloch-Smith, “Israelite Ethnicity in Iron I: Archaeology Preserves What Is Remembered and What Is Forgotten in Israel’s History,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 122 (2003): 401–425, esp. 419; A. C. Emery, “Weapons of the Israelite Monarchy: A Catalogue with Its Linguistic and Crosscultural Implications,” PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1999; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Study* (New York, 1963).
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- 63 For these inscription see See Ryckmans, *Répertoire de’Epigraphie Sémitique*, 3111/2, 2740/8, 3945/1, 2740/3, 4146/5, 3902, # 158/5–6 and 4144/2–3, 4142/4–5 and 4145/4–5, 4143/2, 4193/5; *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars Quarta. Inscriptiones Himyariticas et Sabaes continens* (Paris 1889–1931), 671/2–3, 516/23, 581/5, 408/5, 809–10, 405/4–5, 579/4–5, 516/23, 521/3, 536/6, 535/4–5, 306/4–6). See Jamme, *Classification descriptive generale des inscriptions sud-arabes*, 401–476.
- 64 See Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Qirā li-qāsīd umm al-qurā*, 566.
- 65 Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwattaʿ*, 20:146.
- 66 See Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid*, 3:399.

- 67 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3216.
- 68 al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 63:2773.
- 69 See Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid*, 3:399; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 24:2772, 2773; al Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:67, 906 (99); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25, 3216; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:106, 1694 (173).
- 70 See Muslim, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:63, 1320 (397). Several reports describe the prophet Muhammad using a knife to slit the throat of a ram while he stood one foot on its side. See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 73:13, 5564 (20), 73:9, 5558 (14); al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 43:14, 4387 (27), 43:28, 4415 (55); Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 16:1032, 2794 (7); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 35:3, 1966 (24, 25); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 26, 3239. Compare Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 16:1032, 2792 (5).
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- 72 Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwattā'*, 20:844.
- 73 See Emmanuel Anati, *Rock-Art in Central Arabia* (Louvain, 1968), 54, figure 4 and 64, figure 15; Juris Zarins and others, "The Comprehensive Archaeological Survey Program: The Second Preliminary Report on the Southwestern Province," *Atlat* 5 (1981): 9–42, esp. plate 34F.
- 74 See Anati, *Rock-Art in Central Arabia*, 11, figure 2, and see chart on p. 148, table 14.2.
- 75 See CIH 445 from Musée du Louvre A.O. 1029 discussed in M. C. A. MacDonald, "Camel Hunting or Camel Raiding?" *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 1 (1990): 24–28, esp. 26–27.
- 76 See, for example E. Littman, *Safaitic Inscriptions* (Leiden, 1943), 325; Clark, *A Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan*, 1190 and 972, all cited in MacDonald, "Camel Hunting or Camel Raiding?" esp 24–25.
- 77 See MacDonald's comments a "desire to claim links with a real or imagined nomadic past" in his "Camel Hunting or Camel Raiding?" 25.
- 78 See M. I. Ababneh and R. Harahsheh, "Sacrifice in the Safaitic Inscriptions in the Light of New Evidence," *Acta Orientalis* 68 (2015): 29–48; references in King, "Camels and Arabian baliya," 81–93. Also see the various inscriptions in Ahmad Al-Jallad and Karonlina Jawoska, eds., *A Dictionary of the Safaitic Inscriptions* (Leiden, 2019), s.v.
- 79 See, for example, Hamilton and Brooks *The Syriac Chronicle*, 8.5. Also see Procopius, *de bella persica*, 2:28; Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History* VI.22; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 171. For a modern example using older sources, see Sweet, "Camel Raiding of North Arabian Bedouin."
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- 81 See Jung, "On Representations of Camels and Camel-Riders," esp. 233; M. Jung, *Research on Rock Art in North Yemen* (Naples, 1991).

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- 86 See A. R. al-Amsary, *Qaryat al-Faw: A Portrait of a Pre-Islamic Civilisation in Saudi Arabia* (London, 1982), 130–133. See the discussion in Patricia Crone, "Barefoot and Naked: What Did the Bedouin of the Arab Conquests Look Like?" in *Frontiers of Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Celebration of Oleg Grabar's Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Gülru Neclpoglu and Julia Bailey (Leiden, 2008), 1–10.
- 87 See the examples in Zarins, "Pastoralism in Southwest Asia," 127–155, esp. 144–147. The dates (6000–1900 BCE) are an approximation based on Zarins' reconstruction of camel domestication but do not reflect the continued existence of "wild" camels in later times. Nor does it settle an ongoing debate about the dating of camel (dromedary) domestication in Arabia and the broader Near East. See Hans-Peter Uerpmann, "The Appearance of the Domestic Camel in South-East Arabia," *Journal of Oman Studies* 12 (2002): 1–12; Beech and others, "Prehistoric Camels in South-Eastern Arabia," 17–30; Renato Sala, "The Domestication of Camel in the Literary, Archaeological and Petroglyph Records," *Journal of Arid Land Studies* 26 (2017): 205–211.
- 88 See Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid*, 3:397–398 and Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:66, 1325 (420).
- 89 See Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid*, 3:397.

- 90 See Muslim, 15:66, 1325–1326 (420–422).
- 91 See the example given in Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 26, 3266. Compare with Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 26:3263–3265 stating that animals with broken horns and damaged ears are not eligible to be designated as sacrifices.
- 92 See the different opinions reviewed in Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid*, 3:399–400.
- 93 See Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭāʾ*, 20:868; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mujtahid*, 3:399.
- 94 A report transmitted on the authority of Abū al-ʿUsharaʾ, from his father, relates that the prophet Muhammad allowed a sacrificial animal to be killed by stabbing it in the thigh. See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 27, 3305; al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, 43:25, 4408 (48), 43:31, 4418 (58).
- 95 Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25, 3214.
- 96 al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2783, 2794, 2796; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3214, 3215; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:70, 909 (102), 9:69 (101); Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan*, 11:584, 1758 (38), 1757 (37).
- 97 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:110, 1704 (182).
- 98 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:110, 1703 (181); 25:106 (174), 1699 (177), 1698 (176), also 40:14, 2317 (16).
- 99 See al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:67, 906 (99); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25, 3223 (one sandal); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:32, 1243 (224); Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭāʾ*, 20:890, 20:849. Also see the reference in al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:71, 910 (103).
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- 101 See the discussion of the ritual in McCarthy, “The Symbolism of Blood and Sacrifice”; H. M. Kimmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König*, Studien zu den Bokazky-Texten 3 (Wiesbaden, 1967), esp. 186–198. Compare the interpretation in M. Vieyra, “Rites de purification Hittites,” *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions* 19 (1939): 141–142. For blood in Hittite rituals, see René Dussaud, *Les religions des Hittites et des Hourrites, des Phéniciens, et des Syriens* (Paris, 1949), esp. 428–429.
- 102 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:108, 1696 (174), 1699 (177), 1702 (180), 1703 (181), 1704 (182); al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, 24, 2778, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2788, 2794, 2796, 2797; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:70, 908 (101), 909 (102); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:64, 1321 (402)
- 103 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:111, 1705 (183), 15:64, 1321 (404); Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan*, 11:584, 1759 (39).

- 104 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 77:69, 5916 (131); al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 24, 2781, 2791.
- 105 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 26:3247, 3269. See also the Greek tradition of burning the hair of the animal before it is killed. See Lambert, "Ancient Greek and Zulu Sacrificial Ritual," esp. 295–296; Michael Jameson, "Sacrifice and Animal Husbandry in Ancient Greece," in his *Cults and Rites in Ancient Greece: Essays on Religion and Society* (Cambridge, 2014), 198–231.
- 106 For the references below see al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fi ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, on Q 5:2.
- 107 See Lane, *An Arabic–English Lexicon*, s.v. S-M-R.
- 108 See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣnām*, 19; Faris, *The Book of Idols*, 17.
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- 110 See Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, 5:175–194 (no. 203).
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- 144 See M. J. Kister, “‘Labbayka, allāhuna, labbayka ...’ On a Monotheistic Aspect of a Jāhiliyya Practice,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 2 (1980): 33–57; Watt, “The Qur’ān and Belief in a ‘High God.’”
- 145 For the references, see Savignac and Ryckmans, “Le sanctuaire d'Allat à Iram (suite),” 586–589 (Wādī Ramm); Ryckmans, *Répertoire d'épigraphie Sémitique*, 2091 (Ḥawrān) called “Goddess of Boṣrah,” 1088 (Petra); Savignac and Ryckmans, “Le sanctuaire d'Allat à Iram (suite)” (Wadi Ramm); *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, 2:6n, 1236 (Sinai); JSLih 58 (Dedan); JA 2138 in A. Jamme, “The Pre-Islamic Inscriptions of the Riyādh Museum,” *Oriens Antiquus* 9 (1970): 113–139, esp. 120, 137; Jacques Ryckmans, “‘Uzzā et Lāt dans les inscriptions sud-arabes: A propos de deux amulettes méconnues,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 25 (1980): 193–204, esp. 197–198 (Qaryat al-Faw). For the identification of al-‘Uzzā with Aphrodite in a first century bilingual Nabataean-Greek inscription from Cos, see Rosenthal, *Die aramaische Forschung*, 86 and 91n4. Compare with J. Henninger, “Zum Problem der Venusstemgottheit bei den Semiten,” *Anthropos* 71 (1976): 129–168, esp. 136–139. For the identification with Venus, see Bar Bahlūl, *Syriac–Arabic Dictionary*, ed. R. Duval (Paris, 1845), s.v. “est rā.” On al-‘Uzzā as Aphrodite at Edessa, see Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa*, esp. 185.
- 146 See Epiphanius of Salamis, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salami*, trans. Frank Williams (Leiden, 1994), 51.
- 147 See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 1:837; Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 97; Francesca Stavrakopoulou, “Exploring the Garden of Uzza: Death, Burial and Ideologies of Kingship,” *Biblica* 87 (2006): 1–21.
- 148 On the use of horns to represent the bull sacrifices made to Haddad, see Sema’an I. Salem and Lynda Salem, “The Bull Cult,” in *The Near East, the Cradle of Western Civilization* (Lincoln, NB, 2000), 129–148; Andrian Curtis, “Some Observations on ‘Bull’ Terminology in the Ugaritic Texts and in the Old Testament,” in *In Quest of the Past: Studies on Israelite Religion, Literature and Prophetism (Oudtestamentische Studien)*, ed. A. S. Van der Woude (Leiden, 1990), 17–31. Horns as symbols of hunting and fertility are discussed in Russel, “Hunting Sacrifice at Neolithic Catalhöyük,” esp. 79, 82–84; Bloedow, “Notes on Animal Sacrifices in Minoan Religion”; Newton and Zarins, “Aspects of Bronze Age Art in Southern Arabia.”

- 149 See Porphyry, *Porphyry on Abstinence from Animal Food*, 2:56.
- 150 See J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Graeca* (Paris, 1863), 74:611, cited in Lammens, “Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l’Arabie occidentale,” 127.
- 151 See al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 2:21.1–5.
- 152 See Zacharius of Mitylene, *Ecclesiastical History*, in *Anecdota Syriaca*, ed. J. P. Land (Leiden, 1867), 3:247.
- 153 See Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, chapter 8.
- 154 See the reference in Winnett, “Daughters of Allah,” 123. For a recent critique of this identification, see Ahmad Al-Jallad, “New Evidence from a Safaitic Inscription for a Late Velar/uvular Realization of  $\xi$  in Aramaic,” *Semitica* 58 (2016): 257–270.
- 155 See Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, *Göttinnen, Götter und Gottessymbole* (Wien, 1992), 440–444; Beit-Arieh, “Ḥorvat Qitmit,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 35 (1985): 201–202; Beit-Arieh, “The Edomite Shrine at Ḥorvat Qitmit in the Judean Negev: Preliminary Excavation Report,” *Tel Aviv* 18 (1991): 93–116; Beit-Arieh, ed., *Horvat Qitmit: An Edomite Shrine in the Biblical Negev*, Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology Monograph 11 (Tel Aviv, 1995); Beit-Arieh and B. Cresson, “An Edomite Ostrakon from Ḥorvat ‘Uza,” *Tel Aviv* 12 (1985): 96–101; Justin Kelley, “Toward a New Synthesis of the God of Edom and Yahweh,” *Antiquo Oriente* 7 (2009): 255–280.
- 156 See J. R. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites* (Sheffield, 1989), 213, no. 4.
- 157 E. A. Knauf, “Qos,” in *Dictionary of Demons and Deities in the Bible*, 665–667.
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- 160 See the discussion in D. van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art* (Rome, 1945), 67–69; T. C. Vriezen, “The Edomitic Deity Qaus,” *Old Testament Studies* 14 (1965): 335–353, esp. 335–342; O. Keel and C. Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis, 1998), esp. 382–385.
- 161 See Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, ed. and trans. H. Thackeray and others (Cambridge, MA, 1962–1965), 13:8–10. On the Nabataean usage, see the reconstruction in Knauf, “Qos,” in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 676, cited in Kelley, “Toward a New Synthesis of the God of Edom and Yahweh,” 259–260. This identification has been questioned by

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- 162 See E. A. Knauf, “Dusharā and Shai’ al-Qaum, Yhwh und Baal. Dieu,” in *Lectio difficilior probabilior? L’exegese comme experience de décloisonnement. Mélanges offerts à Francoise Smyth-Florentin*, ed. T. Römer (Heidelberg, 1991), 19–29; E. A. Knauf, *Ismael. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr* (Wiesbaden, 1989).
- 163 See Knauf, *Midian*, esp. 89–90.
- 164 See J. C. Greenfield, “Hadad,” in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 377–382. On the bull and the storm god, see Tallay Oman, “The Bull and Its Two Masters: Moon and Storm Deities in Relation to the Bull in Ancient Near Eastern Art,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 51 (2001): 1–26. On the storm god Hadad in Aleppo, see Maciej Popko, “Zum Wettergott von Halab,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 25 (1998): 119–125.
- 165 For the storm god as a warrior, see Pelio Fronzaroli, “Les combats de Haddad dans les textes d’Ebla,” *MARI* 8 (1997): 283–290.
- 166 See M. Dietrich and others, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani und anderen Orten. The cuneiform alphabetic texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and other places*, ed. Manfred Dietrich and others (Münster, 2013) [= KTU] 1.39:10; 1.41:33 [rest.]; 1.46:12 [rest.].14; 1.47:5; 1.65: 10; 1.87:36 [rest.]; 1.109:5 [rest.].9.29.32–33; 1.112:22–23; 1.118:4; 1.130:22; 1.148:2 [rest.].10.27; RIH 78/4:5; [Syria 57 (1980) 353–354, 370], in letters (e.g. KTU 2.23:19; 2.44:10) and in Akkadian texts from Ugarit (references in Wolfgang Röllig, “Ḫazzi,” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 4 (1972–1975): 241–242, all cited in Niehr, “Baal-Zaphon,” in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 152–154. Also see Wolfgang Röllig, “Begegnungen mit Göttern und Dämonen der Levante,” in *Gegenwelten zu den Kulturen Griechenlands und Roms in der Antike*, ed. T. Hölscher (Leipzig, 2000), 47–66, esp. 51–52.
- 167 See M. Bietak, “Zur Herkunft des Seth von Avaris,” *Ägypten und Levante* 1 (1990): 9–16; M. Dijkstra, “The Weather God on Two Mountains,” *Ugarit Forschungen* 23 (1991): 127–140. On the smiting god pose see Guy Bunnens, “The Storm-God in Northern Syria and Southern Anatolia: From Hadad of Aleppo to Jupiter Dolichenus,” in *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität Akten des religionsgeschichtlichen Symposiums “Kleinasien und angrenzende Gebiete vom Beginn des 2. bis zur Mitte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.”* (Bonn, 20.–22. Februar 2003), ed. Manfred Hutter and Sylvia Hutter-Braunsar (Münster, 2004), 57–81.
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- description of the scene, see “Mountain God (Ancient Near East),” in *Iconography of Deities and Demons* (Electronic Pre-Publication, 2009), section 6. For the cylinder seal, see V. Haas, *Hethitische Berggötter und Hurritische Steindämonen* (Mainz, 1982), figure 27.
- 169 See the references in Green, *The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East*, 162.
- 170 See E. Larouche, “Le Dieu Anatloien Sarruma,” *Syria* 40 (1963): 277–302, esp. 282–383; Robert L. Alexander, “The Storm-God at Yazlhkaya: Sources and influences,” in *Aspects of Art and Iconography. Anatolia and Its Neighbors. Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, ed. Machteld Mellink and others (Ankara, 1983), 1–13. And see the related images discussed in Mustafa Kalaç, “Eine Wettergott-Stele und drei Reliefs im Museum zu Maraş,” *Jahrbuch “ex oriente lux”* 6 (1964): 280–283.
- 171 See Haas, *Hethitische Berggötter und Hurritische Steindämonen*, 52, 61, 96, 99, 102; V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitische Religion* (Leiden, 1994), 461–464, both cited in “Mountain God (Ancient Near East),” section 1.2.
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- 173 See the description and discussion in Martin Klingbeil, *Yahweh Fighting from Heaven. God as Warrior and as God of Heaven in the Hebrew Psalter and Ancient Near Eastern Iconography* (Göttingen, 1999), 249, figure 80.
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- 176 For this epithet, see Ḥassān Ibn Thābit, *Diwān* (Beirut, 1966); Zayd al-Khayl al-Ṭā’ī, *Diwān* (Najaf, 1968), 72, 78; Lammens, “Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l’Arabie occidentale,” 163–179.

- 177 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, on Q 2:198; Tabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fī taʾwīl al-Qurʾān*, on Q 2:198.
- 178 See Tabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fī taʾwīl al-Qurʾān*, on Q 2:198.
- 179 See al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:78.
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- 182 William Robertson Smith, “Mecca,” *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (New York, 1881), 17:950–955, esp. 954.
- 183 See Sulaymsn Bashear, *Studies in Early Islamic Tradition* (Jerusalem, 2004), 267–268.
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- 189 See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 288.
- 190 See al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah*, 419. Also see the discussion in Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage a la mekke* (Paris, 1923), 260–262.
- 191 See the reference in Fahd, *Le panthéon de l’Arabie centrale avant l’hégire*, 10; and his “Kaws Kuzah,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*.
- 192 On this, see G. Hawting, “Pilgrimage,” in *The Encyclopaedia of the Quran*.
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- 197 Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān fi tafsīr al-Qur‘ān*, on Q 2:198, no. 3810.
- 198 See al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, 24, 3024, 3053, 3054; Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭā’*, 20, 885; Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 11:624, 1905 (185), 11:633, 1944 (224); al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:54, 885 (78), 9:55, 886 (79); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25, 3074, 3138; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:45, 1282 (295).
- 199 See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān fi ta’wīl al-Qur‘ān*, on Q 2:198, no. 3807.
- 200 See the description, without notes, in Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 342; and the discussion in Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage a la mekke*, 260–262, esp. 260n3.
- 201 See Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭā’*, 20:53, 178–179.
- 202 Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 11:631, 1920 (200). Compare the reports cautioning pilgrims to go slow when the camels were carrying his wives: al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 78:111, 6202 (226), 6210 (229); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 43:18, 2323 (94–96). For reports allowing people to ride camels see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 78:95, 6159 (185), 55:12, 2754 (17); al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, 24, 2799, 2800, 2801; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25, 3222; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 911 (104); AD 11:585, 1760 (40); Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭā’*, 20, 843.
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- 204 see ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī, *Muṣannaf*, 4:37–38, no. 8122, 8128; Hawting, “The Slaughter of a Ḍaḥīyya during Hajj and the Origins of ‘Īd al-Adḥā,” esp. 62.
- 205 See ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī, *Muṣannaf*, 4:38, no. 8124.
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- 207 See Abū al-Maḥāsīn Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm al-zāhirah fi mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qābirah* (Cairo, 1926–1972), 1:207.
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- 210 See M. Khan, *Prehistoric Rock Art of Northern Saudi Arabia* (Riyadh, 1993), esp. 142.
- 211 See Alexander Knys, “The Cult of Saints in Ḥaḍramawt,” in *New Arabian Studies*, ed. R. B. Serjeant and others (Exeter, 1993), 137–152, esp. 142–143;

- Joy McCorriston, *Pilgrimage and Household in the Ancient Near East* (Cambridge, 2011), esp. 47–48.
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- 213 See MAFRAY – al-Mi‘*sāl* 4/12 and Yemen Museum 15/5, cited in Maraqtan, “Hunting in Pre-Islamic Arabia in Light of the Epigraphic Evidence,” 225–227.
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- 215 For the hymn, see verse 2 in ‘Abdallāh, “Naqsh al-qaṣīdh al-ḥimyarīyah aw tarnīmat al-shams,” esp. 92; Maraqtan, “Hunting in Pre-Islamic Arabia in Light of the Epigraphic Evidence,” 222. For the classical Arabic texts, see Abbas Muṣṭafā al-Šāliḥī, *al-Šayd wa al-ṭard fī al-shi‘r al-‘arabī ḥattā nihāyat al-qarn al-thānī al-hijrī* (Beirut, 1981), 61–70; Kushājīm, *al-Masāyid wa al-maṭārid*, 235–240.
- 216 On this shrine and festival, see McCorriston, *Pilgrimage and Household in the Ancient Near East*, 47–48; Knysh, “The Cult of Saints in Ḥaḍramawt,” esp. 143. Also see Sergeant, “Hud and other Pre-Islamic Prophets,” *Le Muséon* 47 (1954): 121–179, esp. 124.
- 217 See al-‘Abbādī, “al-Mā fi al-nuqūsh al-‘arabīyah al-shamāliyah al-qadīmah,” esp. 102–123; Krone, *Die altarabische Gottheit al-Lāt*, 128. For Ba‘al Shamayim as god of rain in Palmyra, see H. Niehr, *Ba‘alsamem: Studien zu Herkunft, Geschichte und Rezeptionsgeschichte eines phönizischen Gottes*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta* 123, *Studia Phoenicia* 17 (Louvain, 2003), 243.
- 218 See al-‘Abbādī, “al-Mā fi al-nuqūsh al-‘arabīyah al-shamāliyah al-qadīmah,” 102–123.
- 219 See the examples in Knysh, “The Cult of Saints in Ḥaḍramawt,” 144–145.
- 220 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlah*, ed. W. Wright (Leiden, 1907), 118. For the Umayyad period fairs, see Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh Azraqī, *Akbbār Makkah*, ed. and trans F. Wüstenfeld (Beirut, 1982), 131.
- 221 See al-Nasā‘ī, *Sunan*, 24, 2774, 2791; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:32, 1243 (224).
- 222 See Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwaṭṭā‘*, 20:53, 178–179.
- 223 See, for example, KTU 1.5, 2.2–3 and 1.4, 8.1 on Ba‘al Qarnayn, the puny storm god named after two mountains near Tunis who is also called “Frugifier” or “fruit-bearer” for granting children who were sacrificed to him.
- 224 On camel festivals with races and “beauty” contests, see Sulayman Khalaf, “Poetics and Politics of Newly Invented Traditions in the Gulf: Camel Racing in the United Arab Emirates,” *Ethnology* 39 (2000): 243–261; Sulayman Khalaf, “Camel Racing in the Gulf: Notes on the Evolution of a Traditional Cultural Sport,” *Anthropos* 94 (1999): 85–105. For an unusual alternative, see Orhan Yılmaz, “A Rising Traditional Trend in Modern Turkey: Camel



- Wrestling,” in *Conference Proceedings: 4th Conference of ISOCARD – Silk Road Camel: The Camelids, Main Stakes for Sustainable Development* (Almaty, 2015).
- 225 See the material culture approach of Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme, “A Lingerin Memory: Materiality and Divine Remembrance in Aramaic Dedicatory Inscriptions,” *ARAM* 29 (2017): 89–104.
- 226 For these references, see Anthony Johns, “Water,” in *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, s.v.; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn ‘Aqīl, *Qanīṣ al-wa’l fī Ḥaḍramawt* (Ṣanā’a, 2004).
- 227 See al-Azraqī, *Akḥbār Makkah*, 129–130; R. Dozye, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka* (Leipzig, 1864), 111.
- 228 See Wensinck, “Arabic New Year and the Feast of Tabernacles,” 163–164; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 101, 236, cf. 83–85, 88; Doze, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka*, 110–115. On biblical parallels to the ritual of watering the animals before sacrifice, see Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 231–232, citing James Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (London, 1890), 1:148 passim; Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-āthār al-bāqiyah ‘an al-qurūn al-khālīyah*, 288–290; Zakariyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā’ib al-mawjūdāt* (Sūsah, 1990), 1:84.
- 229 See Houtsma, “Het Skopelisme en het steenwerpen te Mina,” 185–217, 211–212.
- 230 On the similarity to other artificial environments, see David Lyon, *Jesus in Disneyland: Religion in Postmodern Times* (New York, 2000); and especially Stephen Fjellman, *Vinyl Leaves: Walt Disney World and America* (Boulder, CO, 1992).

## Abraham as the Originator of the Ḥajj Sacrifice

The church historian Salminius Hermias Sozomen was born sometime in the late fourth or early fifth century CE, in a town near Gaza in Roman Palestine. After studying law at the well-known school of Roman law in Beirut he moved to Constantinople where he wrote a history of the Christian church, in two parts, from the ascension of Christ to the reign of Valentinius III in 425 CE.

In the second part of this work, documenting the building of churches and the establishment of pilgrimage routes by the newly Christianized Roman empire under Constantine, Sozomen describes a peculiar annual religious festival that occurred near Hebron in Roman Palestine.

I consider it necessary to detail the proceedings of Constantine in relation to what is called the oak of Mamre. This place is now called Terebinthus, and is about fifteen stadia distant from Hebron, which lies to the south, but is two hundred and fifty stadia distant from Jerusalem. It is recorded that here the Son of God appeared to Abraham, with two angels, who had been sent against Sodom, and foretold the birth of his son.

Here the inhabitants of the country and of the regions round Palestine, the Phoenicians, and the Arabians, assemble annually during the summer season to keep a brilliant feast; and many others, both buyers and sellers, resort thither on account of the fair. Indeed, this feast is diligently frequented by all nations: by the Jews, because they boast of their descent from the patriarch Abraham; by the Pagans, because angels there appeared to men; and by Christians, because He who for the salvation of mankind was born of a virgin, afterwards manifested Himself there to a godly man.

This place was moreover honored fittingly with religious exercises. Here some prayed to the God of all; some called upon the angels, poured out wine, burnt incense, or offered an ox, or he-goat, a sheep, or a cock. Each one made some

beautiful product of his labor, and after carefully husbanding it through the entire year, he offered it according to promise as provision for that feast, both for himself and his dependents.

And either from honor to the place, or from fear of Divine wrath, they all abstained from coming near their wives, although during the feast these were more than ordinarily studious of their beauty and adornment. Nor, if they chanced to appear and to take part in the public processions, did they act at all licentiously. Nor did they behave imprudently in any other respect, although the tents were contiguous to each other, and they all lay promiscuously together.

The place is open country, and arable, and without houses, with the exception of the buildings around Abraham's old oak and the well he prepared. No one during the time of the feast drew water from that well; for according to Pagan usage, some placed burning lamps near it; some poured out wine, or cast in cakes; and others, coins, myrrh, or incense. Hence, as I suppose, the water was rendered useless by commixture with the things cast into it.

Once whilst these customs were being celebrated by the Pagans, after the aforesaid manner, and as was the established usage with hilarity, the mother-in-law of Constantine was present for prayer, and apprised the emperor of what was being done. On receiving this information, he rebuked the bishops of Palestine in no measured terms, because they had neglected their duty, and had permitted a holy place to be defiled by impure libations and sacrifices; and he expressed his godly censure in an epistle which he wrote on the subject to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, to Eusebius Pamphilus, and to the bishops of Palestine.

He commanded these bishops to hold a conference on this subject with the Phoenician bishops, and issued directions for the demolition, from the foundations, of the altar formerly erected there, the destruction of the carved images by fire, and the erection of a church worthy of so ancient and so holy a place. The emperor finally enjoined that no libations or sacrifices should be offered on the spot, but that it should be exclusively devoted to the worship of God according to the law of the Church; and that if any attempt should be made to restore the former rites, the bishops were to inform against the delinquent, in order that he might be subjected to the greatest punishment. The governors and priests of Christ strictly enforced the injunctions contained in the emperor's letter.<sup>1</sup>

There are a number of details contained in this description that warrant comparison to features of what was to become the Islamic Hajj to Mecca and its environs: a market festival taking place in the summer in open country, pilgrims staying in tents, abstaining from sex, the sacrifice of animals raised especially for this occasion, and the casting of votive offerings into a sacred well. Sozomen reports that among those who attended the annual rites were Arabs along with Jews, Christians, and pagans. And, perhaps most significantly, these rituals near Hebron, like those near Mecca, focused on the veneration of locations associated with

the biblical accounts of Abraham, including a special well and tree, both places where Abraham is said to have built altars and performed sacrifices.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter examines the origins of the idea that Abraham is responsible for establishing the rituals of what would become the Islamic Hajj, including the sacrifice that concludes the pilgrimage. By using Abraham as the founder of Islamic practices centered on Mecca, Muslim scholars immediately situate themselves and their religion in a “sectarian” dialogue with other biblical religions and their representatives (Jews and Christians). Islam identifies Abraham as the original Muslim. An “Arab” Abraham is linked to the origins of the Ka’bah and the Muslim rituals performed at it and in its vicinity. Muslim scholarship constructed this “mythic” Abraham from pre-Islamic traditions to create an Abraham unique to Islam, conforming to the Quran and the example of the prophet Muhammad.

#### ABRAHAM AND ISLAM

It is remarkable that Islam, especially with its origins so late in antiquity and so far removed from the central lands of Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean, would place a biblical temple and animal sacrifice at the center of its new or revived cult. Why would a monotheism derived from the Bible and its exegesis by Jews and Christians, emerging from an otherwise unknown cult center in the mountains of the central Hījāz, focus on Abraham as founder of a religion based on temple worship and sacrifice? In neither the Judaism nor Christianity of late antiquity was there an emphasis on Abraham as one who performed animal sacrifices, nor was animal sacrifice any longer practiced or valorized by these religions. Indeed, with the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, both Judaism and Christianity specifically eschewed the continued need or practicality of animal sacrifice.<sup>3</sup>

Abraham is an unusual choice as a founding figure in Judaism. Abraham does not observe the Sabbath. He does not follow the “kosher” dietary laws (see Genesis 18:7–8). He does not observe any of the major holy days, since they were all instituted to commemorate events that occurred after his death. Nor does Abraham “teach” anything, or institute any practice other than the circumcision that is enjoined upon him and his male descendants and slaves in Genesis 17:9–14.<sup>4</sup> The sacrifice sites he establishes, and his substitution of a ram for the sacrifice of his son are not commanded by God, nor are they repeated later as requirements

in Mosaic law – in fact sacrifices at locations other than the temple in Jerusalem (or the tabernacle in the wilderness) are specifically not allowed. In Genesis 21 Abraham invokes a Canaanite deity instead of Yahweh. In Genesis 20:12 Abraham claims to have married his half-sister, the daughter of his father by a different mother, although this is specifically prohibited in Leviticus 18:9 and Deuteronomy 27:22.<sup>5</sup>

That the rabbis recognized the unorthodox character of the biblical Abraham is evident from their attempts to revalorize him as a founding figure or exemplary Jew. Maimonides, for example, allows for marriage between a man and his half-sister born from the same father but a different mother, based on Abraham's practice. The *Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer* devotes six chapters (26–31) to Abraham. The life of Abraham, perhaps in parallel with Greek legends of Hercules, is divided into a series of ten trials. Abraham is, like Israel, the suffering servant, who undergoes many trials, wandering in strange lands far from home, but trusting in God to protect him and fulfill his promises to him.<sup>6</sup> Abraham is “our father” [avī-nū], biological progenitor of the Israelites and Jews but also founder of Israelite religion and Judaism. He is the high priest, inheriting the office from Noah and Shem, and passing it on to Levi and his descendants thereafter.<sup>7</sup> Abraham discovers God and becomes a monotheist on his own, and is responsible for destroying all the idols of the Chaldaeans among whom he was raised. The post-biblical Abraham of the rabbis knew the entire Torah even though it would not be revealed publicly until the time of Moses.<sup>8</sup> According to Rashi, Abraham not only observed all the regulations of the Torah but even rulings based upon rabbinic interpretations of the text.<sup>9</sup>

The Abraham of the New Testament and early Christianity is in direct contradistinction to what would become the Muslim emphasis on the temple as the place of pilgrimage for the purpose of sacrifice, and this being the central feature of Abrahamic religion. Indeed, the Christian appropriation of Abraham itself seems to have developed out of a polemical attempt to disassociate the “new” faith-based religion from that dependent on the temple cult in Jerusalem. Although the New Testament records Jesus instructing people to perform temple sacrifices (e.g., Matthew 5:23–24, 8:4), and James and other early followers of Jesus, including the apostle Paul, performed temple sacrifices (e.g., Acts 3:1, 21:26, 24:11–12), the death of Jesus is supposed to replace the need for the continued offering of animals.<sup>10</sup> The apostle Paul describes Jesus' death as a “sin offering” (e.g., Romans 8:3, 2 Corinthians 5:21) and as the sacrificed “Passover lamb” (2 Corinthians 5:21). In Hebrews (2:17, 9:11–14), Jesus is the “high priest” who sacrifices himself as the atonement sacrifice of Leviticus 16.

According to Paul, Abraham was the ideal Christian. He is the “father of all who believe” not because he followed the requirements of the law that was later revealed to Moses, but because he trusted that God would fulfill his promise and make him the “father of many nations.”

Romans 4: 11–12: So, then, he is the father of all who believe but have not been circumcised, in order that righteousness might be credited to them. And he is then also the father of the circumcised who not only are circumcised but who also follow in the footsteps of the faith that our father Abraham had before he was circumcised.

Paul specifically claims that Jesus cancels out the obligation for Christians to be circumcised even though in Genesis 17:9–14 God enjoins for all time the practice on Abraham, all his male descendants, and all his male slaves. In Galatians 5, Paul compares the Torah to the “yoke of slavery” and declares circumcision to be the opposite of Christ.

[2] Mark my words! I, Paul, tell you that if you let yourselves be circumcised, Christ will be of no value to you at all.[3] Again I declare to every man who lets himself be circumcised that he is obligated to obey the whole law.[4] You who are trying to be justified by the law have been alienated from Christ; you have fallen away from grace.[5] For through the Spirit we eagerly await by faith the righteousness for which we hope.[6] For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision has any value. The only thing that counts is faith expressing itself through love.

Later, in verse 12, Paul says he wants those who say circumcision is required to let their knives slip and castrate themselves.<sup>11</sup> In Acts 15:9–11, Peter declares that circumcision should not be required of gentiles, and that both gentiles and Jews are saved by “grace” not by works. The food laws of the Torah are canceled in Acts 10:9–16, and ritual purity is not longer to be observed according to Acts 10:28–29. A similar erasing of ritual purity laws and circumcision is stated by Paul in Ephesians 2:11–20.

Early Christian exegesis of Abraham’s attempted sacrifice of his son sees the narrative as another example of Abraham’s faith in God’s grace. Abraham’s “test” in Genesis 22 is whether or not he believes that God would fulfill his promise that it would be through Isaac that Abraham would be the father of many nations. Abraham passed the test because he knew that God would not allow Isaac to be killed or remain dead.

Hebrews 11:17–19: By faith Abraham, when God tested him, offered Isaac as a sacrifice. He who had embraced the promises was about to sacrifice his one and only son,[18] even though God had said to him, “It is through Isaac that your

offspring will be reckoned.”[19] Abraham reasoned that God could even raise the dead, and so in a manner of speaking he did receive Isaac back from death.

Not only did Abraham foreshadow the death and resurrection of Jesus with his faith in God’s ability to bring back to life his own “one and only” son, but in John 8:56 Jesus states that Abraham did foresee his own future coming.

Just as Jews took Abraham as their forefather who knew and followed all the commandments of the Torah, and as Christians saw Abraham as the ideal Christian because he believed in God, so too does the Quran state that Abraham is the epitome of being Muslim. Q 2:124a: “When his [Abraham’s] Lord tested him with words, he fulfilled them. He [God] said: ‘I will make you an example for humanity.’” Islam is the “religion of Abraham” [millah Ibrāhīm] (Q 3:95), Abraham is the “leader” [imām] of people (Q 2:124), the “friend of God” and no one is “better in religion” (Q 4:125) than those who follow his example.<sup>12</sup>

It is interesting to note that, despite modern biblical scholarship debating the historicity of the biblical account of the life of Abraham, in neither Judaism nor Christianity is a historical Abraham as essential as it is in Islam.<sup>13</sup> Jesus is possible without Abraham, and although Jews (and Christians) claim descent from Abraham,<sup>14</sup> the beliefs and practices of ancient Israel and later Judaism stem from Moses. From the perspective of Muslim exegesis, Islam requires a historical Abraham.<sup>15</sup> To make this claim, Muslim exegetes not only use references to Abraham in the Quran but also appropriate biblical and extra-biblical narratives much as they do when reinterpreting Christian references to Jesus in the Old Testament.<sup>16</sup> For example, it has been noted that the Muslim depiction of Abraham’s dedication of the Ka‘bah parallels Solomon’s inauguration of the temple in Jerusalem (1 Kings 8:41–43).<sup>17</sup>

Although the stories of other prophets, such as Moses, Noah, and Jesus, are also prominent in the Quran, it is Abraham who is credited with establishing the religion of Islam.<sup>18</sup> Q 3:95 instructs Muslims to “follow the religion of Abraham [millah Ibrāhīm], being ḥanīf, for he was not one of the polytheists.” Q 16:120 states that Abraham was a model of obedience to God [ummat-an qānit-an li-llah]. Q 4:125 asks “who is better in religion” than the person who “follows Abraham,” the one whom God took as a “friend” [khalil]. Q 2:135–137 makes more explicit the role of Abraham in establishing the religious practices and beliefs revived and continued by the prophet Muhammad. The “religion of Abraham” is distinct from other biblical religions such as Judaism and

Christianity. Here, as in a number of other places in the Quran, the example of Abraham is called “being ḥanīf” [hanīf-an], a term that is often used in conjunction with Islam being the “religion of Abraham” [millah Ibrāhīm].<sup>19</sup> Q 3:67 states that Abraham was “not a Jew or a Christian but was ḥanīf, Muslim, and not one of the polytheists.”

Q 3:95 and 16:123 command Muslims to follow the religion of Abraham, being “ḥanīf” because Abraham was not one of the polytheists. Q 6:161 identifies the religion of Abraham and being ḥanīf with the “straight path” [ṣirāṭ mustaqīm] and the “correct religion” [dīn-an qīyam-an]. Ibn Kathīr’s exegesis of Q 2:135 cites different explanations for how Abraham differed from being a Jew or Christian. The most blunt is that given on the authority of Mujāhid and al-Rabī’a b. Anas that “being ḥanīf” [ḥanīf-an] is being a follower [mutaba’-an] of Abraham.<sup>20</sup> In his exegesis of Q 2:135, al-Ṭabarī states that the intention of the verse is that the prophet Muhammad reestablish the religion of Abraham in place of Judaism and Christianity.<sup>21</sup> Ibn Hishām and Ibn Sa’d gloss the phrase “religion of Abraham” with “being ḥanīf” [ḥanīfiyah].<sup>22</sup>

According to Abū Qallābah, following the religion of Abraham means believing in all the prophets [rusul] from the first to the last of them, presumably implying that Abraham believed in the prophets, including Muhammad, who would come after him, as well as those who preceded him.<sup>23</sup> Abū al-Āliyah says a “ḥanīf” is one who faces the Ka’bah [al-bayt] in prayer and intends to make pilgrimage to it if the means are available to do so.<sup>24</sup> Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās, claims that the “religion of Abraham, being ḥanīf,” is one who performs the Ḥajj [ḥājj-an].<sup>25</sup> Qatādah states that being like Abraham means witnessing that “there is no god but God,” and being circumcised.<sup>26</sup> It is reported that Ibn Ma’sūd read Q 3:19 not as “religion according to God is Islam” but “religion according to God is being ḥanīf [ḥanīfiyah].”<sup>27</sup>

To Abraham were revealed scriptures [ṣuḥuf], and all prophets after him are from his lineage through his sons Ishmael and Isaac, and grandson Jacob. Q 53:36–37 mentions the “scriptures of Moses and Abraham” and 87:18–19 compares the “scriptures of Abraham and Moses” with the “first scriptures” [al-ṣuḥuf al-ūlā] which exegetes link to the “first scriptures” mentioned in Q 20:133 and the “Psalms of the first ones” [zubur al-awwalīn] from Q 26:196. Ibn Kathīr relates from Sa’īd b. Jubayr and al-Thawrī that these “revealed scriptures” mentioned in Q 56:36–37 refer to all of the commands that were given to Moses and Abraham.<sup>28</sup> This could be an allusion to the rabbinic tradition that Abraham, although he



lived before the revelation of the Torah, was aware and followed all of the 613 commandments. Citing Ibn ‘Abbās and al-Quraḏī, al-Suyūṭī relates that Q 53:37 refers specifically to Abraham obeying God in sacrificing his son after he saw it in a vision.<sup>29</sup> Another explanation, given by Ibn Mardawayh, on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās, is that the verse refers to Abraham following all the tenets [sihām] of Islam without adding anything, and that the verse confirms that only Abraham fulfilled all of the tenets of Islam.<sup>30</sup> According to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Tha‘labī (d. 1035), all prophets after Abraham come from his offspring.<sup>31</sup>

According to other reports, the Quran, or at least parts of it, were revealed to Abraham. Abū al-‘Āliyah claims, from Q 87:14–19, that the entirety of Q 87 was contained in the “first scriptures” revealed to Abraham.<sup>32</sup> Ṭabarī thinks that it refers back only to the preceding four verses (14–17).<sup>33</sup> Suyūṭī relates a portion of the long report given by Abū Dharr in which the prophet Muhammad states that God revealed 104 books – 50 to Seth, 30 to Idris, 10 to Abraham, and 10 to Moses – before the Torah, and he revealed the Torah, the Gospel, the Psalms, and the Quran.<sup>34</sup> The prophet Muhammad concludes by stating that the words contained in Q 87:14–19 were also part of the scriptures of Moses and Abraham. In his commentary on Q 87:18–19, al-Faḏl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarsī (d. 1153) relates the same report from Abū Dharr but listing the scriptures differently: 10 to Adam, 50 to Seth, 30 to Enoch, and 10 to Abraham, followed by the Torah, Gospel, Psalms, and Quran.<sup>35</sup>

That Abraham was the original Muslim, having first performed all the requisite elements and founding the religion of Islam, is developed in the exegesis of other passages such as Q 2:124. “When Abraham’s lord tested him with words [kalimāt] and he completed them. [God] said: ‘I will make you an example [imām] for the people!’ [Abraham] said: ‘What of my offspring?’ [God] said: ‘My covenant does not include those who do wrong!’” In his exegesis of this verse, Ibn Kathīr says that the “words” [kalimāt] refer to the “sharī‘ah” promoting the idea, consistent with the claim that Islam is the “religion of Abraham,” that Abraham had received the tenets of Islamic law from God. Having been tested with and fulfilled the requirements of what would later be elaborated and known as “Islamic law” [sharī‘ah], Abraham is made an “example” [imām-an] for all people to follow.<sup>36</sup>

A report given on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās states that “when Abraham was tested by his lord” refers to purification rituals known from Islamic law: five on the head (trimming the mustache, rinsing the mouth, picking the teeth, sinus flushing, and combing the hair), five on the

body (clipping the nails, shaving the pubic area, circumcision, plucking the armpit hairs, and washing away any traces of feces and urine with water).<sup>37</sup> In another report, ‘Ā’ishah relates that the prophet Muhammad said there are ten practices that constitute the basic religious character [fiṭrah] of people: trimming the mustache, letting the beard grow, picking the teeth, sinus flushing, clipping the nails, washing the knuckles, plucking the armpit hairs, shaving the pubic area, and cleaning excretions with water.<sup>38</sup> According to different versions of a statement attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the “words” by which God tested Abraham refers to all the episodes in the life of Abraham: his discovery of monotheism by observing astral phenomena, surviving the fire into which he was cast by Nimrod, his migration to the Holy Land, circumcision, and the sacrifice of his son.<sup>39</sup>

A frequently cited explanation of the “words” by which God tested Abraham, attributed to Ibn ‘Abbās, is that this phrase refers specifically to the rituals of the Ḥajj [al-manāsik]. According to Mujāhid, the test mentioned in the first part of Q 2:124 is detailed in the rest of verse, including the passages through the end of verse 128: becoming an example for people to follow, making the Ka‘bah a refuge for people, establishing the Muslim community through his lineage, and providing sustenance and safety for its members.<sup>40</sup> Similar statements concerning why Abraham was called the “friend” [al-khalīl] of God and what Abraham “fulfilled” [fa-atamma-hunna] are attributed to the prophet Muhammad by Sahl b. Mu‘ādh b. Anas and Abū Umāmah.<sup>41</sup> The prophecy found in verse Q 2:129 is understood by exegetes as making the prophet Muhammad a kind of “second Abraham,” the final messenger who is sent to remind all humanity to follow the original religion established by the example of Abraham.<sup>42</sup> In Q 2:125 God instructs Abraham and his son Ishmael to build the first Ka‘bah in Mecca for future followers of his religion to make circumambulations, practice ritual seclusion [‘ākifīn], and perform the bowings and prostrations that are integral to Muslim worship.<sup>43</sup>

#### ARAB ABRAHAM

Because of this prominence of Abraham in the Quran and early Muslim exegesis, some modern western scholars have argued that in and around pre-Islamic Mecca a kind of Abraham cult was practiced with which the prophet Muhammad was familiar. In part, these conclusions, consistent with the claims of Muslim scholars who maintain that the prophet

Muhammad revived the original religion of Abraham, are based on the identification of the Arabic term “ḥanīf” with a kind of proto-Abrahamic monotheism.<sup>44</sup> Yet there is no known attestation of the term “ḥanīf” being associated with Abraham before Islam.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, the term does not appear to have been linked to an Abrahamic monotheism before the Quran. In both Jewish and Christian Aramaic, the root “ḥ-n-f” is linked with heretics and pagans.<sup>46</sup> Christian writers of the eighth century CE drew attention to the irony of Muslims applying to themselves and their religion a word meaning “pagans” [ḥanpē].<sup>47</sup> Even later Muslim Arabic texts apply the plural “ḥunafā’” to the Šābi’an pagans of Ḥarrān, and use the term to denote worshippers of stars in biblical times.<sup>48</sup>

Christians living during the lifetime of the prophet Muhammad and encountering Muslims firsthand through the early conquests, seem to have known already of the connection between the new religion and the biblical Abraham. Among the evidence adduced for a pre-Islamic Abrahamic cult is a short passage from the so-called Khuzistan Chronicle. Sometimes attributed to Elias of Marw,<sup>49</sup> this Syriac chronicle covers events from 580 to 650 CE, and is preserved in four manuscripts, the earliest dating to the fourteenth century. Near the end of the chronicle, after attributing to divine intervention the successful conquests of Iran and Rome by the Arabs, the chronicle provides a brief description of some of the major cities of the Arabian peninsula, their link to the Bible, and to Abraham in particular. Sections 54–55 contain the following on something called the “dome of Abraham” [qwbth d-’brhm].

The victory of the Ishmaelites who overcame and subjugated these two kingdoms [Sasanians and Romans] was from God. Indeed, the victory is his. But God has not yet handed Constantinople over to them.

Concerning the dome of Abraham, we could not find anything except for this: Because the blessed Abraham had become rich in property and also wanted to be far from the Canaanites’ envy, he chose to dwell in the vast and distant parts of the desert. As a tent-dweller, he built that place for the worship of God and the offering of sacrifices. Because the memory of the place had been preserved by the clan’s descendants, it took its current name from what it had been. It is not new for the Arabs to worship there. Rather, from their beginning, from long ago, paying honor to the forefather of their people.<sup>50</sup>

It is possible that this “dome” associated with Abraham refers to the Ka’bah in Mecca, but there are reasons to doubt this identification. The author of the chronicle may have mistaken a Syriac transliteration of “Ka’bah” for the Syriac term for “dome” [qūbatah] although the spelling is quite different.

The so-called Ka‘bah of Najrān, built by Ḥārith b. Ka‘b in the second half of the sixth century CE, is described by Yāqūt as being a dome [qubbah].<sup>51</sup> According to Ibn al-Kalbī, the Najrān Ka‘bah had a dome made out of animal hides, suggesting that it was covered like a tent.<sup>52</sup> This has led some to identify the location of the Najrān Ka‘bah at the site of the Martyrdom of Arethas, part of the Church of the Glorious Martyrs and the Glorious Arethas, one of three well-known churches which, along with the Church of the Ascension of Christ and the Church of the Holy Mother of God, is mentioned in the *Vita Sancti Gregentii*.<sup>53</sup> If the Ka‘bah of Najrān is to be identified with the Martyrdom of Arethas, or constructed according to its plan, then it may have resembled other Ethiopian domed churches.<sup>54</sup> That the Ka‘bah in Mecca was also built on the model of a church, and thus may have been, at one time, domed, is suggested by several factors.<sup>55</sup>

A number of other “ka‘bah”-like structures are known from Petra and Madā’in Šāliḥ,<sup>56</sup> both of which, like other sites in the Arabian peninsula such as ‘Ain Jawān, Thāj, al-Kharj, and Aflāq, were known as necropolises.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, the archaeological record appears to show that all the major late antique cult centers of the peninsula and the deserts of Iraq and Syria were tied to funerary rites, and one obvious explanation of the “dome of Abraham” is that it marked the spot where he was believed to have been buried. Ibn al-Kalbī and others mention that people visited Ka‘bahs at other locations in the Ḥijāz and elsewhere within the Arabian peninsula.<sup>58</sup> The temple of the Yād was called “dhū al-ka‘bāt” according to Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī (d. 1094),<sup>59</sup> the ‘Ukāz sanctuary [ḥarām] is supposed to have had something called a Ka‘bah,<sup>60</sup> and Ibn al-Kalbī records that the ‘Iyyāḍ had a structure called the “Ka‘bah of Sindad” in the region between Kūfah and Baṣrah.<sup>61</sup> So-called Jinn blocks in Petra and Madā’in Šāliḥ appear to be solid cubical Ka‘bah-like structures, and the Nabataean Dhū Sharā may have been worshipped at a “ka‘bah” stele or structure.<sup>62</sup> Other ka‘bah-like tombs are known from Jewish and Arab burial sites throughout the Fertile Crescent and Arabian Peninsula.<sup>63</sup>

Regardless of whether the Syriac “dome tent” [qūbatah] can be identified with the Ka‘bah in Mecca or elsewhere, the reference indicates that among the Arabs there were cult practices, including sacrifice, associated with the biblical Abraham. The *Khuzistan Chronicle* itself does not specify the location of this “dome of Abraham” it mentions, and there are reports of rituals linked with Abraham in places other than Mecca, such as Hebron. Especially given its extant redaction in manuscripts no

earlier than the fourteenth century, and given the fact that later Syriac histories often expand on narratives written by earlier authors, it is possible that the Khuzistan Chronicle is repeating later post-Islamic rather than pre-Islamic ideas about a cult site associated with Abraham.

Note, however, that the Syriac word translated as “dome” here is almost identical with the Arabic word used in early Islamic reports about the “domed tents” [qubbah] or a special “red” tent [khubbāʾ] used by the prophet Muhammad, his followers, and others for ritual retreats near the Kaʿbah during Ramaḍān but also retreats in the mountains and near game preserves throughout the Ḥijāz. The Kaʿbah in Mecca is also referred to as a “tent” [qubbah] in the time of both Adam and Abraham. Ibn al-Kalbī says that the dome of the Kaʿbah of Najrān was constructed out of hides, a description that would coincide with the use of the term “qubbah” as a reference to the types of tents used in ritual retreats.<sup>64</sup> Inscriptions and images from Palmyra and other desert oasis cities show the use of portable tent shrines, and the prophet Muhammad’s use of a “tent” [qubbah] made of palm branches recalls the biblical “tabernacle” tent shrine used by the Israelites to house Yahweh in the desert. In ancient Iraq, gods were moved around with portable shrines throughout the countryside so that people could make animal sacrifices without visiting the central temple or sanctuary.

Of course, later Muslim sources want to demonstrate the antiquity of the connection between the biblical Abraham and Arabia. The biblical “Paran” (Gen 21:21) is identified by a number of Muslim geographers as being a place in Arabia. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muqaddasī (d. 991) says “Faran” is a place at the edges of the Ḥijāz where the Red Sea forks into two bodies of water.<sup>65</sup> Yāqūt claims that “Fārān” is an Arabicized Hebrew word that is “one of the names of Mecca mentioned in the Bible.”<sup>66</sup> In his geographical description of the Arabian peninsula, al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Hamadānī (d. 945) identifies “Faran” as the name of the mountains around Mecca, called after Faran b. Amalik, and Wahb b. Munabbih is credited with reporting the tradition that the “hill of Faran” [tal faran] refers to a place just outside Mecca where Hagar and Ishmael were found by the Jurhum who inhabited Mecca at that time.<sup>67</sup> Muslim exegetes interpret “Mount Paran” [har pāran] in Deut. 33:2 as a reference to Mecca, perhaps based upon earlier Jewish exegesis of the passage.<sup>68</sup>

Muslim exegetes construct an “Arab Abraham” in competition and dialogue with the biblical Abraham of Christian and Jewish exegesis – in ways that agree with the image being constructed simultaneously of the

prophet Muhammad, both his life and mission as the reviver of Abrahamic monotheism, and as an Arab king. This enterprise might not best be construed as the result of an unwitting transmission of a garbled Judeo-Christian tradition, but rather as what seems to reflect a conscious attempt to reimagine the biblical Abraham as a means to remember Mecca on the eve of Islam.

Muslim exegesis on Q 6:74–87 and 41:37 explains that Abraham, like the prophet Muhammad, was a pre-Torah, pre-Mosaic monotheist, having discovered the one true God not through revelation of the law but by rational induction through observing nature.<sup>69</sup> The story of his birth and life before emigrating to the holy land is detailed by Muslim exegesis on Q 19:41–50, 21:51–70, 37:83–99, 29:16–27, perhaps in conversation with the post-biblical accounts in Jubilees, the Babylonian Talmud, and rabbinic midrash.<sup>70</sup> This parallels the story of the prophet Muhammad being an orphan, finding the true religion in opposition to the people of Mecca who drive him out for his rejection of idolatry. The more “Arab” nature of Abraham described in the biblical narrative, accords well with the character of Muhammad. Abraham wanders around the desert sojourning in tents, climbing mountains to perform acts of worship and establishing standing places and sacrifice sites. Whether or not they are of biblical or Abrahamic origin, the ritualistic practices associated with “taḥannuf” including the ritual retreat [i’tikāf], circumambulation of the Ka’bah, mountain retreats, and of course animal sacrifice, are all consistent with the biblical and post-biblical image of Abraham. Muslim sources emphasize that Abraham sacrifices a wild animal in place of his son, as is also evident from Abraham’s act of volition in sacrificing a wild ram in Genesis 22:13. Note also that these pre-Islamic “desert” practices accord well with the pastoral Meccan milieu imagined by the exegetes working in the urban setting of medieval cities.

Like the prophet Muhammad, Abraham interacts with and calls to the worship of the one true God the great powers of his time. In Genesis 14:1–16 Abraham avenges the defeat of the five kings at the battle of Siddim. With only 318 men from his household, Abraham defeats the Elamite king Chedorlaomer along with Tidal king of Goyim, Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar. He rescues Lot, takes back all the goods that were pillaged, and frees all the captive people. Abraham (Gen 14:21–24) returns all the people he freed and the goods to the king of Sodom refusing any payment for his service. Muslim sources describe and preserve copies of the letters sent by the prophet Muhammad calling

to Islam the various kings of the great powers around Arabia before sending out his followers against them.<sup>71</sup> The stories of both Abraham and Muhammad open with the defeat of a great king – Nimrod, in his failed attempt to burn Abraham for his rejection of idolatry, and Abrahah's failed attempt to destroy the Ka'bah in the same year that Muhammad is born.

Abraham then (Gen 14:18–20) receives tribute of bread and wine from Melchizedek, the king of Salem and priest of the “High God” [kōhen l-el 'elīyōn]. Melchizedek, who according to rabbinic exegesis and post-biblical pseudepigrapha was Shem the son of Noah, blesses Abraham, confirming the divine origins of his victory, and Abraham offers a tithe.<sup>72</sup> The Negus of Ethiopia is said to have confirmed the truth of Islam, not unlike how Melchizedek recognized Abraham.<sup>73</sup> Based in part upon the association of king David as “a priest forever after the manner of Melchizedek” in Psalm 110:4, rabbinic commentaries identify the “Salem” of Gen 14:18 as Jerusalem and interpret Melchizedek as a kind of proto-priest in the future Jerusalem temple.<sup>74</sup> In Joshua 10:1–3 the king of Jerusalem is called Adoni-Şedeq.<sup>75</sup> The apocalyptic nature of the temple and priesthood is presented in the so-called Melchizedek Document (11Q13);<sup>76</sup> and Melchizedek is said to have passed on to Abraham the priestly robes worn originally by Adam so that he might pass them on to later generations.<sup>77</sup> Muslim scholars relate Abraham to the Ka'bah as the first temple on earth, originally established by Adam and passed into the custodianship of the prophet Muhammad, and link the prophet Muhammad directly to Abraham as the reviver of his religion.

By linking Abraham to the future temple in Jerusalem and the original temple of the Ka'bah in Mecca, Muslim scholars develop a mythology of Abraham as a founder of religion. The invocation made by Abraham in Q 2:126–129 parallels Solomon's inauguration of the temple in Jerusalem in 1 Kings 8:41–43.<sup>78</sup> God's command for Abraham and Ishmael to “purify” [ṭahḥirā] his house in Q 2:125 recalls the common ritual of temple cleansing attested in southern Arabia and throughout the ancient Near East. The Abrahamic and eventually Adamic origins of Mecca and the Ka'bah displace the pagan tradition of Quṣayy b. Kilāb credited with refounding the pilgrimage to Mecca five generations before the prophet Muhammad (fl. fifth century CE).<sup>79</sup> Quṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka'b, the great-grandfather of the prophet Muhammad's great-grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, seems to be modeled after other civilization-founding figures such as Romulus, Theseus, and Heracles.<sup>80</sup> According to accounts

taken from Ibn al-Kalbī in Ibn Sa‘d and Ibn al-Jurayj, Quṣayy’s name (from the root q-ṣ-y, meaning “to go far away”) was because he grew up in Syria far removed from his native home. Upon returning to Mecca, Quṣayy unites the tribes into the Quraysh federation (q-r-y-sh meaning “to combine tribes”), becomes leader of Mecca, and is given the key to the Ka‘bah.<sup>81</sup>

Quṣayy is linked specifically with reestablishing the pilgrimage to Mecca. He rebuilds and expands the Ka‘bah by tripling the height of its walls and providing a ceiling, and adds its covering [kiswā]. He sets up markers demarcating the boundaries of the sanctuary [ḥaram], digs wells including Zamzam, and establishes offices to provide food and water to pilgrims visiting Mecca.<sup>82</sup> Like Abraham and later the prophet Muhammad, Quṣayy replaces the worship of the three deities al-‘Uzzā, Manāf, and Manāt with a cult of the single deity Hubal.<sup>83</sup> The deities were preserved in the names of his sons ‘Abd al-Manāf, ‘Abd Allāh, and ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā. Quṣayy is also credited with establishing or reestablishing the rituals at ‘Arafāt, al-Muzdalifah, and Minā, including the ritual hunt. The “sha‘ā’ir allāh” is said to have been a fire Quṣayy had kindled at al-Muzdalifah where people did a ritual standing with the animals they had driven through the night.<sup>84</sup> Perhaps the association of Quṣayy with hunting was related to his fame as a warrior. Yāqūt reports that al-Muzdalifah was given the name “Wādī al-Nār” because of the fire that was lit there during the rituals, but was also associated with the storm god Quzaḥ.<sup>85</sup>

In his commentary on Q 2:158, al-Ṭabarī claims that it was Abraham who first instituted the rituals of the Islamic pilgrimage that included the circumambulation of the Ka‘bah and the running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwah.<sup>86</sup> Muslim exegesis of Q 2:125–128 more broadly details the Abrahamic etiology for each of the stations and rites [manāsik] that would later constitute the full Islamic Ḥajj, including the course from ‘Arafāt to al-Muzdalifah and Minā.<sup>87</sup> The biblical Abraham builds “slaughter sites” or altars to mark the boundaries of the land his descendants would inherit and to call the local inhabitants of the place to the worship of the one true God. In Genesis 12:7 Abraham builds a “slaughter site to Yahweh” at the “terebinth of Moreh” [elōn mōreh] in Shechem. In Genesis 12:8 he pitches his tent and builds a slaughter site in the mountains east of Bethel, from where he was supposed to be able to see the boundaries of his land. In Genesis 13:18 he builds a slaughter site at the terebinths of Mamrē [elōnē mamrē] near Hebron, the place of a reported Abraham cult in late antiquity. That such a model was consistent with the



erection of sacrifice sites and temples is evident from practices found more widely in the ancient Near East.<sup>88</sup> Rabbinic interpretation of these passages claim that Abraham foresaw the future significance of the sites he marked with slaughter sites, and was taking possession of the land piece by piece.<sup>89</sup>

An exegetical report, given on the authority in Ibn ‘Abbās, explains the Abrahamic origins of the three pillars that mark the place of ritual lapidation near Minā on the final day of the Islamic Ḥajj.<sup>90</sup>

The ram came out of the garden [al-jinnah] where it had been grazing for forty seasons, and Abraham sent his son to follow the ram. He drove it out to the first pillar [al-jamrah al-ūlā] by throwing seven stones but it escaped from him. He then came to the middle pillar [al-jamrah al-wustā] and threw seven stones at it but it escaped from him. He then arrived at the big pillar [al-jamrah al-kubrā] and threw seven stones at it but it escaped from him. Then he took it and went to the place of the sacrifice [al-manḥar] at Minā. The head of the ram was attached by its horns at the waterspout [mizāb] of the Ka‘bah and they were dried.<sup>91</sup>

Other Muslim exegesis of Q 37:107 links the etiology the three pillars and their ritual stoning by later Muslims with the story, familiar from mid-rashic treatments of Genesis 22, of Abraham using stones to drive away Satan.<sup>92</sup> Abraham’s use of the slaughter sites he builds as territorial markers, as well as God’s command for Abraham to “walk the length and width of the land” in Genesis 13:17, parallel the tradition that it was Abraham who walked and marked with standing stones the boundaries of the Meccan sanctuary [ḥaram].<sup>93</sup> According to traditions reported on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās and Mujāhid, often cited in connection with Q 22:26–33, Abraham called all the earth to make pilgrimage to the Ka‘bah from one or more of the mountains in and around Mecca: Abū Qubays, Thabīr, al-Ṣafā, or between two of the largest mountains of Mecca.<sup>94</sup> Yāqūt preserves traditions that the three mountains of Mecca – Ḥirā’, Thawr, and Thabīr – and the three mountains of Medina – Uḥud, Wariqān, and Ra‘wā – were all splintered off from one mountain on the “day of Moses.”<sup>95</sup>

The animal said to have been sacrificed by Abraham in place of his son is also used to provide a biblical context for the sacrifice itself and for the act taking place near Mecca. Muslim exegesis of Q 37:107 states that the “wild goat” or “wild mountain goat” sacrificed by Abraham came down from the herd of she goats that were on Mount Thabīr.<sup>96</sup> These reports, given on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās and al-Ḥasan, are repeated in al-Ṭabarī, al-Tha‘labī, al-Ṭabarsī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Kathīr and others.<sup>97</sup> Some reports identifying the animal with the biblical

“ram” [kabash] still claim that it came down from mount Thabīr to Abraham at Minā.<sup>98</sup> That the sacrificial victim would be identified as a “mountain goat” coming down from the wilds of mount Thabīr rather than a ram from heaven might indicate an attempt to link Abraham’s sacrifice with the “scapegoat” of Leviticus 16 sent into the wild bearing the sins of the Israelites. Consistent with this tradition but distinguishing Abraham’s sacrifice from that of the Israelites, ‘Alī b. Ḥamzah al-Kisā’ī (d. 804) reports that Abraham preferred his victim to the sacrifice of a fat bull, the sacrifice for Aaron (Leviticus 16:6, 11, 27) and the victim associated with Israelite sacrifice in Q 2:67–73.<sup>99</sup> A report cited by al-Ṭabarī and given on the authority of Mujāhid claims that Abraham’s sacrifice was a lamb, suggesting a link between the Christian symbolism of Jesus as substitute redemptive victim and the animal sent down to Abraham.<sup>100</sup> Islamic law, based on the exegesis of the “guided” animal [hady] mentioned in Q 2:196, 5:2, 95–96, and 48:25,<sup>101</sup> establishes a hierarchy of sacrificial victims based on Q 6:143, indicating that the goat is to substitute for the sheep as the sheep for the bovine and the bovine for the camel.<sup>102</sup>

Other Muslim exegesis accords more closely with Jewish and Christian interpretations of the ram [ayl] from Genesis 22:13. In his *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*, al-Tha’labī cites Sa’id b. Jubayr and others transmitting a story from Ibn ‘Abbās. The ram came to Abraham from the garden of Eden [jinnah] where it had been kept by God for “forty seasons.” It was the ram that Abel the son of Adam had sacrificed, received by God as an offering from him and then sent to redeem Abraham’s son. The head of the ram was hung by its horns at the Ka’bah in Mecca.<sup>103</sup> Ibn Sa’d repeats that the ram offered by Abraham in place of his son was the one sacrificed by Abel and kept by God in heaven for “forty seasons” until it redeemed Abraham’s son.<sup>104</sup> Ibn Kathīr, in his exegesis of Q 5:27, relates a similar tradition from al-Ṭabarī given on the authority of Ismā’īl b. Rāfi’ al-Qā’i.<sup>105</sup> Muslim exegesis is consonant with rabbinic tradition in which it is claimed that this special ram is created in the first days of creation before the first Sabbath as one of ten things designed for a specific purpose in the world.<sup>106</sup> That this took place on the mountains near Mecca is demonstrated by a report cited by Ibn Kathīr on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās.

The rock which was at Minā was the root of Mount Thabīr. It was the rock on which Abraham sacrificed and redeemed his son. The ram came down from Thabīr white-eyed and horned. The ram he sacrificed was the one that Adam’s son had offered. It had been stored [makhzān-an] until it redeemed Isaac.<sup>107</sup>

Another version of the story, given on the authority of Sa'īd b. Jubayr, states that the ram had grazed in heaven until Mount Thabīr split open revealing the animal to Abraham.<sup>108</sup> A report related by Sufyān al-Thawrī on the authority of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and another on the authority of Abū al-Ṭufayl state that the ram had been tied to a Samrah tree on Mount Thabīr.<sup>109</sup>

Some Muslim exegetes interpret Q 5:29 to mean that Abel is to bear the sins of Cain, that his death could function to redeem Abel just as the special ram sacrificed by Abel redeemed Abraham's son.<sup>110</sup> In his commentary on Q 37:107, Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ṭabaṭābā'ī says that the reason Abraham's sacrifice is called "great" [dhibh-in 'azīm-in] is because it was through Abel's sacrifice that Abraham's son and thus his descendants were redeemed. Not unlike the Christian interpretation of Abel as prefiguring Christ, Muslim exegesis links the prophet Muhammad's camel sacrifice with that of Abel through Abraham. Abel, like Christ, is a "seed in the earth that will be raised."<sup>111</sup> Ibn Kathīr further emphasizes the expiatory value of the ram sacrificed by Abraham, making an explicit association between the substitute animal as redemption of the son and the intercession of prophets on the day of judgment at the end of time.<sup>112</sup> He supplies a long discussion of how the ram redeems the son just as each of the prophets intercedes on behalf of their communities following his citation of the ḥadīth report, given on the authority of Abū Hurayrah.<sup>113</sup> Muslim exegesis of Q 5:28, aligned with rabbinic commentaries on the story, emphasize that Abel, although stronger than Cain, did not resist, and that his death would redeem future generations.<sup>114</sup> The connection between the prophet Muhammad and Abraham is strengthened again by a report given on the authority of Mujāhid linking the sacrificial victim of Q 37:107 to the claim in Q 3:95 that Islam is the religion of Abraham.<sup>115</sup>

The events of the story of Cain and Abel, narrated by Muslim exegetes from Q 5:27–31, are said to have taken place in the mountains outside Mecca.<sup>116</sup> A report given on the authority of al-Ḍaḥḥāk states that when Cain killed Abel, Adam was nearby in Mecca, watering the trees, tending to the fruit, and tilling the earth. Tha'labī adds that, despite knowing the biblical tradition that it was the "land of Nōd" where Cain was banished, some Muslim exegetes claim that the killing took place at the foot of Mount Hirā' near Mecca.<sup>117</sup> Ṭabarī, in his history, reports the same thing, that Cain killed Abel on the mountain slope of Hirā' before fleeing to Yemen with his sister Qalimah.<sup>118</sup> Christian sources similarly narrate how the descendants of Cain indulged in a hedonistic lifestyle at the foot of a mountain on which dwelt the righteous descendants of Seth near

Eden.<sup>119</sup> Other Muslim sources refer to the mountain as the origin of fire, perhaps alluding to the fire of Quzah on the mountain near al-Muzdalifah.<sup>120</sup>

It is important to note the context in which Muslim sources claim that the verses about Cain, and their exegetical linkage of them to the religion of Abraham, were revealed to the prophet Muhammad. In his commentary on Q 5:27, al-Ṭabarī preserves reports that God told the prophet Muhammad to remind his Jewish opponents of the story of Cain and Abel. The story was meant to warn them of how God punishes the wicked. According to Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 767), it was the Quraysh who opposed Islam against whom the verses were directed, indicating the tension between the pagan character of the Ka‘bah and access to it by monotheist worshippers, such as the ḥanīfs, who practiced ritual seclusion on the mountains outside the city. Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1143) cites traditions that the story was intended to compare Cain to the pagans of Mecca and the People of the Book [ahl al-kitāb] who denied Muhammad’s claims to be a prophet.<sup>121</sup> ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Ghālib Ibn ‘Aṭīyah (d. 1075) says Q 5:27 was revealed as proof of the prophethood of Muhammad to the scholars of the “first book” who questioned his authority. Like Q 3:65–68 and 2:130–140, the revelation of Q 5:27–32 challenges Jews and Christians to recognize Islam as the religion of Abraham.<sup>122</sup>

#### ABRAHAM AS PASTORAL CULTURE HERO

Muslim exegesis emphasizes that God’s choice to accept Abel’s offering and give it back to Abraham to sacrifice in place of his son indicates divine favor for a pastoral culture over the settled agrarian economy of Cain and his descendants. In their *Rasā’il*, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ explain that cats and dogs were domesticated when Abel was murdered by Cain. The two sets of descendants of Cain and of Abel fought against one another, Cain’s descendants killing all the livestock of Abel’s descendants (sheep, cattle, camels, horses). The descendants of Cain ate the meat of these animals and the pile of carcasses attracted wild dogs and cats, which, having remained close to humans for so long, became domesticated.<sup>123</sup> According to a report given on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih, Adam taught his son Abel, before he was killed by Cain, about how to domesticate and care for camels, secrets of pastoral culture that were only revealed to Eve after the death of Abel.<sup>124</sup> Adam’s tending of the plants in Mecca was meant to maintain the natural reserves of the sanctuary, not to

promote an agrarian existence. Arab lexicographers preserve a tradition that the name “Cain” [Hābīl] is derived from the root H-B-L, meaning “to domesticate camels.”<sup>125</sup> That the pastoralism of Abel rather than the settled, agricultural culture of Cain was favored by God is indicated also by the transmission of these secrets to Seth and the destruction of the line of Abel in the flood at the time of Noah. Tha‘labī says that the descendants of Cain drank wine, practiced sexual immorality, and worshipped fire and idols until God drowned them all, leaving only the line of Seth.<sup>126</sup> A report given on the authority of Ismā‘īl b. Rāfi‘ states that Abel offered, along with the ram, yoghurt and milk from his herd animals, and that the fire of God consumed it all but left the agricultural produce offered by Cain.<sup>127</sup>

Abraham is portrayed as a pastoral culture hero.<sup>128</sup> Like Cain, Abraham is born and raised in unusual circumstances. The Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer claims that it was because Eve saw that Cain was divine when she gave birth to him that she said: “I have gotten a man from Yahweh” (Gen 4:1).<sup>129</sup> She had been impregnated by the devil Samael, and his offspring which, according to al-Kisā‘ī, was the giant Og [‘Ūj].<sup>130</sup> Genesis 4:15 states that God gave Cain a special “sign” [‘ōt], which many exegetes interpret as being a horn, that marked him as a divine being.<sup>131</sup> The Syriac exegete Philoxenos of Mabbug (d. 523) states that the sign kept him from being drowned, harmed, or killed by any animal.<sup>132</sup> The offspring of Abraham are all the prophets, culminating in Muhammad. Muslim sources, referring to Q 6:74–87 and 41:37, describe the miraculous birth of Abraham. In terms closely parallel to the descriptions of the birth of Jesus and Moses, a tradition attributed to Ibn Ishāq claims that Abraham escaped being killed by Nimrod, who had ordered the death of all baby boys after being told by his astrologers that a baby would be born to overthrow his religion. Abraham’s mother hid him in a cave where he grew to the age of reason in just fifteen months, sucking sustenance from his thumb.<sup>133</sup>

Both Cain and Abraham engage in the mythical practice of cattle raiding and wife stealing. But the results for each are different. Cain competes with his brother Abel over livestock and women. According to al-Suyūṭī, the sacrifice each brother brought was a contest over which sister each brother would marry. Cain took his brother’s wife, and stole all the herd animals from his brother’s family. Cain was no longer able to grow crops or farm, so he had to resort to hunting. He established a religion based on fire and idol worship, and eventually was killed by one of his descendants on orders from his blind father, and Cain is responsible for reptiles and wild beasts created to punish him and other unjust

people.<sup>134</sup> In his exegesis of Q 5:27, Abū al-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201) claims that Cain was the first to institutionalize killing.<sup>135</sup> Cain builds the first cities in the world.<sup>136</sup> According to Josephus, Cain was the first to invent measures and weights, fortifications and property boundaries, and to employ robbery and violence to obtain wealth. The three sons of his descendent Lamech invented the various arts of civilization: weapons and war, music and wild orgies, shiny metals along with idolatry and temples. All of his descendants (with the exception of his son Og who is only killed later by Moses) are drowned in the great Flood at the time of Noah.<sup>137</sup>

The story of Abraham is also linked to the stealing of wives and cattle raiding. Abraham’s wife is taken from him twice. First in Genesis 12:10–20 by the pharaoh in Egypt, and again by Abimelech in Genesis 20:1–17. Muslim exegetes acknowledge that Abraham lied only three times: once when denying his role in destroying the idols of his people, and when claiming his wife was his sister two separate times to two different kings.<sup>138</sup> With God’s help, Abraham rescues his wife from the two kings. In Genesis 12:16 Abraham acquires sheep and oxen, asses, slaves, and camels from Pharaoh, and Genesis 13:2 states that he had become heavily laden with cattle, silver, and gold. He returns to his land with his wife and animals, ending the famine. In Genesis 20:14, the Philistine king Abimelech gives Abraham sheep, oxen, and slaves, and returns his wife, who herself receives 1,000 pieces of silver. Abimelech and his wife, and all their female slaves, give birth upon Abraham’s departure, and in Genesis 21:1–3 Sarah gives birth to Isaac after being barren for her whole life. Both accounts display the mythic cycle of stolen and retrieved fertility.<sup>139</sup>

Both Abraham and Cain are associated with hunting. Cain is the first hunter, forced to become one after raiding all the livestock of his brother’s family.<sup>140</sup> Cain himself is hunted. He fears that the wild animals will hunt him, and is killed by one of his ancestors when he is mistaken for a wild animal because of the very horn that was meant to protect him from becoming the quarry of wild animals. Abraham substitutes a wild ram for the sacrifice of his son. His grandson Jacob performs a ritual hunt for his father Isaac, and to cheat his brother Esau out of his father’s blessing. The story of his great-grandson Joseph likewise revolves around his supposedly being killed by a wolf, ironically the blood of which is faked by killing a lamb. In these stories of Abraham and his line, wild animals seem to serve as a substitute for people, whereas in the story of Cain, it is Cain himself who substitutes for the wild animal.<sup>141</sup>

Note that in both of the accounts of Abraham's losing his wife, his acquisition of livestock and slaves is portrayed as a kind of tithe from the king to the God whom Abraham represents. Ritualized cattle raiding and wife stealing among Indo-European peoples was intended not to steal but to "recover" what was unjustly taken from the community, as the warrior-hero in the myth rescues fertility from the tyrannical monster.<sup>142</sup> The myth is a kind of charter legitimating the future raiding of cattle and stealing of wives, but Cain has unjustly stolen and wantonly consumed his brother's livestock after God causes his farming not to produce food. Among the Dinka and other peoples of south Sudan, the practice of cattle raiding is an initiatory rite by which a boy proves he is capable of recovering his tribe's fertility by bringing back cattle with which to purchase women.<sup>143</sup> The steer, a symbol of fertility, wealth, bride-price, masculinity and divinity, is for the Dinka people what the camel was for the pastoral Arab culture of early Islamic Arabia.<sup>144</sup>

Muslim sources, alluding to Abraham as a pastoral culture hero, further portray the prophet Muhammad's raids in terms not unlike those of the more widespread cattle-raiding and wife-stealing myths.<sup>145</sup> The prophet Muhammad, and his followers under his authority, are said to have engaged in almost a hundred raids over a period of ten years, beginning with the expedition of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib within the first year after the Hijrah to Medina.<sup>146</sup> That the Muslim accounts of these raids was, at least in part, influenced by a conception of Muhammad as a type of pastoral culture hero consonant with biblical and other pre-Islamic legendary models, is evident from the reported results of the raids.<sup>147</sup> In the aftermath of the battles at Ḥunayn and al-Ṭā'if, for example, Ibn Ishāq reports that the prophet Muhammad held "6,000 women and children prisoner," and "had captured more sheep and camels than could be counted."<sup>148</sup>

Paralleling themes from the stories of Abraham, the excursions of the prophet Muhammad and his followers recover both livestock (camels and sheep) and people, silver and other precious goods, and spread true religion while destroying idolatry. Many of the raids resulted in the acquisition of camels and sheep that were then distributed among the Muslim community. In the expedition against the Ghaṭafān at Dhū Qaraḍ, for example, the prophet Muhammad and his followers recover twenty milk-camels and the wife of their shepherd that had been abducted from Medina, and the prophet Muhammad sacrifices one of the camels at the location of the victory.<sup>149</sup> Exegesis of Q 59:66–67 explains how, after the surrender of the Jews at Fadak, the prophet Muhammad distributed

their belongings to orphans, to support the marriages of poor men, to support his own family, and to buy weapons and armor for the Muslim community.<sup>150</sup> According to Ibn Sa'd, the expedition of Muḥammad b. Maslamah against al-Qurāṭah resulted in the Muslims obtaining 150 camels and 3,000 goats.<sup>151</sup> Ṭabarī records that 30 Muslims led by 'Ukāshah b. Muḥṣan routed the Banī Asad and returned 200 camels to Medina. The attack led by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib against the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr at Fadak captured 500 camels and 2,000 goats.<sup>152</sup> During the raid on a Quraysh caravan at Qarādah, the Muslims captured 100,000 dirhems-worth of silver and other goods.<sup>153</sup>

The capture of people, as ransom, as slaves, and as wives, is also an important feature used to characterize the raids. According to Ibn Sa'd, the prophet Muhammad is reported to have ransomed Ukaydir, after he had been captured and brought to Medina from Dūmat al-Jandal by Khālīd b. al-Walīd, for 2,000 camels, 800 sheep, 400 suits of armor, and 400 lances.<sup>154</sup> During the raid at the well of al-Muraysī' the Muslims captured 200 families, 200 camels, and 5,000 sheep as well as other valuables.<sup>155</sup> Muslim exegesis on Q 5:111 and 4:101 explains that the prophet Muhammad instituted the "fear prayer" because he was afraid that the Ghaṭafān would attack to recover their women which they had left behind when they fled from the Muslims.<sup>156</sup> After the Battle of the Trench, the prophet Muhammad is said to have taken one of the Jewish women, Rayhana, as part of his booty. Some sources claim that he freed her by marrying her, while others claim that she remained his slave, or that she originally remained his slave but later converted, was thus freed, and married Muhammad.<sup>157</sup> In another case, the prophet Muhammad ordered one of his followers to marry and bring back to Medina the daughter of the Christian tribal chief al-Asbagh who had agreed to submit to pay the poll tax [jizya] to the Muslims.<sup>158</sup>

The acquisition of wives and concubines by the prophet Muhammad, for himself and his followers, was often the result of his raids.<sup>159</sup> Juwayriyah bt. al-Ḥārith al-Muṣṭaliq was captured along with others from the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, including her father al-Ḥārith b. Abī Dirār, at the well of al-Muraysī'. She had been enslaved to Thābit b. Qays after the raid, but was then married to Muhammad and in exchange at their wedding he released 100 of her tribe.<sup>160</sup> After receiving a delegation from the prophet Muhammad, Muqawqis, the Christian governor of Alexandria under the Sasanians, sent two women as slaves to Muhammad along with a mule, a donkey, a eunuch, and clothing. Muhammad had a son with one of the two slave girls, Māriyah bt.



Sham‘ūn, also known as “al-Qibtīyah,” whom he either kept as a concubine or married. Ṣafīyah bt. Ḥuyayy was captured, at the age of seventeen, during the raid on the Jewish tribe of al-Naḍīr at Khaybar. The prophet Muhammad is reported to have claimed her as his slave after redeeming her from Diḥya b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī, to whom she was originally assigned as spoil for seven cows, condemned Kināna her former husband to death when he refused to relinquish the Banū al-Naḍīr spoils, and then married her before returning to Medina. Rayḥāna bt. Zayd, also of the al-Naḍīr tribe, was captured, enslaved, and assigned to the prophet Muhammad. He either kept her as a slave or married her after she converted to Islam.<sup>161</sup> Another slave acquired by Muhammad from the defeated Banū Qurayẓa was Tukanah al-Qurayẓīyah.<sup>162</sup> Khawlah bt. Hudhayl and Sharāf bt. Khalīfah were supposed to be married by Muhammad to seal an alliance between him and the Christian Banū Taghlib but Khawlah died before she reached Medina and Sharāf either died or Muhammad refused to marry her.<sup>163</sup> Mulaikah bt. Ka‘b was given to Muhammad as a wife to appease him for having resisted his conquest of Mecca, but she divorced him after discovering that he had killed her father.

Other wives were widows of Muhammad’s followers who had died before the conquest of Mecca or were killed in battle. Ḥafṣa bt. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was married to Muhammad after her husband Khumays b. Ḥudhāfah was killed during the battle at Badr. Zaynab bt. al-Khuzayma was also married to Muhammad after her second husband, ‘Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith, was killed at Badr. Umm Salama bt. al-Mughīrah was married to the prophet Muhammad after her husband Abū Salama died from a wound he received at the battle of Uḥud leading the raid against the Banū Asad b. Khuzaymah tribe at Qatan. Ibn ‘Abbās is reported to have said that Sawdah bt. Zam‘ah, when she was still married to her first husband al-Sakrān b. ‘Amr, had several dreams which were he interpreted to mean that he would die and she would be married to the prophet Muhammad.<sup>164</sup> Ramlah Umm Ḥabībah bt. Abī Sufyān was likewise married to Muhammad after her husband, ‘Ubaydallāh b. Jaḥsh, died in Ethiopia; he emigrated there with his wife and other Muslims but then converted to Christianity and stayed until his death. Her father, Abū Sufyān, was one of the chief leaders of the resistance to Muhammad at Mecca.

Like the biblical Abraham, the prophet Muhammad is also credited with threatening and engaging in battle to spread the true religion of Islam and destroy idolatry. In a number of cases, Muslim sources claim that the prophet Muhammad released captives who converted to Islam.

For example, during the second raid on the Banū Tha‘labah, a man was captured and enslaved but was freed by the prophet Muhammad when he became a Muslim.<sup>165</sup> A woman from the tribe of Muzaynah who had been captured by the Muslims was set free when she helped the Muslims engage the Banū Salīm at al-Jumūm. The rest of the Banū Muzaynah converted to Islam and contributed fighters to a number of expeditions, including Badr, Uḥud, Ḥudaybiyah, Khaybar, and Ḥunayn.<sup>166</sup> Bilāl b. Rabāḥ was ransomed by the prophet Muhammad from his Meccan owner Umayyah b. Khalāf, and later served as treasurer of the Muslim community at Medina and fought in the battle of Badr.<sup>167</sup> The prophet Muhammad dispatched special expeditions to destroy idols and their sanctuaries, among them al-‘Uzzā at Nakhlah, Manāt at al-Mashallal, Yaghūth at Dhū al-Kafayn, al-Lāt at al-Ṭā‘if, Wadd at Dūmat al-Jandal, and Dhū al-Khalaṣah, also known as the Ka‘bah of Yemen [al-ka‘bah al-Yamanīyah] at Tabālah in the ‘Asīr.<sup>168</sup> Enemies who accepted Islam, or agreed to pay the poll tax [jizyā’] were spared.

#### CONCLUSIONS

According to al-Ḥalabī, when the prophet Muhammad performed the camel sacrifice at the conclusion of his Ḥajj he designated “all of Minā” and the “passes of Mecca” as a “place of sacrifice” [manḥar].<sup>169</sup> The word for “place of sacrifice” is a “noun of place” [ism al-makān] and parallels the Hebrew word usually translated as “altar” in the Bible [mazbēaḥ].<sup>170</sup> Variants of the prophet Muhammad’s designation of the place of sacrifice are preserved by Ibn Mājah and Abū Dā‘ūd on the authority of Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh and Abū Hurayrah.<sup>171</sup> Mālik b. Anas reports that the prophet Muhammad designated all of Minā and the passes of Mecca as a place of sacrifice for the Ḥajj, and Marwah as a “place of sacrifice” when he performed the ‘Umrah in Mecca.<sup>172</sup> The prophet Muhammad’s statement is usually taken as a practical guide for accommodating the large number of simultaneous slaughterings of animals by multiple butchers in the vicinity of Minā at the conclusion of the annual Ḥajj.<sup>173</sup>

Marking a particular location for sacrifice is commonly tied to the setting up of altars and establishing temples in the ancient Near East but also in the ancient world more broadly.<sup>174</sup> The depositing of carcasses alongside other items such as figurines, nails, and weapons in the foundations of temples indicates that animal sacrifice was performed in dedication or purification rituals.<sup>175</sup> Wild animals, perhaps hunted by the king responsible for their sacrifice and the erection of the temple, are not uncommon but domesticated herd animals such as cattle and sheep are

also found.<sup>176</sup> Excavations of the White Temple at Uruk revealed a special compartment in the lowest course of brickwork in the eastern corner of the foundations containing the remains of a leopard and young lion.<sup>177</sup> An inscription refers to the placing of a young lion and young leopard in a temple.<sup>178</sup> A gazelle was found buried under the same temple, and an inscription at the Palace of Nimrod refers to “two gazelles to consecrate the house, for Annabu, daughter of the king.”<sup>179</sup> At Çatal Hüyük animal parts, especially cattle horns but also sheep horns and skulls as well as jawbones of carnivores are incorporated into the foundations and structure of buildings.<sup>180</sup>

The use of animal parts – including the disposal of the unused portions of the carcasses such as bones, ashes, certain limbs, and offal – to designate sanctuaries as places of sacrifice is widespread.<sup>181</sup> The altar itself symbolized an animal, its top horned, and the spilled blood tossed or sprinkled at its “feet” (the base) during the sacrifice.<sup>182</sup> Cain and Abel’s bodies also share in this symbolism – the blood of Abel being splattered on rocks and drunk by the earth, his body first left in the fields, then being carried around on Cain’s back, and finally buried, with the result that Cain’s head becomes horned. Sergeant reports seeing horns attached to pillars in southern Arabia; these are used on buildings, especially temples, throughout Arabia and the Near East, and Muslim sources claim that the horns from the wild ram sacrificed by Abraham at Minā were hung on the Ka’bah into early Islamic times.<sup>183</sup> Horns symbolized divinity, and as such were incorporated into Mycenaean iconography to represent altars, especially those dedicated to the sacrifice of hunted animals.<sup>184</sup>

In modern times, the annual Hajj results in more than a million carcasses of sheep and 10,000 cows and camels requiring the use of approximately 40,000 workers, including more than 16,000 butchers, hundreds of veterinarians and “religious experts,” and cargo jets to fly the frozen meat to more than two dozen countries. The blood from the sheep alone, estimated at roughly six million liters in modern times, as well as the inedible portions of the animals besides the skins, which can be tanned, are buried or recycled into fertilizer. In premodern times, thousands of carcasses and tens of thousands of liters of blood had to be buried at the location. Passages such as Leviticus 17 prescribe specific rituals for the disposal of animal remains, including their blood, that were not burnt as an offering to Yahweh.<sup>185</sup> Excavations from Kheshiya in southern Arabia show examples of 40–50 cattle skulls, perhaps produced by sacrifices, being used to form circular shrines, and among the Nuer cattle bones were made into “walls” to protect the community from external enemies.<sup>186</sup> Mongol horse sacrifices involved impaling the

animal over a human tomb. The skin of the horse, with its head still attached, was raised on a pole to mark the grave of a dead warrior.<sup>187</sup>

In addition to his erection of altars at Hebron, Shechem, and the mountain east of Bethel, Abraham is credited with laying the foundations for the future temple of Solomon in Jerusalem with the sacrifice of the ram in place of his son. Jewish and Christian tradition regards the “place” [maqōm] mentioned in Genesis 22:4 as being a site in Jerusalem, usually identified with the rock housed under the Dome of the Rock. Muslim tradition, of course, claims that Abraham performed the sacrifice at Minā in conjunction with establishing the Ka’bah and instituting the Ḥajj. Although it was later taken to be a specific location just to the south of the Ka’bah, Muslim exegesis on Q 2:125 preserves early traditions that the “place of Abraham” [maqām Ibrāhīm] refers to the Ḥajj as a whole, including all the stations of the pilgrimage and the entire area of the sanctuary [ḥaram] itself.<sup>188</sup> The prophet Muhammad is reported to have taken the “maqām Ibrāhīm” as his direction of prayer [qiblah].<sup>189</sup> The text of Jubilees 22:24 refers to Solomon’s temple in Jerusalem as the “house of Abraham,” but Muslim exegesis on the “great sacrifice” in Q 37:107 cites Mujāhid as saying that the “house of Abraham” refers to Mecca, the place of Abraham’s sacrifice for the founding of the Ka’bah and calling the Ḥajj.<sup>190</sup>

As a follower, successor, and imitator of Abraham, the prophet Muhammad is portrayed by Muslim sources as the ideal Near Eastern king.<sup>191</sup> Kings conquer territory and build cities, engaging in war and displaying their martial prowess in ritual hunts. But they also demarcate and protect the boundaries of the land,<sup>192</sup> over which they are a custodian for God.<sup>193</sup> Kings build temples,<sup>194</sup> and are responsible for distributing God’s bounty to his people from the altar at the entrance to his house. The king’s acquisition of resources illustrates the fertility of the land he administers for God and demonstrates the pleasure of God with the king’s administration. Indeed, the king is the instrument of God. He is the land, and ultimately it is his body itself that feeds and sustains God’s people.

#### NOTES

- 1 Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Robert Hussey (Oxford, 1860), 2, 4. Günther Christian Hansen, *Sozomenos: Historia ecclesiastica* (Turnhout, 2004), 217–218.
- 2 On the earliest cult at the site and its relation to the Bible, see E. G. H. Kraeling, “The Early Cult of Hebron and Judg. 16:1–3,” *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 41 (1925): 174–178.

- 3 See the argument in Guy G. Stroumsa, "From Abraham's Religion to the Abrahamic Religions," *Historia Religionum* 3 (2011): 11–22; Guy G. Stroumsa, *Religions d'Abraham: Histoires croisées* (Geneva, 2017).
- 4 See Jon Levenson, *Inheriting Abraham: The Legacy of the Patriarch in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton, NJ, 2012), esp. 3–4.
- 5 On this, see J. Hoffmeier, "The Wives' Tales of Genesis 12, 20, and 26 and the Covenants at Beer-Sheba," *Tyndale Bulletin* 43 (1992): 81–100; D. L. Petersen, "A Thrice-Told Tale: Genre, Theme, and Motif," *Biblical Research* 20 (1975): 30–43.
- 6 See the critical edition of *PRE* by M. Higger, "Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer," *Horeb* 8 (1944): 82–119; 9 (1946/1947): 94–166; 10 (1948): 185–294. For an English translation, see *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer: The Chapters of Eliezer the Great*, trans. Gerald Friedlander (London, 1916).
- 7 See the Book of Jasher, chapter 9 and the sources cited in Louis Ginzburg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, PA, 1909–1938; reprint, Baltimore, MD, 1998).
- 8 See Midrash Rabbah on Genesis 79:7, 92:4, 95:2 in *Genesis Rabbah: The Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis*, trans. Jacob Neusner (Providence, RI, 1985); Babylonian Talmud, Yevamot 21 in *The Babylonian Talmud*, trans. Jacob Neusner (Peabody, MA, 2011).
- 9 See Rashi on Genesis; Nahmanides on Genesis 18:8. Both taken from the *Miqraot Gedolot*.
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- 11 See Joshua Paul Dale, "Intact or Cut? Castration and the Phallus in the New Gender Politics," *Japanese Journal of American Studies* 17 (2006): 233–244; Jack Collins, "Appropriation and Development of Castration as Symbol and Practice in Early Christianity," in *Castration and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Larissa Tracy (Cambridge, 2013), 73–86.
- 12 On Abraham as model for Islam, see Tilman Nagel, "'Der erste Muslim': Abraham in Mekka," in "*Abraham, unser Vater*": *Die gemeinsamen Wurzeln von Judentum, Christentum und Islam*, ed. Reinhard G. Kratz and Tilman Nagel (Göttingen, 2003), 233–249. For an overview of western scholarly reconstructions of the association of Abraham with Islam's origins based on

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- 13 See John Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven, CT, 1975); Thomas Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives: The Quest for the Historical Abraham* (Berlin, 1974).
- 14 On the language of covenant, see Angelika Neuwirth, “The House of Abraham and the House of Amram: Genealogy, Patriarchal Authority, and Exegetical Professionalism,” in *The Qur’an in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur’anic Milieu*, ed. Angelika Neuwirth and others (Leiden, 2010), 499–532, esp. 501.
- 15 For a general overview of Abraham in the Quran and Muslim exegesis, see Martin Bauschke, *Der Spiegel des Propheten: Abraham im Koran und im Islam* (Frankfurt, 2008); Shari L. Lowin, *The Making of a Forefather: Abraham in Islamic and Jewish Exegetical Narratives* (Leiden, 2006); Youakim Moubarac, *Abraham dans le Coran: l’histoire d’Abraham dans le Coran et la naissance de l’Islam; étude critique des textes coraniques suivie d’un essai sur la représentation qu’ils donnent de la religion et de l’histoire* (Paris, 1958). For a helpful overview of this question, see Reuven Firestone, “Abraham: The First Jew or the First Muslim? Text, Tradition, and ‘Truth’ in Interreligious Dialogue,” *Journal of the Central Conference of American Rabbis* 39 (1992): 17–28.
- 16 On this, see Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism* (Princeton, NJ, 2014), 101–132.
- 17 See Neuwirth, “The House of Abraham and the House of Amram,” esp. 501–503.
- 18 For a critique of this position, see Hans Zirker, *Islam. Theologische und gesellschaftliche Herausforderungen* (Düsseldorf, 1993), esp. 87, cited in H. Busse, “Ibrāhīm,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v.
- 19 On the term, see Rubin, “Ḥanifiyya and the Ka’ba,” 85–112; Andrew Rippin, “RHMNN and the Ḥanīf,” in *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams*, ed. W. B. Hallaq and D. P. Little (Leiden, 1991), 153–168. For older scholarship, see N. A. Faris and H. W. Glidden, “The Development of the Meaning of the Koranic Ḥanīf,” *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 19 (1939): 1–13 [= *Abḥāth* 13 (1960): 25–42].
- 20 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘aẓīm*, on Q 2:135.
- 21 See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi’ al-bayān fī ta’wīl al-Qur’ān*, on Q 2:135.
- 22 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-nabawīyah*, 143, 147; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:287.
- 23 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘aẓīm*, on Q 2:135.
- 24 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘aẓīm*, on Q 2:135.
- 25 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘aẓīm*, on Q 2:135.
- 26 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-‘aẓīm*, on Q 2:135. On the statement of Qatādah, compare al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi’ al-bayān fī ta’wīl al-Qur’ān*, on Q 2:135;

- Abū 'Ubaydah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā al-Taymī, *Majāz al-Qur'ān*, ed. Fuat Sezgin (Beirut, 1981), 1:58; Lane, s.v. "ḥanīf," where pagans falsely claiming to follow the religion of Abraham do only the pilgrimage and circumcision.
- 27 See Arthur Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān* (Leiden, 1937), 32 on Q 3:19, cited in W. M. Watt, "Ḥanīf," in *The Encyclopaedia of the Quran*, 2nd ed.
- 28 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 56:36–37.
- 29 See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, on Q 53:37.
- 30 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 56:36–37.
- 31 See al-Tha'labī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, 100–102.
- 32 See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, on Q 87:14–19; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, on Q 87:14–19.
- 33 See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, on Q 87:14–19.
- 34 See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, on Q 87:14–19.
- 35 See al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Beirut, 1997).
- 36 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 2:124.
- 37 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 2:124.
- 38 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 2:124.
- 39 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 2:124.
- 40 See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, on Q 2:124.
- 41 See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, on Q 2:124.
- 42 See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, on Q 2:129; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 2:129.
- 43 See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, on Q 2:125; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 2:125.
- 44 Rubin, "Hanifiyya and Ka'ba," 85–112; Kister, "al-Taḥannuth," 223–236.
- 45 On this, see Faris and Glidden, "The Development of the Meaning of the Koranic Ḥanīf," 1–13.
- 46 On the use of the term in the Quran as an Aramaic word, see C. Luxenberg, *Die Syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran: Ein Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung der Koransprache* (Berlin, 2000).
- 47 See Griffith, "The Prophet Muḥammad," esp. 118–119; François de Blois, "Naṣrānī (Ναζωραῖος) and Ḥanīf (ἕθνικός): Studies on the Religious Vocabulary of Christianity and of Islam," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 65 (2002): 1–30.
- 48 See Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-tanbih wa al-ishrāf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 2014), 6, 90–91, 122–123, 136, 161; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫh*, 1:49–50; Luxenberg, *Die Syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran*, 38–40 on Q 6:161.
- 49 See Pierre Nautin, "L'auteur de la 'Chronique Anonyme de Guidi': Élie de Merw," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 199 (1982): 303–314.
- 50 This translation based Michael Penn, *When Christians First Met Muslims: A Sourcebook of the Earliest Syriac Writings on Islam* (Berkeley, CA, 2015),

- 53–53. For the Syriac text, see Ignazio Guidi, ed., *Chronica Minora*, CSCO 1–2 (Leipzig, 1903), 15–39 [= Ignazio Guidi, “Un nuovo testo siriano sulla storia degli ultimi Sassanidi,” in *Actes du Huitième Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1899 à Stockholm et à Christiania I: Section sémitique* (B), (Leiden, 1893), 3–36]. For a discussion of the chronicle, see S. P. Brock, “Syriac Sources for Seventh-Century History,” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (1976): 17–36; S. P. Brock, “Syriac Historical Writing: A Survey of the Main Sources,” *Journal of the Iraq Academy, Syriac Corporation* 5 (1979): 1–30; Theodor Nöldeke, *Die von Guidi herausgegebene syrische Chronik, übersetzt und commentiert* (Vienna, 1893), 1–48; Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It*, 182–189.
- 51 See al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 12:7; Irfan Shahid, *Martyrs of Najran: New Documents* (Brussels, 1971), 60; Lammens, *L’Arabie Occidentale*, 128–129.
- 52 See Barbara Finster and Jürgen Schmidt, “Die Kirche des Abraha in Ṣan’ā’,” in *Arabia Felix: Beiträge zur Sprache und Kultur des vorislamischen Arabien. Festschrift Walter W. Müller zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Norbert Nebes (Wiesbaden, 1994), 67–68.
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- 54 For this argument, see Barbara Finster, “Arabia in Late Antiquity: An Outline of the Cultural Situation in the Peninsula at the Time of Muhammad,” in *The Quran in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur’anic Milieu*, ed. Angelika Neuwirth and others (Leiden, 2010), 61–114, esp. 76; Finster and Schmidt, “Die Kirche des Abraha in Ṣan’ā’,” 67–86.
- 55 See the argument in Günter Lüling, *Der christliche Kult an der vorislamischen Kaaba als Problem der Islamwissenschaft und christlichen Theologie* (Erlangen, 1992).
- 56 See Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam*, 123–125.
- 57 See Richard Bowen and others, *The Early Arabian Necropolis of Ain Jawan: A Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Site on the Persian Gulf* (New Haven, CT, 1950).
- 58 On pilgrimage to Najran: See Zarins and others, “The Comprehensive Archaeological Survey Program,” esp. 27; Juris Zarins and others, “Preliminary Report on the Najran/Ukhdud Survey and Excavations 1982/1402 AH,” *Atlat* 7 (1983): 22–40, esp. 25 and 32; Shahid, “Byzantium in South Arabia,” 23–94; Irfan Shahid, “Najrān,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 7:873–874. J. Ryckmans, “al-Ukhdūd: The Philby-Ryckmans-Lippens Expedition of 1951,” *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 11 (1981): 55–63. Zafār and Qana’ appear to have experienced a revival, too.



- According to Juris Zarins and others, "Saudi Arabian Archaeological Reconnaissance 1978. The Preliminary Report on the Third Phase of the Comprehensive Archaeological Survey Program – The Central Province," *Atlat* 3 (1987): 9–42, esp. 27 and 33, important towns. A. al-Maṣri, "The Historic Legacy of Saudi Arabia," *Atlat* 1 (1977): 9–20, esp. 16; see Daniel Potts, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity* (Oxford, 1999), 2:228, for a discussion of the theories concerning the decline of Gerrha and the eastern coast after the Parthian occupation. Graf sees the cause of decline as lying in late Roman colonial policy, see T. Fahd, ed., *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel: actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 24–27 juin 1987* (Leiden, 1989), 341ff.; Dietrich Claude, *Die Byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (München, 1969), 12.
- 59 See Abū 'Ubayd 'Abdallāh Bakrī, *Kitāb mu'jam mā ista'jam*, published as *Das Geographische Wörterbuch des Abu 'Obeid 'Abdallāh*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1876–1877), 46.1.
- 60 See Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, 141; al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 10, 11–13, 29.
- 61 See Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-ishṭiqāq*, 285; Abū 'Ubayd 'Abdallāh Bakrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa al-mamālik* (Tunis, 1979), 171, 176, 231; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 3:164–165; 134.
- 62 See Epiphanius, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, 51. See Eugene Stockton, "Petra Revisited: A Review of a Semitic Cult Complex," *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 1 (1971): 51–73.
- 63 See Rachel Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices and Rites in the Second Temple Period* (Leiden, 2005), 339–354; M. Gawlikowski, *Monuments funéraires de Palmyre* (Warsaw, 1970), esp. 27–31; E. L. Sukenik, "A Jewish Tomb in the Kedron Valley," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 69 (1937): 126–130; N. Avigad, *Ancient Monuments in the Kidron Valley* (Jerusalem, 1954); Rachel Hachlili, "The Nefes: The Jericho Column-Pyramid," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 113 (1981): 33–38, esp. 33–34.
- 64 See Qaṣṭillānī, *Irshād al-sārī li-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 3:502 and Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 33:16, Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 14:6, Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 14:77, al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 8:18, Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 7:59, 62 and see Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 2:67 and 129.
- 65 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālim*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1906), cited in Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands*, 205n17.
- 66 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. "Fārān." See Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands*, 65, 205.
- 67 See al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Hamdānī, *Ṣiffah jazīrah al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller (Leiden, 1884–1891), s.v. "Faran."
- 68 see Haggai Mazuz, "Tracing Possible Jewish Influence on a Common Islamic Commentary on Deuteronomy 33:2," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 67 (2016): 291–304, esp. 294.

- 69 See, for example, See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, on Q 6:74–87; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī ta'wīl al-Qur'an*, on Q 41:37; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'an al-'aẓīm*, on Q 6:74–87, 41:37; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 255–257; Kisā'ī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, 136–139.
- 70 See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 255–266; Kisā'ī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, 139–144.
- 71 See the standard account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 458–464.
- 72 See C. T. R. Hayward, “Melchizedek as Priest of the Jerusalem Temple in Talmud, Midrash, and Targum,” in his *Targums and the Transmission of Scripture into Judaism and Christianity*, Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture 10 (Leiden, 2009), 377–399; J. A. Fitzmyer, “Melchizedek in the MT, LXX, and the NT,” *Biblica* 81 (2000): 63–69; F. L. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition* (Cambridge, 1976); V. Aptowitz, “Malkizedek: Zu den Sagen der Agada,” *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 70 (1926): 93–113.
- 73 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-nabawīyah*, 150–153.
- 74 See P. J. Nel, “Psalm 110 and the Melchizedek Tradition,” *Journal of Northwest Semitic Linguistics* 22 (1996): 1–14.
- 75 On the name, see William Robertson Smith and George F. Moore, “Adonizdec,” *The Encyclopedia Biblica*, ed. T. K. Cheyne and J. Sutherland Black (New York, 1899), 1:70–71.
- 76 See Gard Granerød, *Abraham and Melchizedek: Scribal Activity of Second Temple Times in Genesis 14 and Psalm 110* (Berlin, 2010).
- 77 See Numbers Rabbah 4:8.
- 78 See Neuwirth, “The House of Abraham and the House of Amram,” esp. 499–503.
- 79 For an overview, see al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, 1078; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 61; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 260 and 260n3.
- 80 See Leone Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam* (Hildesheim, 1972), 1:73–75, 99–106, cited in Levi Della Vida, “Ḳuṣayy,” in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman and others.
- 81 See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 15:9.
- 82 See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 1092–1100.
- 83 See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1/1, 39, 1–2.
- 84 See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:54.
- 85 See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v., “al-Muzdalifah.”
- 86 See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī ta'wīl al-Qur'an*, on Q 2:158.
- 87 See Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands*, 98–100.
- 88 See, for example, Van Buren, “Places of Sacrifice (‘Opferstätten’),” 76–92.
- 89 See Aggada Bereshit 13.28; Midrash Tanḥumah Bereshit 1.72. And see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 1:10.

- 90 On the historicity of the Abraham traditions connected with Mecca and the Islamic Hajj, see Catherina Wenzel, “‘Und als Ibrāhīm und Ismā‘il die Fundamente des Hauses (der Ka‘ba) legten ...’ (Sure 2, 127): Abrahamrezeption und Legitimität im Koran,” *Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte* 53 (2002): 193–209.
- 91 al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur‘ān*, on Q 37:107.
- 92 See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr al-ma‘thūr*, on Q 37:107; Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands*, 94–103.
- 93 See Busse, “Ibrāhīm,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v.
- 94 For an overview of these traditions, see Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands*, 96–97.
- 95 See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 2:73.
- 96 See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur‘ān*, on Q 37:107.
- 97 On these references see Firestone, *Journeys in Sacred Lands*, 131.
- 98 See al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr al-ma‘thūr*, on Q 37:107 given on the authority of ‘Uthmān b. Ḥāḍir; Ya‘qūbī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 1:25–26; Norman Calder, “From Midrash to Scripture: The Sacrifice of Abraham in Early Islamic Tradition,” *Le Museon* 101 (1988): 375–402.
- 99 See Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kisā‘ī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*, trans. Wheeler Thackstone, *Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisā‘i* (Boston, MA, 1978), 150.
- 100 See, for example, al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān fī ta‘wīl al-Qur‘ān*, on Q 37:107.
- 101 See J. Chelhod, “Hady,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 53–54; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:92; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-nabawīyah*, 1:146.
- 102 See in particular Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyah al-mujtahid*, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, *Hāshīyah al-Ṭaḥṭāwī ‘alā Marāqī al-falah sharḥ Nūr al-īdāh li-Ḥasan Ibn ‘Ammār Ibn ‘Alī Shurumbalālī*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khālīdī (Beirut, 2009), 1:555.
- 103 See al-Tha‘labī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*, 124–174.
- 104 See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 32–33, cited in Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands*, 129–130.
- 105 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān al-‘aẓīm*, on Q 5:27.
- 106 See Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 5:25n246, citing *Sefer ha-Yashar*, *Vay-year* 63, *Pirke de Rabbi Eleazer: The Chapters of Eleazar the Great*, trans. Gerald Friedlander (London, 1916), 31:71b and 19:44, Neusner, Jacob, trans., *Babylonian Talmud* (Peabody, MA, 2011), *Pesaḥim* 54a, and *Pirke de Rabbi Eleazer*, trans. Gerald Friedlander (London, 1916), 72a.
- 107 Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān al-‘aẓīm*, on Q 37:107.
- 108 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān al-‘aẓīm*, on Q 37:107.
- 109 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān al-‘aẓīm*, on Q 37:107.
- 110 See the helpful comments of Mahdi Tourage, “The Erotics of Sacrifice in the Qur‘anic Tale of Abel and Cain,” *International Journal of Žižek Studies* 5 (2011): 1–17.

- 111 Paul Bedgan and A. J. Wensinck, *Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 180b; and see Alphonse Mingana, *Narsai doctoris Syri homiliae et carmina* (Mausilii, 1905), 394.
- 112 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, on Q 37:107.
- 113 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, on Q 37:107.
- 114 See Genesis Rabbah 22:8; Tanḥumah Bereshit 9. Also see Philo, “On the Birth of Abel and the Sacrifices Offered by Him and Cain,” in *Philo*, ed. and trans. F. H. Colson and others (Cambridge, MA, 1929–1962), 3:50–87.
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- 116 See I. Zilio-Grandi, “Le figure de Cain dans le Coran,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 216 (1999): 31–85; Doutté, *Magie et religions dans Afrique du Nord*, 450–495.
- 117 See al-Thaʿlabī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 58–82.
- 118 See Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 160/331.
- 119 See *The Book of Adam and Eve*, trans. S. C. Malan (London, 1882), 115–147; August Dillmann, *Das Christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes* (Göttingen, 1853), 82–101; Carl Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle* (Leipzig, 1853), 1:10–23.
- 120 See O. Löfgren, “ʿAdan,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 1:180.
- 121 See Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzīl wa ʿuyūn al-aqāwīl fi wujūh al-taʾwīl*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Salām Shāhīn (Beirut, 1995), on Q 5:27.
- 122 See ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. Ghālib Ibn ʿAṭīyah, *al-Muḥarrar al-wajīz fi tafsīr al-ʿaẓīz*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām ʿAbd al-Shāfi Muḥammad (Beirut, 2016), on Q 5:27.
- 123 See Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (Beirut, 1957), 2:247; Qazwīnī, *ʿAjāʾib al-makblūqāt wa gharāʾib al-mawjūdāt*. s.v. cats; M. Naor, “Über die arabische Katze,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 35 (1928); 276–289, 36 (1929): 87–107, 227–238.
- 124 See al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, s.v. Ibl. For an overview of the text, see Joseph de Somogyi, *Ad-Damīrī’s Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān: An Arabic Zoological Lexicon* (Bruges, 1950), 33–43.
- 125 See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. H-B-L.
- 126 See al-Thaʿlabī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 58–82.
- 127 See al-Thaʿlabī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 58–82.
- 128 See the background material in V. R. Matthews, *Pastoral Nomadism in the Mari Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA, 1978); J. T. Luke, *Pastoralism and Politics in the Mari Period* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1965).
- 129 See the references and discussion in Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 513.
- 130 See al-Kisāʾī, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 233 cited in Tottoli, “ʿAnāq,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd ed.
- 131 See the rich study by Ruth Mellinkoff, *The Mark of Cain* (Berkeley, CA, 1981).

- 132 See Philoxenos, Discourses in *The Discourses of Philoxenos of Mabbug*, trans. Robert Kitchen (Collegeville, PA, 2013), 4:40, 109:110–113. Also see Johannes Glenthoj and J. B. Glenthoj, *Cain and Abel in Syriac and Greek Writers (4th–6th Centuries)* (Leuven, 1997), esp. 209.
- 133 On all of these traditions, see Lowin, *The Making of a Forefather*, passim.
- 134 See Philo, *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesis*, 1:74 in *Philo with an English Translation*, trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker (New York, 1929–1962).
- 135 See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-musīr fi ‘ilm al-tafsīr*, on Q 5:27.
- 136 For the various numbers of cities and their names, see Bereshit Rabbah 23.1; Tehillim 9.85; Rashi; Midrash Aggada Gen 4:17; Pseudo-Philo, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, trans. M. R. James, *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo* (London, 1917), 2; Philo, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 49–50.
- 137 See Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 2:2.
- 138 See, for example, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 266–270. And see E. A. Speiser, “The Wife–Sister Motif in the Patriarchal Narratives,” *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. Alexander Altman (Cambridge, MA, 1963), 15–28; S. Greengus, “Sisterhood Adoption at Nuzi and the ‘Wife–Sister’ in Genesis,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 46 (1975): 245–232; C. J. Mullo Weir, “The Alleged Hurrian Wife–Sister Motif in Genesis,” *Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions* 22 (1967–1968): 14–25; Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands*, 31–38.
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- 142 See Bruce Lincoln, “The Indo-European Cattle-Raiding Myth,” *History of Religions* 16 (1976): 42–65; and the concise summary in “Cattle Raid” in *The Encyclopaedia of Indo-European Culture*, ed. J. P. Mallory and D. Q. Adams (Chicago, IL, 1997); Ruth Arabagian, “Cattle Raiding and Bride Stealing,” *Religion* 14 (1984): 107–142.
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- (Bari, 1988); McNerney, *The Cattle of the Sun*; P. Walcot, "Cattle Raiding, Heroic Tradition and Ritual: The Greek Evidence," *History of Religions* 18 (1979): 326–351; Rudolf von Roth, "Die Sage von Feridun in Indien und Iran," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 2 (1848): 216–230; Michel Bréal, "Hercule et Cacus," in *Mélanges de mythologie et de linguistique* (Paris, 1882), 1–62; Leopold von Schroeder, *Herakles und Indra* (Vienna, 1914), 57–67.
- 146 For a listing of the expeditions, dates, and sources, see J. M. B. Jones, "The Chronology of the Maghāzī – A Textual Survey," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 19 (1957): 245–280.
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- 148 Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 877.
- 149 See the account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 1502–1507; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 19:45.
- 150 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 59:66–67; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 19:2961.
- 151 See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:96; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 7:99; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-ma'ād fī 'ilm al-tafsīr*, 2:119; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:59; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 19:4361. Also see the modern study by Muhammad Yasin Mazhar Siddiqi, "Role of Booty in the Economy during the Prophet's Time," *Journal of the King Abdulaziz University, Islamic Economics* 1 (1989): 83–115.
- 152 See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:110; Watt, *Muhamamad at Medina*, 115.

- 153 See Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 7:99; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:59; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 19:4330–4332; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 14:2672; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-ma'ād fī 'ilm al-tafsīr*, 2:91.
- 154 See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:205; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 19:3031; Watt, *Muhamamad at Medina*, 115.
- 155 See Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 8:55; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 76:1 (422); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 19:4292; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-ma'ād fī 'ilm al-tafsīr*, 2:109.
- 156 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 5:11; Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 7:161; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:1830.
- 157 See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 8:92–93; Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥābah* (Beirut, 1415), 6:309; David Powers, *Muhammad Is Not the Father of Any of Your Men: The Making of the Last Prophet* (Philadelphia, PA, 2011), 8.
- 158 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 672; Watt, *Muhamamad at Medina*, 115.
- 159 On the wives of the prophet Muhammad, see Mahmar b. al-Muthannā al-Taymī Abū 'Ubaydah, *Tasmiyat azwāj al-nabī wa awlādī-hi*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt (Beirut, 1990).
- 160 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 725–727.
- 161 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 466; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 8:92–93; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥābah*, 4:309; Powers, *Muhammad Is Not the Father of Any of Your Men*, 8.
- 162 See Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī, *The Life and Religion of Muḥammad: Ḥiyāt al-qulūb*, vol. 2 (San Antonio, TX, 1982), 52; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-ma'ād fī 'ilm al-tafsīr*, 1:114.
- 163 See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 9:139; 39:166; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 8:116–117.
- 164 See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 2438.
- 165 See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 1453–1457.
- 166 See Donner, “Muzayna,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v.
- 167 See H. M. Ashtiyani, *Bilāl d'Afrique, le muezzin du Prophète* (Montréal, 1999).
- 168 For an overview of the prophet Muhammad's raids, see Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 659–660.
- 169 See al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabīyah fī sīrah al-amīn al-ma'mūn*, 328.
- 170 On altars in the Bible and ancient Near East, see Galling, *Der Altar in den Kulturen des alten Orients*; H. M. Wiener, *The Altars of the Old Testament* (Leipzig, 1927); W. F. Albright, “The Babylonian Temple-Tower and the Altar of Burnt-Offering,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 39 (1920): 137–142. Also see M. Otosson, *Temples and Cult Places in Palestine* (Uppsala, 1980).
- 171 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3164; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 11:65 (1937); 14:5 (2324).
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- 187 See John Boyle, “A Form of Horse Sacrifice amongst the 13th- and 14th-Century Mongols,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 10 (1965): 145–150.
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- 189 See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān fī ta’wīl al-Qur‘ān*, on Q 2:125; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr al-ma’tḥūr*, on Q 2:125; Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr Muqātil b. Sulaymān*, ed. ‘Abdallāh Maḥmūd Shihātah (Cairo, 1979), on Q 2:125; Rubin, “Ḥanifiyya and Ka’ba,” 103–115.
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- 192 On the king as administrator of God' territory, see Paul Garelli, "Les temples et le pouvoir royal en Assyrie du XIVE au VIIIe siecle," in *Le Temple et le culte. compte rendu de la vingtième Rencontre assyriologique internationale* (Leiden, 1975), 116-124.
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## Distribution of the Body of the Prophet Muhammad

In 1967 the famed Romanian historian of religion Mircea Eliade published an article ridiculing as a “cultural fashion” the persistent scholarly reference to the St. Nilus camel sacrifice used by Robertson Smith.<sup>1</sup> After a brief critique of Freud’s “totemic banquet” as a “horror story presented as historical fact,” Eliade scoffs at the idea that the sacrifice, as described, ever took place. Eliade derides, in particular, the suggestion that the entire camel, “bones and skin included,” would have been consumed by the Arabs who sacrificed it.<sup>2</sup>

A wide array of evidence shows that almost no part of a camel is left unused or uneaten. For example, camel hides are boiled and eaten for food, and they are also used for a variety of functions such as roofing houses, making ropes, drums, seats, shoes, prayer mats, containers for liquids, whips, and saddles.<sup>3</sup> The outer coarse fur of a camel, called the “guard hair,” having thermostatic properties and also being highly resistant to water, is used to produce outer garments, including tents, clothing, and any type of covering needed to protect against heat or cold. The undercoat of camel hair or camel hair “wool,” is prized for its relative fineness (only 5–40 microns), longer length (1.5–5 inches), lustrous appearance, and because it dyes better than sheep wool.<sup>4</sup> Camel bone is also eaten, and is commonly used to make various items such as jewelry and jewelry boxes, eating utensils, and knife handles. Camel bone is used to produce a medicinal broth, to produce gelatin for cooking, and bone meal is an agricultural fertilizer.<sup>5</sup>

The dispensing and use of the produce from slaughtering animals culminates the performance of the Islamic “sacrifice” – made possible by the acquisition of the animal through hunting or tribal raids, driving

the animal including in the night run [ifāḍah] between and ritual standing [wuqūf] at ‘Arafāt and al-Muzdalifah, and slaughtering the animal at Minā.<sup>6</sup> Even the disposal of the unused parts of the camel is done in a fashion consistent with the precepts that inform the ritual use of the other parts of the animal and its accouterments.<sup>7</sup> Islamic law stipulates certain procedures for the disposal of animal carcasses, and the prohibition against the pre-Islamic practice of competing in the slaughtering of camels [‘aqr] seems to have been aimed not at ending camel slaughter but at stopping sacrifices in which the entirety of the animal was not consumed but had to be discarded as waste.<sup>8</sup> The animal carcasses left on the ground, not unlike the human corpses left on the field of battle, are tangible evidence of the sacrifice having taken place.<sup>9</sup> In the account of his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1853, Richard Burton notes the sight and smell of the “dead animals” that “dotted the ground” at Minā.<sup>10</sup> The carcasses literally demarcate the extent of the “altar” or slaughtering place [manḥar, madhbaḥ], illustrating the well-known statement of the prophet Muhammad at the conclusion of his sacrifice that “all of Minā is a place of slaughtering.”<sup>11</sup>

The Islamic example suggests that the “distribution” of all the animal’s parts cannot be separated easily from the larger unit of practice that is designated as the ritual “sacrifice” of the Ḥajj. Apart from the dramatic retelling of the event, both in Robertson Smith and in the account attributed to St. Nilus, it might not be all that far-fetched to conclude that an Arab camel sacrifice in late antiquity would have resulted in the entire animal being consumed. In critiquing Robertson Smith and in his own synthetic definition of “sacrifice,” Eliade might be focusing too narrowly on the act of killing to the exclusion of how the selection and acquisition of a specific animal is tied, through ritual, to its communal use.<sup>12</sup> According to Levitical law in the Bible, to take one example, it is precisely the way the carcass is distributed that gives the sacrificed animal its expiatory character.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, as Robertson Smith points out, the killing of the animal is a regrettable if necessary side effect of the totemic meal in which the symbolism of the living camel informs its consumption. For Durkheim and Freud likewise it is the communal meal, the act of eating and the dispensing of the victim, that gives the victim its symbolic significance.

This chapter argues that Muslim sources portray the prophet Muhammad’s sacrifice of 100 camels and distribution of his body parts in terms familiar from other ancient Near Eastern and Indo-European creation myths in which a primordial being is dismembered to create the

world. Muslim jurists explain that offering an animal is a redemption [fidyah] or substitute for the body of the pilgrim for a violation against the sanctity of the Ḥajj. The purpose of the Ḥajj itself is to fulfill a ritual requirement, which, the jurists agree, entailed a peculiar offering of a substitute animal and of the pilgrim's own body. Muslim traditions demonstrate the link between the special character of Muhammad's dead body and the foundations of the Muslim community from among his closest followers. In addition to distributing pieces of his own physical body (his hair and nails), the prophet Muhammad offers to his followers the proceeds of the 100 camels which represent his body and his life. The sacrifice is the origin of the Islamic world.

#### GIFT OF THE BODY

Muslim jurists collect and synthesize a number of different references to animal sacrifices from the Quran, the life of the prophet Muhammad, and from his followers. According to the jurists there are five reasons to make a sacrifice at the conclusion of the Ḥajj, each defined by a number of substitutions linking the bodies of animals and of pilgrims to the sanctuary of Mecca.

The first reason for offering a sacrifice is slaughtering a domesticated animal as a substitute for a wild animal. Starting with Q 5:95, Muslim jurists stipulate that a domesticated animal of a certain type must be offered by a person who kills a wild animal within the area of the sanctuary [ḥarām] at Mecca, if a pilgrim in a sacralized state [iḥrām] kills or eats a wild animal whether within or outside the area of the sanctuary, or if others whether in a sacralized state or not participate in the hunting of a wild animal with the result that it is killed within the area of the sanctuary. Ibn Rushd explains that the jurists disagree on various points, including whether the penalty is assigned because the wild animal is killed, its meat eaten, or both. He concludes that there are two basic violations occurring in the case of wild animals that require a sacrifice: the violation of the sanctuary itself (by a pilgrim or non-pilgrim), and pilgrims' violation of their sacralized state (whether within or outside of the sanctuary).<sup>14</sup>

That the issue is both the sanctuary and the individual is indicated by the ruling of some jurists that if a person or group of people participate in killing a wild animal in the sanctuary – such as pointing to the animal in a way that helps someone else kill it – then that person or group of people is also liable to offer a domesticated animal. Some jurists refer to the

practice of the earliest followers of the prophet Muhammad to argue that, although technically two domesticated animals should be offered – one for the violation of the pilgrim’s sacralized state and one for the infringement on the boundaries of the sanctuary – only one sacrifice is required.

Some jurists maintain that particular domesticated animals are to be offered in return for the killing or eating of specific wild animals based on what appears to be the type of animals involved. For example, if a person kills an ostrich then a she-camel is to be offered, for a gazelle a goat, for a hyena a ram, and for a wild buffalo a domesticated cow. Some authorities say a goat for a pigeon, a young goat for a rabbit or jerboa, and a small goat or a date for a locust. Although jurists claim that the meat of the domesticated animal is meant to replace the meat of the wild animal, the definition of the substitution indicates that it is symbolic. Most jurists prefer to rely on the equivalences between specific wild and domesticated animals made by the earliest followers of the prophet Muhammad as a fixed list rather than the relative market values determined at the time of the killing. The substitution effectively inverts the pre-Islamic practice of hunting a wild animal to offer in place of offering a domesticated flock animal as a “firstling” sacrifice known from the *‘atīrah* and other ritual hunts among Arabs before Islam.<sup>15</sup>

Ḥanafī jurists state that a sacrifice is incumbent even when the wild animal killed was tame, such as in the case of a tame gazelle or trained pigeons of certain types, because the original nature of the animal is wild. According to Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 820), a cow is to be sacrificed if a tall tree is killed, and a goat for a smaller plant. Others maintain that the market value of the wild animal be determined by two trustworthy and impartial people, as stipulated in Q 5:95, and that this value be used to identify a comparable domesticated animal to be offered. Still others hold that the two trustworthy and impartial people mentioned in Q 5:95 are to determine which domesticated animal is to be sacrificed for the particular wild animal that was killed and/or eaten. In all of these cases, the blood of the domesticated animal is, in effect, a penalty for violating the sanctuary whether by diminishing its protected contents or by transgressing the sacred state required to enter the sanctuary as a pilgrim.

The second reason for requiring a sacrifice is when a pilgrim, in the sacralized state [*iḥrām*], makes certain ritual mistakes. The requirement is based on substituting the slaughter of an animal, as a ransom or redemption [*fidyah*] for the life of the pilgrim.<sup>16</sup> Muslim jurists list and discuss a number of violations or “crimes” [*jīnāyāt*] that require a pilgrim to offer an animal sacrifice. These include applying perfume, wearing a sewn

garment or head covering, shaving the head, cutting fingernails and toenails, sex, kissing and fondling, performing circumambulations of the Ka‘bah in a state of ritual impurity, and omitting certain rites such as circumambulation of the Ka‘bah and running between al-Şafā and al-Marwah. Some jurists require the offering of an animal for missing or shortening the rites associated with ‘Arafāt, al-Muzdalifah, and Minā, such as the ritual standing [wuqūf] and stoning the pillars.

Muslim sources often associate these restrictions with practices attached to Arab sanctuaries, including Mecca, in pre-Islamic times. Prohibitions against hunting wild animals and harvesting noncultivated plants from reserves in al-Ṭā‘if, Medina, Wādī Wajj, Dhū al-Ḥulayfah, and Wādī Qudayd are mentioned in Muslim sources,<sup>17</sup> and sanctuaries protecting wild animals and plants are attested in inscriptions from southern Arabia.<sup>18</sup> Muslim exegesis on verses such as Q 2:196–200, 22:36–37, 7:31–32 explains how many of the restrictions of the Islamic Ḥajj were designed to counter pagan practices that had corrupted the rituals in the pre-Islamic period. When he led the Ḥajj in the year before the prophet Muhammad made his farewell Ḥajj, the caliph Abū Bakr is reported to have made the rule that no pagan [mushrik] and no naked person [‘uryān] would be allowed to circumambulate the Ka‘bah, ending these pre-Islamic practices.<sup>19</sup>

Violations of these sanctuaries resulted in penalties involving the loss of property, the loss of body parts, and even death. The amputation of hands for the theft of animals, both real and votive, dedicated to the sanctuary is reported by Muslim sources and in pre-Islamic inscriptions.<sup>20</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī repeats a story that Isāf and Nā‘ilah were a man and woman in pre-Islamic times who were turned to stone for having sex near the Ka‘bah,<sup>21</sup> and the prophet Muhammad is reported to have cursed anyone who violated the sanctity of Mecca or Medina. Inscriptions from across the Arabian deserts invoke curses on anyone who might efface the writing or disturb a nearby tomb. The sanctuary [ḥimā] of Wajj near al-Ṭā‘if was reportedly violated by someone cutting down its trees, the penalty for which was the offender forfeiting his clothing and his axe.<sup>22</sup> The so-called “war of Basūs” was started when Kulayb b. Rabī‘a shot with an arrow and killed a camel that strayed into his protected area, the boundaries of which were demarcated by the barking of his dog.<sup>23</sup> Among modern Bedouin, if a visitor violates a “protected area” [ḥawṭah] then reparations must be made to the tribe and the family in charge of the area. If the individual visitor does not pay, then the whole tribe in charge of the protected area takes action against him. If a visitor kills another person

within the protected area, the tribe of the visitor must kill one of its own members, although not necessarily the person who committed the murder.<sup>24</sup> In his survey of shrines in Palestine, Tawfik Canaan records that a man was beaten to death for cutting down a tree at the shrine of a Palestinian saint, and Thesiger records a sanctuary [ḥawṭah] near Zufār with restrictions on cutting trees and hunting rabbits.<sup>25</sup>

Muslim jurists do not take into consideration whether or not these ritual violations during the Ḥajj were made knowingly or inadvertently. If, for example, a pilgrim “forgets” the prohibition and kisses or has sex during his Ḥajj, an animal sacrifice must still be performed. The penalty is not lessened because the pilgrim did not intend to break the rule, as is the case in the assigning of penalties for fasting during the month of Ramaḍān and inadvertent ritual mistakes made during the obligatory prayers. Some jurists distinguish the type or size of animal based on the relative severity of the transgression – e.g., according to al-Shāfi‘ī, if the pilgrim only cuts one fingernail then he must feed one person, two fingernails then two people, and more than two fingernails requires the animal sacrifice.<sup>26</sup> The same holds for plucking one hair, two hairs, or more. Ibn Rushd also explains that most jurists do not allow any dispensation for pilgrims breaking one of the rules of their sacralized state out of necessity. Even in the case that a pilgrim has to shave his head because of a disease or a head injury, the animal sacrifice is still required for violating his sacralized state.<sup>27</sup>

It is possible that the substitution at work here is the blood of the animal for the blood of the pilgrim making the mistake. Islamic law does stipulate that a pilgrim cannot deliberately plan to offer a sacrifice in lieu of not performing a specific required aspect of the Ḥajj, suggesting that the sacrifice is meant to remedy a mistake which was unintentional and for which the pilgrim was remorseful. The prophet Muhammad is reported to have performed a number of piacular sacrifices in which the animal’s death seems to redeem specific individuals or his followers as a whole, including his sacrifice of a special ram fitting the description of that said to have been slaughtered by Abraham instead of his son. It is also possible that the penalty is being levied against a violation of the Meccan sanctuary, or against both the sanctuary and the pilgrim’s sacralized state, as is the case with the prohibitions governing the killing and eating of wild animals. In either case, the jurists agree on the principle that it is the body of the pilgrim, and in particular its purity or impurity, that affects the sacrality of the space and the efficacy of the rituals performed.<sup>28</sup>

Note also that pilgrims cannot eat the meat of animals they were required to sacrifice for violating their sacralized state or the killing and



eating of a wild animal, but only from the meat of animals offered when performing a conjoined pilgrimage or offered for charity. Another distinction made by the jurists is that the killing of a wild animal directly affects both the sanctuary and the sacralized state of the pilgrim whereas a ritual mistake directly affects only the pilgrim. According to Mālik b. Anas, pilgrims may slaughter an animal at any location for violating their sacralized state but must perform in Mecca the slaughter of an animal as a penalty for killing wild prey because the meat of the domesticated animal is meant to replace the meat of the wild animal.<sup>29</sup> Other jurists likewise allow for the optional fasting or donating money to feed the poor to take place outside of Mecca but insist that the sacrifice for killing a wild animal be performed for the benefit of the people in the sanctuary.

The third reason a sacrifice is required is when a person enters the sacred state of being a pilgrim [iḥrām] but is prevented [iḥṣār] from completing the Ḥajj. The requirement is based upon the first phrase of Q 2:196, and Muslim exegetes explain that being prevented means becoming sick or injured but can also entail anything, including fear, that keeps the pilgrim from completing the Ḥajj rituals. Muslim jurists also refer to the prophet Muhammad sacrificing his camels at al-Ḥudaybiyah when he was kept by the Meccans from completing his Ḥajj after he had already marked the animals and entered the sacralized state [iḥrām] of being a pilgrim. Some jurists claim that the animal is required as a penalty for not being able to complete the Ḥajj, but some insist that the once-in-a-lifetime obligation to perform the Ḥajj is satisfied when the animal is slaughtered, suggesting that the main purpose of the Ḥajj was to offer an animal sacrifice near the Ka‘bah. Under some circumstances, it is possible for pilgrims prevented from completing the full Ḥajj to convert their Ḥajj into an ‘Umrah but the animal sacrifice is still required to desacralize from the state of being a pilgrim.<sup>30</sup> All the jurists agree that pilgrims must make the sacrifice before shaving their heads and cutting their nails to exit their sacralized state, although some also require a circumambulation of the Ka‘bah for pilgrims who cannot finish the Ḥajj due to illness. Unlike the violations requiring a sacrifice for the killing and eating of wild animals and for ritual mistakes, the violation caused by not being able to complete the Ḥajj does not affect the sanctity of the sanctuary but only the sacred state of the pilgrim.

An animal sacrifice is also required if a person combines the performance of the ‘Umrah with the complete Ḥajj. Some jurists hold that the sacrifice is required as a penalty for pilgrims only desacralizing one time, at the end of the complete Ḥajj and not twice – once at the end of their

‘Umrah and once at the end of their Ḥajj. The sacrifice is not required for the residents of Mecca because they would not leave the sanctuary between the two sets of rites, unlike nonresidents, who would otherwise perform a desacralization when leaving Mecca after the ‘Umrah then reenter a sacralized state when arriving in Mecca for the Ḥajj. But an animal sacrifice is also required if a pilgrim performs the ‘Umrah during the months of Shawwāl, Dhū al-Qa‘dah, or the first ten days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, desacralizes, then resacralizes and performs the full Ḥajj. In this case the jurists claim that the animal sacrifice is required because the pilgrim “enjoyed” not having to abide by the restrictions of the pilgrim’s sacralized state [iḥrām] for the period between performance of the ‘Umrah and commencing the Ḥajj. Other jurists maintain that the sacrifice is required as a penalty when converting a Ḥajj into an ‘Umrah – being sacralized with the intention of performing the complete Ḥajj but then only finishing the ‘Umrah and exiting the state of sacralization.

The requirement to offer a sacrifice in these cases of conjoined pilgrimage is similar to that in the other cases of animal sacrifice being assessed as a penalty for not being able to complete the Ḥajj. The slaughter of the animal is required before pilgrims can desacralize by cutting their nails and shaving their heads. Some jurists claim that in pre-Islamic times pilgrims were not allowed to exit their sacralized state when conjoining the ‘Umrah and the Ḥajj, and others point out that the term used for the conjoined pilgrimages actually means to “separate” or distinguish [qirān] between the two sets of rites. Muslim sources claim that in pre-Islamic times the ‘Umrah took place in the early springtime month of Rajab,<sup>31</sup> and the sacrifices offered [rajabiyah], including the ‘atīrah and the fara‘, were firstling or first-fruit sacrifices centered on the Ka‘bah.<sup>32</sup> In this case the Islamic sacrifice for performing a conjoined pilgrimage is not really a penalty offering but a type of tithe, perhaps a recognition of the primacy of Mecca over ‘Arafāt and al-Muzdalifah, and a link between the first-fruits sacrifices of Rajab and the sacrifice performed by the prophet Muhammad initiating the new age of Islam.<sup>33</sup> The prophet Muhammad is said to have conjoined the rites for the ‘Umrah and the Ḥajj when performing his farewell pilgrimage, and most jurists state that the performance of a conjoined pilgrimage is better than just the Ḥajj alone [ifrāḍ]. According to the jurists, it is only the Ḥajj performed by itself [ḥajj al-ifrāḍ] that does not involve an obligatory animal sacrifice.

Drawing on Q 2:196 and Q 22:33–37 and a number of ḥadīth reports, Muslim jurists indicate that the original purpose of the journey to Mecca to perform the Ḥajj was to make an animal sacrifice. The reports

concerning the prophet Muhammad offering sacrifices on behalf of his followers who did not bring a garlanded animal from Medina to sacrifice on the Ḥajj, and were thus compelled to do only an ‘Umrah, demonstrate that an animal sacrifice was a required component of the full Ḥajj. Ibn ‘Umar is reported to have related that the prophet Muhammad, when he was asked “which Ḥajj is best?” replied: “Raised voices and the flow of blood” [al-‘ajj wa al-thajj].<sup>34</sup> In a longer version, the prophet Muhammad says: “Shouting the Ḥajj invocation” [wakī‘ ya‘nī bi-l-‘ajj al-‘ajj bi-l-talbīyah] and “slaughtering the sacrificial animal” [al-thājj naḥr al-budn].<sup>35</sup> That animal sacrifice would be integral to the Islamic Ḥajj is to be expected from reports of pre-Islamic practices and the reported example of the prophet Muhammad, and is consistent with what is known from the practice of seasonal pilgrimages to temples in pre-Islamic Arabia and the wider ancient Near East.<sup>36</sup> Muslim jurists cite a variety of specific details emphasizing that the “farewell pilgrimage” of the prophet Muhammad was intended to epitomize for later Muslims how to perform the Ḥajj, including his concluding sacrifice and desacralization by shaving and cutting his nails. The scope of his camel sacrifice, and the distribution of his hair, may have been unique but the acts themselves were understood to establish a legal precedent for future Muslim practice.

Muslim jurists agree that the prophet Muhammad did not violate his sacralized pilgrim state [iḥrām] or violate the Meccan sanctuary during his one performance of the Ḥajj. Some jurists claim that his pilgrimage conjoined an ‘Umrah with the Ḥajj, and as such required the sacrifice of an animal before desacralizing at the end of the rituals. Most jurists consider the prophet Muhammad’s sacrifice as constituting a type of sacrifice that is not required but performed by the pilgrim as a gift to the Muslim community. The prophet Muhammad is reported to have performed sacrifices on behalf of his family and his followers. A number of reports relate that the prophet Muhammad slaughtered cows for his wives who were unable to complete the Ḥajj because they were menstruating,<sup>37</sup> and for his followers who intended to do the Ḥajj but did not bring garlanded animals for sacrifice with them from Medina.<sup>38</sup> Abū Dā‘ūd preserves a ḥadīth report in which Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh observes the prophet Muhammad slaughter a ram on behalf of those from his community [ummah] who did not perform a sacrifice.<sup>39</sup> Both ‘Ā’ishah and Abū Hurayrah report that when the prophet Muhammad wanted to offer a sacrifice he would purchase two rams, sacrificing one on behalf of his community [ummat-hu] – meaning those who testified to the oneness

of God [tawhīd] and to the message conveyed by Muhammad – and one on his and his family’s behalf.<sup>40</sup> In another report, Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh relates that the prophet Muhammad performed the sacrifice of the two rams as he was “commanded to do” by God “following the religion of Abraham” [millah Ibrāhīm].<sup>41</sup>

Ḥadīth reports, most of them transmitted on the authority of Abū Hurayrah from the prophet Muhammad, state that performance of the Ḥajj results in a remission of the pilgrim’s sins.<sup>42</sup>

If a person performs the Ḥajj, without having sex or doing anything wrong, then his sins that came before are forgiven.<sup>43</sup>

If a person performs the Ḥajj for the sake of God, uttering no bad word or doing no bad action, then he will remain as free from sin as the day his mother gave birth to him.<sup>44</sup>

In other accounts, the prophet Muhammad states that “paradise” [jannah] is the reward for doing a pilgrimage [al-ḥajj al-mabrūr].<sup>45</sup> The person who dies while on their way to perform the Ḥajj or while performing it is compared to the person who is martyred while performing Jihād.<sup>46</sup> Abū Mūsā relates that the prophet Muhammad said the person who performed the Ḥajj [ḥājjī] will intercede on behalf of 400 families or 400 people from his family, and when he returns from the Ḥajj he will be as sinless as the day his mother gave birth to him.<sup>47</sup> The prophet Muhammad himself promises to intercede on the day of judgment on behalf of anyone who has performed the Ḥajj,<sup>48</sup> and is reported to have said that the end of the world will not arrive until no one is left performing the Ḥajj and ‘Umrah.<sup>49</sup>

The character of the prophet Muhammad’s camel sacrifice at the conclusion of his farewell Ḥajj is understood in terms of its distribution of sustenance, primarily for food but also for other essential items such as clothing and shelter from the rest of the animal remains. This type of nonobligatory “gift” sacrifice follows the example of Abraham, whose establishment of a sanctuary where he distributed food and drink to guests converted them to Islam.<sup>50</sup> Muslim jurists agree that, for all the sacrifices offered for various reasons by pilgrims during the Ḥajj, the legal principle [aṣl] generating the substitution of an animal for the violation of the sanctuary or the sacred state of the pilgrim is the feeding and providing of sustenance to the Muslim community. This is illustrated by the options available for pilgrims instead of offering an animal sacrifice – the person upon whom a sacrifice is incumbent can fast for a certain number of days or donate a certain amount of money to be used to feed the poor.

There is disagreement among the jurists regarding the details of substituting fasting or feeding for sacrifice. For example, some jurists hold that the option of fasting or donating money to feed the poor in place of offering a domesticated animal is a decision made by the two impartial and trustworthy people mentioned in Q 5:95. Many authorities, except for Mālik b. Anas, who allows both to take place anywhere, maintain that while the fasting can be done in any location because it is aimed at the person fasting, whereas donating money to feed the poor must be done in Mecca because the food is meant to compensate for the killing and eating of the wild animals living around Mecca.

But unlike other sacrificial systems of the ancient Near East, the Islamic sacrifice does not “feed” the gods, nor does it substitute the blood of the animal for the blood of the pilgrim who “sinned” by making a ritual mistake. Instead, the pilgrim feeds the community of Muslims, and does so in a manner that inverts the hierarchy expected from the ancient world – there is no priest, no altar, and no fire. In a number of ḥadīth reports, the prophet Muhammad states that it is better for the pilgrim to slaughter the animal himself.<sup>51</sup> In the case that a butcher is paid to slaughter the animal, the butcher does not get any of the meat beyond his wages for the slaughtering, unlike priests in the ancient world, who often received a special portion or even all of the meat.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, the Muslim pilgrim distributes the produce of the sacrifice first and foremost to the poor, leveling and erasing social class distinctions, whereas in ancient Greece and elsewhere the meat of the sacrifice was specifically apportioned to display social hierarchy based on property rights, skin color, language, and other factors which the Ḥajj as a whole is meant to efface.

Note also that Muslim pilgrims give up their own bodies along with that of the domesticated animal they sacrifice. The gift of the body of the pilgrim is symbolic of sacrificing one’s own body for the community: its establishment, its security, its spread, and eventual conquest of all territory. The body of the animal remains in Mecca along with the removable parts of the pilgrim’s body (hair, nails) as a kind of testament or proof on the day of judgment of the sin-remitting ritual having been performed. Similar to traditions found in India and throughout Asia, ethnographic reports from the Middle East attest to the idea that blood and buried animal carcasses “feed” the land.<sup>53</sup> In several versions of a ḥadīth report transmitted on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās, the prophet Muhammad instructs his followers how to bury the body of a pilgrim who dies performing the Ḥajj. The body is prepared like that of a martyr,

and the person is to be resurrected reciting the invocation of the Ḥajj [talbīyah] still in a sacralized state as a pilgrim.<sup>54</sup> Pilgrims are also required to cut their hair or shave their head, and cut their nails in order to desacralize from their pilgrim state of sacralization. Islamic law does not stipulate how these particular bodily remains are to be disposed, but Muslim jurists do prefer, and some require, that any body part be buried.<sup>55</sup> In addition, pilgrims' blood from the common occurrence of nicks and cuts made while shaving the head is left behind, and the unused remains of the sacrificed animals are buried in place.<sup>56</sup>

#### SPECIAL BODY OF PROPHET MUHAMMAD

The preservation and distribution of the hair and nails of the prophet Muhammad, presumably originating from the ritual shaving and paring he performed after his sacrifice of the 100 camels at the conclusion of his farewell pilgrimage, might be related to the many reports of miracles performed by the prophet Muhammad, especially those associated with the unusual nature of his body.<sup>57</sup> Ibn Kathīr preserves a report in which Anas b. Mālik comments on the skin of the prophet Muhammad. "Anas b. Mālik said: I have never touched silk brocade or silk finer than the hand of the Apostle of God. I have never smelled anything more pleasant than the odor of the Apostle of God."<sup>58</sup>

Other reports are collected in the *Dalā'il al-nubūwah* of Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (d. 1066), a work that details descriptions of Muhammad's special body, including his head, his hair, and his odor.<sup>59</sup> "Yayḥā b. 'Aṭā' said: I heard Jābir b. Yazīd b. al-Aswād report that his father said: I came to the Apostle of God while his was at Minā and I said to him: Apostle of God, give me your hand. It was whiter than snow and more pleasant smelling than musk."<sup>60</sup> The water used by the prophet Muhammad to wash his hands was used by his followers as medicine, he used his spit to heal a person, and the Sufī master 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī is said to have had a vision in which the prophet Muhammad put spit on his tongue, allowing him to preach.<sup>61</sup> Numerous sources report that the hairs of the Prophet were kept by his followers and passed down to later generations, and 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā'il al-Nābulī (d. 1731) repeats a claim that, in India, the hairs of the Prophet grow and increase on their own.<sup>62</sup>

Many of the reports regarding the special nature of the prophet Muhammad's body are directly linked to his performance of sacrifices. The comment, by the father of Jābir b. Yazīd b. al-Aswād, concerning

Muhammad's white pleasant-smelling hand, was made when Muhammad was at Minā at the time of his camel sacrifice. There are reports that, when the prophet Muhammad performed the special camel sacrifice at al-Ḥudaybiyah, his body produced water for his followers to drink and perform their ritual purifications.

Jābir b. 'Abdallāh said that on the day of al-Ḥudaybiyah the people were thirsty and the Apostle of God had a water vessel from which he performed the ablution. The people came to him and said they had no water to perform ablution or drink except what was in that vessel. So the Prophet put his hand into the vessel and water poured from between his fingers like springs. Jābir said they drank and performed ablutions, and when he was asked how many people there were he replied that if they had been a hundred thousand the water would have been sufficient for them, adding that there were fifteen hundred.

al-Barā' b. 'Āzib said: On the day of al-Ḥudaybiyah we were with the Apostle of God, about fourteen hundred of us. At al-Ḥudaybiyah was a well which we used up not leaving a drop in it. When the Prophet heard this he came to it and sat down beside it. He called for a vessel of water and performed his ablutions, rinsed his mouth, and made supplication. Then he poured the water into the well and told them to leave it for a while. Later, they drew water sufficient for themselves and their animals until the time when they left.<sup>63</sup>

Ibn Sa'd preserves a report in which the hair cut from the prophet Muhammad and his followers after their sacrifice at al-Ḥudaybiyah was blown by a special wind all the way up to the sanctuary at Mecca.<sup>64</sup> The hair, along with the meat of the camels, made it way to the Ka'bah, and completed the pilgrimage that Muhammad and his followers were not able to make with the rest of their own bodies.

There are numerous reports that the prophet Muhammad's sweat was collected and preserved by his followers after his death.<sup>65</sup> It is remarkable that all of these reports seem to be focused on Umm Sulaym, the wife of Abū Ṭalḥah, who is reported to have received a portion of the prophet Muhammad's hair at the farewell pilgrimage.

Anas b. Mālik: The Prophet came to us and talked to us, and he used to sweat. My mother [Umm Sulaym] brought a long-necked bottle [qārūrah] and put in it the sweat. The Prophet woke up and said: "Umm Sulaym what is this you are doing?" She said: "This is sweat we keep it for our perfume." It was the best of perfume.<sup>66</sup>

Anas b. Mālik related, on the authority of Umm Sulaym, that the Prophet used to come and take a nap with her. She would spread out a leather mat and he would nap on it. There was a lot of sweat, so she used to collect his sweat and use it as perfume and *qawārīr*. The Prophet said: "Umm Sulaym, what is this?" She said: "Your sweat. I mix it with my perfume."<sup>67</sup>

Ibn Ḥajar mentions reports in which Umm Sulaym mixes Muhammad's hair with his sweat, and claims that these confuse the role of Umm Sulaym in the distribution of the hair at the time of the farewell pilgrimage with her collection of Muhammad's sweat.<sup>68</sup> Ibn Ḥajar also cites another report in which the prophet Muhammad took a nap and sweated not on a leather mat but in the bed of Umm Sulaym.<sup>69</sup> Ibn Sa'd cites a report, given on the authority of al-Barā' b. Zayd from Anas b. Mālik, in which Umm Sulaym wipes the spit or "backwash" [su'r] of the prophet Muhammad onto her body.

These reports evince that Umm Sulaym had an unusual relationship with the prophet Muhammad, especially with his physical body. In addition to being the recipient of the prophet Muhammad's hair, collecting his sweat, and wiping his spit on her body, Umm Sulaym is said to have participated with him in the special production of food for his followers. Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim preserve reports in which Umm Sulaym and the prophet Muhammad produce food for eighty people from a single loaf of bread.<sup>70</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, the prophet Muhammad lodged with Umm Sulaym two women who had been sent to him by the Christian Patriarch of Alexandria.

In this year [year 7] Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta'ah came back from al-Muqawqis bringing Māriyah and her sister Sīrīn, his female mule Duldul, his donkey Ya'fūr, and sets of garments. With the two women al-Muqawqis had sent a eunuch, and the latter stayed with them. Ḥāṭib had invited them to become Muslims before he arrived with them, and Māriyah and her sister did so. The messenger of God lodged them with Umm Sulaym bt. Miḥān. Māriyah was beautiful. The Prophet sent her sister Sīrīn to Ḥassān b. Thābit, and she bore him 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān.<sup>71</sup>

It was Umm Sulaym who dedicated her son Anas b. Mālik, when he was ten years old, to be the servant of the prophet Muhammad. Anas b. Mālik was the son of Umm Sulaym's first husband, Mālik b. al-Naḍr, who left her when she made an oath to follow and fight beside the prophet Muhammad at Ubar.<sup>72</sup> She was responsible for convincing Abū Ṭalḥah, who is said to have been the richest man in Medina, to follow and donate his wealth to the cause of the prophet Muhammad.<sup>73</sup> The night following the death of her first son with Abū Ṭalḥah, Umm Sulaym visited the prophet Muhammad and was told that she would give birth to a special son to whom the Prophet later gave the name 'Abdallāh.<sup>74</sup>

Some parallels between the depiction of Umm Sulaym and the characterization of Mary Magdalene in Christian sources highlight the role played by Umm Sulaym vis-à-vis the body of the prophet Muhammad. Not unlike Umm Sulaym, Mary Magdalene seems to have had a unique



relationship with Jesus as one of the small group of named female disciples.<sup>75</sup> She supported Jesus with her wealth (Luke 8:3), was one of three disciples to receive special instructions from Jesus,<sup>76</sup> and is often conflated with other female figures linked to the body of Jesus, such as the woman who kisses and washes the feet of Jesus with her hair in Luke 7:36–50.<sup>77</sup> Mary Magdalene is said to be the most beloved of Jesus' disciples, the one whom Jesus kissed on the lips.<sup>78</sup> She is portrayed as the bride of Jesus in the allegorical exegesis of the Song of Songs by Hippolytus, and is said, by certain groups considered to be heretical, to have had sex with Jesus and consumed his bodily emissions.<sup>79</sup> Mary Magdalene is specifically linked with the dead and resurrected body of Jesus. She is present at the Crucifixion, leads a group of women to anoint the corpse of Jesus,<sup>80</sup> touches Jesus' body out of love rather than disbelief (Matt 28:9), and is the main disciple who speaks in the post-resurrection dialogues with Jesus.

Umm Sulaym, and other members of her family, are also associated with the detached or “dead” body of the prophet Muhammad through his saliva, sweat, and hair.<sup>81</sup> According to Anas b. Mālik, only Abū Ṭalḥah was able to descend into the tomb of the Prophet's daughter Umm Kulthūm, and Ibn Hishām reports that Abū Ṭalḥah was the one in charge of digging the tomb for the prophet Muhammad.<sup>82</sup> Ibn Saʿd reports that Muḥammad b. Sīrīn had sweat collected from the prophet Muhammad by Umm Sulaym, who was the mother of his patron and former slave-master Anas b. Mālik.

Muḥammad b. Sīrīn reported that Umm Sulaym said: “The Apostle of God used to take a nap in my house. I would spread out for him a leather mat and he would nap on it. He would sweat and I would take *sukk* and knead it with his sweat.” Muḥammad said: This *sukk* was requested from Umm Sulaym, and she gave me some of it. Ayyūb said: I requested some of this *sukk* from Muhammad and he gave me some of it, and I have it now. When Muhammad died he was embalmed with this *sukk*. He used to knead it so that his corpse could be embalmed with it.<sup>83</sup>

According to a report mentioned in al-Bukhārī, Anas b. Mālik was also said to have been embalmed in *sukk* made from the sweat and hair of the prophet Muhammad.

Anas reported that Umm Sulaym used to spread out a leather mat for the Prophet and he would take a nap at her place on that mat. He said that when the Prophet was sleeping she would take his sweat and hair and collect it in a bottle and knead it with *sukk*. When Anas b. Mālik was about to die he requested that he should be embalmed in that *sukk*, so he was embalmed in it.<sup>84</sup>

Burial with the hair and nails of the prophet Muhammad is attested for other people as well, such as the first Umayyad Caliph Mu‘āwiyah buried in Damascus and Sidī Šāhib Abū Zam‘ah al-Balawī buried in Qairouan.<sup>85</sup>

It is perhaps significant that the sweat from the prophet Muhammad was collected while he was asleep, just as during his farewell pilgrimage he was in a sacralized state removed from regular life.

‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far reported from ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Amr from ‘Abd al-Karīm from al-Barī b. Zayd that the Prophet took a nap in the house of Umm Sulaym on a mat and he sweated. The Apostle of God woke up and Umm Sulaym was wiping his sweat. He said: “Umm Sulaym what are you doing?” She said: “I am taking this *barakah* which is coming from you.”

The sweat of the prophet Muhammad is described as a “blessing” [*barakah*], the term also used to designate the hairs distributed from the Prophet at the end of his farewell pilgrimage.<sup>86</sup> That the sacralized state of the pilgrim [*iḥram*] represents and is linked with death is evident from the restrictions placed on the pilgrim and the rituals performed during the visit to the Meccan sanctuary, which is itself considered a graveyard. The body of the pilgrim is not to be tended, so that the hair and nails grow, and the specific clothes worn by the pilgrim not only resemble but are used as a burial shroud.<sup>87</sup> The body of the prophet Muhammad is described as being white as snow and smelling of musk, as a dead body anointed for burial, when he is at Minā, the place of sacrifice. When entering into the sacralized state required for the pilgrimage, the pilgrim is literally “made sacred” or “sacrificed” so that the body is effectively dead until the desacralization [*iḥlāl*], when the burial shroud and the hair and nails are removed, and a domesticated animal is slaughtered as a substitute for the life of the pilgrim. Only when the domesticated animal is sacrificed does the body of the pilgrim return to its normal, living state. In this sense, the hair and nails distributed at the farewell pilgrimage could be understood as being removed from a body of the prophet Muhammad that has been redeemed by his sacrifice of the camels.

#### SUBSTITUTION

That the 100 camels sacrificed by the prophet Muhammad at the conclusion of his farewell pilgrimage were understood to be a substitute for his own physical body is evident from a number of early Islamic traditions. Muslim exegesis of “we redeemed him with a great sacrifice” [*wa fadaynā-hu bi-dhibḥ-in ‘azīm-in*] in Q 37:107, understood as referring

to the animal that Abraham slaughtered instead of his son, relates a legal opinion of Ibn ‘Abbās regarding the number and type of animals required to redeem a human being from being sacrificed. Ṭabarī relates, on the authority of ‘Ikrimah, that Ibn ‘Abbās used to tell people who made a vow to sacrifice themselves that they were required to slaughter 100 camels in order to release themselves from the vow. After he learned about Q 37:107, Ibn ‘Abbās would tell people that it was sufficient to slaughter a ram.<sup>88</sup> Ibn Kathīr cites the same report, as does al-Suyūṭī, as well as another version, found in al-Ṭabarsī’s exegesis of Q 37:107, that Ibn ‘Abbās told a man to slaughter a ram instead of his son that he had vowed to sacrifice.<sup>89</sup>

Such a legal opinion does not take into account the variety of animals that exegetes report were substituted for Abraham’s son (wild goat, ibex, ram), and the unique character of the animal offered by Abraham (e.g., that it was the same animal offered by Abel, sent down by God to Abraham after spending forty seasons pasturing in the garden of Eden). The substitution of a ram for a person does tie Q 37:107 with Genesis 22:13, and it may indicate an attempt to abrogate an earlier tradition of requiring 100 camels for the life of a person. Muslim exegesis on Q 37:107 cites a report given on the authority of the first Umayyad caliph Mu‘āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān that the prophet Muhammad was addressed by the epithet “son of the two sacrificed ones” by a man who came to ask him about a vow he made to himself. When asked about the epithet, Muhammad replied that it referred to his lineage from Abraham’s son Ishmael and from ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s son ‘Abdallāh (the father of Muhammad) who was redeemed by the slaughter of 100 camels.<sup>90</sup> Slaughtering certain animals to redeem children from being sacrificed is known from the Bible and the ancient Near East, as is the requirement to sacrifice children (Leviticus 26:29 and Ezekiel 20:26) as a punishment for the sins of the parents.<sup>91</sup>

Muslim jurists agree that the standard wergild [dīyah] for taking the life of a free Muslim man is 100 camels, and the standard dowry [mahr] for a wife is determined according to a certain number of camels. A ḥadīth report transmitted on the authority of Ibn ‘Umar relates how the prophet Muhammad stood on the steps of the Ka‘bah on the day of the conquest of Mecca and stated that the wergild for a person killed is 100 camels “of which forty should be pregnant with their young in their bellies.”<sup>92</sup> In another report, the prophet Muhammad states that the wergild of 100 camels is equal to 200 cows or 1,000 sheep.<sup>93</sup> Both al-Ṭabarī and al-Tha‘labī claim that the pre-Islamic kings of Yemen demanded

100 camels as blood money for a murdered man,<sup>94</sup> a Liḥyanite inscription from al-‘Ulā refers to the paying of wergild [dy nfs],<sup>95</sup> and the rabbis specify the slaughtering of specific animals as penalties for certain transgressions.<sup>96</sup> Muslim jurists stipulate that any monetary fine for killing must be based on the market value of 100 camels.<sup>97</sup> Even in modern times, a monetary fine to be paid in compensation for killing another person, whether intentionally or not, is still set according to the cost of camels on the open market.<sup>98</sup>

In his *Kitāb al-ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, al-Damīrī cites a ḥadīth report in which the prophet Muhammad says not to “revile the camel for it is the stopping of blood [ruqā’ al-damm] and the noble dower.”<sup>99</sup> Reports transmitted on the authority of Anas b. Mālīk relate that the prophet Muhammad considered the manumission of a slave as a proper dower [mahr],<sup>100</sup> and that Abū Ṭalḥah’s conversion to Islam was accepted by Umm Sulaym as a dower.<sup>101</sup> A number of ḥadīth reports state that Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām donated 100 camels when he converted to Islam,<sup>102</sup> and a report transmitted on the authority of Ghālīb b. al-Qaṭṭān relates that a group of people offered 100 camels when they submitted to the prophet Muhammad and became Muslims.<sup>103</sup> Several ḥadīth reports compare the companions of the prophet Muhammad with the value of 100 camels,<sup>104</sup> and the sacrifice of 100 camels is regarded as an act of great merit.<sup>105</sup> After the battle of Ḥunayn and in other cases, the prophet Muhammad is said to have distributed 100 camels to certain individuals as reward for their victories.<sup>106</sup>

The substitution of an animal for the life of a human being is also a part of the ‘Aqīqah sacrifice practiced by the prophet Muhammad. This sacrificial ritual links the slaughter of an animal with hair removal and offering, and the gift of one’s body to provide sustenance to society through the birth of male and female heirs. In a number of reports, the prophet Muhammad states that it is required to slaughter two sheep for a boy and one for a girl, indicating that the emphasis was on patrilineal kinship ties.<sup>107</sup> Later Muslims sometimes restrict the sacrifice only to the birth of boys.<sup>108</sup> Including many elements from the sacrifice performed by pilgrims at the conclusion of the Islamic Ḥajj, the ‘Aqīqah includes shaving the newborn’s head, sacrificing a domesticated animal, and giving the weight of the hair in silver or gold to buy food for the poor.<sup>109</sup> The prophet Muhammad is reported to have practiced other rituals associated with the birth of his and other’s children, such as placing a chewed date in the mouth of the infant.<sup>110</sup> Reports of other practices, including burial of the hair in the ground, offering hair to deities, and evidence of the practice

among Muslims and Christians, suggests that, like the Ḥajj sacrifice, the ‘Aqīqah and associated rituals were a continuation of pre-Islamic sacrifices.<sup>111</sup> Given the nature of the ritual, it may be that the ‘Aqīqah is related to biblical and other Near Eastern rituals offering firstlings, including the substitution of wild for domesticated animals, and domesticated animals for first-born children.<sup>112</sup>

According to Islamic law and traditional practice, the ‘Aqīqah sacrifice redeems both the child and its father. Muslim jurists relate that the prophet Muhammad allowed people to continue the pre-Islamic custom of wetting the head of the child with the blood of the sacrifice, and that using saffron as a substitute for the blood is allowed.<sup>113</sup> The prophet Muhammad is said to have performed an ‘Aqīqah sacrifice for the two sons of his daughter Fāṭimah for the purpose of removing their sins. “It is established practice [sunnah] that this [viz, the ‘Aqīqah sacrificial ritual] be performed on the seventh day because the prophet Muhammad did this for al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn on the seventh day, then he named them and ordered that the wrongs [al-adhī] be removed from their heads.”<sup>114</sup> In another report the prophet Muhammad is said to have rubbed a chewed date on the palate of the newborn son of Asmā’ bt. Abī Bakr, and the people were pleased because they had been told that the Jews had used sorcery to make the couple barren.<sup>115</sup> ‘Ā’ishah reports that the prophet Muhammad came to her son, rubbed his palate, and washed him after he urinated on him.<sup>116</sup> In the Egyptian town of Ismailiyah ‘Aqīqah, sacrifices were seen being made to the local saint who was bound to protect and redeem the child.<sup>117</sup>

The slaughtering of the domesticated animal and the hair cutting is to be accompanied by a prayer uttered by the father or the child’s guardian representing the father. Egyptian Muslims are recorded as saying a supplicatory prayer that includes the father’s statement that the domesticated animal is intended to redeem his son. “God, this ‘Aqīqah is a ransom for my son – its blood for his blood, its flesh for his flesh, its bone for his bone, its skin for his skin, its hair for his hair. God, make it a ransom for my son from hell fire.”<sup>118</sup> A supplicatory prayer for an ‘Aqīqah sacrifice performed in India offers the life and body of a goat in the place of the newborn son. “Almighty God, I offer in the stead of my own offspring, life for life, blood for blood, head for head, bone for bone, hair for hair, skin for skin, in the name of God do I sacrifice this he-goat.”<sup>119</sup>

These liturgical articulations of the ‘Aqīqah ritual propose a homology between the body of the slaughtered domesticated animal and that of the human child.<sup>120</sup> And the correspondence between the animal and the son

is also the basis for the substitution of the child for the father. Ibn Manẓūr preserves a ḥadīth report in which the prophet Muhammad says that cutting the child's hair and sacrificing the sheep is required to make the son of intercessory value for the life of the father.<sup>121</sup> The practice of a man vowing to "sacrifice an animal so as not to be deprived of his old age" is attested from a village in Jordan.<sup>122</sup>

The 'Aqīqah sacrifice redeems both the father and the son, as the prophet Muhammad's sacrifice of camels substituted for his own body and for the corporate body of his community. Substituting the son for the father, and a domesticated animal for the son, is a prominent theme in pre-Islamic and Islamic Arabia. In his poetry, Jarwal b. Aws al-Ḥuṭay'ah (d. ca. 650–668) tells of a son who offers his body as food to a traveling stranger to save his empty-handed father from shame.<sup>123</sup> The son is redeemed by a fattened onager but the offering of his body fulfills the obligation to offer that which is most valuable to the guest.<sup>124</sup> It is evident, in some cases, that the sacrifice of the child is a requirement for the father, based on a vow he has made or as expiation.<sup>125</sup> The exegesis of Q 37:101–107 relates that Abraham's son instructed his father to take precautions when preparing to kill him so that he would not allow his compassion for him as his son to cause him to fail in fulfilling his obligation.<sup>126</sup> In pre-Islamic Arabia, as in other contexts, the sacrifice of a domesticated bull was understood as redeeming the heads of families to ensure the continued fertility of the region on which the community was dependent.<sup>127</sup> It is evident from the pre-sacrificial treatment of the animal that the bull represents both the community and the fertility of the land, allowing the sacrifice to serve as a symbolic commemoration of the agricultural accomplishments of the society.<sup>128</sup>

#### DISTRIBUTION OF BODY PARTS

When he performed the 100 camel sacrifice at Minā at the conclusion of his farewell pilgrimage, the prophet Muhammad distributed all the meat but also the non-meat parts of the camels, along with his own hair and nails, to his followers.<sup>129</sup> Ibn Sayyid al-Nās and Ibn Kathīr explain that the distribution included not only the meat and hides of the camels but also the coverings, saddles, and tack.<sup>130</sup> Several different ḥadīth reports, transmitted on the authority of Ibn Abī Laylā, relate 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's statement that after the prophet Muhammad slaughtered 100 camels he instructed 'Alī to distribute the meat, the coverings of the camels [jilālī-hā], and their skins [julūdi-hā].<sup>131</sup> In another version, the prophet

Muhammad orders ‘Alī to distribute the skins and coverings of the camels that he had slaughtered.<sup>132</sup>

In his commentary on the ḥadīth collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥākīm (d. 1345) remarks on several reports regarding the distribution of hair at the conclusion of the prophet Muhammad’s farewell pilgrimage.

Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Zayd reported that his father witnessed the Prophet at the place of sacrifice, he and a man from the Anṣār. The Apostle of God shaved his head into his cloth and gave it, apportioning it to the men. And he cut his nails and gave them to his companion.

They [the people transmitting this report] said: It [the hair] is with us now dyed with henna and *katam*.<sup>133</sup>

Ḥākīm also cites another report given on the authority of Anas b. Mālīk that identifies the companion of the prophet Muhammad as being Abū Ṭalḥah and explains that the hair was shaved one side at a time, but the report does not mention the nails being cut and distributed.<sup>134</sup> Other reports and the comments on them appear to deflect attention from the unusual act of the prophet Muhammad distributing his hair and nails by focusing on the details of the different accounts.

In his commentary on the reports in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, al-Nawawī does mention that it is allowed for people to consider the hairs of the Prophet as a blessing [barakah], but also states that the report he cites establishes the preferred practice of pilgrims starting with the right side when shaving their heads at the conclusion of the pilgrimage rituals.<sup>135</sup> Both al-Nawawī and Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Qaṣṭallānī (d. 1517) comment on the disagreement over the name of the barber.<sup>136</sup> In his commentary on the reports in the collection of al-Bukhārī, Ibn Ḥajar discusses the disagreement over which side of the prophet Muhammad’s head was shaved and to whom it was given, including Abū Ṭalḥah, his wife Umm Sulaym and the other followers of the prophet Muhammad present at the time of the farewell pilgrimage.<sup>137</sup>

The hair distributed by the prophet Muhammad was subsequently passed on to other Muslims, and was often used to mark the spread of Islam outside the area of Mecca and Medina in succeeding generations. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdallāh Abū Nu‘aym (d. 1038) reports that the caliph Khālīd b. al-Walīd had hairs from the prophet Muhammad incorporated into his helmet, and would take the hairs into battle to ensure his victory.<sup>138</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Thumālī said: the Apostle of God used to change his beard with lotus water, and he ordered the changing of his hair to

differentiate it from the non-Arabs [*‘ājam*]. A number of other reports relate that preserved hairs from the prophet Muhammad were all dyed yellow (with henna, sukka, katam, or *ṭayyib*), and that people used to wash the hairs in a special gold ball and remove those that were not dyed.<sup>139</sup> Ibn Jurayj notes that Ibn ‘Umar is said to have dyed his beard (with *khalūq*) in imitation of the prophet Muhammad. Qays b. ‘Āṣim reports that the prophet Muhammad instructed him to wash his body with lotus water after his conversion to Islam.<sup>140</sup> Water infused with lotus leaves is also used to prepare for burial the body of an anonymous man who fell off his camel mount near ‘Arafāt while performing the Islamic Ḥajj rituals.<sup>141</sup> Hairs shaved from the prophet Muhammad’s head at the conclusion of his Ḥajj are also preserved in many mosques and are commonly displayed in a ritual parade to commemorate the night on which the Quran was revealed [*laylat al-qadr*] during Ramaḍān.<sup>142</sup>

It is important to note that Muslim jurists agree that the shaving of the head is a required separate ritual of the Ḥajj and not just an act that is part of the larger ritual of desacralization.<sup>143</sup> Jurists cite a ḥadīth report, transmitted on the authority of Ibn ‘Umar, in which the prophet Muhammad says that shaving the head is better than just cutting some hairs, and explains that the cutting of hair and nails after the sacrifice is intended to mark the pilgrim’s transition from a sacralized to nonsacralized state.<sup>144</sup> That the shaving of the head and paring of the nails is specifically tied to the sacrifice is evident in the obligation to send a sacrifice to Mecca before desacralization in the case of being prevented from visiting the Ka‘bah, and in the strict prohibition against shaving before performing the sacrifice.<sup>145</sup> Muslim sources claim that in pre-Islamic times pagan Arabs used to shave their heads in a special ritual at the shrine of their deity after a long journey, and Jewish law allows shaving after a long journey when it is otherwise normally prohibited, such as during *Pesaḥ* or *Sukkōt*.<sup>146</sup> Christian pilgrims to Mount Sinai are reported to have shaved their heads at the close of the pilgrimage.<sup>147</sup>

Among Arabs and other Semites in different areas hair was shaved or cut and offered (sometimes along with nails) at the cult centers of certain local deities.<sup>148</sup> The people of al-Ṭā‘if used to shave their heads at the sanctuary of Allāt.<sup>149</sup> Abū Sufyān is reported to have shaved his head near the idols of Isāf and al-Nā‘ilah at Mecca, and to have sacrificed animals, the blood of which he smeared on the heads of the idols.<sup>150</sup> Herodotus claims that the Arabs cut their hair and shaved their temples in devotion to the goddess Alilat.<sup>151</sup> Lucian of Samosata reports that pilgrims arriving



at Hierapolis in northern Syria would shave their heads, slaughter and eat a sheep, then place the feet and head of the animal on their own heads while praying to the goddess for their safety.<sup>152</sup> The high priest [flamen dialis] in ancient Rome, as part of his ritual purifications, was required to bury his hair and nails under a certain tree.<sup>153</sup> Yāqūt cites Ibn Hishām's description of a pilgrimage [ḥajj] to al-Uqayṣir where the pilgrims would shave their heads and mix the hair into bread offerings that they would then eat.<sup>154</sup> Hair is reported to have been offered to Atargatis in Hierapolis, as part of the prostitution cult in Mylitta, and to patron deities in Rome.<sup>155</sup> Hair is also used in divination rites.<sup>156</sup> According to al-Wāqidi, the prophet Muhammad refrained from cutting his nails or shaving his head until he performed his sacrifice [dāḥiyah] in Medina on the day the sacrifice was taking place in Minā.<sup>157</sup>

Some jurists interpret the completion of the Ḥajj as being equivalent to fulfilling a vow since the ritual is considered obligatory for most Muslims. In some cases, the offering of hair is seen as a rite of passage, such as the cutting of girls' hair before marriage, or at the conclusion of fulfilling a vow, as in the case of the biblical Nazirite.<sup>158</sup> The biblical Nazirite was supposed to let his hair grow while under the vow and then to shave it afterward (Numbers 6:5 and Acts 18:18 and 21:23).<sup>159</sup> Josephus describes a type of ritual vow to God in which people would stay in Jerusalem, abstaining from wine for thirty days, offer a sacrifice, and shave their heads.<sup>160</sup> According to Ibn Ḥanbal, it is recommended that converts to Islam shave their heads, a freed slave has a haircut, and the Khawārij are reported to have shaved their heads to distinguish themselves from other Muslims.<sup>161</sup> Just as the people of al-Ṭā'if shaved their heads after returning safely from travel, Egyptian travelers did not cut their hair until they completed their journeys.<sup>162</sup> Achilles is said not to have cut his hair because his father Peleus promised it to the river Spercheius if his son should come home safely from war in foreign lands,<sup>163</sup> and both Greeks and Hebrews are reported to have offered hair to rivers upon reaching adulthood.<sup>164</sup> Lucian says that the hair of boys and girls was only cut and offered to the goddess when they reached adolescence and became eligible to be married.<sup>165</sup> At the festival for Adonis at Byblus, the Phoenicians required women to cut and sacrifice their hair or serve as cult prostitutes.<sup>166</sup> Hair shaving and nail cutting as a rite of passage is also attested among Sufi practices and Bedouin customs.<sup>167</sup>

That hair removed from a person's body, by cutting or shaving, would continue to be considered an extension of the body from which it was

removed is evident from a number of ancient traditions. Zabīdī, in his *Tāj al-‘arūs* lexicon, claims that in pre-Islamic times women used to wrap their shaved head in a special cloth [siqāb] stained with their own blood.<sup>168</sup> In numerous cultures the hair is thought to be the “seat of life.”<sup>169</sup> Samson loses his strength when his hair is cut (Judges 16:17).<sup>170</sup> Hair offerings to the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis were placed in gold and silver containers inscribed with the offerer’s name and were nailed to the wall of the temple.<sup>171</sup> The cutting of hair is used to cure sickness in Greek and Roman contexts.<sup>172</sup> Among the Mahūbī Arabs, Doughty reports the custom of warriors shaving their heads before a difficult battle as a way to devote themselves to their impending deaths,<sup>173</sup> and Ibn Hishām says that dreaming of a shaved head is an omen of death.<sup>174</sup> The Greek ritual of “theseis” seems to have been a rite of initiation in which boys entering manhood would cut their hair or shave the front part of their heads as Theseus is said to have done in preparation for battle.<sup>175</sup> In European folklore traditions hair is considered an integral part of the human body which needs to be present with its original body on the Day of Judgment.<sup>176</sup>

Certain practices from the ancient world indicate that the cutting of hair or shaving of the head replaced earlier hair and animal sacrifices. Like the body of the sacrificial animal, hair cut from the bodies of worshippers was seen as an extension of and substitute for their full bodies.<sup>177</sup> During the annual pilgrimage to the shrine of Shaykh Ṣāliḥ in the Sinai, the removal of hair and the drawing of blood by scratching the surface of the skin of the forehead from where the hair was removed precedes the slaughter of fifty or sixty lambs. Recalling aspects of the Islamic Ḥajj and other pre-Islamic festivals, the pilgrimage to the shrine of Shaykh Ṣāliḥ is accompanied by camel races, communal meals, and a ritual dance.<sup>178</sup> In his exegesis of Q 2:187, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Harrāsī (d. 1110) cites a report that ‘Ā’ishah, instead of having sex with him, cut the hair of the prophet Muhammad but did not touch his body.<sup>179</sup> Likewise, clothing and other personal items such as weapons are considered an extension of and are offered as a substitute for the worshipper’s body. Pieces of cloth along with strips of flesh from slaughtered animals are hung in special trees as offerings in fulfillment of a type of vow when a supplication is answered.<sup>180</sup> Arabs in pre-Islamic times are reported to have hung their weapons and clothing on sacred trees alongside animal sacrifices to goddesses.<sup>181</sup> Pagan Meccans are said to have slaughtered the first offspring of a camel and hung its skin on trees.<sup>182</sup> Any object or substance, including animal carcasses, clothing, and blood, placed at the shrine of a saint or prophet is no longer the possession of the

offerer, and cannot be taken by anyone else, but is the “property” of the sanctuary.<sup>183</sup>

The ritual cutting of hair and nails is tied, in particular, to funerary rites and mourning for the dead. After the death of Khālid b. al-Walid, the women of the Banū Mughīrah are reported to have shaved their heads and put the hair on his tomb.<sup>184</sup> ‘Abd al-Mālik is said to have cut his and his children’s hair when he heard about the death of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.<sup>185</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ibn Durayd (d. 933) reports that the Khawārij shaved their heads at the grave of their leader ‘Alī b. al-Musarriḥ, and ethnographic reports from Jordan document the practice among Bedouin women.<sup>186</sup> A pre-Islamic inscription near Sakakah recording the plucking out of hair might be related to visitation of a nearby burial.<sup>187</sup> As in the Bible, some Muslim sources place prohibitions on hair removal as a mourning ritual to distance Islamic practices from pre-Islamic pagan rites. This included forbidding the hiring of professional mourners, a limit of three days of mourning except for a husband, wearing makeup and dyed clothing, and excessive wailing.<sup>188</sup> The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim preserves a ḥadīth report in which Abū Mūsā says he, like the prophet Muhammad, is “free from” [bari’a min] the woman who cries loudly [al-ṣāliqah], shaves her head [al-ḥāliqah], and tears (her clothes) [al-shāqah].<sup>189</sup>

The removal of hair for the dead is attested in the Bible (e.g., Jeremiah 7:29, Ezra 9:3, Micah 1:16), and the association of hair offerings with visitation of the dead appears to have been widespread in the ancient world.<sup>190</sup> Herodotus (9:24) mentions that the Persians shaved their heads and cut the hair of their horses after the death of Masistius, and Orestes is said to have offered hair at the tomb of his father.<sup>191</sup> Deut 21:12–13 specifies that captive women to be taken as wives by the Israelites are to have their heads shaved and nails cut while mourning for their parents for a month before marriage.<sup>192</sup> Numbers 6:9–12 stipulates that the Nazirite is to shave his head after coming into contact with a corpse, and some modern scholars speculate that the Islamic rite of shaving at the conclusion of the Ḥajj originates from a funerary ritual.<sup>193</sup> In pre-Islamic Syria, both men and women are reported to have practiced the cutting of their hair and placing it in caskets inside temples, and pilgrims to the festivals at Byblus and Bamyce deposited their cut hair for sacrifice at the altars there.<sup>194</sup> The ritual mourning for Ba’al-Hadad mentioned in Zechariah 12:11, and known from Ugaritic texts (KTV 5, 6) seems to have involved piercing the skin, wearing sackcloth, tearing hair from the head and beard, and placing ashes on the head.<sup>195</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

The Old Church Slavonic 2 Enoch 30:8 contains a passage in which Adam, the first man, is created from elements representing all of the world.

And on the sixth day I commanded my wisdom to create man out of the seven components: his flesh from earth, his blood from the sun, his eyes from the bottomless sea, his bones from stone, his reason from the mobility of angels and from clouds, his veins and hair from grass of the earth, his spirit from my spirit and from wind.<sup>196</sup>

Not unrelated to other Indo-European traditions in which the world is created from the dismembering of a primal being, here Adam, whose descendants are responsible for the construction of civilization, is a type of microcosm of the earth.<sup>197</sup> Homologies comparing human bodies to the world context into which they are created produce conceptions of the individual as a small version of the larger whole, but also “macro-anthropic” images of the whole as a bigger version of the individual person.<sup>198</sup> In his *Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah*, the famous mystic Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 1240) says that from the clay left over after creating Adam God created the “palm tree” [nakhlah], and from the bit of clay remaining, the size of a sesame seed, he created the rest of the universe.<sup>199</sup> Muslim exegesis on Q 2:30 explains that Adam is the first man and first “caliph” [khalīfah] placed on the earth, meaning that he, and the prophets who would succeed him, were to be custodians of the rest of creation.<sup>200</sup>

That the association of a primordial body with the world might be more “socio-gonic” than cosmogonic in character is more explicit in certain versions of the myth, such as that found in Rg Veda 10:90.

11 When they divided Puruṣa how many portions did they make? What do they call his mouth, his arms? What do they call his thighs and feet? 12 The Brahman was his mouth, of both his arms was the Rājanya made. His thighs became the Vaiśya, from his feet the Śūdra was produced 13 The Moon was engendered from his mind, and from his eye the Sun had birth; Indra and Agni from his mouth were born, and Vāyu from his breath. 14 Forth from his navel came mid-air, the sky was fashioned from his head, Earth from his feet, and from his car the regions. Thus they formed the worlds.

It is important to note that the Indo-European myths are about the origins of the three main social classes, providing an etiology and justification for the authority of the priests over the warriors and the dependence of both on the producers (farmers, craftspeople).<sup>201</sup> The Islamic myth is remarkably different. Muhammad is both the warrior king and the priest, and

the produce of his sacrifice is distributed equally to all of his followers with no distinctions based on class, gender, or national origins. The numerous reports forbidding giving the butcher any portion of the meat from the slaughtered animal might reflect a conscious rejection of the priestly portion or even other practices in which certain parts of the animal are reserved for particular classes of people.<sup>202</sup> In this sense the Muslim Ḥajj sacrifice might not be unlike a representation of an older, original monotheism without the overlay of the clerical hierarchy of ancient Israel or the Church.

The hundred camels substitute for the prophet Muhammad's body, given out alongside his actual body, but also epitomize the pastoral desert society of the Arabs. Just as the bull serves as a substitute for and symbol of the community as a whole in ancient south Arabia, Israel, and Mesopotamia because of its central place in the economy of these agrarian societies, so the camel can be used by Muslim scholars to represent the idealized pastoralism of Arabia. Camels, like horse and donkeys elsewhere, were slaughtered and buried alongside warriors, interred with their weapons, to memorialize their military prowess in providing and protecting the fertility of the community. The camel is emblematic of Arab hospitality and generosity, martial prowess, and the ability to thrive in the harsh environment of the desert. In imitation of Abraham's model, the life of the prophet Muhammad embodies this idealized pastoralism as the king is meant to constitute the state and the people it represents. The ritual dismemberment and distribution of the camel and of the prophet Muhammad's body is a participatory display of the character of the new community that is supposed to be established in the new age heralded by the Prophet-king's sacrifice.

#### NOTES

- 1 See Mircea Eliade, "Cultural Fashions and the History of Religion," in *The History of Religions: Essays on the Problem of Understanding*, ed. Joseph Kitagawa, 21–38 (Chicago, IL, 1967) [= *Occultism, Witchcraft, and Cultural Fashions: Essays in Comparative Religion* (Chicago, IL, 1976), 1–17].
- 2 Eliade, *Occultism, Witchcraft, and Cultural Fashions*, 7–8. For a critique, see Frank Korom, "Of Navels and Mountains: A Further Inquiry into the History of an Idea," *Asian Folklore Studies* 51 (1992): 103–125; Irwin, *Camel*, 70–71.
- 3 See Nigel Pavitt, *Turkana* (London, 1997); John Lamphear, "The People of the Grey Bull: The Origin and Expansion of the Turkana," *Journal of African*

- History* 29 (1988): 27–39; Anastasia Kagunyu and others, “Camel Hides: Production, Marketing and Utilization in Pastoral Regions of Northern Kenya,” *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice* 3 (2013): 25–27; C. Field, *Where There Is No Development Agency: A Manual for Pastoralists and Their Promoters* (Aylesford, 2005); R. Yagil, *Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations* (Rome, 1982); F. M. El Amin, “The Dromedary Camel of the Sudan,” *Integrative Fertility Symposium: Camels* 6 (1979): 35–54.
- 4 See S. Stroock and Co., New York, *The Story of Camel Hair* (New York, 1936), esp. 15–19; J. Gordon Cook, *Handbook of Textile Fibres* (Watford, 1968); Jan Gooch, “Camel Hair,” in the *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Polymers* (New York, 2011), 112.
- 5 See Hassan al-Kahtani and others, “Structural Characteristics of Camel-Bone Gelatin by Demineralization and Extraction,” *International Journal of Food Properties* 20 (2017): 2559–2568; See Ilse Kohler-Rollefson and Hanwant Singh Rathor, “Participatory Approaches to Using the Camel in Combating Desertification,” in *Desertification Combat and Food Safety*, ed. B. Faye and P. Esenov (Amsterdam, 2005), 32–48, esp. 38; Richard Fariña and others, *Megafauna: Giant Beasts of Pleistocene South America* (Bloomington, IN, 2013), esp. 115–117.
- 6 See Eisenstein, *Einführung in die arabische Zoographie*; Ambros, “Gestaltung und Funktionen der Biosphäre im Koran,” 290–325.
- 7 See M. Abouheil and others, “A Standard Method for Jointing Camel Carcasses with Reference to the Effect of Slaughter Age on Carcass Characteristics in Najdi Camels. I. Wholesale Cut Weight,” *Asian Australasian Journal of Animal Science* 3 (1990): 97–102; M. Abouheil and others “A Standard Method for Jointing Camel Carcasses with Reference to the Effect of Slaughter Age on Carcass Characteristics in Najdi Camels. II. Variation in Lean Growth and Distribution,” *Asian Australasian Journal of Animal Science* 3 (1990): 155–159; M. Abouheil and others, “A Standard Method for Jointing Camel Carcasses with Reference to the Effect of Slaughter Age on Carcass Characteristics in Najdi Camels. 3. Partition and Distribution of Carcass Fat,” *Asian Australasian Journal of Animal Science* 4 (1991): 219–225.
- 8 See Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 21:70; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 3:197. On the concept of the responsibility not to waste resources, see Bravmann, “The Surplus of Property,” 28–50; Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam*, esp. 229–253; Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes*, esp. 191–198.
- 9 See Noel Robertson, “The Collective Burial of Fallen Soldiers at Athens, Sparta and Elsewhere: ‘Ancestral Custom’ and Modern Misunderstanding,” *Echos du monde classique: Classical views* 27 (1983): 78–92. Compare with Gregory Coco, *A Strange and Blighted Land: Gettysburg: The Aftermath of a Battle* (Havertown, PA, 2017); Harold George, *Dead Soldiers at Gettysburg:*

- Burials and Re-Burials, 1863–1873* (Lakewood, CO, 2007); Thomas Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston, MA, 2004); Julia Hendon, “Having and Holding: Storage, Memory, Knowledge, and Social Relations,” *American Anthropologist* 102 (2000): 42–53.
- 10 Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina*, 1:178–179. See the modern study of Brooke, “Sacred Slaughter,” 67–88.
- 11 See Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 14:771 (12); 11:632 (217); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3048; Mālik b. Anas, *Muwattā’*, 20:187 (886).
- 12 See Eliade, “Sacrifice,” in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, s.v.
- 13 See Exod 29:12, 14; Lev 4:5–7, 11–12, 16–18, 21; 6; 8:15, 17; 9:9, 11; 16:18–19, 27; Ezek 43:20–21; cf. Num 19:4–5, 9 cited in JoAnn Scurlock, “The Techniques of the Sacrifice of Animals in Ancient Israel and Ancient Mesopotamia: New Insights through Comparison,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 44 (2006): 13–49, esp. 28; F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel* (Rome, 1934); Theodor Gaster, “Sacrifices,” in *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. George Buttrick (Nashville, TN, 1962), 152.
- 14 For the following paragraphs, see Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyah al-mujtāhid wa nihāyat al-muqtaṣid*, 3:363–372; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, vol. 5; Ibn al-Humām, *Sharḥ faḥ al-qadir*, 3:66–107; ‘Imrānī, *al-Bayān fi fiqh al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī*, vol. 4; Yūsuf b. ‘Abdallāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istidhkār: al-jāmi‘ li-madhāhib fuqahā’ al-amṣār* (Beirut, 2001), 3:689–692.
- 15 See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. ‘atīrah; al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-‘arūs fi jawāhir al-qamūs*, s.v. ‘atīrah. Edward Lane, *Arabic–English Lexicon*, s.v. ‘-T-R; al-Harawī, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, s.v. ‘atīrah; al-Jawharī, *Tāj al-lughah wa ṣiḥāḥ al-‘Arabīyah*, s.v. ‘atīrah; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. ‘atīrah; Ibn Fāris, *Maqāyis al-lughah*, s.v. ‘atīrah.
- 16 See D. S. Margoliouth, “Expiation and Atonement (Muslim),” in *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings and others (Edinburgh, 1926–1976), 5:664; S. M. Zwemer, “Atonement by Blood Sacrifice in Islam,” *Muslim World* 36 (1946): 189–192.
- 17 See Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 11:663, 2031 (312); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 29; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, 5:175–194 (no. 203); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1, 446, 468; Lammens, “Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l’Arabie occidentale,” 56.
- 18 See Frantsouzoff, “The Status of Sacred Pastures according to Sabaic Inscriptions,” 155–162.
- 19 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8:10 (369); 65 (4653, 4655, 4657), 25:67 (1622), 25:91 (1665); al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, 47 (3371, 3372).
- 20 See Frantsouzoff, “The Status of Sacred Pastures according to Sabaic Inscriptions,” 155–162; Rubin, “Abū Lahab and Sūra CXI,” 13–28; Rubin, “The Hands of Abū Lahab and the Gazelle of the Ka‘ba,” 93–98.
- 21 See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣnām*, 8.

- 22 See Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 142–146; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums*, 106–107.
- 23 On Basūs, see Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maydānī, *Amthāl al-‘Arab. Arabum Proverbia*, ed. G. W. Freytag (Bonnae, 1838–1843), 1:683–687; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 1:150; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil fī al-ta‘rīkh*, 1:385; ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Umar al-Baghdādī, *Khizānah al-adab wa lubb lubāb lisān al-‘Arab*, ed. Anton Huber and others (Cairo, 1882), 1:300; Werner Caskel, *Aijām al-‘Arab: Studien zur altarabischen Epik* (Leipzig, 1931), 76 and 97.
- 24 See R. B. Serjeant, “Haram and Hawtah, the Sacred Enclave in Arabia,” in *Mélanges Taha Husain*, ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī (Cairo, 1962), 41–58.
- 25 See Tawfīk Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1924), 175; Wilfred Thesiger, *Arabian Sands* (London, 1959). For other Palestinian shrines, see the recent Andrew Petersen, *Bones of Contention: Muslim Shrines in Palestine* (Basingstoke, 2018).
- 26 See ‘Imrānī, *al-Bayān fī fiqh al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī*, 4:435–436.
- 27 See ‘Imrānī, *al-Bayān fī fiqh al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī*, 4:435.
- 28 See the ethnographic details from Gerard van de Bruinhorst, *Idd el-Hajj and Sacrifices in Tanga (Tanzania): Authoritative Texts, Ritual Practices and Social Identities* (Leiden, 2007), esp. 297–324.
- 29 See Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭā‘*, 20:190–192, 239–243; ‘Abd al-Salām b. Sa‘īd Saḥnūn, *al-Mudawwanah al-kubrā*, ed. Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Salām (Beirut, 1994), 1:534–545.
- 30 See Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyah al-mujtāhid wa nihāyat al-muqtaṣid*, 419–424; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2:115 (187).
- 31 See Hideyuki Ioh, “The Calendar in Pre-Islamic Mecca,” *Arabica* 6 (2014): 471–513, 758–759; Fazlur Rehman, *Chronology of Prophetic Events* (London, 2001), esp. 52.
- 32 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 28:9, 1679 (42); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 97:24, 7447 (73), 73:5, 5550 (6), 64:77, 4406 (428), 65, 4662, 59:2, 3197 (8); Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 11:635, 1947 (227); Müller, “Ḥadīth-Aussagen zum Erstlingsopfer,” 93–96; Kister, “‘Rajab Is the Month of God,’” 191–223.
- 33 See al-Nasā‘ī, *Sunan*, 41:2, 4230 (9); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 26, 3245; Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 16:1, 2788; al-Nasā‘ī, *Sunan*, 41:1, 4222 (1), 4223 (2), 4225 (4); al-Nasā‘ī, *Sunan*, 41:2, 4230 (9), 41:2, 4231 (10), 41:2, 4229 (8); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 27, 3287; Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 16:1048, 2830 (43); al-Nasā‘ī, *Sunan*, 41:1, 4226 (5), 4228; 4228 (7), 4229 (8), and 4230 (9), 4231 (10); 4232 (11), 4233 (12); Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 16:1048, 2833 (46).
- 34 al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 47:3268.
- 35 Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3008. See the lexical explanations in al-Harawī, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, s.v. ‘-j-j and al-Muṭarrizī, *al-Mughrīb fī tartīb al-mu‘rib*, s.v. ‘-j-j.
- 36 See Ryckmans, “Ritual Meals in the Ancient South Arabian Religion,” 36–39.
- 37 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:17 (127); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 73:10 (15); Abū Dā‘ūd, *Sunan*, 11:23 (62).



- 38 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 56:105 (164); 25:115 (187); 73:10 (15); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:17 (134); Mālik b. Anas, *Muwatṭāʾ*, 20 (188); Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 11:23 (62); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25 (3095); al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, 24 (2931).
- 39 See Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 16:8 (23).
- 40 See Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 16:26 (3241, 3121); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 35:2 (28).
- 41 Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 16:4 (8).
- 42 On the virtues [faḍāʾil] of the Hajj, see Saʿūd b. ʿĪd b. ʿUmayr Ṣāʾidī, *al-Jāmiʿ li-marwiyāt faḍāʾil al-ḥajj wa al-ʿumrah wa-ayyām ʿasr Dhī al-Hijjah wa-ayyām al-tashriq wa-mā fihinna min al-ʿamal: jamʿ wa-dirāsah ḥadīthiyah wa-fiqhiyah, wa huwa majmūʿ min al-buḥūth al-ilmīyah al-muḥkamah fi ʿadad min al-jāmiʿāt* (Medina, 2013); Raḥmat Allāh b. ʿAbdallāh Sindī and Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-Kumushkhānawī, *Hadthā kitāb majāmiʿ al-manāsik fi nask al-ḥajj wa-faḍāʾil al-Ḥaramayn wa-al-Quds wa al-ḥajjāj wa-al-majāwir ʿalā al-tafṣīl* (Constantine, 1289 [1873]); Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḍiyāʾ, *al-Baḥr al-ʿamiq fi manāsik al-muʿtamar wa al-ḥajj ilā bayt allāh al-ʿatīq* (Mecca, 2006); ʿAbdallāh Nadhīr Aḥmad al-Mizzī, *al-Baḥr al-ʿamiq fi manāsik al-muʿtamar wa al-ḥajj ilā Bayt Allāh al-ʿatīq: faḍāʾil Makkah wa al-Madīnah wa al-Quds, manāsik al-ḥajj, ḥajj al-Nabī, riḥlat al-ḥajjī, taʾriḫ al-Ḥaramayn wa-āthārihimā* (Beirut, 2006); Sayyid b. Ḥusayn ʿAffānī, *al-Riyāḍ al-naḍrah fi faḍāʾil al-ḥajj wa al-ʿumrah* (Cairo, 1414); ʿAlī ibn Wahf al-Qaḥṭānī, *Manāsik al-ḥajj wa al-ʿumrah fi al-Islām fi dawʾ al-Kitāb wa al-sunnah: mafhūm, wa faḍāʾil, wa manāfiʿ, wa fawāʾid, wa shurūṭ, wa arkān, wa wājibāt, wa ādāb, wa masāʾil, wa ḥikam, wa aḥkām* (Riyadh, 2009); Muḥammad Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, Nawab of Bhopal, *Arbaʿūn ḥadīth fi faḍāʾil al-ḥajj wa al-ʿumrah* (Bhopal, 1292 [1875]).
- 43 al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:2 (811); 9:90 (933).
- 44 al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:4 (9), 27:9 (14), 27:10 (15); al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, 24:2628; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:79 (495).
- 45 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3000; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:2 (810); al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, 24:2632; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:79 (493).
- 46 See al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, 25:17 (46), 24:2857; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:19 (27–28); Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:36 (83); Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, ed. Maḥmud Ṭaḥḥān (Riyadh, 1985), 5467; Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-targhib wa al-tarhib* (Riyadh, 1412), cited in Muḥammad Zakariyya Khadhrawī, *Fazail-e-Hajj: Virtues of Hajj* (New Delhi, 1999).
- 47 See Aḥmad b. ʿAmr al-Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhār al-maʾrūf bi-musnad al-Bazzār*, ed. Maḥfūz al-Raḥmān Zayn Allāh and others (Beirut, 2009), cited in Khadhrawī, *Fazail-e-Hajj*. Compare with Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 7:3154.
- 48 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, (121) and see the sources cited in Khadhrawī, *Fazail-e-Hajj*, 31–34.
- 49 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:3 (1516); Khadhrawī, *Fazail-e-Hajj*, 31–34.
- 50 See my discussion of this in Brannon Wheeler, *Moses in the Quran and Islamic Exegesis* (New York, 2002), 64–92.

- 51 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 35:3; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 73:9.
- 52 See Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 11:49 (1769); Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 897; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:218.
- 53 See Samuel Ives Curtiss and William Ward, *Primitive Semitic Religion Today: Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula* (Chicago, IL, 1902), 175, 223–224. For examples of burying animal carcasses at Minā during the Ḥajj, see Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Mecca*, 2:218; John Lewis Burkhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (London, 1822), 276.
- 54 See al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 24:2857; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:19 (1265–1266).
- 55 See 'Adil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawjūd al-Nawawī, *al-Majmu' sharḥ al-Muhadhdhab li-Imām Abī Ishāq b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Shirāzī*, ed. Diyā' al-Dīn Marānī (Beirut, 2002), 213; Maṣṣūr b. Yūsuf al-Bāhūtī, *Kashshāf al-qinā' 'an matn al-iqnā'*, ed. Hillāl Muṣaylihī Hilāl (Beirut, 1982), 2.96; Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Turī, *Takmilat al-Baḥr al-rā'iq sharḥ Kanz al-daqa'iq*, ed. Zakariyah 'Umayrāt (Beirut, 1997), 8.232. Also see Shenaim al-Fayez and others, “Body Elimination Attitude Family Resemblance in Kuwait,” *International Journal of Psychology* 44 (2009): 410–417; and the comparative materials in L. Kubie, “The Fantasy of Dirt,” *Psychoanalysis Quarterly* 6 (1937): 388–424.
- 56 See Abdullah Faisal Alsebaei, “Solid Waste Management and Recycling During Hajj Pilgrimage in Mina,” PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2014; Ralph Tanner and Colin Mitchell, *Religion and the Environment* (New York, 2002), 115–118. On blood from cuts, see Z. A. Memish, “Infection Control in Saudi Arabia: Meeting the Challenge,” *American Journal of Infection Control* 30 (2002): 57–65; Abdulhafiz Turkistani and others, “Blood-Borne Diseases among Barbers During Hajj, 1419 H (1999),” *Saudi Epidemiology Bulletin* 7 (2000): 1–2.
- 57 For an overview of the tradition of miracles of the prophet Muhammad in Islam as they developed from the ninth through the sixteenth centuries CE, see A. Mez, “Geschichte der Wunder Muhammeds,” in *Verhandlungen des II. Internationalen Kongresses für allgemeine Religionsgeschichte in Basel, 30. August bis 2. September, 1904* (Basel, 1905), 235–238.
- 58 Ibn Kathir, *al-Fuṣūl fi sirah al-rasūl*, 263–264. Also see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 61:23; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 43:2.
- 59 See Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubūwah wa ma'rifaḥ aḥwāl ṣāḥib al-shar'iah*, ed. 'Abd al-Mūṭī Qal'ajī (Beirut, 1985), 1:216–258.
- 60 Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubūwah*, 1:256–257.
- 61 See Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1985), 76; Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glaube seiner Gemeinde* (Stockholm, 1918), 48; Walther Braune, *Die Futūḥ al-gaib des 'Abd ul-Qādir* (Berlin, 1933), 14.

- 62 See 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulṣī, *al-Ḥaḍrah al-unṣīyah fī riḥlah al-quḍsiyah* (Beirut, 1990), 344; Ignaz Goldziher, "Veneration of Saints in Islam," in *Muslim Studies*, ed. S. M. Stern, trans. C. R. Barber (London, 1971), 2:275–341, esp. 329–331; Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger*, 43; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:139–140.
- 63 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 54:15; 64:35; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:144; M. A. Qazi, *Miracles of the Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be upon Him)* (Lahore, 1979), 16–17.
- 64 See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:75.
- 65 On the collection of the prophet Muhammad's sweat, see Mary Thurlkill, "Odors of Sanctity: Distinctions of the Holy in Christianity and Islam," *Comparative Islamic Studies* 3 (2007): 133–144.
- 66 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 43:22 (83). See Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 3:177, 290.
- 67 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 43:22 (75). See Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 3:146, 239, 287.
- 68 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī bi-sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 11:59–60, on al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 56:761.
- 69 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī bi-sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 11:59–60, on al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 56:761.
- 70 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 70:5; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:15; Qazi, *Miracles of the Prophet Muhammad*, 21.
- 71 al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 1591; Michael Fishbein, trans., *The History of al-Ṭabarī: The Victory of Islam* (Albany, NY, 1997), 131.
- 72 See Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 8:312–319; al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubūwah*, 5:150; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥābah*, 8:408–410 (12077), 2:502–504.
- 73 See Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-masīr fī 'ilm al-tafsīr*, on Q 3:92; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, on Q 3:92. According to al-Suyūfī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, on Q 3:92, Abū Ṭalhah offered his wealth to the prophet Muhammad who ordered him to give it to his relatives, so he gave it to Ḥassān b. Thābit and Ubayy b. Ka'b.
- 74 See al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubūwah*, 6:198–200; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:41 (1301), 71:1; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, 3:169; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 38:5.
- 75 See Mark 15:40–41, 47, 16:1, Matt 27:55–56, 61, 28:1, Luke 8:1–3, 24:10, Gospel of Peter in Edgar Hennecke and others, *New Testament Apocrypha* (London, 1974), 12:50–51; Manichaean Psalmbook, in Willis Barnstone and Marvin Meyer, *The Gnostic Bible* (Boston, MA, 2009), 192:21–11 and 194:19; Karen King, *The Gospel of Mary of Magdala: Jesus and the First Woman Apostle* (Santa Rosa, 2003).
- 76 See Dialogue of the Savior, NHC III, 139; Sophia of Jesus Christ, NHC III,4; Gospel of Mary (BG 8502,4) in *The Nag Hammadi Library*, ed. James Robinson (San Francisco, CA, 1978). See Antti Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved. Mary Magdalene in the Nag Hammadi Library and Related Documents* (Leiden, 1996).

- 77 See Jane Schaberg, "How Mary Magdalene Became a Whore," *Bible Review* 8.5 (1992): 30–37, 51–52; Jane Schaberg, *The Resurrection of Mary Magdalene. Legends, Apocrypha, and the Christian Testament* (London, 2002); Carla Ricci, *Mary Magdalene and Many Others: Women Who Followed Jesus*, trans. Paul Burns (Minneapolis, MN, 1994); Marjorie Malvern, *Venus in Sackcloth: The Magdalene's Origins and Metamorphoses* (Carbondale, IL, 1975).
- 78 See Gospel of Philip 63:33–64:9 (NHC II,3) in *Nag Hammadi Library*, 131–151.
- 79 See Epiphanius, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, II:8.1–3; 2.5; 21.1; 27.1. On the consumption of bodily emissions, see Marjanen, *The Woman Jesus Loved*, 194–199; J. E. Goehring, "Libertine or Liberated: Woman in the So-Called Libertine Gnostic Communities," in *Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism*, ed. Karen King (Philadelphia, PA, 1988), 329–344; S. Benko, "The Libertine Gnostic Sect of the Phibionites According to Epiphanius," *Vigiliae Christianae* 21 (1967): 103–119. J. Dummer, "Die Angaben über die Gnostische Literatur bei Epiphanius, Pan. haer. 26," in *Koptologische Studien in der DDR. Zusammengestellt und herausgegeben vom Institut für Byzantinistik der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* (Halle, 1965), 191–219.
- 80 See Matt 28:1, Mark 16:2, Luke 24:1, John 20:1; Robert Milburn, *Early Christian Art and Architecture* (Aldershot, 1993), 12; Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor* (London, 2005), 58–63.
- 81 On the concept of the "dead" body from which relics are taken, see Denis Gril, "Le corps du Prophete," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 113–114 (2006): 37–57.
- 82 See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 2302; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawiyah*, 1021.
- 83 Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:314.
- 84 al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 56:761. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, 11:59–60.
- 85 See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 3:262, also 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥawrānī, *al-Ishārāt ilā amākin al-ziyārāt*, ed. Bassām al-Jābī (Damascus, 1981), 46–47, trans. Josef W. Meri, "A Late Medieval Syrian Pilgrimage Guide: Ibn al-Ḥawrānī's al-Ishārāt ilā amākin al-ziyārāt (Guide to Pilgrimage Places)," *Medieval Encounters* 7 (2001): 3–78, esp. 35; David Margoliouth, "The Relics of the Prophet Muhammad," *Moslem World* 27. 1 (1937): 20–27; Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Dabbāgh, *Ma'ālim al-aymān fī ma'rifat abl al-Qayrawān* (Cairo, 1968), no. 609, 1:97. For biographical information on Balawī, see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isābah fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥābah*, 7:129 (9940); 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah* (Beirut, n.d.), no. 5915; Yūsuf b. 'Abdallāh Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Isṭī'āb fī ma'rifat al-aṣḥāb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī (Cairo, n.d.), no. 3009. On the Tomb of Mu'āwiyah, see Ja'far al-Ḥasanī, "Qabr Mu'āwiyah b. Ab' Sufyān," *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* 19 (1944): 434–441.

- 86 See the helpful insights of Thurlkill, "Odors of Sanctity," 133–144.
- 87 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 34:31, 23:78, 65:115. On two shrouds used for dead and pilgrim, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:20–22; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 20:78; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 21:41, 24:46, 96–98; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, 8:35; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 1:220, 266.
- 88 See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fi ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, on Q 37:107.
- 89 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 37:107; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fi tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, on Q 37:107; al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-bayān fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, on Q 37:107.
- 90 See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fi ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, on Q 37:107; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 37:107; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fi tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, on Q 37:107. Also see the account in Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-nabawīyah*, 97–100; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 1075–1077.
- 91 See Jon Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity* (New Haven, CT, 1993), 3–54; Paul Mosca, "Child Sacrifice in Canaanite and Israelite Religion: A Study in Molk and mlk," PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1975; George Heider, *The Cult of Molek* (Sheffield, 1985); Otto Eissfeldt, *Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und Hebräischen und das Ende des Gottes Moloch* (Halle, 1935); Joseph Henninger, "Zur Herkunft eines islamischen Opfergebetes," in *Arabica Sacra: Aufsätze zur Religionsgeschichte Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete. Contributions à l'histoire religieuse de l'Arabie et de ses régions limitrophes* (Göttingen, 1981), 311–318; Rene Dussaud, "Les sacrifices humains chez les cananéens." *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation* 34 (1910): 77–109.
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- 93 See Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 41:1661 (49, 50).
- 94 See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fi 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 22:78; al-Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-majālis*, 78; M. Ajmal Khan, "Jāhiliya: A Description of the State and Mode of Living," *Studies in Islam* 3 (1966): 175–185, esp. 179 citing Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh Ālūsī, *Rūḥ al-ma'ānī fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm wa al-sab' al-mathānī*, ed. Muḥammad Zuhri Najjār (Cairo, 1964), 2: 292. All of these are cited in Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands*, 142–143 and 231n13.
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- 96 See Jacob Neusner, "Bestiary, Rabbinic," in *The Encyclopaedia of Judaism*, ed. Jacob Neusner, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 2000).
- 97 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 21:2732; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 45:33–34 (96); Ibn Ḥajar, *Bulūgh al-marām min adillat al-ahkām*, 9:1188.

- 98 See “Saudi Arabia Triples Blood Money to SR 300,000,” *Emirates* 24/7 News (September 11, 2011). Also see Siti Zubaidah Ismail, “The Modern Interpretation of the *Diyat* Formula for the Quantum of Damages: The Case of Homicide and Personal Injuries,” *Arab Law Quarterly* 26 (2012): 361–379. For an accurate calculation of how many camels a particular woman is worth, see <https://kamelrechner.eu/en>.
- 99 See al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, on Q 23:22.
- 100 See al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, 26:64 (147, 148); al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi’ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 11:24 (37); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 9:2034.
- 101 See al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, 26:63 (145–146).
- 102 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 49:12 (23); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:55 (233).
- 103 See Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 20:1093 (7).
- 104 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 44:60 (328) and compare al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi’ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 49:4065.
- 105 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 33:56 (155).
- 106 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 57:19 (55, 58), 64:56 (365); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 43:14 (80).
- 107 See Arthur Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge, 1888), 1:452; al-‘Imrānī, *al-Bayān fī fiqh al-Imām al-Shāfi’ī*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥijāzī Aḥmad Saqqā (Beirut, 2002), 4:439–440; Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 16:4 (2841); Ibn al-Jārūd, *Muntaqā min al-sunan al-musnadah ‘an Rasūl Allāh*, 911–912; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭahāwī, *Kitāb mishkāl al-āthār* (Beirut, 1968), 1:457.
- 108 On the modern practice, see Julian Morgenstern, *Rites of Birth, Marriage, Death and Kindred Occasions among the Semites* (Cincinnati, OH, 1966), esp. 36–47.
- 109 See al-‘Imrānī, *al-Bayān fī fiqh al-Imām al-Shāfi’ī*, 4:441–442; Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭā’*, 26:2; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi’ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:99 (1519); al-Hākim al-Nisābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ‘alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn fī al-ḥadīth*, 4:237; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 77:276 (5921); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 37:13 (2120).
- 110 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, 9:484, on al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 71:1.
- 111 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, 9:484, on al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 71:1; Abela, “Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischen Gebräuche in Syrien,” 79–118.
- 112 See Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes*, esp. 99–100; Kriss and Kriss-Heinrich, *Volks Glaube im Bereich des Islam*, 1:31–52; Aubaile-Sallenave, “Les rituels de naissance dans le monde musulman,” 125–160.
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- 115 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, 9:484, on al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 71:1.
- 116 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, 9:484, on al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 71:1

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- 130 See Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athār*, 345–354, esp. 351; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Fuṣūl fī sirah al-rasūl*, 4:170.
- 131 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:122 (196).
- 132 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:113 (185).
- 133 al-Hākīm, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-ṣāliḥayn*, 1:647, no. 136/1744.
- 134 See al-Hākīm, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-ṣāliḥayn*, 1:646, no. 135/1743.
- 135 See al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ al-Nawawī ʿalā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 9:45, on Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:56 (232–336).
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- 144 See Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyah al-mujtābid wa nihāyat al-muqtaṣid*, 1:381–382.
- 145 See esp. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:113, 130, 141–143, 147, 175–179; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 20:36, but also al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:32, 34, 107, 109, 126; 47:15; 64:77; 94:3; Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan*, 11:24; al-Nasāʾī, *Sunan*, 24:45, 48, 76, 186.



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- 159 See Stuart Chepey, *Nazirites in Late Second Temple Judaism: A Survey of Ancient Jewish Writings, the New Testament, Archaeological Evidence, and Other Writings from Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2005); René Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite* (Paris, 1921; 2nd ed., 1941), 199–203, 264–267.
- 160 See Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, ed. and trans. H. St. J. Thackeray and others (Cambridge, MA, 1966–1969), 2:15,1.
- 161 See Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, 3:415 and 3:244. Also see the overview in C. R. Hallpike, “Social Hair,” *Man* 4 (1969): 256–264; John Lewis Burkhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahâbys: Collected during His Travels in the East* (1834; reprinted, New York, 1967), 103. There are a number of reports that Muslims should dye their hair to distinguish themselves from Jews and Christians. See al-Bukhârî, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, 60:50, 77:67; Muslim, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, 37:80; Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 32:18; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi’ al-ṣaḥîḥ*, 22:10; al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, 48:14; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 32:32.
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- 188 See, for example, al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 68:47 (84, 85, 86), 23:30 (43); 6:12 (18); Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 18:9 (74, 87); al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, 21:15 (1852); 27:55 (112); 27:9 (138, 139), 27:64 (148); 27:65 (150), 48:25 (64); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 10:2086, 2163; Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 13:762 (128); Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwatṭā’*, 29:107.
- 189 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:44 (193).
- 190 See Saul Olyan, “What Do Shaving Rites Accomplish and What Do They Signal in Biblical Ritual Contexts?” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 117 (1998): 611–622; Brian Schmidt, *Israel’s Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition* (Tübingen, 1994).
- 191 See Aeschylus, *Libation Bearers*, ed. and trans. Alan Sommerstein (Cambridge, MA, 2009), 6; Henninger, *Zur Frage des Haaropfers bei den Semiten*, 476.
- 192 See Olyan, “What Do Shaving Rites Accomplish,” 617; Samuel Feigin, “The Captives in Cuneiform Inscriptions,” *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 50 (1934): 217–245, esp. 244.
- 193 See I. Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: the Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis, MN, 1995); J. M. Roberts, “Shaving,” in *The HarperCollins Bible Dictionary*, ed. P. J. Achtemeier (San Francisco, CA, 1996), 1005; J. Botterweck, “Geleḥ,” in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, ed. G. J. Botterweck and others, trans. J. T. Willis and others (Grand Rapids, WI, 1974), 3.5–20; M. Fishbane “Sha’ar,” in *The Encyclopedia miqra’it* (Jerusalem, 1950–1988), 8:326–334; E. Feldman, *Biblical and Post-Biblical Defilement and Mourning* (New York, 1977), esp. 79–89; Goldziher, “le culte des ancêtres,” esp. 348–350.
- 194 See Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 60, 6; Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 323–325, 331; Ludolf Krehl, *Über die Religion der vorislamischen Araber* (Leipzig, 1863), 33; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 1:248.
- 195 See the examples and references in J. C. Greenfield, “Hadad,” in the *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 377–382; Lewis, *Cult of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit*.
- 196 2 Enoch 30:8 taken from F. L. Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James Charlesworth (Garden City, NY, 1983), 91–221.

- 197 On Adam in the Slavonic tradition, see Andrei Orlov, “‘Without Measure and Without Analogy’: The Tradition of the Divine Body in 2 (*Slavonic Enoch*),” in *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (Leiden, 2007), 149–174.
- 198 See the discussion of human–cosmos homologies in Bruce Lincoln, *Myth, Cosmos, and Society: Indo-European Themes of Creation and Destruction* (Cambridge, MA, 1986), esp. 1–40.
- 199 See Henry Corbin, *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth: From Mazdean Iran to Shi’ite Iran*, trans. Nancy Pearson (Princeton, NJ, 1977), 135–137.
- 200 On this, see David Johnston, *Earth, Empire, and Sacred Text: Muslims and Christians as Trustees of Creation* (London, 2010).
- 201 For a concise analysis of the theory of the model tripartite social structure among Indo-European peoples, see Bruce Lincoln, *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology, Scholarship* (Chicago, IL, 1999), esp. 121–140.
- 202 On the prohibition, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:120 (1716), 25:121 (1717); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:61 (1317a, d); Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 11:587 (1769); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3218.

## Martyred Bodies and the Demarcation of Territory

On September 11, 2001, the martyred bodies of nineteen Muslim hijackers were permanently entombed in American territory along with the wreckage of airplanes, buildings, and more than 3,000 other people.

The hijackers left behind a “letter” detailing an elaborate set of rituals that would frame and give significance to their martyrdom.<sup>1</sup> This letter was recovered in three locations: the wreckage of United Airlines flight 93 that crashed near Somerset in Pennsylvania, among the contents of a suitcase checked by Muḥammad ‘Aṭṭā in Portland that did not get transferred to American Airlines flight 11, which he piloted into the north tower of the World Trade Center in New York City, and inside a car registered to Nawāf al-Hāzimī parked at the Washington Dulles Airport, where he boarded American Airlines flight 77 which crashed into the Pentagon in Washington, DC. The US Federal Bureau of Investigation released images of these three letter copies on their website – four pages of handwritten Arabic.

Among the actions prescribed in this letter are affirming the intention [nīyah] to perform a ritual, shaving excess hair from the body, washing, and applying perfume – all of which typically precede obligatory rituals in Muslim jurisprudence. Sūrah al-Anfāl (Q 8) and al-Tawbah (Q 9) are cited. The revelation of both these sūrahs – typically read back to back as a single sūrah since al-Tawbah is the only sūrah in the Quran that does not begin with the tasmīyah – are tied by Muslim exegetes to the expedition to Tābūk at which the prophet Muhammad intended to confront the Christian Romans. A prayer of supplication [du‘ā’] is prescribed for the morning, evening, entering a city, arriving at a place, entering a car, and before engaging the enemy in battle. The martyrs are to recite the first part

of the *Shahādah* [lā ilāha illā allāh] a thousand times, a popular form ritual recitation [dhikr].<sup>2</sup>

In imitation of the earliest exemplary followers of the prophet Muhammad [nahaj al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ] who did this before going into battle, the letter instructs the martyrs to fasten their clothes tightly, and tighten their shoes over their socks. They are to recite the Quran into their cupped hands, and, using the respiratory droplets left on the palm of their hands, wipe down their clothes, luggage, passport and IDs, and other papers. The knife that they would use to perform the slaughter of prisoners on the airplanes, as they would slit the throat of sacrificial animals, is also to be wiped with spit from reciting the Quran. They are instructed to take prisoners, kill them, and to take booty from them, even if it is just a cup of water to drink, all in imitation of the behavior modeled by the prophet Muhammad.

The practice of using one's dismembered body to mark territory, especially to signify the spread of Islam, is not unprecedented. Using bodies and body parts to demarcate the territorial boundaries of protected spaces, including the entire realm of the "abode of Islam" [dār al-Islām], informs both the classical and modern conception of martyrdom in Islam. The prophet Muhammad himself modeled this practice when he distributed the pieces of his body along with the camel, meat, skin, and coverings as a substitute for his own body – an act heralded as an end to the old order and the eschaton of Islam. With their prescribed rituals, the hijackers reenacted the example of the prophet Muhammad to lay claim to the financial, military, and political heart of the West by making their bodies (and the bodies of the "animals" they sacrificed on the aircraft) a permanent incorporation into enemy territory.

This chapter explores the Muslim concept and practice of using dead bodies and body parts to mark territory. Muslim tradition regarded Mecca as a graveyard, a field of bodies ready for the day of resurrection. The close association of human and animal burials with sanctuaries and places of sacrifice is widespread throughout the Arabian peninsula and the ancient world in general. Muslims understood and used martyrdom as a means to deposit bodies and body parts at greater and more disparate distances from Mecca. Similar to how the prophet Muhammad distributed his hair and the camels substituting for his body to establish his community at the conclusion of his farewell Ḥajj, Muslim martyrs distribute their bodies to defend and to spread Islam.

## TOMBS OF PROPHETS

In his *Bulūgh al-marām min adillah al-ahkām*, Ibn Ḥajar mentions a striking ḥadīth report concerning the tombs of the prophets of the Jews. “Abu Hurayrah said: The Apostle of God said: ‘God is a fighter of the Jew [qātala Allāh al-yahūd]. They take the tombs of their prophets as places of prayer.’”<sup>3</sup> The ḥadīth report is included in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī on the authority of Abū Hurayrah.<sup>4</sup> The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim and Abū Dā’ūd include a similar ḥadīth report with the first line reading “God curses the Jew and Christian [la’ana Allāh al-yahūd wa al-naṣārī].”<sup>5</sup> Mālik b. Anas relates the same saying with the additional comment by ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz that this statement was “one of the last things said” by the prophet Muhammad.<sup>6</sup> In a report related on the authority of ‘Ā’ishah and Ibn ‘Abbās, the prophet Muhammad is said to have given this statement with his final breath before dying.<sup>7</sup>

Grammatically, without a conjunctive pronoun [ism al-mawsūl] such as “alādhī” or “aladhīna” following the definite noun “Jews” [al-yahūd], it is possible to read the second half of the prophet Muhammad’s statement not as a relative clause [ṣillah] but as a command [amr]. So instead of “God curses the Jew and the Christian [because] they take the tombs of their prophets as place of prayer,” the saying might be read as “God curses the Jew and the Christian [so therefore] take the tombs of their prophets as mosques!” A similar phrasing is used in Q 2:125 in which God instructs Muslims to “take the place of Abraham as a place of prayer!” [itakhadhū min maqām Ibrāhīm muṣall-an]. It is also found in a number of pre-Islamic inscriptions from the Arabian peninsula.<sup>8</sup> The grammar of the two sentences in the first ḥadīth report cited on the authority of Abū Hurayrah does not work well either, with the singular noun “Jew” and the plural pronoun “their” attached to the word “prophets.” Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Ibn Bābawayh (d. 991), on the authority of Abū Ja’far, solves this problem by removing the singular noun altogether.

Abū Ja’far: I said to him to pray between the tombs. Pray between them and do not take any of them as the direction of prayer for the Apostle of God prohibited this when he said: “Do not take my tomb as the direction of prayer nor for a place of prayer. God curses those who take the tombs of their prophets as places of prayer.”<sup>9</sup>

A relative clause modifying an indefinite noun [ṣiffah] does not require the *ism al-mawsūl*, although it is permitted for the indefinite relative clause to follow a definite noun without the *ism al-mawsūl* when the definite noun is used to indicate a generic category.



The reports attributed to ‘Ā’ishah and Ibn ‘Abbās add the comment that the statement of the prophet Muhammad was intended to warn his followers against the practice, making it clear that he did not approve of the Jews (and Christians) taking the tombs of their prophets as places of prayer. From the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, Ibn Ḥajar cites another ḥadīth report on the authority of ‘Ā’ishah alone concerning the prophet Muhammad’s comments about a church and the images it contained seen by his wives Umm Salamah and Umm Ḥabībah in Ethiopia.<sup>10</sup> “When an upright man from among them died they used to build over his tomb a mosque and then they made those images in it. They are the wicked ones of creation” [shirār al-khalq].<sup>11</sup> It is reported that the wife of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib built a dome [qubbah] over his tomb for a year before it was removed on the occasion of apparently supernatural intervention.<sup>12</sup> Commenting on this report, al-Qaṣṭallānī acknowledges that the supernatural intervention constituted revelation but cannot be considered a source for Islamic law after the death of the prophet Muhammad.<sup>13</sup> Ibn Ḥajar lists these ḥadīth reports as part of a larger section devoted to mosques and places of prayer. Other reports in the section include references to decorating mosques, unruly behavior in mosques (spitting, playing, singing), tying horses to mosque pillars, pitching tents in mosques, and a number of reports exemplifying the general principle of mosques as public spaces not subject to private ownership or commercial gain.<sup>14</sup> Ibn Ḥajar states outright that the ḥadīth report he cites from Abū Hurayrah is to be understood as a condemnation of the practice of establishing mosques over tomb sites. The issue is the danger of having the direction of prayer [qiblah] facing the tomb and the worshipper thereby confusing Mecca and the tomb as the proper direction of prayer.<sup>15</sup> Commenting on a longer ḥadīth report given on the authority of Jundab, set five days before the prophet Muhammad’s death,<sup>16</sup> al-Nawawī also states that the prophet Muhammad clearly prohibited the taking of tombs as mosques.<sup>17</sup>

In his *Nayl al-awṭār*, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Shawkānī (d. 1250) cites the ḥadīth report of Abū Hurayrah mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar along with another report given on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās in a section on the prohibition against making mosques and taking lamps in a cemetery. “Ibn ‘Abbās said: ‘The Apostle of God cursed visiting tombs and those who take mosques and lamps upon them.’”<sup>18</sup> In general, Muslim jurists place restrictions on praying in cemeteries and bathrooms, and prohibit certain other types of activities in these locations, such as sitting on tombs or praying toward them.<sup>19</sup> Ibn Qudāmah cites a ḥadīth report given in Abū

Dā'ūd in which the prophet Muhammad says that "all of the earth is a mosque except for the bathroom [ḥammām] and the cemetery."<sup>20</sup> He also cites the ḥadīth report attributed to Ibn 'Abbās given by al-Shawkānī but adds another report given on the authority of Qatādah that Anas b. Mālik allowed but found reprehensible using the area between the tombs in a cemetery for a place of prayer.<sup>21</sup> The Shāfi'ī school allows prayer over a tomb when people bury a corpse without praying over it before the burial.<sup>22</sup> A similar prohibition is made against prayer in the grass [ḥuṣhsh], the resting place of camels near a water hole [a'ṭān al-ibil], a roof [saṭh], and a depression [khasf], because these are places where physical impurities [najas, anjās] are found.<sup>23</sup>

From the commentaries on these ḥadīth reports and from more general Muslim jurisprudence, it is evident that the prophet Muhammad's statements about the tombs of the prophets of the Jews and Christians were understood to be general prohibitions against the building of mosques and praying at the location of tombs. This is not unexpected given the emphasis in other Muslim legal texts against associating certain religious practices with the visiting of tombs.<sup>24</sup> Strict guidelines are placed on the ornamentation of tombs, just as are placed on the decoration of mosques and other places of prayer. Ḥanbalī scholars, such as Abū al-Wafā' 'Alī Ibn 'Aqīl (d. 1119), cite ḥadīth reports that condemn the visitation of tombs, and are particularly critical of tomb sites that include a mosque.<sup>25</sup> The famed Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) reports that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal at one time forbade even recitation of the Quran at tombs.<sup>26</sup> Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyah (d. 1328) and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 1350) both forbid the visitation of tombs in the case that worshippers are expecting their prayers to be answered because of their vicinity to the person buried at the location.<sup>27</sup>

Although the bulk of Muslim tradition, especially later legal commentaries on these ḥadīth reports, interpret the prophet Muhammad's statement as a warning against Muslims praying at the tombs of prophets (and saints), many Muslims did continue to worship at such sites, building mosques and other types of structures to accommodate ritual activities. The Christian church of St. John was taken over by the Umayyad mosque under the caliphate of al-Walīd II (r. 743–744), the chapel over the crypt of John the Baptist demolished, and the tomb, said to contain only the head of the prophet, was incorporated into the mosque.<sup>28</sup> In the pre-Islamic sanctuary city of Hebron, the Masjid Ibrāhīm was constructed over the tombs of a number of prophets including Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, replacing earlier Hellenistic and late antique structures.<sup>29</sup> The

Masjid al-Nabawī in Medina houses the tomb of the prophet Muhammad along with those of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and both Jerusalem and Mecca are considered to contain the graves of many prophets.

#### MECCA AS A GRAVEYARD

That Mecca itself was considered to be a graveyard, at least in early Islamic and perhaps pre-Islamic times, is attested by the traditions regarding burials there and the rituals performed as part of the cult. There are reports that corpses were carried around the Ka‘bah in pre-Islamic times, and it is a widely attested practice among Arabs and others for mourners to walk circuits around a corpse or carry it around a tomb marker or shrine.<sup>30</sup> At the death of the father of ‘Antarah b. Shaddād, captive women and girls from Khaybar were made to circumambulate his tomb seven times.<sup>31</sup> Islamic law specifically allows for Muslims to perform circumambulations, and the entire set of Ḥajj rituals, for dead people.

Almost all of the ‘Umrah and Ḥajj rituals have parallels in mourning rituals including invocations and wailing, prostration and standing, lighting of fires, letting hair and nails grow, shaving, kissing the corpse or the grave, wearing certain types of clothing, and fasting or not eating certain types of food. Of course, the slaughtering of animals and communal meals are also an integral part of both the Ḥajj and funerary rites. Some scholars have speculated that the Arabic root used for the type of ritual gait used during part of the Ḥajj [f-s-ḥ] is related to the Hebrew word for Passover [pesah], and that the circumambulation of the Ka‘bah and sacrifices made during the spring month of Rajab are related.<sup>32</sup> As late as the nineteenth century CE, bedouin practice included slaughtering on ‘Īd al-aḏḥā a number of camels equal to the number of family members who had died during the preceding year.<sup>33</sup>

Special clothing is an integral part both of certain mourning and funerary rituals and of rituals involving circumambulation of the Ka‘bah in Mecca. The prophet Muhammad gave special instructions to his followers for shrouding corpses, including that the cloths used be white and without coloration,<sup>34</sup> and that only two pieces be used.<sup>35</sup> If a man dies while in a sacralized state [iḥrām] performing the ‘Umrah or Ḥajj, he is to be buried in the two white cloths with which he is clothed as a pilgrim.<sup>36</sup> Mourning rituals often require partial nakedness and bare feet. Pilgrims visiting Mecca must bare their right shoulder and arm, and not wear shoes with heels. Like the “ephod” [‘ephōd] of the Israelite

priest, which had no sleeves, did not cover the shoulders, and was patterned after funerary wrappings, the dress of the Muslim pilgrim is often kept to be used as a future burial shroud.<sup>37</sup> Muslim pilgrims are reported to have practiced bodily mutilation as part of the circumambulation of the Ka'bah.<sup>38</sup> Bodily mutilation, along with the removal of hair and the destruction or removal of clothing, are forms of ritual mourning well-known from the Bible and a host of other contexts.

Although in Islamic times the Ka'bah is understood to be a temple [bayt allāh], both a pivot around which to perform circumambulations and the direction of ritual prayer, the structure seems to have been considered a tomb or tomb marker in pre-Islamic times and in the early Islamic period. The classical Arabic term for "temple" [bayt] is used to designate a "tomb" in the archaicizing Arabic of certain Umayyad poets.<sup>39</sup> For example, in the *Diwān* of Zayd al-Khayl, the term "bayt" is used to refer to a tomb.<sup>40</sup> The tomb of Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī and that of 'Amir b. al-Ṭufayl are called "bayt," and are described, as is the Meccan sanctuary, as being bounded by standing stones [ansāb] forming a reserve [ḥimā].<sup>41</sup> In his description of 'Ā'ishah's visit to the tomb of her son, Jarīr uses the term "bayt" instead of "qabr" to refer to the tomb.<sup>42</sup> The tomb of Ṭayytes chief Qays al-Dārimī is called a "bayt,"<sup>43</sup> and the tomb of a companion of the prophet Muhammad who died before he could complete his mission of establishing a mosque is called a "bayt."<sup>44</sup> The term used for the ceremonial covering draped over the top of the Ka'bah both in pre-Islamic and Islamic times [kiswā] is the same term used for a covering placed over a tomb, and many of the Ka'bah-like "djinn-block" tombs found in Petra feature carved "kiswā" coverings draped over the top of each one.<sup>45</sup>

Certain features of the Ka'bah and its immediate surroundings in Mecca also seem to have been associated with burials and tombs. Before its destruction by the followers of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the tomb of Eve in Jeddah featured a black stone like the one set into the eastern corner of the Ka'bah in Mecca.<sup>46</sup> Several ḥadīth reports attempt to detract from the special significance of the black stone by explaining that it is just a "rock" and any custom of venerating it is only in imitation of the prophet Muhammad's example.<sup>47</sup> 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭab is reported to have said the same thing about the black stone and added that the special practice of speeding up the first three circumambulations of the Ka'bah [ramlah] was only to impress the pagans in Mecca.<sup>48</sup> In other reports, the prophet Muhammad touches the black stone with a stick or "clings to it" [iltazama-hu] in addition to kissing it,<sup>49</sup> and Ibn 'Abbās claims that he

used to kiss the black stone and prostrate himself on it.<sup>50</sup> The prophet Muhammad is reported to have performed special rituals at specific locations inside the Ka‘bah, including near pillars which may have had cultic significance in pre-Islamic times along with the other non-Muslim icons and images housed there.<sup>51</sup>

Muslim sources attach special significance to each “corner” [rukn] of the Ka‘bah, to a specific “corner” [al-rukn], and the area between the “rukn” and a location identified as the “place of standing” [al-maqām]. These different terms are identified with various particular architectural and geographical features linked with the Ka‘bah and surrounding sanctuary in later Islamic sources but the earliest sources do not show evidence of definitive or fixed locations. In a report given on the authority of Ḥibbah b. Jūwayn, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib says that a person who dies between the “rukn” and the “maqām” will get special consideration on the day of resurrection.<sup>52</sup> According to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr, the prophet Muhammad said that the “rukn” and the “maqām” are “two gems from paradise” [yāqūtān min yāqūt al-jannah].<sup>53</sup> Jābir relates that the prophet Muhammad met with people praying for the dead between the “rukn” and “maqām,”<sup>54</sup> and in another report, given on the authority of Umm Salamah, the prophet Muhammad foretells how eschatological armies will gather in the area between those two points.<sup>55</sup> ‘Usāmah b. Zayd is said to have entered the Ka‘bah with the prophet Muhammad and observed him perform special rituals between the pillars, at the back wall, and at each corner [rukn].<sup>56</sup> Muslim sources refer to more than one “rukn” by name, such as the “rukn of the Banū Gomaḥ” and the “rukn of the Yemenites,” perhaps suggesting that these were not “corners” of the Ka‘bah but cult markers attached to certain tribes and tribal groups.<sup>57</sup> Families, clans, and tribes were known to pass between generations and among members portable cult objects and custodianship over the location of fixed cult objects.<sup>58</sup> In his history of Mecca, al-Azraqī tells the story of ‘Amr b. Laḥay al-Khuzā‘ī erecting standing stones and instructing people to worship them because they represent their forefathers.<sup>59</sup>

The relationship between the cult site where sacrifices are to be performed and the visitation of the dead is widespread. In the Sinai and elsewhere cairns and tombs in rock shelters are adjacent to special areas marked off with standing stones.<sup>60</sup> According to Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 967), the tomb of ‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl was regarded as a sanctuary marked by the erection of standing stones [anṣāb] in a one-mile circumference.<sup>61</sup> Ibn Hishām reports that the Daws tribe had a special preserve [ḥimā] dedicated to Dhū al-Sharā, and there are accounts in the early

Islamic period of people setting up tents and seeking refuge at grave sites.<sup>62</sup> Cult centers at al-Dur, Hatra, Petra, and Madā'in Šāliḥ appear to have been tied to funerary rites, and the rituals performed when visiting the sites closely parallel death and mourning rituals.<sup>63</sup> The most obvious example is the circumambulation of the tomb, both by the corpse prepared for burial and by people coming to visit the deceased at the tomb.<sup>64</sup> Of the plants growing in the pre-Islamic Arabian sanctuaries, only those used for the purification of temples or the building of tombs were allowed to be cut.<sup>65</sup> Placing rocks and tree branches on tombs is a widespread practice which parallels certain aspects of the rituals associated with the Ka'bah and the larger Meccan sanctuary.<sup>66</sup> Many of the terms used for "tomb" may also be used to refer to cult objects, sanctuaries, and temples. The prophet Muhammad is reported to have turned the tomb of one of his followers into a mosque, and a number of mosques are built on the site of tombs of prophets or famous Muslims.<sup>67</sup>

Given Islamic legal restrictions on prayer near graves, it is remarkable that a number of different Muslim sources preserve traditions claiming that the tombs of prophets are located in the sanctuary around the Ka'bah in Mecca. Whether or not Mecca did exist and was a popular pilgrimage site in pre-Islamic times, the idea that the sacred status of the place was associated with it being a burial site for certain people is consistent with the conception of other ancient Arab sanctuaries and pilgrimage sites. According to a report given on the authority of Ibn Jurayj recorded by 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Šan'anī (d. 827), Ka'b al-Aḥbār said that: "Ishmael is [buried] between Zamzam, the Rukn, and the Maqām."<sup>68</sup> Both 'Alī b. al-Ḥussayn al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956) and Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī (d. 1429) relate that the tomb of Ishmael is next to the Ka'bah by the black rock.<sup>69</sup> Azraqī and Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Šalīḥī al-Šāmī (d. 1535) record that the tomb is located in the Ḥijr opposite the north-west wall of the Ka'bah.<sup>70</sup> Ibn Sa'd preserves an account from Ḥudhayfah b. Ghānim that Ishmael was buried inside the Ḥijr next to his mother Hagar. In another report Ibn Sa'd cites Ishāq b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Farwah as claiming that the tomb of Ishmael is "under the Mīzān between the Rukn and the House."<sup>71</sup> 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr claims that Ishmael's daughters [banāt] were also buried near the Rukn in an elevated place [maḥdūdab].<sup>72</sup>

In his commentary on Q 17:1, Muqātil b. Sulaymān states that seventy prophets are buried in the Mecca sanctuary, including Hūd, Šāliḥ, and Ishmael.<sup>73</sup> Mālik b. Anas mentions a special tree near Mecca under which are the umbilical cords of seventy prophets.<sup>74</sup> That seventy prophets were

buried in Mecca is repeated in other reports, some mentioning Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and Ishmael, and others just Ishmael by name. In his history of Mecca, al-Azraqī claims that Moses said seventy prophets prayed in Mecca before he did, and that he and 70,000 Israelites performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>75</sup> Azraqī also mentions that seventy prophets prayed in the Masjid al-Khayf near Minā.<sup>76</sup> Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Dīyā' (d. 854), in the treatise on the rituals of the Ḥajj he supposedly wrote while he was the Qāḍī of Mecca, preserves a report given on the authority of 'Aṭāf b. Khālīd that Jesus went on Ḥajj with 70,000 pilgrims from the people of al-Kahf.<sup>77</sup> The number seventy mentioned in these reports and traditions probably corresponds to what was thought to be or symbolic of the total number of nations and languages in the ancient world.<sup>78</sup> As such, these traditions express the idea that buried in Mecca around the Ka'bah are all the prophets sent to earth before Muhammad.

Other reports give higher numbers, perhaps to express the idea that Mecca was home to large numbers of prophet tombs, representing many or all peoples throughout history. 'Abdallāh b. Ḍamrah al-Sulūlī claims to have been with the prophet Muhammad near the Ka'bah and heard Muhammad say that the tomb of Ishmael was between the Rukn and the Maqām, and that "something like 90 or 70 prophets were buried there."<sup>79</sup> According to al-Ḥalabī, the prophet Muhammad said 300 prophets were buried around the Ka'bah in Mecca,<sup>80</sup> and Ibn al-Dīyā' cites 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr as saying that 1,000 Israelite prophets made pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>81</sup> Other reports attributed to Ibn Ḍamrah al-Sulūlī relate that he claims that the prophet Muhammad explained that there are ninety-nine prophets buried around the Ka'bah because they performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, on foot, and were then buried there.<sup>82</sup> In a variant of this, Muḥammad b. Sābiṭ relates that the prophet Muhammad said all the prophets used to move to Mecca and were buried there after their unbelieving communities perished.<sup>83</sup> A more detailed version mentioning only the Arab prophets Ṣāliḥ, Hūd, and Shu'ayb is attributed to Wāḥb b. Munabbih.

Between the Dār al-Nadwah and the Bāb Banī Sahm, meaning the bāb of the Masjid al-Ḥarām known as the Bab al-'Umrah are the tombs of the people of Ṣāliḥ who believed with him and came with him to Mecca and established residence there until they died. This is likewise the case what Hūd and those who believed with him, and with Shu'ayb and those who believed with him.<sup>84</sup>

In another version, Ibn Ḍamrah al-Sulūlī says the prophets were buried in the "cave of the Ka'bah" [ghawr al-ka'bah], mentioned in other sources

as the place where ancient kings deposited votive offerings such as swords, armor, and golden gazelles.<sup>85</sup>

The high numbers of prophets said to be buried around the Ka'bah in Mecca might also be related to a comparison of the Arabian sanctuary with Jerusalem. Muqātil b. Sulaymān preserves a report stating that among the ninety prophets buried between Zamzam and the Rukn are Hūd, Šāliḥ, and Ishmael, whereas the tombs of Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Joseph are in Jerusalem [bayt al-maqdis].<sup>86</sup> Ibn al-Ḍīyā' cites a report given on the authority of Sa'īd b. Manšūr and Abū Dharr that both Moses and Jonah made pilgrimage to Mecca, and a report attributed to Ibn 'Abbās states that Jesus and Moses came to Mecca.<sup>87</sup> The disagreement in Muslim sources about the burial place of Adam might reflect this competition between Mecca and Jerusalem. Muqātil b. Sulaymān's placing of Adam's burial in Jerusalem agrees with Christian tradition, but other Muslim scholars claim that he is buried alongside his wife Eve on Abū Qubays overlooking the Ka'bah in Mecca.<sup>88</sup> The name of the cave in which they are supposed to be buried, the "Cave of Treasures" [maghārah al-kunūz], could also refer to a special cave known from Christian sources, also called the "Cave of Treasures," in which Adam and Eve lived adjacent to the garden of Eden after their expulsion.<sup>89</sup>

Muslim sources stress the virtues of being buried in Mecca. The prophet Muhammad is reported to have blessed several special named cemeteries in and around Mecca, and a number of his well-known followers are said to be buried there. In one instance, according to a report transmitted on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, the prophet Muhammad said "bless [na'm] this graveyard, the graveyard of the people of Mecca."<sup>90</sup> Various cemeteries in and around Mecca are assigned special qualities, and visiting them is recommended for all Muslims, especially those coming to Mecca to perform the rites of pilgrimage.<sup>91</sup> The tomb of Khadijah bt. Khuwaylid was marked by a pillar and later by a domed mausoleum before it was destroyed by Ibn Sa'ūd in 1925 in the Jannah al-Mu'allah cemetery to the north of the Ka'bah. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb died in Mecca and his tomb was reportedly visited by Muslim pilgrims coming to Mecca, as were the tombs of other early Muslims.<sup>92</sup>

The virtues of being buried in Mecca parallel those associated with burial in Jerusalem, both being linked with the day of resurrection at the end of time. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb reports that the prophet Muhammad said: "If a person dies in Mecca then it is like he has died in the earthly heavens [samā' al-dunyā]."<sup>93</sup> The same statement is related in the *Risālah* of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728),<sup>94</sup> and is said also about dying in



Jerusalem.<sup>95</sup> Like those who die on the Ḥajj or are buried in Mecca, those buried in Jerusalem are granted the “straight path” [ṣīrāt] directly to Paradise,<sup>96</sup> and people buried in the “tombs of Jerusalem” are “without punishment” before the Day of Judgment.<sup>97</sup> In his commentary on the ḥadīth reports collected by al-Bukhārī on “burial in the holy land,” Ibn Ḥajar explains that people want to be “buried in Jerusalem because they want to be close to the place of the Ingathering on the Day of Resurrection.”<sup>98</sup> Further in the same commentary, Ibn Ḥajar compares burial in Jerusalem with burial in Mecca and Medina, and explains that it is allowed and even recommended to transfer dead bodies to be interred in Jerusalem, as were the bodies of Aaron and Moses who died before entering the holy land.<sup>99</sup> The transfer and reburial of Muslim corpses, especially martyrs and famous scholars, in Mecca and Jerusalem is discussed by the nineteenth-century Indian scholar Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaqq (d. 1911) in his commentary on the ḥadīth collection of Abū Dā’ūd.<sup>100</sup>

Special virtues, not unlike those attributed to the death of a pilgrim on the Ḥajj or the death of a martyr, are associated with Muslims buried in and around Mecca. A report attributed to ‘Abdallāh b. Ṣayfī states that “whoever is buried in this cemetery will be raised a believer on the day of resurrection, meaning the cemetery of Mecca.”<sup>101</sup> In his comments on several variants of a ḥadīth report that refers to the resurrection of “seventy thousand their faces like the moon on the night of Badr,” Ibn Ḥajar says that these people will be gathered from a graveyard near Mecca.<sup>102</sup> Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī cites the “virtues of Mecca” [faḍā’il Makkah] by al-Jundī in which it is related, on the authority of Muḥammad b. Qays b. Makhramah, that the prophet Muhammad said: “If a person dies in Mecca then God will raise him among the believers [fī al-aminīm] on the day of resurrection.”<sup>103</sup> In another report transmitted from Ibn ‘Abbas, God tells Adam that anyone who dies in the sanctuary [ḥarām] will be raised among the believers on the day of resurrection.<sup>104</sup> Anas b. Mālīk relates a version of this in which the prophet Muhammad says “anyone who dies in one of the two sanctuaries” [al-ḥaramayn] will be raised among the believers on the day of resurrection. In a report given on the authority of Jābir b. ‘Abdāllah, the prophet Muhammad states that people who die in Mecca or even “on the road to Mecca,” he will receive this special consideration on the day of resurrection.<sup>105</sup>

Some reports link the special status of people who die in Mecca or Medina with the intercession of the prophet Muhammad on the day of judgment. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is reported to have said that he heard the

prophet Muhammad say that he will intercede on behalf of anyone who visits his tomb in Medina, and that anyone who dies in either Mecca or Medina will be counted among the believers on the day of resurrection.<sup>106</sup> In another report, transmitted on the authority of Salmān al-Fārisī, the prophet Muhammad says: “If a person dies in one of the two sanctuaries [ḥaramayn] seeking my intercession then he will be among the believers on the day of resurrection.”<sup>107</sup> Along with citing the virtues of Muslims visiting the tombs of prophets, Taqī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Kāfī al-Subkī (d. 1355) preserves a number of ḥadīth reports that commend visiting the tomb of the prophet Muhammad in Medina. He also collects and discusses reports that link visitation of the tomb with requests for the prophet Muhammad’s intercession of the day of resurrection.<sup>108</sup> Visiting the tomb of the prophet Muhammad as part of the Ḥajj or ‘Umrah to Mecca is counted as if the pilgrim came into contact with Muhammad during his lifetime.<sup>109</sup> Not visiting is like shunning the prophet Muhammad.<sup>110</sup>

#### MARTYRDOM AS REPLICATION AND SPREAD OF COSMOGONIC SELF-SACRIFICE

The idea that Mecca is a graveyard, a field of bodies to be resurrected among interceding prophets, pilgrims, and the earliest followers of the prophet Muhammad, is replicated in the practice and conception of Muslim martyrdom. Just as the prophet Muhammad distributed his own body and the substitute parts of the 100 camels shortly before his death, so too do Muslim martyrs deposit their bodies and body parts to demarcate the boundaries of Islam. As the example of the prophet Muhammad is spread from the “mother city” [umm al-qurrā] he founded, new “camps” [amṣār] are established from which Islam can then spread even further.<sup>111</sup> Giving one’s body to establish, spread, and defend the Muslim community [ummah] is a symbolic act tied to the origins of the Islamic civilization recalling the prophet Muhammad’s primordial sacrifice and gift of his body.

#### *Bodies in Enemy Lands*

In his collection of biographies of the companions of the prophet Muhammad, *Uṣd al-ghābah fī ma’rifah al-ṣaḥābah*, ‘Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 1233) includes the following report concerning the death and burial of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī [Khālīd b. Zayd b. Kulayb].

He [Abū Ayyūb] was in an army and the commander of this army was Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyah. Abū Ayyūb got sick and Yazīd came and visited him and asked him what he needed. He said: “I need, when I die, for you to ride and find access into the land of the enemy, whether or not you find access, bury me and then return.” He died and the army did this. They buried him near to Constantinople. His grave was in the city and they [people of Constantinople] prayed for rain at it.<sup>112</sup>

According to al-Ṭabarī, the caliph Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyah took Abū Ayyūb with him in the year 49 AH (669 CE) to campaign against the Romans at Constantinople along with the well-known companions Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn ‘Amr, and Ibn al-Zubayr.<sup>113</sup> The tomb of Abū Ayyūb is still revered and visited as an important place of pilgrimage in Istanbul today after being discovered by Āq Shams al-Dīn Shaykh al-Islām (d. 1459), advisor to Mehmet the Conqueror, and used as a site for the coronation ceremonies of the Ottoman sultans.<sup>114</sup>

The significance of burying the martyred body of Abū Ayyūb deep in enemy territory is emphasized in other accounts of his death. Abū Ḍabyān is reported that have said that Abū Ayyūb campaigned against the Romans, he got sick, and when he was about to die he said: “When I die, carry me and when you line up in ranks against the enemy bury me under your feet.”<sup>115</sup> Dhahabī relates that Abū Ayyūb willed that his body be buried at the feet of the advancing Muslim forces, that his body be carried “to the furthest possible place” in enemy territory.<sup>116</sup> In a number of reports Abū Ayyūb’s body is said to have been buried within the walls of Constantinople, as a kind of proof that the Muslims had breached the enemy’s capital. The biographical information included in ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan Ibn ‘Asākir’s (d. 1176) *Ta’rīkh madīnah Dimashq* states that Abū Ayyūb died in Constantinople in the year 52 AH (672 CE) and that his grave is in the foundation of the walls of the city, or within the city itself.<sup>117</sup> Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih (d. 940) records a report that Abū Ayyūb said: “I heard the Prophet say that a righteous man would be buried nearby, or under, the walls of Constantinople. I hope I am that man.”<sup>118</sup>

The Romans themselves, according to some reports, recognized the significance of this martyred body being buried behind their lines. In one account the Muslim armies attempt to level the ground beneath their feet, hiding the tomb from the Romans.<sup>119</sup> Other accounts describe how the Romans threatened to exhume the body and allow it to be consumed by wild animals, and were only stopped when the caliph threatened to kill all Christians and destroy all churches in Arab lands.<sup>120</sup> A report given by Ibn ‘Asākir explains how this significance was made explicit to the Romans.

The people of Constantinople said to Yazīd and those with him: “What is this? We will exhume it tomorrow.” Yazīd said: “This is a companion of our Prophet. He bequeathed this [burial at enemy lines], for there is no other *mujāhid* who has died in the service of God closer to you than he. If you do this [exhume his body] every Christian [ḥabīsh] will be removed from the lands of the Arabs and every church will be destroyed.”<sup>121</sup>

Ibn Sa‘d and others report that the Romans then revered the site of Abū Ayyūb’s burial and came there to pray for rain in times of drought.<sup>122</sup> Ibn ‘Abd Rabbih and Ibn ‘Asākir both report that the Romans built a white dome over the grave, and a votive candle [qandīl] was lit there.<sup>123</sup>

Ibn ‘Asākir records reports of other martyrs that indicate the significance of using the location of their death as an indication of how far Islam had expanded. The tomb of the poet Abū Dhu‘ayb al-Hudhalī was said to be located deeper in enemy lands than that of any other Muslim. He campaigned against the Romans during the time of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and because of him “it is said that the people of Islam left their mark deep into the land of the Romans. Beyond the tomb of Abū Dhu‘ayb was no known tomb of the Muslims.”<sup>124</sup> Ka‘b al-Aḥbār, when he became sick on his way to campaign against the Romans, is reported to have said he would rather die in Ḥarastā than Damascus, and in Dūmah rather than Ḥarastā, thus “forward in the service of God” [qudum-an fī sabīl Allāh] before he eventually died in Ḥumṣ.<sup>125</sup> He wanted to die as far from his home as possible en route to enemy territory. In a similar case, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥayrīz al-Jumahī became ill while traveling to campaign against the Romans and he asked his son to carry him into enemy lands.

He [‘Abd al-Raḥmān] was sent on campaign but became seriously ill, so he said: “My son, take me to the land of the Romans.” So I [his son] carried him and did not stop until he said: “My son, hurry in the journey,” and I said: “My father you are in Shakk.” He said: “My son, I want to be more clearly in the land of the Romans.” So I continued carrying him until he died in the land of Ḥumṣ.<sup>126</sup>

Abū Muslim al-Khawlānī is reported to have died while campaigning against the Romans under Mu‘āwiyah, and to have requested that his “tomb be the farthest of tombs” into the land of the enemy.<sup>127</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī reports that when Ka‘b al-Aḥbār told ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb that he found mentioned in the Torah that ‘Umar would be killed as a martyr, ‘Umar said: “How can I be martyred when I am in the Arabian peninsula?” indicating that to be martyred required one to be killed, or at least buried, outside of the lands already held by the Muslims.<sup>128</sup>

### Manning Garrisons

In his work on the virtues of *jihād* [faḍā'il al-jihād], Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Naḥḥās (d. 1411) lists a number of ḥadīth reports in which the prophet Muhammad extols the value of Muslims manning a garrison [murābiṭ] on the borders of their territory.<sup>129</sup> Anas b. Mālik recounts that the prophet Muhammad addressed his followers garrisoned in the Sāhl of Syria, saying: “A day of one of you in the service of God [fī sabīl Allāh] is better than a thousand days of prostrating in the Masjid al-Ḥarām and the mosque in Medina.”<sup>130</sup> Sahl b. Sa'd reports that the prophet Muhammad said: “Garrisoning a day in the service of God is better than this world and what is above it,” and al-Bukhārī records a ḥadīth report that “garrisoning for a day and night is better than fasting for a month, and establishing residence and garrisoning there for a month is better than fasting for a year.”<sup>131</sup> Ibn 'Asākir relates the ḥadīth report that “he who dies garrisoned in the service of God will have the reward of a Mujāhid until the Day of Resurrection,” establishing the correspondence between being garrisoned and engaging the enemy in battle.<sup>132</sup> According to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Muslims are not allowed to establish borders within unconquered lands [dār al-ḥarb] but only to distinguish between controlled and noncontrolled territory.<sup>133</sup>

Ibn al-Naḥḥās lists the names of those who are supposed to have completed forty days garrisoned,<sup>134</sup> and reports that Abū Hurayrah compared being garrisoned to visiting Mecca.

Abū Hurayrah reported that he used to say: “Garrisoning a night beside the sea behind the Muslims is better than spending the Night of Qadr in one of the two mosques, the mosque of the Ka'bah or the mosque of the Apostle of God. Garrisoning for three days is equal to a year. [You should] complete forty nights in a garrison.”<sup>135</sup>

Numerous ḥadīth reports likewise state that performing prayers and other ritual obligations on the shore of the sea, far from the cultic centers of Mecca and Medina, is a preferred practice.

Abū Hurayrah reported that the Apostle of God said: “Prayer on the shore of the sea is better than a thousand prayers doubled.”

'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, on the authority of his father, reported that the Apostle of God said: “Prayer on the shore of the sea is like a thousand and twenty-five thousand prayers.”<sup>136</sup>

Muḥammad Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 965) relates, on the authority of Anas b. Mālik, that the prophet Muhammad said: “Prayer in my mosque is

equal to ten thousand prayers, prayer in the Masjid al-Ḥarām is equal to one-hundred thousand prayers, and prayer in a garrisoned land is equal to a thousand prayers.”<sup>137</sup> In a ḥadīth recorded by Ibn Mājah, any Muslim who dies outside of the lands belonging to Islam is considered a martyr.<sup>138</sup> Ibn Qudāmah cites a Mālikī scholar as advising residence in Alexandria over Medina, highlighting those traditions that attach greater value to Muslims spreading out from the geographical origins of Islam.<sup>139</sup>

### *Blood and Body Parts*

Not unlike how the sources describe the use of Abū Ayyūb’s martyred body to mark the expansion of Islam, other accounts refer to martyrs’ use of their bodies to demarcate territory. Imagery promulgated in the aftermath of 9/11 in 2001 shows a photo of the martyr Abū al-‘Abbās al-Janūbī imposed over the Pentagon damaged from the airplane he crashed into the site.<sup>140</sup> In another image, Osama bin Laden’s photo is set alongside the burning Twin Towers and framed by photos of the “Magnificent 19” martyrs whose scattered bodies were left at the sites of the 9/11 attacks.<sup>141</sup> According to ḥadīth reports given on the authority of Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh al-Anṣārī, the prophet Muhammad ordered the bodies of the Muslims martyred at Uḥud to be buried without washing the blood from their wounds and clothing.<sup>142</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, some of the bodies of martyrs from Uḥud were carried back to Medina and buried but the prophet Muhammad ordered them exhumed and “returned to where they battled.”<sup>143</sup> Several accounts report that Sa’d b. Mu’ādh b. al-Nu‘mān was wounded in the battle of Khandaq, piercing a vein in his arm, which burst causing blood to gush and flow out of the tent which had been pitched for him.<sup>144</sup> The use of bloodied handprints to mark walls in areas protected by martyrs is common in the Palestinian Intifāḍah, as is the imagery of using body parts to spell out words, such as human skulls piled to form the word “Ḥamās” or blood streaming from a boy martyr forming the words “the Intifāḍah continues.”<sup>145</sup> In his recounting of the “Virtues of wounds received in the service of God,” Ibn al-Naḥḥās relates different ḥadīth reports in which the prophet Muhammad praises “a drop of blood shed in the service of God.”<sup>146</sup> Many ḥadīth reports relate martyrs’ spilling of blood with the healthy color and pleasant smell of martyrs on the Day of Resurrection.<sup>147</sup>

Islamic sources portray wounds received by the martyred bodies and lost body parts as substitutes for the loss of territory and the damage

otherwise received by the members of the community. Images from an al-Qā'idah website superimpose a photo of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Isā the "Lion of Islam," over the outlines of Saudi Arabia, connecting his martyred body with the land he died to protect.<sup>148</sup> 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 797) cites a report in which the earth is rubbed on the face of a martyr with the claim that the "earth is his earth, the soil is his soil."<sup>149</sup> The lyrics from "The Call of Jihad," recorded during the first Intifāḍah, refers to the wounded land of Palestine, its blood flowing and covering the land, causing "the garden of the revolutionaries" to grow to protect and heal the land.<sup>150</sup> The Kuwaiti martyr Abū Muṣ'ab 'Abd al-'Azīz 'Abd al-Hādī Dayhānī makes explicit the connection between his martyred body and his community. "I do not care if I get killed. I will not sit motionless while my brothers are under attack every day . . . We should starve when the nation starves. We should share its joys and sorrow, and we should die with it and for it."<sup>151</sup> In his last will and testament, the Saudi suicide bomber Abū Ans al-Tahāmī al-Qaḥṭānī makes a similar statement tying the bodies of martyrs to the land.

Whoever looks at the condition of the Islamic nation will find it is torn asunder and its cuts bleeding in every place. There is the wound of Palestine for 50 years; and there are wounds of Chechnya, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Indonesia, Philippines, and Iraq. We are immersed in our wants and desires while the sanctuaries are violated, the mosques demolished, and the holy books insulted. I do not know how we are living inside ourselves; do these wounds pain us or do we not care?<sup>152</sup>

Images of Yassir 'Arafat in Gaza City picture his body "composed of land and trees, and balanced precariously on his arm is an orange map of Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza Strip, signifying the long-cherished goal of regaining 'all of Palestine.'"<sup>153</sup>

Hadīth reports describe in detail the wounds suffered by early Muslim martyrs, and the body parts they left on the field, marking the ground they died to protect. In different accounts, 'Abdallāh b. Jaḥsh offers his body for the sake of Islam, willing to be killed, to have his body taken, his nose and ear cut off, and his belly ripped open.<sup>154</sup> In his exegesis of Q 33:23, Ibn Kathīr relates the report, given on the authority of Anas b. Mālik, that Sa'd b. Mu'ādh commented that he could not obtain the status earned by Anas b. al-Naḍir who sustained more than eighty wounds to his body, from blows, piercings, and arrows, while defending the Muslim community.<sup>155</sup> In a report recounted by Ibn al-Mubārak, the prophet Muhammad says that the best part of jihād is the one who wounds himself and pours out his blood.<sup>156</sup> Numerous accounts describe the

wounds suffered by the body of Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib, who was martyred at the battle of Mu‘tah. According to Ibn Ishāq and others, Ja‘far dismounted, hamstringed his horse, and picked up the banner dropped by Zayd b. Hārithah, taking it in his right hand until his right arm was cut off, and then in his left hand until his left arm was cut off.<sup>157</sup> In a report given on the authority of Nāfi‘ b. al-Jubayr, Ibn ‘Umar claims that he counted over fifty wounds in the martyred body of Ja‘far.<sup>158</sup> Ibn al-Athīr adds that Ja‘far was the first Muslim to sacrifice his horse in battle, leaving its body amid his own dismembered corpse on the ground.<sup>159</sup> In the biography of Ja‘far, Ibn Ḥajar cites a report that Ibn ‘Umar counted ninety wounds from thrusts and arrows, none of them on his back.<sup>160</sup>

Ibn al-Naḥḥās lists a number of accounts in which still-living Muslims are praised for having deposited extraneous pieces of their bodies on the field while using their still-living bodies to absorb the blows threatening their community. Mu‘ādh b. ‘Amr b. al-Jamūḥ described his hand as hanging by only the skin, and in another report he says that all of his body was wounded, including his penis, at the battle of Uḥud.<sup>161</sup> There are reports of Muslims continuing to fight after losing a foot, or after being disemboweled at the battle of al-Qādisīyah.<sup>162</sup>

‘Ilbā [b. Jaḥsh al-‘Ijlī] struck the Persian with his sword and pierced his chest, but the Persian struck ‘Ilbā’ with his sword and disemboweled him. Both fell to the ground, the Persian dying immediately. As for ‘Ilbā’, his bowels spilled out and he could not get up; he attempted to put his bowels back but was unable to do it. Then a Muslim passed by, and ‘Ilbā’ said: “So-and-so, help me with my belly.” The Muslim put his bowels back, and ‘Ilbā’ held the slit skin of his belly together and rushed toward the Persian lines, without turning his face to the Muslims. He was killed thirty cubits forward, toward the Persian lines, from where he had been struck.<sup>163</sup>

Ibn Hishām reports that ‘Amr al-Ḥārithī b. ‘Alqama took the Quraysh standard from Hu‘āb, a slave of the Banū Abū Ṭalḥa who had continued to hold the standard between his breast and throat after both his hands were cut off.<sup>164</sup> Dhahabī relates that ‘Alī b. Zayd b. Jud‘ān reported blood springing from holes in the chest of al-Zubayr, and ‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr related that his father was hit three times with a sword, twice at Badr and once at Yarmūk, one of the blows making a hole in his neck into which ‘Urwah could later insert his finger.<sup>165</sup> Ḥadīth reports describe the wounds of the prophet Muhammad, detailing his lost teeth and his loss of blood that would not stop until Fāṭimah treated the wounds with a special mixture of burnt palm leaves.<sup>166</sup>



*Leaving Bodies in the Land*

Numerous traditions attest to the notion that the bodies of martyrs do not decay but remain where they are deposited, whether buried or not, as evidence of the Muslims having advanced on that territory. According to a report cited by Ibn al-Mubārak, Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh reported that the martyred bodies from Uḥud were still fresh when they were exposed during the time of Mu‘āwiyah.

Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh said: When Mu‘āwiyah wanted to dig a canal he was told that there was the body of someone killed, that is those killed at Uḥud. We exhumed the bodies and they were still fresh [ruṭāb-an]. I hit the finger of one of the men with a shovel and blood squirted from it.<sup>167</sup>

In another report, Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh describes the body of his father who was the first to be martyred at Uḥud and buried. When his body was exhumed six months later it was in the same condition as when it was buried “except for a slight change near his ear.”<sup>168</sup> Stories from the Intifāḍah, such as accounts of tombs opened by legal ruling [fatwah] allowing mothers to find their son’s bodies intact, are witness to the widespread belief that the bodies of martyrs do not decay after burial.<sup>169</sup> The Ḥanafī jurist ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-‘Izz (d. 1390) states that certain bodies remain intact and unchanged in the grave until the day of resurrection just as the bodies of the prophets that make sacred the ground in which they are buried.<sup>170</sup> Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 1492) likewise explains that the bodies of martyrs and scholars remain unchanged after burial.<sup>171</sup> According to a report cited by ‘Abdallāh ‘Azzām, earth from the tomb of Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh was collected and found to be like musk.<sup>172</sup>

Certain traditions emphasize that the bodies of martyrs are to be consumed by the earth and the wild plants and animals that inhabit it. Ibn Hishām relates that the prophet Muhammad wanted the mutilated body of his uncle Ḥamzah b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib to be left unburied so that it would be consumed by wild animals.

I have been told that the Apostle went out seeking Ḥamzah and found him at the bottom of the valley with his belly ripped open, his liver missing, and his nose and ears cut off. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. al-Zubayr told me that when he saw this the Apostle said: “Were it not that Ṣafīyah would be miserable, and it might become a custom after me, I would leave him as he is so that his body would be resurrected from the bellies of beasts and the crops [ḥawṣalah] of birds.”<sup>173</sup>

According to other accounts, including exegesis of Q 3:138–142, the body of Ḥamzah was mutilated by Hind bt. ‘Utbah, whose father had been killed by Ḥamzah at the battle of Badr.<sup>174</sup> It is reported that the enemy mutilated all the bodies of the Muslims killed at Uḥud except for that of Ḥanalah b. Abī ‘Āmir.<sup>175</sup> Abū Qatādah boasted that he cut off the hand of a pagan he had killed at the battle of Ḥunayn as proof that he should receive the spoils of the killed man.<sup>176</sup> Numerous sources report that the body parts of enemies were both strewn on the ground or deposited to mark territory after having been chewed upon by the victor. The wife of the Meccan leader Abū Fusyān is reported to have chewed the liver of Ḥamzah after his body was slit open.<sup>177</sup> In other accounts what is emphasized is the importance of having the dismembered body of one’s enemy present at the day of judgment.<sup>178</sup>

The bodies of martyrs do not remain buried like ordinary bodies but become part of the future world of the resurrection. In one case the body of a martyr was expelled from the earth three times with a voice claiming that the body would instead be resurrected from the bellies of the beasts of prey and the craws of birds.<sup>179</sup> Stories from the Intifāḍah mention roses blossoming from and upon the bodies of martyrs, and in other accounts martyrs pray to die in lush meadows at the feet of their enemies.<sup>180</sup> Ibn Ḥajar reports that Makhshī b. Ḥumayyir prayed to die as a martyr in a place unknown to anyone.<sup>181</sup> Ibn Abī al-‘Izz claims that the bodies of prophets, which are compared to those of martyrs, are “consumed” by the land instead of being taken by the enemy when left unburied on the field of battle.<sup>182</sup> ‘Abdallāh ‘Azzām refers to the unity of the earth, sky, birds, and mountains as part of creation which must be protected and to which our bodies return.<sup>183</sup> Abū Hurayrah reports that the martyred body of ‘Āsim b. Thābit, the grandfather of ‘Āsim b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, was protected by a cloud of wasps sent by God.<sup>184</sup>

When ‘Āsim was slain Hudhayl wanted to take his head to sell it to Sulāfah bt. Sa’d b. Shuhayd – when he killed her two sons at Uḥud she vowed that when she took possession of his head she would drink wine from his skull – but wasps protected him. When the wasps came between it and them they said: “Leave him alone until nightfall when they will leave him and we can take the skull.” But God sent a flood in the wādī and it carried ‘Āsim away.<sup>185</sup>

Other traditions, often related to the exegesis of Q 3:169–170, refer to martyrs residing until the day of resurrection in the bellies and crops of birds, or abiding in the lotus tree [sidrah al-muntahā].<sup>186</sup>

*Bodies and Shields and Weapons*

Muslim legal texts adduce examples of Muslims using their bodies as shields and weapons. Ibn Bābawayh states that those Muslims who die as martyrs in jihād will enter paradise through a special gate, but those who run away to save their bodies [al-firār min al-zaḥf] will be punished.<sup>187</sup> Expressing a similar notion of saving one's body by running from jihād, from a non-Shi'i source, is al-Dhahabī.<sup>188</sup> 'Abdallāh 'Azzām cites a number of reports of the bodies of jihād fighters not affected by weapons.

Jalāl al-Dīn reports: I saw many of the Mujāhidīn with me going out into the battle and I saw their clothing torn from bullets but not a single bullet entered into their bodies.

Shaykh Aḥmad said: My son went into battle and his clothes were torn but he had not a single wound.

Secretary Naṣrallāh Maṣṣūr said: On 1-4-82 a Mujāhid received ten bullets in his head and fifteen bullets in his arm but he did not die.

I saw with my own eyes the place of a bullet on the ammo belt which Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥaqqānī was wearing on his chest but it did not enter his chest.<sup>189</sup>

'Azzām reports the same regarding bombs as well as bullets.

Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥaqqānī reported: I stepped on a bomb and it exploded under my feet but it did not injure me at all.

Arslān reported: I stepped twice on a shell and it did not injure me.<sup>190</sup>

Like the incorruptible buried bodies of martyrs, the living bodies of would-be martyrs appear to be immune to normal harm. 'Azzām cites another report in which a light shines all night from the martyred body of 'Abd al-Ghufūr b. Dīn Muḥammad before lifting to the sky for three minutes and then descending upon the assembled Mujāhidīn.<sup>191</sup>

In his modern compendium of legal positions relating to martyrdom, Nawwāf al-Takrūrī refers to the example of Abū Ṭalḥah as establishing a precedent for using one's body as a human shield [waḍa'a nafsahu tursan] to protect the prophet Muhammad at the battle of Uḥud.<sup>192</sup> Qays b. Abī Ḥāzīm reports that he "saw the hand of Abū Ṭalḥah detached and still clutching onto the Prophet on the day of Uḥud."<sup>193</sup> In this account, Abū Ṭalḥah offers his life for the life of the prophet Muhammad. "Abū Ṭalḥah: 'Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you. Do not raise your head lest an arrow of the enemy should hit you. My neck rather than your neck.'"<sup>194</sup> Ibn Hishām reports that Abū Dujānah made his body a shield, allowing numerous arrows to stick into his back as he leaned over the

prophet Muhammad. As another example of using one's body to protect a leader of the community, Dogu Ergil mentions some twenty-two members of the PKK in Turkish prisons who set themselves on fire to protest the extradition of Ocalan from Italy to Turkey.<sup>195</sup> In his interview with al-Şahāb Media in 2007, Ayman al-Zawāhiri refers to a compendium by Abū Yaḥyā al-Lībī in which the use of one's body as a human shield [tatarrus] is defined as a type of martyrdom.<sup>196</sup>

Using one's body like an offensive weapon is also discussed in Islamic legal texts. A number of Jihadist websites refer to the legal opinions of Ibn Taymīyah and the precedents he cites in support of using one's body to "plunge into the ranks of the enemy."<sup>197</sup> Ibn al-Naḥḥās lists a number of examples of rushing [inghimās] into the ranks of a larger enemy,<sup>198</sup> including Abū Ayyūb,<sup>199</sup> Anas b. al-Naḍīr at Uḥud,<sup>200</sup> and unnamed Muslims who rushed single-handedly into the ranks of the enemy.<sup>201</sup> Abū Dharr reports that the prophet Muhammad said that God loves the man who goes out from his ranks alone, meets the enemy, and receives their blows on his chest until he is victorious or is killed.<sup>202</sup> Ibn al-Naḥḥās and others cite the example of David versus Goliath in Q 2:249–251, and the Muslim victory over Rostam at al-Qādisiyah in which the Muslims fought against an enemy that outnumbered them more than ten-to-one.<sup>203</sup> Sheikh Aḥmad Yāsīn makes explicit the need to use one's body against a more powerful enemy. "Once we have warplanes and missiles, then we can think of changing our means of legitimate self-defense. But right now, we can only tackle the fire with our bare hands and sacrifice ourselves."<sup>204</sup> In his interview with *Prospect Magazine*, the British Pakistani Hassan Butt defends the use of one's body as a means of striking fear into the enemy.

There is a speech by the Prophet in which he says: Allah gave me five things. One of them was the power to strike fear, to strike terror into the heart of the enemy from a mile's distance, and this was a reference to a battle he had commenced. The way the warriors had prepared themselves was so terrifying that the enemy didn't even turn up to the battle. Besides that, in the Koran the word *irḥāb* is the root word for terror in Islam, and *irḥābiyūn* is the word for terrorist. Allah mentions the word in the Koran many times – the one who strikes terror into their hearts is an *irḥābiyūn*. If I could have that title Islamically then I would be more than happy to take it and be proud of it. But unfortunately, I haven't reached that level yet.<sup>205</sup>

The title of "terrorist" [irḥābī] is here defined by the use of the martyr's body not only as a weapon but as a representation of the threat posed to the encroaching enemy forces, and an inspiration to the Muslim forces.

### *Rushing into Enemy Ranks*

Ibn al-Naḥḥās and others, including modern Jihadist discourse, refer to Abū Ayyūb's citation of Q 2:195 and burial behind enemy lines as precedent for sacrificing oneself against an overpowering enemy force. Ibn Kathīr narrates an account of Abū Ayyūb's actions during the raid against Constantinople, taken from a number of ḥadīth collections on the authority of Aslam Abī 'Imrān.

Aslam Abī 'Imrān: We were in Constantinople. Over the Egyptians was 'Uqbah b. 'Āmir and over the Syrians was a man named Yazīd b. Faḍālah b. 'Ubayd. A great column of Romans came out of the city and we formed against them. A man from the Muslims rushed out against the Romans, entering into their ranks and then coming out again to us. The people yelled: "By God, he [the man] has cast himself to destruction by his own hand!" Abū Ayyūb said: "People, you interpret this verse [2:195] incorrectly for it was revealed concerning a group of the Anṣār."<sup>206</sup>

In another account, Abū Ayyūb's interpretation of this verse is given.

Abū Ayyūb said: We know better the interpretation of this verse. It was revealed concerning us, our companionship with the Apostle of God, our vow with him, our helping of him. When Islam appeared and spread, a group of the Anṣār gathered secretly and we said: God will honor us with the companionship of his Prophet, and will give him victory so that Islam spreads, its people multiply, and we will have preferred him over our families, our belongings, and our children. Then we will put down the heavy load of war and return to our families and children and settle with them. Concerning us was revealed: "Spend your family maintenance in the service of God and do not meet destruction by your own hands" [Q 2:195]. The destruction is in settling with the family and belongings and leaving jihād behind.<sup>207</sup>

The report ends by stating that Abū Ayyūb did not return to his family and his belongings but continued in jihād until he was buried in Constantinople.<sup>208</sup> Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī cites a Mālikī position that there is no harm in a person rushing against an overwhelming enemy when he has strength and his intention is to serve God.<sup>209</sup> In his exegesis of Q 2:195, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī (d. 1273) refers to the opinion of the Ḥanafī jurist Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (d. 805) that a single person can rush against even 1,000 enemies as long as he can expect to inflict some damage on the enemy or encourage the Muslims to attack.<sup>210</sup>

This understanding of Q 2:195 is not unlike the concept applied to the identification of "living martyrs" referring to individuals who have dedicated themselves to sacrificing their bodies but are still alive. Ḥamās

martyrs stage mock burials and pre-funerals in which the body of a living martyr is interred into an empty grave or locked in a dark chamber.<sup>211</sup> An account of a “living martyr” is given by Palestinians.

According to West Bank legend, he [living martyr] would live in one of the many limestone caves that dot the countryside. People would bring him food and water. Everyone would speak his name. Cards would be printed with his picture on them, his face surrounded by guns and roses, to be given to friends, relatives, and fellow activists, or sold on the street to admirers as memorials and souvenirs.<sup>212</sup>

In other cases, Palestinian martyrs would be issued a “certificate of self-sacrifice” designating their status as a martyr while still living.<sup>213</sup> Captured “suicide bombers” are described as “half-martyrs” because they are already considered dead although they are still living.<sup>214</sup> In Lebanon, Ḥizballāh members wear a burial shroud [kafen] lining their uniforms to signify their status as the living dead.<sup>215</sup> The digging and use of caves, by Jihadist groups in Afghanistan for example, can also be understood as the preparation of tombs pre-made to ensconce the bodies of the martyrs in marking protected territory. At the battle of Yamāmah, Salīm the freed slave of Abū Hudhayfah is said to have dug a trench for himself as a tomb and stood in it fighting and carrying the banner until he was killed.<sup>216</sup>

### *Martyrdom Is Not Suicide*

It is important to note that martyrdom is not equated with suicide, but must be linked with establishment or protection of territory and community.<sup>217</sup> Numerous ḥadīth reports refer to the prophet Muhammad’s condemnation of people killing themselves intentionally, especially when it is related to relieving suffering from wounds received in battle.<sup>218</sup> Nor are women and children supposed to be killed in combat although female martyrs in Palestine, Iraq, and Chechnya are not uncommon.<sup>219</sup> As illustrated by the examples of the prophet Muhammad, al-Zubayr, and Mu’adh b. ‘Amr, being wounded and surviving to continue fighting is preferable to being killed. Ḥamās leader Shaykh Yāsīn was known as the “miracle shaykh” because he remained alive against all odds, and Yassir ‘Arafat and others were described by some Palestinians as immortal because of their ability to escape death.<sup>220</sup>

Every time, he managed just to walk away from the scene of death – the bullet-pocked buildings, the smoking remains of a fallen plane – unscathed and looking younger than ever. Resurrection is, of course, a contagious phenomenon, and with

his return to Gaza, many said that Arafat was soon going to announce that his former deputy Khalil al-Wazir, best known by his nom de guerre “Abu-Jihad,” had survived his 1988 assassination by Mossad agents in Tunis.<sup>221</sup>

This seems to be distinct from being willing to die rather than renounce one’s faith, considered to be a form of martyrdom as exemplified by the death of Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, who was exposed to the sun in armor until his skin peeled off and then was dragged through the streets with a rope around his neck.<sup>222</sup> Other martyrs such as those mentioned in connection with the Aṣḥāb al-Ukhdūd from Q 85, and Sufis such as ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr ‘Ayn al-Quḍāt (d. 1126) and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 1234) exemplified giving one’s life for one’s faith. The body of Sufi al-Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 922) was lashed 600 times, had both feet and one hand amputated, was put on a stake, decapitated, and then burned.<sup>223</sup>

Other exegeses of Q 2:195, such as that of al-Harrāsī, emphasize that martyrdom entails renouncing one’s family and wealth for the service of God.<sup>224</sup> Abū Bakr Ibn al-‘Arabī states that the verse does refer to the necessity of participating in jihād, the conditions of which are elaborated elsewhere, but does not specifically address the issue of whether or not it is permissible, encouraged, or required for Muslims to rush into the ranks of an overwhelming enemy force.<sup>225</sup> Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣās (d. 981) says that the verse is to be interpreted to mean that Muslims must lead all of their lives in the service of God, renouncing even food and drink.<sup>226</sup> Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Umayr is reported to have renounced his body, after becoming a Muslim, to the extent that he had to be carried around by other people because of his emaciation.<sup>227</sup> Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī connects death in battle to renunciation of this world.

The most perfect of delights is that which is the lot of martyrs who are slain in the way of God. When they advance into battle they cut themselves off from any concern with the attachments of the world in their yearning to meet God, happy to be killed for the sake of obtaining his pleasure.<sup>228</sup>

Nawwāf al-Takrūrī states that renouncing this world is part of the justification for being willing to die as a martyr,<sup>229</sup> and an undated Egyptian periodical dedicated to “Ikhlāq al-jihād” claims that the covenant of martyrs to sacrifice their lives can only be made by “those who do not love this temporary, worthless life.”<sup>230</sup> The video “Takbīr al-‘Īd” released by the Jaysh Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā‘ah in Iraq shows alternating images of Muslim leaders “enjoying themselves in lavish palaces and comfortable settings” while the “holy fighters are donning modest clothes and fighting in desolate towns and villages.”<sup>231</sup>

Offering one's body in the service of God is joining a new model of life. A grafitto written after the death of Khālīd Abū-Ṭāriq in Palestine connects his martyrdom with leaving his family.

Although three bullets had lodged in his pure body, he dragged himself from the house on top of which he was standing and went to his mother and said to her: "Mother, I have been martyred. I witness that there is only one God and Muhammad is the Messenger of God."<sup>232</sup>

In his final testament, the Saudi Abū Hārith 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dūsri explains the relationship between his sacrifice and his family.

To my mother, father, wife and brothers . . . I did not leave you to punish you, but instead to heed God's call to jihad. How can I live happily knowing that this country is being violated, usurped and raped, and that the infidels are storming our homes and sanctuaries and violating our religion? If we do not meet again on this earth, we shall meet in heaven.<sup>233</sup>

The jihād becomes the family just as the wounds to the martyrs' bodies substitute for incursions into the land. Palestinian slogans express the martyrs' identification with Fataḥ.

"Fatah is my mother, and the machine-gun is my father."

"I forgot my name, I forgot my address, I came to you, mother of all, and carved my name on my machine gun, Fatah-man, revolutionary, *fiḍa'i*, Palestinian."<sup>234</sup>

The Saudi Abū Mu'āwiyah al-Shamālī asked for the hand of Fāṭimah in marriage, offering bombs as her dowry,<sup>235</sup> and al-Zarqāwī referred to Baghdad as his "mother" and "sister," a "girl as pure as snow, who is crying, her chastity violated by a dog and a pack of wolves."<sup>236</sup> Abū 'Umayr al-Sūrī gave up his life as an electrical engineer in Morocco despite his wife's pregnancy, and on the day he bombed the UN Headquarters building in Baghdad, his bomb-laden car became his "new wife" to which he was now married.<sup>237</sup>

### *Ritual Repetition of the Prophet Muhammad's Sacrifice*

Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī is well-known not only for the use of his martyred body in marking territory but also for his dedication to the prophet Muhammad and active participation in battles fought in defense of the early Muslim community. That his martyrdom and burial in an enemy capital was the aim of his service to the prophet Muhammad is mentioned in the biographical notices about his life.<sup>238</sup> The example of Abū Ayyūb illustrates the close relationship between the disposal of martyred bodies and the marking of territory in early Islamic sources. This relationship has



been noted by other scholars, such as Michael Lecker in his analysis of how the scattering of martyred body parts and the burial of martyred corpses can be seen as a means for delineating the boundaries of the early and postcolonial Islamic state.<sup>239</sup>

Muslim sources do refer to martyrdom as a means “to recapture the homeland and rid the area of what it perceives as a foreign occupation,” but it is a mistake to overlook that the goal, and the means to accomplish this goal are ritual acts.<sup>240</sup> In an al-Qā’idah video of the “Baghdad Badr Raid” against the Palestine Hotel in Baghdad, the martyr says: We will “regain the life of honor once more” and “we shall redraw for Islam a map, its borders are honor, might, and triumph.”<sup>241</sup> The British Pakistani Hassan Butt explains that the reason for martyrdom is not tactical.

The motivation is the pleasure of Allah, first and foremost. Allah says in the Koran “We have sent you,” – the Muslims – “the best nation in the world, to mankind.” But there are conditions attached to that because you must enjoy [sic] goodness and forbid evil. As long as Muslims do this, they will see themselves as the best nation. And the reason why the majority of Muslims feel this inspiration is because we understand that Islam is by its nature beautiful; it is not a backward, medieval-type way of life as a lot of westerners believe . . . All human rights are based on Islam, to ensure peace and security in the world.<sup>242</sup>

A video from Iraq claims that “with the sharp weapon of truth we will liberate the lands of the free and bring back to purity to the land of Jerusalem after the humiliation and shame.”<sup>243</sup> Numerous images published on Jihadist websites show the symbolism of martyrdom: the image of a “martyr” [shahādah] flag stabbed into the center of Italy and Rome to signify establishing the Islamic caliphate over Rome,<sup>244</sup> or Bin Laden superimposed over the map of Saudi Arabia, holding the Ka’bah in his hands for its protection.<sup>245</sup>

It is the symbolic character of the martyrs’ actions and their remains upon which significance and meaning is focused. The burial of Abū Ayyūb’s body under the walls of Constantinople did not lessen the strength of the Roman forces or give the Muslims a tactical advantage. Indeed, advancing into the enemy ranks in order to bury a body would seem not to be a sound military tactic, nor would a single man rushing into the ranks of a thousand-strong enemy. The legal definition of such acts as martyrdom is not military strategy but religious ritual, symbolic actions practiced in imitation of the prophet Muhammad for the purpose of signifying an ideology underlying the establishment and preservation of Islamic civilization. A manual of martyrs in the Intifāḍah from 2000 to 2007 details the martyrs, types of weapons used, targets, number killed and injured, and a brief description of the incident.<sup>246</sup> The list memorializes

symbolic actions since the martyrdom operations, despite their frequency, have not cleared the land of an occupying enemy force [al-kiyān al-ṣihyūnī] or created better conditions for the Palestinian community living there.<sup>247</sup> A report from late 2008 states that the Shabāb group in Somalia ransacked the graves of other Islamist scholars who had been buried in the town of Kismaayo controlled by the Shabāb.<sup>248</sup> Likewise, the history of martyrdom among the sectarian Imāmī Shī‘ah is not the story of conquest and victory but is remembered as symbolic of select individuals whose sacrifice constitutes a conceptual rather than material social order.<sup>249</sup>

Martyrs are symbols of the “elect” of the Muslim community who sacrifice themselves for the sake of that community. Abū Ayyūb’s status as a martyr has as much to do with his life as with the disposal of his body.<sup>250</sup> In his *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad Ibn al-A‘tham (d. ca. 925) says that Abū Ayyūb was renowned for his fighting, and Ibn ‘Asākir mentions that he fought with the prophet Muhammad at Badr, ‘Aqabah, Uḥud, and Khandaq.<sup>251</sup> Ibn al-Athīr mentions the battles at ‘Aqabah, Badr, and Uḥud, and includes Abū Ayyūb as one of the “Seventy” who pledged allegiance to the prophet Muhammad at ‘Aqabah.<sup>252</sup> According to a tradition preserved by al-Bukhārī, Abū Ayyūb was one of five people who participated in the collection of the Quran before the death of the prophet Muhammad, and the commentaries on Q 2:195 regard Abū Ayyūb as the leader of the Medinan Anṣār.<sup>253</sup> Other martyrs are likewise regarded as having a special place within the Muslim community. Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 996) and al-Ghazālī both explain that martyrs intercede, as prophets do, on behalf of their families and others within the Muslim community on the Day of Judgment.<sup>254</sup> Jihadist Salafis in Iraq claim to constitute a “saved denomination” [al-firqaḥ al-naḥīyah] or the “victorious group” [al-ṭā’ifah al-manṣūrah].<sup>255</sup> In the “Markers of the Victorious Sect in the Land of the Two Rivers,” Abū Faḍl al-Irāqī and Abū Islām al-Anṣārī claim they are true Muslims because they engage in continuous jihād until the end of time.<sup>256</sup> Numerous ḥadīth reports cite the prophet Muhammad as saying that martyrs like to leave paradise and return to the world in order to be martyred over and over again.<sup>257</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

These examples highlight the recurrent connection between the giving of bodies, the establishment of territorial boundaries, and the social order that inhabits them. The focus in these examples is not upon tactics per se but upon offering one’s body to initiate and perpetuate a different social

order. In part, this is evinced by the ritual nature of the acts, often having little or no apparent material impact on the opposing forces.<sup>258</sup> Osama bin Laden compares contemporary martyrdom operations with the idealized battles of early Islam – “Badr of Palestine, Badr of Iraq, Badr of Afghanistan, Badr of Chechnya, and all the other fields of jihad” – signifying the meaning of the acts he encourages.<sup>259</sup> In part, the connection with territory is demonstrated by the clear symbolism of martyred bodies founding, or attempting to found, particular locations as outposts of civilization in the face of an overwhelming status quo of the old and competing social order. Ibn al-Naḥḥās cites Abū al-Ḥassan al-Dāraquṭnī’s (d. 995) reports that the prophet Muhammad prayed over the tombs of fallen martyrs in different cities throughout the Middle East.

Ibn ‘Umar: The prophet Muhammad prayed over a grave and he was asked: “Apostle of God, whose grave is this?” He said: “A grave in the land of the enemy, and it is called ‘Asqalān. People from my community, which God sent as 70,000 martyrs, conquered it. The man intercedes like Rabī‘ah and Muḍar, for all a bridegroom. The bridegroom of paradise is ‘Asqalān.”<sup>260</sup>

Ibn al-Naḥḥās proceeds to list the virtues of the other cities taken by martyrs: ‘Asqalān, Alexandria, Damīyāt, ‘Akko, Sidon, Beirut, Anfah, Triopli, Antioch, Taurusus, Qazwīn, and even al-Andalus.<sup>261</sup> Each city was to become like a new “land” that provided for the practice of Islam inaugurated with the body of the martyr interred there.<sup>262</sup>

That the symbolic demarcation of territory, and defense of the social order to be based in that location, is integral to the Islamic concept of martyrdom is expressed in the stated goals of the martyr. A would-be Palestinian martyr explains the symbolism of his future act.

At the moment of executing my mission, it will not be purely to kill Israelis. The killing is not my ultimate goal . . . My act will carry a message beyond to those responsible and the world at large that the ugliest thing for a human being is to be forced to live without freedom.<sup>263</sup>

The act of performing martyrdom is a ritual, not only practiced in accordance with earlier models of martyrdom but bound by certain procedures and rules that ensure the symbolic character of the action. Ḥadīth reports provide precedents for all Muslims to give their bodies as martyrs for the defense of territory, property, and their families.<sup>264</sup> Tying martyrdom to defending territory refers to the meaning of the act, not its consequence. The examples in ḥadīth reports do not provide useful guidelines to accomplish material ends, but rather examples to be imitated in using one’s own body to communicate messages of social and political significance.

Among the actions supposed to be performed by the 9/11 hijackers the night before their martyrdom were removal of body hair, recitation of the Quran, and prayer. Other simple actions, such as getting dressed, are prescribed to be practiced following the example of the prophet Muhammad and his followers.

Tightly fasten your clothing for this is the practice of the righteous Salaf, God's blessings upon them, for they used to fasten their clothing upon themselves before battle. Then tightly fasten your shoes and wear a sock that holds firmly onto the foot so that it does not come out of it. All of these are the causes we are commanded to take and consider for God is the beneficent guardian.<sup>265</sup>

Arguably, some of the stipulated procedures in the so-called 9/11 hijacker letter, such as inspecting one's weapon, have practical purposes, but the aim of the rules is to generate ritual actions rather than to address considerations of material, tactical effect. According to a ḥadīth report preserved by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, a prerequisite for martyrdom is the requirement of intention [nīyah], just as is the case with the other obligatory rituals. Most jurists require jihād as an obligatory duty and Ibādī jurists consider it a sixth pillar along with the statement of faith, prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and the Ḥajj to Mecca. In his collection of ḥadīth reports, al-Tirmidhī relates that the virtues of jihād include fasting, providing sustenance to one's family, and serving others.<sup>266</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal preserves ḥadīth reports that list other works equal to martyrdom in fulfilling jihād, indicating that jihād was not exclusively military combat.<sup>267</sup>

Nor was martyrdom only defined as dying in combat. Suyūṭī states that martyrs include women who die in childbirth, people who die of illness or the plague, someone eaten by wild animals or killed by the venom of an animal bite, and people who die from drowning.<sup>268</sup> Ibn al-Mubārak relates a report in which the prophet Muhammad lists six types of martyrs who are equal to the person killed in battle, including people who die of illness, drown, die from plague, in a building collapse, in fire, and a woman who dies in childbirth.<sup>269</sup> Another report includes a person who falls from a mountain.<sup>270</sup> The lists of martyrs also include those who died en route to do battle, such as people thrown from their mount while going to fight, and those who died while guarding the borders, or in accidents related to military service.<sup>271</sup> The noncombat-related deaths are unnatural deaths which, like the combat-related deaths, run counter to the safety and well-being of the community. The sometimes stated reward for the martyr of entering paradise likewise directs attention away from the social, real-world impact of a given martyrdom.<sup>272</sup> It is said that

martyrs will be forgiven their sins, freed from the punishment of the grave, protected from a painful death, able to intercede on behalf of others on the day of judgment, and given entrance into the highest paradise.<sup>273</sup> Other traditions promise that the martyr will be received without delay into paradise alongside prophets and saints.<sup>274</sup> A martyr's hope of immediate resurrection not only invalidates the idea that their bodies remain as unchanging markers of earthly territory, but also replaces the actual impact of the martyrdom operation, its potential benefits to the security and maintenance of Islamic civilization, with the personal benefits accrued by the individual martyr.

Not unlike the pre-Islamic burial of camels alongside warriors to indicate their role in securing territory and bringing prosperity to the society that marks their death, the deposit of Muslim martyr's bodies is a reminder of their assistance to the community [ummah] and for their own eternal reward. Just as the prophets will be resurrected around the Ka'bah in Mecca on the day of resurrection, so too will martyrs be raised with the proof of their service: their bloodied clothing, scarred and scattered bodies, and the corpses or limbs of the enemies they defeated with their act of martyrdom. The prophet Muhammad substituted for his living body the camels he and his followers had captured as loot from enemies of Islam, and "suicide bombers" are raised at the end of time surrounded by those they took with them just as the animal sacrificed by pilgrims on the Ḥajj will stand beside them on the Day of Judgment identified by the garlands around their necks and bodies scarred from ritual markings.<sup>275</sup>

#### NOTES

- 1 For a critical Arabic text, English translation, and study, see Hans Kippenberg and Tilman Seidensticker, eds., *The 9/11 Handbook: Annotated Translation and Interpretation of the Attackers' Spiritual Manual* (London, 2006). For a different approach to understanding the motives of the hijackers, see Adam Lankford, *The Myth of Martyrdom: What Really Drives Suicide Bombers, Rampage Shooters, and Other Self-Destructive Killers* (New York, 2013), esp. 65–88.
- 2 See Naṣr al-Dīn al-Albānī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-adab al-mufrad* (Beirut, n.d.), 1:1216.
- 3 Ibn Ḥajar, *Bulūḡ al-marām min adillāh al-aḥkām*, 78.
- 4 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8:55 (86). For a slightly different version, given on the authority of 'Ā'ishah, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:96 (143), 23:61 (86), 64:83 (462).

- 5 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:3 (530); Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 21:1205 (139).
- 6 Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwattā'*, 45:1617.
- 7 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:3 (27); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8:55 (85), 60:50 (121), 63:83 (464), 77:19 (33); al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 8:13 (16).
- 8 See, for example, Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, 17, for a Minean inscription, and Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, 286, for a Thamudic example. Compare Safar, "Hatra Inscriptions," Hatra 62.
- 9 See Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn Bābuwayh, *ʿIlal al-sharāʿi* (Beirut, 1988), 2:56.
- 10 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:70 (93), 63:37 (99), 8:54 (84); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:3 (21, 22, 23, 24); al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 8:13 (17).
- 11 Ibn Ḥajar, *Bulūgh al-marām min adillah al-aḥkām*, 78.
- 12 al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3:208; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:3 (528).
- 13 See Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qaṣṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī li-sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 2:430.
- 14 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Bulūgh al-marām min adillah al-aḥkām*, 78–80.
- 15 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī bi-sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 3:156–157.
- 16 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:16–23.
- 17 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:23:532.
- 18 Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-awṭār min asrār muntaqā al-akhbār* (Beirut, 2000), no. 1485–1486.
- 19 See al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-awṭār*, 776.
- 20 See Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, 2:468–469, no. 223.
- 21 See Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, 2:475.
- 22 See Ibn Abī al-Khayr al-ʿImrānī, *al-Bayān fā fiqh al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī*, 3:109.
- 23 See Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, 2:474–475.
- 24 For examples of scholarship on the legality of visiting tombs, see Henri Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭah* (Damascus, 1958), esp. 80, 149; H. Laoust, *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma* (Beirut, 1950), esp. 21; A. Parrot, *Malédiction et violation des tombes* (Paris, 1939); C. D. Matthews, "A Muslim Iconoclast (Ibn Taymiyyah) on the 'Merits' of Jerusalem and Palestine," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 56 (1936): 1–21, including Ibn Taymiyyah's *Qā'idab fī ziyārat Bayt al-Maqdis*; N. H. Olsen, *Culte des saints et pèlerinages chez Ibn Taymiyya (661/1268–728/1328)* (Paris, 1991); M. U. Memon, trans., *Ibn Taymiyya's Struggle against Popular Traditions; with an Annotated Translation of His Kitāb Iqtīdā' al-ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm Mukbālafat Abl al-Jaḥīm* (Hague, 1976); George Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl: Religion and Culture in Classical Islam* (Edinburgh, 1997), esp. 210–212; Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyāra and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden, 1999), 195–218; Josef Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford, 2004), 126–138.

- 25 See Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl*, 209; Josef Meri, "Ziyāra," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed (Leiden, 1965-), 11:527.
- 26 See Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (Beirut, 1992), 4:492; Meri, "Ziyāra," 525.
- 27 See Ibn Taymiyah, *Majmū' fatāwā* (Riyadh, 1962-1967), 27:31-32; Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah, *Ighāthat al-lahfān min maṣāyid al-shayṭān*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid Fiqī (Beirut, 1986), 1:220-221; Meri, "Ziyāra," 525.
- 28 See N. Elisseeff, "Dimashq," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2:280-281.
- 29 See M. Sharon, "al-Khalīl," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 4:954-961.
- 30 See Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, 203; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 2:315; Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr Muqātil b. Sulaymān*, on Q 2:125. Also see the reports in al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makkah*, 39; al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-ghirām bi-akhhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*. 1:197; al-Halabī, *Sirah al-Ḥalabī*, 14; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 14; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:52; al-Suyūfī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, on Q 2:125; Rubin, "The Ka'ba," 110-111.
- 31 See Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 1:246, quoting *Sirat 'Antarah b. Shaddād* (Beirut, 1979), 153-157.
- 32 See Wensinck, *Arabic New Year and the Feast of Tabernacles*, 11, 27-28.
- 33 See Burkhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys*, cited in Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 2:240; Arent Jan Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion: Studies on Their Origin and Mutual Relation* (Amsterdam, 1917), 42-49.
- 34 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:18 (26), 23:23 (33); al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 10:18 (30); Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 21:1163 (61); al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 21:39 (80, 81), 48:98 (283); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 6:1537.
- 35 For reports in which two cloths is prescribed, see al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 10:20 (32); 19:17 (29); Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 21:1163 (68), 21:1164 (64); al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 21:39 (82); Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 6:1538. 1540. For those prescribing three or more cloths, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:23 (33, 34); Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 21:1163 (63); al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 6:1537; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 6:1537. For one cloth, see al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 10:20 (33).
- 36 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Bulūgh al-marām min adillah al-aḥkām*, 3:10 (10); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:21 (29, 30), 28:3 (19); al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 2:2714, 2715, 2857, 2859; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 25:3202.
- 37 For an extended comparison, see Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion*, 56-74, esp. 67-68.
- 38 See Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of Mourning and Religion*, 45; Goldziher, "De l'Ascétisme aux Premier Temps de l'Islam," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 37 (1898): 314-324, esp. 318.
- 39 See Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, 163-179.

- 40 See Zayd al-Khayl, *Diwān*, 72, 2 and 28, 2; al-Bakrī, *Kitāb mu'jam mā ista'jam*, 247.
- 41 See 'Amir Ibn al-Ṭufayl, *Diwān*, ed. Charles Lyall (Cairo, 2003), 91; al-Aghānī, 14, 42; Lammens, *L'Arabie Occidentale*, 169n5.
- 42 See Jarīr Ibn 'Afiyah, *Kitāb al-naqā'id*, ed. A. A. Bevan (Baghdad, 1966), 847; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 2:284; al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 14:70, 7.
- 43 See al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 14:89 and compare 13:144, 6.
- 44 See 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah* (Beirut, 2008), 5:150, 11, cited in Lammens, *L'Arabie Occidentale*, 166n3.
- 45 Jane Taylor, *Petra and the Lost Kingdom of the Nabataeans* (London, 2012), 82–84.
- 46 See the reports in Lammens, *L'Arabie Occidentale*, 129; M. Kazeh Zadeh, *Relation d'un pèlerinage à la Mecque en 1910–1911* (Paris, 1912), 26.
- 47 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:50 (83), 25:60 (96); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:41 (273, 274, 275, 276); al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:37 (53); Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 11:614 (153); al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 25:147 (2937), 148 (2938); Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwattā'*, 20:819; Ibn Ḥajar, *Bulūgh al-marām min adillat al-aḥkām*, 6:5 (43).
- 48 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 25:57 (91).
- 49 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:41 (274); Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 11:616 (159); Ibn Ḥajar, *Bulūgh al-marām min adillat al-aḥkām*, 6:5 (44).
- 50 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Bulūgh al-marām min adillat al-aḥkām*, 6:5 (40).
- 51 See al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 24:131 (2914), 132 (2915); al-Fāsi, *Shifā' al-ghirām bi-akḥbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, 1:188–192; Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn al-Humām, *Sharḥ fath al-qadir* (Quetta, 1991), 2:150–151.
- 52 See al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, 310. Compare al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:49 (878).
- 53 See al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:49 (71).
- 54 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 6:68 (26).
- 55 See Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 38:1 (8).
- 56 See al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 24:131 (2914), 132 (2915); Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī*, 2:478.
- 57 See Lammens, *L'Arabie Occidentale*, 145–146; Baghāwī, *Maṣābiḥ al-sunnah*, 1:133, 135, 137; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-nabawiyah*, 124; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:486, 147, 486, 487; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 1:187, al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 2:34, 39.
- 58 See Lammens, *L'Arabie Occidentale*, 141–143; Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-ishtiqāq*, 155; T. Fahd, “Une pratique cléromantique à la ka'ba préislamique,” *Semitica* 8 (1958): 55–79.
- 59 See al-Azraqī, *Akḥbār Makkah*, 1:88. For the connection of such shrines with funerary rituals and the dead, see Kay Prag, “The Dead Sea Dolmens: Death and the Landscape,” in *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Stuart Campbell and Anthony Green (Oxford, 1995), 74–85; C. A. Burney, “A First Season of Excavations at the Urartian Citadel of Kayalidere,” *Anatolian Studies* 16 (1966): 55–111, esp. 101–108.



- 60 See Annie Sartre, "Tombeaux antiques de Syrie du Sud," *Syria* 60 (1983): 83–99; Uzi Avner, "Nabataean Standing Stones and Their Interpretation," *ARAM* 11 (1999–2000): 97–122; Ofer Bar-Yosef and others, "The Orientation of Nawamis Entrances in Southern Sinai: Expressions of Religious Belief and Seasonality?" *Tel Aviv* 10 (1983): 52–60; Zarins and others, "The Comprehensive Archaeological Survey Program: A," 9–42, esp. 31; M. Gilmore and others, "Preliminary Report on the Northwestern and Northern Region Survey," *Atlat* 6 (1982): 9–23.
- 61 See al-İşfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 15:139; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 163; Goldziher, "le culte des ancêtres," 332–359.
- 62 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-nabawīyah*, 253/276; Krehl, *Über die Religion der vorislamischen Araber*, 83; Goldziher, "le culte des ancêtres," 334.
- 63 For al-Dur, see Lecomte, "Ed-Dur, les occupations des 3e et 4e s. ap. J.-C.," 195–217; For Hatra, see Safar, *al-Ḥaḍr: Madīnah al-shams*, passim.
- 64 See some of the examples in William Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel and Their Place in History to the Close of the Eighth Century* (Edinburgh, 1882; reprint, London, 1902), 392; Haldar, *Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites*, 183–185; Ibn Jubayr, *Rihlah*, 194–195; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Sacred Dance: A Study in Comparative Folklore* (Cambridge, 1923).
- 65 See Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 102; Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 142–143n1.
- 66 See Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 112, 173–179; al-İşfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 14, 101; *Diwan Labīd al-ʿĀmirī = Der Diwan des Lebid*, ed. Yūsuf Dīṭāʿ al-Dīn Khālīdī (Wien, 1880), 79,1; Lammens, "Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale," 56; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ bi akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafāʾ*, 2:294; Charles Huber, *Voyage dans l'Arabie: Hamād, Sammar, Qaçīm, Hedjâz: 1878–1882* (Paris, 1885), esp. 124.
- 67 See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah fi maʾrifah al-ṣaḥābah*, 5:150.
- 68 ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, 5:50 (9128).
- 69 See al-Fāsi, *Shifāʾ al-ghirām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, 2:17; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 2:478.
- 70 See Azraqī, *Akhhār Makkah*, 2:142–143, 149; Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Şāliḥī, *Subul al-hudā al-rashād fi sirah khayr al-ʿibād*, ed. ʿAdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd and ʿAlī Muḥammad Maʾūḍ (Beirut, 1414), 1:194–195.
- 71 Ibn Saʿd, *Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:44.
- 72 See Azraqī, *Akhhār Makkah*, 2:66; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, 5:50 (9130); al-Fāsi, *Shifāʾ al-ghirām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, 1:265.
- 73 See Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr Muqātil b. Sulaymān*, on Q 17:1 and see the discussion in Rubin, "The Kaʿba," 110–111.
- 74 See Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwattʾā*, 1:423–424 (249).
- 75 See al-Azraqī, *Akhhār Makkah*, 2:134; al-Fāsi, *Shifāʾ al-gharām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, 1:197.

- 76 See al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makkah*, 1:73.
- 77 See Ibn al-Ḍiyā', *al-Baḥr al-'amiq fi manāsik*.
- 78 See Francois Lenormant, *Les origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible et les traditions des peuples orientaux* (Paris, 1880–1882); August Knobel, *Völkertafel der Genesis* (Giessen, 1850).
- 79 See 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, 5:50 (9129).
- 80 See al-Ḥalabī, *Sīrah al-Ḥalabī*, 14.
- 81 On prophets who performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, see al-Ṣāliḥī, *Subl al-hudā wa al-rashād fi sīrah khayr al-'ibād*, esp. 1:146–148 followed by a discussion of Abraham and Ishmael in 1:148–162.
- 82 See al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makkah*, 1:68, 2:209; al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-gharām bi-akhhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, 1:264.
- 83 See al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makkah*, 1:68, 2:133–134; al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-gharām bi-akhhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, 1:264.
- 84 Taken from al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-gharām bi-akhhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, 1:265. See al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makkah*, 1:73.
- 85 See al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makkah*, 2:134.
- 86 See Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr Muqātil b. Sulaymān*, on Q 17:1
- 87 See Ibn al-Ḍiyā', *al-Baḥr al-'amiq fi manāsik*, 133–134.
- 88 See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 1:163; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 4.
- 89 See E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures* (London, 1927).
- 90 Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 1:367; and see al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu'jam al-kabīr*, 11:137; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, 3:579; Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-ta'rikh al-kabīr* (Cairo, 1986), 1:284; al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makkah*, 4:50.
- 91 See al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-ghirām bi-akhhbār al-ḥarām*, 375–376; al-Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makkah*, 2:209, 211.
- 92 See al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-ghirām bi-akhhbār al-ḥarām*, 376.
- 93 See al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-ghirām bi-akhhbār al-ḥarām*, 115–116; Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Shu'ab al-īmān* (Beirut, 2008), 4151–4152.
- 94 al-Bayhaqī, *Shu'ab al-īmān*, 4158.
- 95 See Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. Isaac Hasson (Jerusalem, 1979), 46; 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad 'Ulaymī, *Uns al-jalīl bi-ta'rikh al-Quds wa al-Khalīl* (Amman, 2009), 1:208; Muḥammad b. Bahādur al-Zarkashī, *al-Burbān fi 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qdir 'Aṭā (Beirut, 1988), 294.
- 96 See Zarkashī, *al-Burbān fi 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 294.
- 97 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-musīr fi 'ilm al-tafsīr*, 26.
- 98 Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī bi sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 246.
- 99 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī bi sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 246.
- 100 Islamic law specifically allows for the transfer of corpses from their original place of burial to another location and reburial. The transfer and reburial of corpses in one of these sacred sites is not uncommon. Islamic law also

- specifically calls for the transfer and reburial of corpses when the original burial occurs in non-Muslim territory. See, for example, Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaqq ‘Azīmābādī, *‘Awn al-ma’būd sharḥ Sunan Abī Dā’ūd* (Beirut, 1979), 21:344.
- 101 See Azraqī, *Akhhbār Makkah*, 2:209.
- 102 See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī bi sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, on Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, 1:94 (430, 431, 434) and see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 59:8 (58), 81:50 (132), 81:51 (143). Compare Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 14311, 14596; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 5:37 (4476); Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 53:6 (16); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 77:18 (29). Also see al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ al-Nawawī ‘alā Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 191.
- 103 Cited in al-Fāsī, *Shifā’ al-gharām bi-akhhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, 115. Also see ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Haythamī, *Majmā’ al-zawā’id wa manba’ al-fawā’id*, cited in al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu’jam al-awsāt*, 2:319.
- 104 See the sources cited in al-Fāsī, *Shifā’ al-gharām bi-akhhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, 115.
- 105 See the sources cited in al-Fāsī, *Shifā’ al-gharām bi-akhhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, 116.
- 106 See al-Fāsī, *Shifā’ al-gharām bi-akhhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, 115, citing Abū Dā’ūd Sulaymān b. Dā’ūd al-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad* (Beirut, n.d.), 719. Compare al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi’ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 49:3975.
- 107 See the sources cited in al-Fāsī, *Shifā’ al-gharām bi-akhhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, 116.
- 108 Taqī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Kāfī al-Subkī, *Shifā’ al-siqām fī ziyārat al-‘anām* (Beirut, n.d.), 2-40, 63-68, 138-160.
- 109 See al-Subkī, *Shifā’ al-siqām fī ziyārat al-‘anām*, 20-27, 32-36.
- 110 See al-Subkī, *Shifā’ al-siqām fī ziyārat al-‘anām*, 27-29, 37-38, 39-40.
- 111 For an extended version of this concept, see my *Mecca and Eden*, 75-78.
- 112 Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah fī ma’rifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:123 (1361). For a recent study, see ‘Abir ‘Abduh Ibrāhīm, *Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī* (Kuwait, 1971), esp. 57-76; Sara Saleem, *Abu Ayyub al-Ansari* (London, 1985), esp. 43-48.
- 113 See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 5:232, s.v. year 49.
- 114 On the discovery of the tomb see Paul Wittek, “Ayvansary,” *Annales de l’Histoire de Philosophie et d’Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 11 (1951): 505-510. On the Ottoman discovery of the tomb, see Necdet Işli, *Istanbul’da Sahabe Kabir ve Makamlari* (Ankara, 1987), esp. 23-30; Marius Canard, “Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople,” *Journal Asiatique* 208 (1926): 67-77, both cited in Mohammad Ansari, “Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī,” in *The Encyclopaedia Islamica*, ed. Wilferd Madelung and Farhad Daftary (Leiden, 2008), 1:557.
- 115 See Muḥammad b. Mukarram Ibn Manzūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta’rīkh Dimashq li-Ibn ‘Asākir*, ed. Rūḥiyya al-Naḥḥās and others (Damascus, 1988), 7:342, no. 320.

- 116 See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, 2:411–412.
- 117 See Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta'riḫ Dimashq li-Ibn 'Asākir*, 7:341.
- 118 See Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Kitāb al-'iqd al-farīd* (Beirut, 1404/1983), cited in Ansari, "Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī," 1:557.
- 119 See 'Abdallāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Ma'ārif* (Cairo, 1959), 274; Ansari, "Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī," 1:557.
- 120 See Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Ma'ārif*, 274; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Kitāb al-'iqd al-farīd*, 5:117; Ibn Maniūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta'riḫ Dimashq li-Ibn 'Asākir*, 7:343.
- 121 Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta'riḫ Dimashq li-Ibn 'Asākir*, 7:343.
- 122 See Aḥmad b. Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:485.
- 123 See Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Kitāb al-'iqd al-farīd*, 5:117; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta'riḫ Dimashq li-Ibn 'Asākir*, 7:343.
- 124 Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta'riḫ Dimashq li-Ibn 'Asākir*, 8:95; and see Michael Lecker, "On the Burial of Martyrs in Islam," in *The Concept of Territory in Islamic Law and Thought*, ed. Yanagihashi Hiroyuki (London, 2000), 37–49, esp. 42.
- 125 See Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta'riḫ Dimashq li-Ibn 'Asākir*, 21:188; Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Atā (Beirut, 1994), 7:382, no. 5872; Lecker, "On the Burial of Martyrs in Islam," 40–41.
- 126 Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta'riḫ Dimashq li-Ibn 'Asākir*, 14:293; Lecker, "On the Burial of Martyrs in Islam," 41.
- 127 Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta'riḫ Dimashq li-Ibn 'Asākir*, 12:66; Lecker, "On the Burial of Martyrs in Islam," 46.
- 128 See 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib amīr al-mu'minīn 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb*, ed. Zaynab Ibrāhīm al-Qārūṭ (Beirut, 1987), 212; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāghah*, 12:191, citing Q 2:147; both cited in Etan Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Views on Martyrdom* (Amsterdam, 1997).
- 129 Also see Albrecht Noth, *Heiliger Krieg und Heiliger Kampf in Islam und Christentum: Beiträge zur Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Bonn, 1966), 66–86. And the ḥadīth reports collected in Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm, *'Arba'ūn ḥadīth-an fi faḍl al-shahīd wa al-shahādah* (Damascus, 1995), 98–99.
- 130 Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri' al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri' al-'ushshāq (fī faḍā'il al-jihād)*, ed. Idrīs Muḥammad 'Alī and Muḥammad Khālid Iṣṭanbūlī (Beirut, 1990), 1:385 (624).
- 131 Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri' al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri' al-'ushshāq*, 1:368–369 (575).
- 132 Cited in Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri' al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri' al-'ushshāq*, 1:370, no. 581. See the sections on the "Virtues of Guarding" and the "Virtues of Forming in Rows," 1:412–427, 434–440.
- 133 Cited in Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri' al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri' al-'ushshāq*, 2:1067.
- 134 See Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri' al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri' al-'ushshāq*, 1:402.

- 135 Ibn al-Nahḥās, *Mashāriʿ al-ashwāq ilā maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāq*, 1:402.
- 136 Ibn al-Nahḥās, *Mashāriʿ al-ashwāq ilā maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāq*, 1:387 (629).
- 137 Cited in Ibn al-Nahḥās, *Mashāriʿ al-ashwāq ilā maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāq*, 1:392 (641).
- 138 See Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 6:60.
- 139 Cited in Ibn al-Nahḥās, *Mashāriʿ al-ashwāq ilā maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāq*, 1:387 (628).
- 140 Image reproduced in *The Islamic Imagery Project: Visual Motifs in Jihadi Internet Propoganda*, The Combating Terrorism Center, US Military Academy (March 2006), 86, “Martyr.911\_a.”
- 141 See *The Islamic Imagery Project*, 86, “Martyr911\_b.”
- 142 See, for example, al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:73, 75, 76, 79; 64:26; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 44:131; Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 15:38; 19:26; al-Nasāʿī, *Sunan*, 21:62, 82; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 8:46; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 6:28.
- 143 See al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 1424; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 6:28; al-Nasāʿī, *Sunan*, 21:83.
- 144 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 64:59. On the tomb of Saʿd b. Muʿādh, see ʿAbdallāh ʿAzzām, *Ayāt al-raḥmān fī jihād al-afghān* (Alexandria, 1985), 65.
- 145 See Anne Marie Oliver and Paul Steinberg, *The Road to Martyr’s Square: A Journey into the World of the Suicide Bomber* (Oxford, 2005), 90–91, 61–62.
- 146 See Ibn al-Nahḥās, *Mashāriʿ al-ashwāq ilā maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāq*, 1:504–517, esp. (864 and 865).
- 147 See Ibn al-Nahḥās, *Mashāriʿ al-ashwāq ilā maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāq*, 1:504–517, esp. no. 859, 861, and 862; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 56:10; 72:31; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 33:103, 105, 106; Abū Dāʿūd, *Sunan*, 15:40; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 20:21; al-Nasāʿī, *Sunan*, 25:25, 27; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 24:15; ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, ed. Khālid al-Sabʿ al-ʿAlamī (Beirut, 1407), 16:15; Jamāl Salīm Ibrāhīm Salīm al-Dāmūnī, *al-Shihādah wa al-shudadāʾ: aḥkām al-shahīd fī al-sharīʿah al-islāmīyah* (London, 2000), 93, 139.
- 148 See *The Islamic Imagery Project*, 85.
- 149 ʿAbdallāh Ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-jihād*, ed. Nazīh Ḥammād (Cairo, 1978), 41 (21).
- 150 From song two, side one of “The Call of Jihad,” cited in Oliver and Steinberg, *The Road to Martyr’s Square*, 59.
- 151 Taken from Abū Maryam al-Kuwaitī, *A Cry in the Face of Deception*, 68-page pamphlet with biographies of 10 Kuwaitis killed in Iraq, n.d., posted by al-Sham Islamic Forum [www.islam-syria.com/vb](http://www.islam-syria.com/vb) (no longer available), cited in Mohammed Hafez, “Martyrdom Mythology in Iraq: How Jihadists Frame Suicide Terrorism in Videos and Biographies,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19 (2007): 106.
- 152 Taken from *Martyrs in Iraq*, posted on Majdah Forum, [www.majdah.com/vb](http://www.majdah.com/vb) (no longer available), cited in Mohammed Hafez, *Suicide Bombers in*

- Iraq: The Strategy and Ideology of Martyrdom* (Washington, DC, 2007), 144; Hafez, "Martyrdom Mythology in Iraq," 100-101.
- 153 See Oliver and Steinberg, *The Road to Martyr's Square*, 38. For the views of the leader of the Islamic Jihād in Palestine, see *al-Jihād wa-Filasṭīn wa-l-Islām. Ḥiwār ma'a al-Doktūr Ramaḍān 'Abdallāh Shalāh* (n.p., 1992).
- 154 See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rīfat al-aṣḥāb*, 2:878-879; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, 5:262 (9552); Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:90-91. Cited in Kohlberg, "Medieval Muslim Views on Martyrdom," 8.
- 155 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 33:23; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 56:61.
- 156 See Ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-jihād*, 59-60 (51). For other ḥadīth reports on wounds, see Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm, *Arba'ūn ḥadīth-an fī faḍl al-shahīd wa al-shahādah* (Damascus, 1995), esp. 90-93.
- 157 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 794-796; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 1614-1615; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:320 (3852).
- 158 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 56:160.
- 159 See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah*, 1:541-544 (759).
- 160 See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah fī ma'rīfat al-ṣaḥābah*, 1:592-594 (1169). For an overview of the accounts of the death of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, see Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil al-ṭālibīyīn*, ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaqr (Beirut, 1978), 10-18.
- 161 See Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri' al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri' al-'ushshāq*, 1:508-509 (875) and 507 (870).
- 162 See Kohlberg, "Medieval Muslim Views on Martyrdom," 12; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, esp. 2328-2329, 2410.
- 163 al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 2310.
- 164 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 570.
- 165 See Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri' al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri' al-'ushshāq*, 1:507 (872).
- 166 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 64:402; 56:152, 159, 165.
- 167 Ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-jihād*, 88-89, no. 98. See 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, 3:547, no. 6656 and 9602; Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurtubī, *al-Tadhkira fī aḥwāl al-mawtā wa umūr al-ākhirah*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥijāzī al-Saqqā (Cairo, 1400/1980), 202.
- 168 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:434.
- 169 See Oliver and Steinberg, *The Road to Martyr's Square*, 74. For a different but contemporaneous perspective on the decay of bodies in the grave, see Loring Danforth, *The Death Rituals of Rural Greece* (Princeton, NJ, 1982), esp. 22.
- 170 See Ibn Abī al-'Izz al-Dimashqī, *Sharḥ al-'aqidah al-Ṭahāwīyah*, ed. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī and Shu'ayb al-'Arna'ūt (Beirut, 1411/1990), 2:588, cited in Kohlberg, "Medieval Muslim Views on Martyrdom," 16. Ibn Abī al-'Izz cites Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 1047; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 3:91-92; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 1085, 1636; Abi Ḥatīm Muḥammad Ibn

- Ḥibbān, *al-Iḥsān fī taqrīb Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Ḥibbān* (Beirut, 2004), 550; Nīsābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ‘alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn fī al-ḥadīth*, 2:287.
- 171 See Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Qawl al-badī‘ fī al-ṣalāt ‘alā al-ḥabīb al-shafī‘*, ed. Bashīr Muḥammad ‘Ayūn (Damascus, 1987), 243, cited in Kohlberg, “Medieval Muslim Views on Martyrdom,” 16.
- 172 See ‘Abdallāh ‘Azzām, *Ayāt al-raḥmān fī jihād al-afghān* (Jeddah, 1986), 65. And see the “karāmāt” related in ‘Abdallāh ‘Azzām, *Ibar wa baṣā‘ir lil-jihād fī al-‘aṣr al-ḥādīr* (Amman, 1987), 153–190. On incorruptible bodies, see Piero Camporesi, *The Incorruptible Flesh: Bodily Mutation and Mortification in Religion and Folklore*, trans. Tania Croft-Murray and Helen Elsom (Cambridge, 1988); Charles Malamoud and Jean-Pierre Vernant, eds., *Corps des dieux* (Paris, 1986). For a review of recent scholarship, see Lawrence Sullivan, “Body Works: Knowledge of the Body in the Study of Religion,” *History of Religions* 30 (1990): 86–99; Ioan Culianu, “Review: A Corpus for the Body,” *Journal of Modern History* 63 (1991): 61–80.
- 173 Taken from Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-nabawīyah*, 584/387, cited in Kohlberg, “Medieval Muslim Views on Martyrdom,” 292 and Lecker, “On the Burial of Martyrs in Islam,” 48–49.
- 174 See Yūnus Ibn Bukayr, *Kitāb al-siyar wa al-maghāzī li Muḥammad b. Ishāq*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus 1978), 335; ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī Shaybah, *al-Kitāb al-muṣannaf fī al-aḥādīth wa al-āthār*, ed. ‘Abd al-Khālīq al-Afghānī (Hyderabad, 1966), 14:260; ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Dāraquṭnī, *Sunan*, ed. ‘Abdallāh Ḥāshim Yamānī al-Madanī (Medina, 1966), 4:118 (47).
- 175 See ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Basyawī, *Jāmi‘ Abī al-Ḥasan al-Basyawī* (Muscat, 1404/1984), 2:162, cited in Kohlberg, “Medieval Muslim Views on Martyrdom,” 917.
- 176 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:611.
- 177 See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sirah al-nabawīyah*, 3:41–44, cited in David Cook, *Martyrdom in Islam* (Cambridge, 2008), 25. On the sacrificial use of the blood of slain enemies, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 59:340, 418. On cannibalism in the mutilation of bodies, see Guillermo de Anda Alanís, “Sacrifice and Ritual Body Mutilation in Postclassical Maya Society: Taphonomy of the Human Remains from Chichén Itza’s Cenote Sagrado,” in *New Perspectives on Human Sacrifice and Ritual Body Treatments in Ancient Maya Society*, ed. Vera Tiesler and Andrea Cucina (New York, 2007), 190–208, esp. 194–199; Gannath Obeyesekere, *Cannibal Talk: The Man-Eating Myth and Human Sacrifice in the South Seas* (Berkeley, CA, 2005), esp. 2–9.
- 178 See Lecker, “On the Burial of Martyrs in Islam,” 46; al-Bayhaqī, *Shu‘ab al-imān*, 4:25–26; al-Suyūfī, *al-Durr al-mantḥūr fī al-tafsīr al-ma‘thūr*, 2:98.
- 179 See al-Muṣṭafā b. Zakariyā Ibn Ṭarār, *al-Jalīs al-ṣāliḥ al-kāfī wa al-anīs al-nāsiḥ al-shāfī*, ed. M. Mursī al-Khawli (Beirut, 1993), 2:455–456, cited in Lecker, “On the Burial of Martyrs in Islam,” 49. Also see Aḥmad ‘Alī al-Imām, *al-shahādah wa ḥayāh al-shuhadā‘* (Beirut, 2000), 32.

- 180 See Oliver and Steinberg, 74; Lecker, “On the Burial of Martyrs in Islam,” 48–49.
- 181 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 6:53, cited in Lecker, “On the Burial of Martyrs in Islam,” 48.
- 182 See Ibn Abī al-‘Izz al-Dimashqī, *Sharḥ al-‘aḳidah al-Ṭahāwīyah*, 2:588.
- 183 See ‘Abdallāh ‘Azzām, *al-‘Aḳidah wa āthāru-hā fi binā’ al-jil* (Cairo, n.d.), 23–24.
- 184 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 59:412.
- 185 Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 639/427.
- 186 See A. J. Wensinck, *The Oriental Doctrine of the Martyrs*, Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde Deel 53, Series A, No. 6 (Amsterdam, 1921), esp. 3/149; al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi’ al-bayān fi ta’wīl al-Qur’ān*, on Q 3:169–170; R. Eklund, *Life between Death and Resurrection according to Islam* (Uppsala, 1941), 16–20, 67–68; Wim Raven, “Martyrs,” in *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, 3:281–287, esp. 284.
- 187 See Abū Ja’far Ibn Bābawayh, *Ma’ānī al-akḥbār*, ed. ‘Alī Akbar al-Ghaffārī (Tehran, 1379), 8:699; al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 8:682, 21:93; Abū Ja’far Ibn Bābawayh, *Man lā yaḥḍuru-hu al-ḥaḳīḥ* (Najaf, 1378), 3:370; Abū Ja’far Ibn Bābawayh, *‘Ilal al-sharā’i’* (Beirut, 1408), 392, 474–75, 485. Cited in Etan Kohlberg, “The Development of the Imāmī Shī’ī Doctrine of *jihād*,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 126 (1976): 64–86 [= *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī’ism* (Aldershot, 1991), XV], 65–66n15–16.
- 188 See Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb al-kabā’ir*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Razzāq Ḥamza (Mecca, 1355), 77–78, cited in Kohlberg, “The Development of the Imāmī Shī’ī Doctrine of *jihād*,” 65–66n15–16.
- 189 ‘Azzām, *Ayāt al-raḥmān fi jihād al-afghān*, 87–88.
- 190 ‘Azzām, *Ayāt al-raḥmān fi jihād al-afghān*, 88.
- 191 See ‘Azzām, *Ayāt al-raḥmān fi jihād al-afghān*, 89. In another report given on the authority of ‘Umar Hanīf (89), ‘Azzām relates that a light descended from the sky onto the dwellings of the Mujāhidin for an hour.
- 192 See Nawwāf al-Takrūrī, *al-‘Amaliyāt al-istishhādīyah fi al-mizān al-ḥaḳīqī* (Damascus, 1997), 31–36, esp. 35.
- 193 al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 64:393.
- 194 al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 64:393.
- 195 See Dogu Ergil, “Suicide Terrorism in Turkey: The Case of the Workers’ Party of Kurdistan,” in *Countering Suicide Terrorism* (Herzliya, 2001), 73–88, esp. 79. Kemal Karademir, “Intihar Bombacıları,” *Polis Bilimleri Dergisi* 1.4 (1999): 1–36, esp. 14.
- 196 A transcript of the interview with al-Ṣaḥab Media (September 19, 2007) is available from the archives at the Combating Terrorism Center (<http://ctc.usma.edu>). See Jarret Brachman and others, *The Power of Truth? Questions for Ayman al-Zawahiri* (West Point, NY, 2008) for a condensed overview of the interview.
- 197 See, for example, “The Basis for Plunging into the [ranks of the] enemy: Is it permissible?” posted [www.tawhed.ws](http://www.tawhed.ws) (no longer available), presumably



- taken from Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmu' al-fatāwā*, 28:540. See Hafez, *Suicide Bombers in Iraq*, 117, 130.
- 198 See Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri' al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri' al-'ushshāq*, 1:522–560.
- 199 See Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri' al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri' al-'ushshāq*, 1:526–527 (909).
- 200 See Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri' al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri' al-'ushshāq*, 1:529–530 (925), 515 (883).
- 201 See Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri' al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri' al-'ushshāq*, 1:529–530 (925).
- 202 See Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri' al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri' al-'ushshāq*, 1:535 (938).
- 203 See Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri' al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri' al-'ushshāq*, 1:545–547.
- 204 Quoted from interview in Oliver and Steinberg, *The Road to Martyr's Square*, 3–4.
- 205 Quoted from Aatish Taseer, “A British Jihadist,” *Prospect Magazine* 113 (August 2005), 5.
- 206 Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 2:195; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 47 on Q 2:295.
- 207 Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 2:195; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 47 on Q 2:295.
- 208 See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 2:195; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 47 on Q 2:295. And see the comments on this verse in “The Islamic Ruling on the Permissibility of Martyrdom Operations,” from Living Islam\_Islamic Tradition, [www.cdfc.org/martyrdom\\_operations.htm](http://www.cdfc.org/martyrdom_operations.htm).
- 209 See Ibn al-'Arabī, *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, on Q 2:195.
- 210 See Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-Qur'ān* (Beirut, 1997), on Q 2:195, cited in “The Islamic Ruling on the Permissibility of Martyrdom Operations,” 6.
- 211 See Oliver and Steinberg, *The Road to Martyr's Square*, 75.
- 212 Oliver and Steinberg, *The Road to Martyr's Square*, 73.
- 213 See Oliver and Steinberg, *The Road to Martyr's Square*, 73.
- 214 See Ergil, “Suicide Terrorism in Turkey,” 85.
- 215 See Ayla Hammond Schbley, “Torn between God, Family, and Money: The Changing Profile of Lebanon's Religious Terrorists,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 23 (2000): 175–196, esp. 176; Ayla Hammond Schbley, “Religious Terrorists: What They Aren't Going to Tell Us,” *Terrorism: An International Journal* 13.3 (1991): 237–241; “The Living Martyr: Inside the Hezbollah,” *Films for the Humanities and Sciences*, 2004.
- 216 See the account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 1929–1950; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil fī al-ta'rikh*, 2:360–365. See the reference to this event in “The Islamic Ruling on the Permissibility of Martyrdom Operations,” 4–5.
- 217 See the clear distinctions made in Nāṣr Ḥasan 'Alīq, *Falsafah al-istishdād: Allāh wa al-waṭan fī khitāb al-muqāwamah al-islāmīyah* (Beirut, 2004), 113–125. On the sociological implications of suicide, see the classic work by Thomas Masaryk, *Der Selbstmord als sociale Massenerscheinung der*

- modernen Civilisation* (Vienna, 1881), trans. William Weist and Robert Batson, *Suicide and the Meaning of Civilization* (Chicago, 1970), esp. 9–119.
- 218 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:84; 76:56; 78:44; 82:5; 83:7; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 32:132; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 26:7; al-Nasāʿī, *Sunan*, 35:7; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 28:11; al-Dāmirī, *Sunan*, 15:10. On unintentional suicide, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 87:17; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:184. Also see Stephen Frederic Dale, “Religious Suicide in Islamic Asia: Anticolonial Terrorism in India, Indonesia, and the Philippines,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 3 (March 1988): 38–59; Franz Rosenthal, “On Suicide in Islam,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 66 (1946): 239–259; W. M. Patton, “Suicide (Muhammadan),” in *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1921), 12:38.
- 219 See Clare Beyer, “Messengers of Death: Female Suicide Bombers,” *ICT Report* (February 12, 2003); Dimitri Sudakov, “Shamil Besayev Trains Female Suicide Bombers,” *Pravda*, May 15, 2003; Mia Bloom, *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror* (New York, 2005), esp. 145–154. On women in PKK attacks, see Ergil, “Suicide Terrorism in Turkey,” 15.
- 220 See Oliver and Steinberg, *The Road to Martyr’s Square*, 36.
- 221 Oliver and Steinberg, *The Road to Martyr’s Square*, 38.
- 222 See Kohlberg, “The Development of the Imāmī Shīʿī Doctrine of jihād,” 21–22; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫ al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 1326; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 205; Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, 143–144.
- 223 See Louis Massignon, *The Passion of al-Hallāj: Mystic and Martyr of Islam* (Princeton, NJ, 1982), 583; Cook, *Martyrdom in Islam*, 67–68.
- 224 See al-Harrāsī, *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, on Q 2:195.
- 225 See Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, on Q 2:195.
- 226 See Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Jaṣṣās, *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāhīn (Beirut, 1994), 1:318–319, on Q 2:195.
- 227 See Guillaume, *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, 42–43.
- 228 al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, 287, T. J. Winter, trans., *The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife: Kitāb dhikr al-mawt wa mā ba ʿdahu*, Book XL of *The Revival of the Religious Sciences* (Cambridge, 1989), 128–129.
- 229 See Takrūrī, *al-ʿAmaliyāt al-istishhādīyah fī al-mizān al-fiqhī*, 57–58.
- 230 Ergil, *Countering Suicide Terrorism*, 3.
- 231 Video distributed by al-Meer Forum [www.almeer.nt/vb](http://www.almeer.nt/vb) in January 2006 (no longer available), cited in Hafez, “Martyrdom Mythology in Iraq,” 102.
- 232 Cited in Oliver and Steinberg, *The Road to Martyr’s Square*, 100.
- 233 Cited in Hafez, “Martyrdom Mythology in Iraq,” 104; Hala Jaber, “Suicide Bombers Stream into IRAQ,” *Sunday Times* (London), May 8, 2005.
- 234 Oliver and Steinberg, *The Road to Martyr’s Square*, 100.
- 235 See Hafez, “Martyrdom Mythology in Iraq,” 108.

- 236 Open Source Center (formerly FBIS), “Al-Zarqawi Uses Western Press, Poetry to Criticize US, Encourage ‘Mujahidin,’” May 11, 2006, cited in Hafez, “Martyrdom Mythology in Iraq,” 110–111.
- 237 See Hafez, “Martyrdom Mythology in Iraq,” 105–106.
- 238 See, for example, Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta’riḫ Dimashq li-Ibn ‘Asākir*, 7:342 where the date of his death is given as 55 AH. Also see the accounts in Ḥusayn Muġīb al-Maṣrī, *al-Ṣaḥābī al-ġalīl Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī ‘and al-‘arab wa al-turk* (Cairo, 1974), 129–153.
- 239 See Lecker, “On the Burial of Martyrs in Islam,” 37–49.
- 240 Robert Pape, *Dying the Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Bombing* (New York, 2005).
- 241 Taken from “Baghdad Badr Raid,” issued by al-Qā’idah in Iraq, distributed by Ana al-Muslim Forum, November 2005, [www.muslim.net/vb](http://www.muslim.net/vb) (no longer available), cited in Hafez, “Martyrdom Mythology in Iraq,” 108.
- 242 Taseer, “A British Jihadist,” 6.
- 243 Taken from “Persist” video issued by al-Jaysh al-Islāmī in Iraq, distributed by the al-Meer Forum, January 2006, cited in Hafez, “Martyrdom Mythology in Iraq,” 101.
- 244 See *The Islamic Imagery Project*, 53.
- 245 See *The Islamic Imagery Project*, 72.
- 246 See Ibrāhīm Abū Ḥālīwah, *al-Ṣamalīyāt al-istishhādīyah khilāl intifāḍah al-Aqṣā (2000–2007)* (Beirut, 2007), esp. 32–73.
- 247 See Abū Ḥālīwah, *al-Ṣamalīyāt al-istishhādīyah khilāl intifāḍah al-Aqṣā*, 21–25.
- 248 See Jeffrey Gettleman, “Islamist Militants in Somalia Begin to Fight One Another,” *New York Times* (September 29, 2008): A6.
- 249 See al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-ṭālibīyīn*, 4–5; Cook, *Martyrdom in Islam*, 52–62; Kohlberg, “The Development of the Imāmī Shī’ī Doctrine of *jihād*,” esp. 65–67; August Richard Norton, “Ritual, Blood, and Shi’i identity: Ashura in Nabatiyya, Lebanon,” *The Drama Review* 49.4 (Winter 2005): 140–155.
- 250 See al-Maṣrī, *al-Ṣaḥābī al-ġalīl Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī ‘and al-‘arab wa al-turk*, 109–126.
- 251 See Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Kūfī Ibn al-A’tḥam, *Kitāb al-futūḥ* (Hyderabad, 1968–1975), cited in Ansari, “Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī,” 1:557; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta’riḫ Dimashq li-Ibn ‘Asākir*, 7:342.
- 252 See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghābah*, 2:123; Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:484, cited in Ansari, “Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī,” 1:557.
- 253 See al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta’riḫ al-ṣaġbīr* (Beirut, 1986), 1:66, cited in Ansari, “Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī,” 1:557.
- 254 See al-Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb*, 1:139; al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’ ulūm al-dīn*, 2:207, both cited in Wensinck, *The Oriental Doctrine of the Martyrs*, 5–6/151–152, and see his claim regarding election and the historical development of martyrdom, 17/163.

- 255 See Hafez, *Suicide Bombers in Iraq*, 125.
- 256 Cited in Hafez, *Suicide Bombers in Iraq*, 125n18.
- 257 See al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 52:54; 56:6–7, 21, 119; 94:1; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 33:108–109, 121; al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, 25:3, 30, 33–34; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 24:1, 16; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi’ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 20:13, 44:18 on Q 3; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, 1:17; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 2:231, 384, 424, 473, 496, 502.
- 258 See Bloom, *Dying to Kill*, 35; David Plotz, “The Logic of Assassination: Why Israeli Murders and Palestinian Suicide Bombings Make Sense,” *Slate Magazine*, <http://slate.msn.com/?id=113987>, August 17, 2001; Alan Kruger and Jitka Malekova, “Education, Poverty, Political Violence and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?” NBER Working Paper, No. w9074 (Posted July 20, 2002), [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=319750](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=319750).
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- 260 Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri’ al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri’ al-’ushshāq*, 1:392 (641); Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 15:26; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi’ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 20:14; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 3:225.
- 261 See Ibn al-Naḥḥās, *Mashāri’ al-ashwāq ilā maṣāri’ al-’ushshāq*, 1:392–393 (242–252).
- 262 See Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 3:225.
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- 264 See, for example, al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 46:44; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:225–226; Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 39:28; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi’ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 14:20; al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, 37:21–25; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 20:21; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 1:190.
- 265 Translated from Albrecht Ruess and others, “Anhang: Der arabische Text der ‘Geistlichen Anleitung,’” in *Terror im Dienste Gottes. Die ‘Geistlich Anleitung’ der Attentäter des 11. September 2001*, ed. Hans G. Kippenberg and Tilman Seidensticker (Frankfurt, 2002), Arabic text: 119.
- 266 See al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi’ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 23:3–5.
- 267 Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 1:237, 4:200.
- 268 See Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Abwāb al-sa’adah fī asbāb al-shahādah* (Cairo, 1987), 36–37, no. 2. Cited in Cook, *Martyrdom in Islam*, 33–35. See the discussion in A. J. Wensinck, *The Oriental Doctrine of the Martyrs*, 26–27/172–173.
- 269 See Ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-jihād*, 68–69 (68).
- 270 See Ibn al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-jihād*, 69–70, no. 69; ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Muṣannaf*, 5:269. See the list provided in Aḥmad al-Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-kabīr* (Beirut, n.d.), 1:425.
- 271 See Abū Dā’ūd, *Sunan*, 15:14; Cook, *Martyrdom in Islam*, 33–35.

- 272 See Maḥmūd Shīth Khaṭṭāb, *Irādah al-qitāl wa al-jihād fī sabīl allāh* (n.p., n.d.), 47–49; al-Dāmūnī, *al-Shihādah wa al-shudadā*, 93.
- 273 See, for example, al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 64:9; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 20:14, 25–26; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 6:61; 24:16; al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 21:110, 25:35; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 15:26; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, 16:16; Hafez, *Suicide Bombing in Iraq*, 107; 'Abd al-Raḥīm, *'Arba'ūn ḥadīth-an fī faḍl al-shahīd wa al-shahādah*, 112–113.
- 274 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 33:121; Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan*, 15:25; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 24:16; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 20:13, 44:9 on Q 19; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, 16:18; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 1:265; 2:297. Also see Noth, *Heiliger Krieg und Heiliger Kampf in Islam und Christentum*, 47–60.
- 275 See Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 15:32 (1243); al-Nasā'ī, *Sunan*, 24:2774, 2791. Also see the ḥadīth report in al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 24:43 (1460) that if a person did not give the required animals as zakāt during his lifetime, then those animals will be resurrected on the day of judgment and trample him under their feet.

## Conclusions

### *Sacrifice and Nostalgia for the Origins of Religion*

According to official Iraqi news media outlets, Saddam Hussein commissioned the production of a Quran written in his own blood on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday to thank God for protecting him through the “conspiracies and dangers” he faced during his political career.<sup>1</sup> Saddam’s “Blood Quran” shares elements with other sacrificial rituals. Buddhist monks offer their skin as “paper” and their blood as “ink” for the production of sutras in imitation of the Buddha who offered his own body [rupa-kaya] along with his teaching [dharma-kaya] and discipline [sangha-kaya] to establish the world. The prophet Muhammad gave away his body and the camels (he and his followers had acquired through the loss of life and limb in combat) along with the textual “corpus” of his model words and actions [sunnah] to found the Dār al-Islām. In the ancient Near East, the king conquered and controlled territory necessary for the protection and continued prosperity of his people. He was responsible for building and maintaining temples for the gods, places at which the spoils of conquest and proceeds of the land were distributed to society through the ritual of sacrifice.

Yet the gift of Saddam’s body did not institute a ritual practice for millions of pilgrims and billions of Muslims around the world every year. The Blood Quran is not an offering designed to feed, clothe, and provide shelter and security to the Iraqi people. Although by all accounts the actual text of the Blood Quran is accurate and conforms to the rules stipulated by Islamic law for its appearance (including that the copyist was a highly trained calligrapher), the book is unusable even as a regular Quran [muṣḥaf al-Qur’ān].<sup>2</sup> Nor is the mosque in which it was displayed a place for distributing the blessings and rewards of protecting and

nurturing one's community.<sup>3</sup> By some estimates, the building of the mosque – housing a pool shaped in the outline of the Arab world with a giant (25 feet in width) representation of Saddam's thumbprint and signature – cost \$7.5 million, in a country where the average family at the time lived on \$10–15 a month.<sup>4</sup> The Blood Quran was not a “sacrifice” but a failed sacred object become relic.

By way of conclusion, the following pages offer some extended thoughts on several still unanswered questions raised by this study: Why did the prophet Muhammad distribute pieces of his own body in addition to the 100 camels? How does an examination of the prophet Muhammad's camel sacrifice affect a more generic conception and definition of “sacrifice” in the contemporary study of religion? Is it a coincidence that both William Robertson Smith and Muslim scholarship locate the origins of religion in a camel sacrifice?

#### COMBAT AND SELF-SACRIFICE

Muslim sources claim that the prophet Muhammad offered to his followers his own detached or dead body parts alongside the camels he sacrificed, and that the camels themselves were considered a substitute for his whole, living body. Such an understanding of the sacrifice is not uncommon among other cultures which ascribe their mythic beginning to the dismemberment of a primordial being.

Asoka's establishment of Buddhist civilization through distribution of the Buddha's physical body buried under stupas, the enshrinement of the dharma-body and providing for the sangha-body with the construction of monasteries parallels the ancient Indian notion of Prajapati's body being dismembered to create the world.<sup>5</sup> The Vedic fire altar itself is constructed in five layers corresponding to the five bodily layers of Prajapati (marrow, bone, flesh, skin, hair), and the sacrifice performed commemorates the cosmic dismemberment that gave rise to Vedic society.<sup>6</sup> Zoroastrian Yashts (19.30–39) relate how the royal “glory” [khvarneh] of the first Iranian king Yima was divided to make the three primary social classes: king, warriors, and others.<sup>7</sup> Some scholars have interpreted Yama as a first-king figure, related etymologically to the Iranian Yima and the Latin Remus, comparing the offering of his body in death, as described in Rg Veda 10.13, with the sacrifice of the primal man in Rg Veda 10.90.<sup>8</sup>

In Chinese accounts of state officials offering their bodies for the protection of society, special structures are erected at the site of the acts, and in other cases the natural disaster that required the sacrifice had itself

been caused by desecration of a shrine.<sup>9</sup> Chinese emperors also associated themselves with the figure of Laotzu from whose primordial body the world was structured, and who is responsible for placing the first societies, of three men and six women, on each of the nine continents.<sup>10</sup> Buddha was a royal figure, as was Yima a primordial king, and it was Remus, the elder twin, whose body was sacrificed for the founding of Rome.<sup>11</sup> There are numerous accounts of Chinese emperors and state officials exposing their bodies to the sun and elements, and preparing to burn themselves alive in order to save society from a drought or plague.<sup>12</sup> The king in the ancient Near East was identified with fertility: his body, its adornments, and the symbols he carried representing the tree and water of life from which society received its sustenance.<sup>13</sup> In ancient Egypt the pharaoh was deified as a personification of the Nile, the sun, the animals, and the earth itself, which provided the means for society to exist.<sup>14</sup> Daniel 4:7–9 describes Nebuchadnezzar as a great tree from the flesh of which all creatures feed, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (4.655–662) describes how Atlas is made into a mountain.<sup>15</sup> King Kodros of Athens sacrificed himself by plunging into the thick of battle when an oracle proclaimed that the Peloponnesians would be victorious as long as Kodros was living.<sup>16</sup> The Hawaiian king is supposed to sacrifice a human victim as a substitute for his own body, which is the source of the natural and social order of Hawaiian society.<sup>17</sup> In his description of the Zalmoxis cult among the Getae of the Black Sea, Herodotus (4.94–96) explains how the messenger representing the people is sacrificed for the welfare and fertility of the people.<sup>18</sup>

The body of the primordial being or first king serves as a “gift” that both protects and maintains society as well as representing it,<sup>19</sup> just as martyred Muslim bodies demarcate the territorial spread of Islam, marking the extent of the Dār al-Islām by recalling its origins. But the “self-sacrifice” of martyrdom can also be a form of combat. Not unlike how the prophet Muhammad sacrifices camels captured from military raids, so-called suicide bombers offer the bodies of their victims along with their own bodies. Rather than offering his own body, the king in the mythology of the ancient Near East dismembers the captured body of his vanquished foe to establish temples and cities, and provide for the welfare of society.

In the *Enuma Elish*, Ea establishes his temple on the remains of the body of Apsu (1:71–77), and Marduk, the first king, uses the body of Tiamat to construct the earth in which the city of Babylon and its central



temple of Esagila is erected (6:60–64).<sup>20</sup> Humanity itself, sprung from the blood of the defeated Kingu, is created to inhabit Babylon and perform the rituals of the gods at their temple dwellings there. The *Enuma Elish* recalls the origins of Babylon as the first city and center of the world, and it was perhaps composed by priests at a time when the city's political standing had been lost to competing city-states.<sup>21</sup> A neo-Babylonian account of the purification of the temple of Nabu at Borsippa describes Marduk's damming of the sea to create dry land, his making and laying of bricks, his building of the city, and his building of the dwelling for the gods.<sup>22</sup> Here the creation of the earth for bricks and plants for reed-frames used to build the temple of Nabu parallels the use of Tiamat's body parts in the *Enuma Elish* to construct the heavens and terrestrial space in which to erect the shrine of Esagila in Babylon. The world-constructing acts of Marduk are background for the political claim of Babylon as the origins of civilization and the proper social order.

Ugaritic texts describe how the origins of the seasonal cycle of fertility, narrated as a conflict among the gods, is linked to the establishment of the sanctuary of Zaphon [Sapān]. Not unlike the building of Babylon from Tiamat, Ba'al's dismemberment of Yamm [Sea] results in the erection of Zaphon as a capital, which is followed by Ba'al's setting of territorial boundaries through the conquest of cities.<sup>23</sup> In other accounts, Ba'al defeats Nahar [River], the serpent [tnn], twisted serpent [btn 'qltn], and Litān the fugitive serpent [ltn btn brḥ], which are all connected to Yamm's personification of the sea.<sup>24</sup> This demarcation of territory is linked to the genesis of agriculture when Ba'al is resurrected from the underworld and Mot [death] is turned into cultivated grain.<sup>25</sup> The body of Mot is cleaved, winnowed, burned, ground by millstones, and planted in the ground.<sup>26</sup> In his account of the combat, Philo of Byblos directly links Ba'al's sacrifice with the defeat of Yamm.<sup>27</sup> Indo-European cattle-raiding myths, exemplified in the stories of warrior figures such as Heracles, Thor, and Beowulf, can be seen a vestige of this link between dismemberment through combat and the expectation of fertility through the seasonal agricultural cycle.<sup>28</sup>

In a similar fashion Yahweh's creation of the natural world is inextricably linked to his role as king who defeats the primordial sea monster and provides for the welfare of society.<sup>29</sup> A number of Psalms, perhaps written during the time of the establishment of the capital at Jerusalem and the building of the temple there under the early Israelite kings, connect Yahweh's victory in combat over a primordial monster with his kingship and creation of the world.

Ps 74:12–17

God, my king from the first,  
 author of saving acts throughout the earth,  
 by your power you split the sea [yam] in two,  
 and smashed the heads of the monsters on the waters.  
 You crushed Leviathan's heads,  
 leaving him for wild animals to eat,  
 you opened the spring, the torrent,  
 you dried up inexhaustible rivers.  
 You are master of day and night,  
 you instituted light and sun,  
 you fixed the boundaries of the world,  
 you created summer and winter.

Ps 89:9–12

Yahweh, God of Sabaoth, who is like you?  
 mighty Yahweh, clothed in your faithfulness  
 You control the pride of the oceans  
 when its waves ride high, you calm them;  
 you split Rahab into two like a carcass  
 and scattered your enemies with your mighty arm.  
 The heavens are yours and the earth is yours,  
 you founded the world and all it holds,  
 you created north and south;  
 Tabor and Hermon hail your name with joy.

Just as Ba'al is attributed with defeat of different waters, other Psalms, such as Psalm 29, 93, and 104 define Yahweh's kingship as proved by his reign over the rivers and seas.<sup>30</sup> Yahweh's defeat of the primordial monsters of the waters was part of the commemoration of his kingship in the Israelite's harvest festival just as Marduk's defeat of Tiamat was recalled as part of the Babylonian Akītu festival.<sup>31</sup> Yahweh's defeat of the Leviathan in Isaiah 27:1 is probably a reference to Israel's future defeat of Egypt.<sup>32</sup>

That day, Yahweh will punish,  
 with his hard sword, massive and strong,  
 Leviathan the fleeing serpent,  
 Leviathan the twisting serpent,  
 he will kill the sea-dragon.

Other passages in which Yahweh defeats primordial monsters may refer to the Assyrians and the other nations surrounding Israel, showing a connection between Israel's political claims and the myth of Yahweh's originating sacrifice.<sup>33</sup>

Building or rededicating the temple is tied to a primordial battle in which the chaotic forces of nature are tamed and harnessed by the warrior-king, his act of dismembering the captured and slain enemy representing the state's provisioning of its people. Later sacrifices of animals hunted from the wild, raided from the enemy, or even domesticated and raised on captured and protected lands, substantiate the primordial link between the securing of territory and the prosperity of society. The temple, house of the gods where the animals are sacrificed and from which the meat, skins, and coverings are distributed to society, stands as the central symbol of this link, the entrepôt between nature and civilization. The ongoing expansion of the state and increasing prosperity is marked by the warrior-king's sacrifice that recalls the original combat that founded the world.

The sacrifice not only remembers creation but foreshadows and quickens the eschaton. God's defeat of the primordial dragon and his creation of a new world is a common motif in apocalyptic texts. The biblical account of Yahweh's defeat of the Leviathan is understood as referring to an event at the end of time, not unlike the earlier Ugaritic version of Ba'al's defeat of the "twisting serpent" Leviathan and Michael's defeat of the seven-headed dragon in Revelation 12.<sup>34</sup> In the New Testament the primordial monster is identified with Satan but the defeat of the dragon is clearly linked to the absence of the sea in the new world that is established with the dragon's defeat.<sup>35</sup> Muslim martyrdom operations are portrayed as taking place against the Dajjāl and his minions, and the suffering of the Palestinian people is understood as the "birth-pangs" of the coming of the messiah and the end of the world.<sup>36</sup> The epic battle of Şiffin at which, in some accounts, 70,000 people are reported to have died, is understood as a sign of the apocalypse from old Jewish lore.<sup>37</sup> Shī'ī Imāms are considered to have been martyrs, and upon their bodies the last Imām the Mahdī al-Qā'im culminates this line of martyrdom that results in the establishment of justice and equality throughout the conquered territory of the world.<sup>38</sup> The Mahdī al-Qā'im, joined by the 313 Aṣḥāb al-Qā'im (equal to the number of Muslims at the battle of Badr), will wield the primordial sword Dhū al-Faḳār to defeat the Dajjāl and initiate the final age and worldwide civilization.<sup>39</sup>

The camel sacrifice of the prophet Muhammad seems to combine elements both of the creation-combat myths of the ancient Near East and the cosmogonic Indo-European myths of self-sacrifice. Muslim

sources describe his final camel sacrifice in terms familiar to the display of a military prowess which allows for a generosity of abundance. Camels were sacrificed and buried along with their tack beside warriors and their weapons at Mleiha and elsewhere throughout the Arabian peninsula. Camels and women were acquired as trophies through raids by the prophet Muhammad and those of his followers against rival religious groups and pre-Islamic “pagan” sanctuaries. The symbolic capture of the animal to be sacrificed signified by wounding [ish‘arah] and garlanding [taqallad] it, the run [ifāḍah] between mountains and standing [wuqūf] at their bases with the animal, and slaughter of the animal at Minā were already, in pre-Islamic times, ritualized versions of hunts. Athletic-like competitions displaying mastery over certain animals, and generosity in offerings to the gods, could be seen to take the place of actual inter-tribal warfare and raids.

In pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, the large numbers of camels sacrificed at funerals, like that of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, served to demonstrate how the life of the deceased provided for the well-being of society left behind. The “hundred camels” at the end of the prophet Muhammad’s valedictory Ḥajj are clearly intended as a substitute for his own body. This accompanies the actual dismemberment of the prophet Muhammad’s own body through the distribution of his hair and nails, the already dead or “removed” body parts of his soon to be dead body. Hair cutting and offerings, alongside animal sacrifices, are commonly associated with funerals in ancient Arabia and the wider Near East. The prophet Muhammad’s farewell speech, regardless of its specific content, is both a funeral oration for himself and the old age of ignorance [jāhiliyah] and an inaugural address for the new age of Islam.

#### WHAT IS SACRIFICE?

To call something a “sacrifice” out of context is almost without meaning. The term is ubiquitous as part of an expression of giving up something dear, usually for the sake of the greater good. In this sense, the act of sacrificing something reveals what is considered to be “dear” and some sense of what is considered to be the “greater good” for the individual or group performing the sacrifice. To talk about a camel sacrifice cannot help but conjure Arabs and Arabia, and maybe Islam, because to “sacrifice” a camel implies that the animal is somehow precious or essential to those “giving it up” for something greater. But it is not enough to apply the generic use of the term to understand the camel sacrifice of the prophet

Muhammad at the conclusion of his farewell pilgrimage. Or perhaps it is sufficient to define any specific instance of sacrifice in the history of religion.

Theories of “sacrifice” in the modern study of religion tend to concentrate almost exclusively on the killing of an animal victim, often focusing on the meaning of the animal to those who sacrifice it, the significance of how it is killed, and the social function of eating (or not eating) it. René Girard interprets religion, and sacrifice in particular, as that which allows us to pretend that we control what would, without religion, be the fear of uncontrolled killing or death. The communal killing of a “scapegoat” is reenacted and ritually repeated to perpetuate the cathartic effects of the original act of violence.<sup>40</sup> Julia Kristeva points out that the horror experienced in the ritualized violence of sacrifice enables us to break down or merge the division between the object (other) and the subject (self), to indulge in abjection without being absorbed by it. The abject experience of violence and fear is made palpable and even useful by its dramatization, its being made into a symbol of something else.<sup>41</sup>

Others think that the invention of religion, centered around the practice of killing animals in the place of other humans, is how we regulate and sublimate other primal urges such as sex and eating. For Sigmund Freud, the ceremonial killing and eating of certain animals substitutes for and satisfies sexual desires with otherwise fratricidal results. For Adolf Jensen, the veneration of a primordial murder (the hacking to pieces, distribution, and burial of the body parts of the “Dema deity”) is what allowed for the beginnings of human society in the Neolithic age.<sup>42</sup> Walter Burkert says that, by ritualizing violence, both in the hunting of prey and in the slaughter of domesticated animals, religion heightens the experience of fear and guilt that comes from killing.<sup>43</sup> Religion is thus how we redirect human nature and needs in ways that enable us to cooperate and accomplish feats not possible without group numbers, planning, coordination, and a common purpose.

What each of these theories seems to have in common is their insistence that religion removes us somehow from our earlier, original state. It is what accounts for why we and the things around us are the way they are now as opposed to how they used to be, when we lived like animals without the guiding myths and rituals of religion. Each of these perspectives, or perhaps a synthesis of them all taken together, might provide some conceptual clarity on why sacrifice seen as a form of ritualized violence is so popular among students of religion and as a practice: It is

a means for displaying how what we call “religion” accounts for the state of our existence.<sup>44</sup>

But what if “sacrifice” is not primarily or originally about violence? For William Robertson Smith the violent death of the camel was merely a secondary consequence of the communal meal of the living flesh. The same is the case for Durkheim. Muslim sources portray the prophet Muhammad’s camel sacrifice as a kind of communal meal with the distribution of the camel meat which he shared along with the broth, skins, and coverings to his followers. These provisions come at the conclusion of a speech inaugurating a new civilization, and his followers thus equipped assume responsibility for leadership of the community following the prophet Muhammad’s death just shortly after the sacrifice takes place. Muslim jurisprudence stipulates that pilgrims offering a “sacrifice” at the conclusion of their Ḥajj can slaughter an animal and distribute its meat, but can instead purchase food, or abstain from eating – indicating that the principal function of the ritual is feeding.

Robertson Smith argues that consuming the body of the camel is a symbolic act representing the god personifying the group identity of those participating in the meal of its flesh and blood. The kangaroo, according to Durkheim, was a living animal representation of the totem that was considered emblematic by the initiated men who consumed its meat and thus took on the group identity of their totem. Insofar as the idealized collective image society has of itself can be considered its “god,” the feeding of society’s members replaces the burning of food for the distant deity. The Islamic sacrifice makes this plain, as does Robertson Smith’s interpretation of the St. Nilus camel sacrifice. No part of the animal is burned or wasted on the symbolism of propitiating the gods in the hope of future blessings.<sup>45</sup> In this sense, these two camel sacrifices are “practical” in that they provide society directly with its provisions: food and (in the case of the prophet Muhammad’s sacrifice) shelter, clothing, and the wide variety of beneficial items made from the camel’s bodies.

In his densely argued and detailed study of ancient Indian sacrifice, J. C. Heesterman breaks “sacrifice” into three phases – killing, destruction, and distribution as food – further distinguishing the disposition of the victim’s body from both its death and its meat being eaten.<sup>46</sup> In his defense of “sacrifice” as a useful analytical term, Valerio Valeri divides the activity into the four stages of induction, taking of life, renunciation, and consumption, but maintains that sacrifice is essentially the “ritual taking of some life.”<sup>47</sup> Scholars seeing sacrifice primarily as a mode of exchange pay more attention to how the animal or the object to be

destroyed is acquired, and others have elaborated on the dispersal and disposal of the animal after it is killed.

More recently, Kathryn McClymond, comparing ancient Israelite and Vedic examples, argues for a “polythetic” definition of sacrifice that takes a more inclusive view of what constitutes “sacrifice” as an overall ritual.<sup>48</sup> Her polythetic approach maintains that no single action, such as killing, can be taken by itself to define sacrifice but rather the interactions among a series of seven interrelated elements. These elements include: (1) selection of an item to be sacrificed; (2) association of the item with a particular deity; (3) identification of the offering with the one who benefits from the sacrifice; (4) intentional killing (of the animal, although McClymond insists that vegetal and liquid offerings count as sacrificial items); (5) heating of the item such as with a fire to prepare it to be eaten or fully consumed in the fire; (6) division of the item into portions and their distribution; (7) consumption or eating of the item sacrificed.

Several of these elements can be applied to the final camel sacrifice of the prophet Muhammad. In the first element (1), McClymond does not distinguish between the designation of the item and its acquisition, although in the case of the prophet Muhammad, camels acquired through raids and as booty are only designated to be sacrificed as a separate action. A given camel is designated when blood is drawn by piercing its hump [ish‘arah] and garlanding its neck, but there is no indication in ḥadīth reports or Muslim jurisprudence that invoking the name of God [tasmīyah] at the time the animal is selected was practiced by the prophet Muhammad or is required. In the case of the prophet Muhammad’s camel sacrifice, the detail is not given, but from other cases it is known that McClymond’s second element (2) occurs at the time of the animal’s slaughter (4).

McClymond’s third element (3), identifying the item to be sacrificed with the one who will benefit from it, is more problematic for the case of the prophet Muhammad. The prophet Muhammad is reported to have offered sacrifices on behalf of his wives, on behalf of the whole community, and gave animals to his followers to sacrifice. His sacrifice of the 100 camels is interpreted to be a substitute for his own body, and the proceeds of the sacrifice are distributed to all of his followers gathered at the event and in later generations farther removed. His sacrifice is said to have provided a model for future Muslims to perform the Ḥajj correctly, and is supposed to have inaugurated the new age of Islam. Distinctions must be made among (a) the agent offering the sacrifice, (b) the beneficiary on whose behalf or for whose benefit it is offered (acknowledging that the

agent can be the beneficiary, and that the agent and the beneficiary can both be beneficiaries, separately or, in the case that the agent is already a member of the larger group that benefits from the sacrifice, together), and (c) the recipient of the sacrifice (which could include the deity in whose name the sacrifice was made or to whom it is offered in addition to those, potentially both the agent and beneficiary, who receive the proceeds of the sacrifice such as its meat, skins, tack, etc.).

It should also be noted that Muslim jurisprudence does not provide a specific action or mechanism for announcing or fixing the “patron” of the sacrifice in the sense that it is “for” someone or some group of people. Muslim jurisprudence does acknowledge that a sacrifice can be performed on behalf of another person, and that the person who begins the process by designating an animal as a sacrifice is responsible to carry out the remaining steps through to the animal’s death and distribution of its meat. Another important distinction is that, as defined by Muslim jurisprudence, once the animal has been “marked” for sacrifice – a process that can only end in the animal’s meat being offered as food, at least in part, to someone other than the person who marked the animal for sacrifice – it has essentially been “sacrificed” even before it is killed or distributed.

McClymond’s fourth element (4), the intentional killing of the animal, applies to the prophet Muhammad, and perhaps also ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, slaughtering the 100 camels. But elements (5), (6), and (7) are problematic. The camels are apportioned (6) before they are cooked (5), and the distributed camel skins and coverings, along with the hair of the prophet Muhammad, were never intended to be cooked. There is no “sacrificial fire”; nor does the distribution of the prophet Muhammad’s hair (and nails) require that the rest of his body be dead unless the camels’ carcasses substitute for it. In some reports, the prophet Muhammad and ‘Alī eat together a broth that includes a piece from each of the 100 camels, indicating that the consumption (7) took place at the same time as the killing (4), distribution (6), and cooking (5). But it is not clear that anyone else present took part in the eating, or that any or all of the meat distributed from the camels was cooked (5) or consumed (7) until later in a different location. Indeed, Muslim jurisprudence stipulates that the meat should be donated to the poor, perhaps salted and preserved, or frozen and flown thousands of miles away, to be cooked and eaten at an unspecified date and location.

If elements (6) and (7) are part of the sacrifice, then the time frame of the ritual could extend for months, years, or even indefinitely, and the location of the ritual can be global in its extent.<sup>49</sup> The same can be said



regarding the acquisition (1) of the item to be sacrificed. If ‘Alī acquired some of the camels sacrificed from his raids in Yemen months earlier, and the prophet Muhammad brought camels he acquired from earlier raids in other parts of the Arabian peninsula, then does the sacrificial ritual commence in those places and times? Note also that between elements (3) and (4) Muslim descriptions of the Ḥajj sacrifice would need to add both what might be called the “transport” of the item to be sacrificed, and any rituals performed with the item or with it being present before the process reaches the killing phase (4): the driving of the animal to Mecca, and the ritual standing and running between mountains. It is pertinent to ask: Is the camel sacrifice (and later Ḥajj sacrifices based on its example) a part of the Ḥajj or is the Ḥajj a part of the sacrifice? Drawing on the example of the prophet Muhammad at al-Ḥudaybiyah, Muslim scholars claim that the purpose of the Ḥajj is to perform a sacrifice. Would the circumambulation of the Ka‘bah, or the shaving and paring of the nails immediately after the slaughter at Minā all be part of a larger ritual of sacrifice? Is the slaughter of an animal elsewhere by other Muslims, for the “aḍḥā” sacrifice, at a location outside of the immediate geography of the Ḥajj but coinciding with it temporally, to be considered part of a sacrifice that takes place during the Ḥajj?

Some of these questions might be answered by taking a different, more “holistic” approach, from the opposite direction: (a) starting not with the generic concept “sacrifice” but with elements specific to the camel sacrifice of the prophet Muhammad, (b) comparing these elements with similar lists of elements specific to other sacrificial rituals, and (c) through this comparison attempting to identify commonalities and, thus, general characteristics of a group of “sacrifices” (plural) with a view toward a generic conception of “sacrifice” (singular). A brief and nonexhaustive list of “variables” that would characterize the camel sacrifice of the prophet Muhammad might include some of the following six groups of attributes:

- (1) The immediate context of the sacrifice: (a) This was the only time the prophet Muhammad performed the Ḥajj, (b) and this type of sacrifice; (c) the sacrifice was performed after he gave a speech inaugurating a new age (of Islam), (d) shortly before his death.
- (2) The location: (a) It took place at Minā, (b) in a valley between the foot of two mountains, (c) a place to which the animals were driven from ‘Arafāt after a series of ritual standings and runs, (d) to the place where Abraham offered an animal in the place of his son, and (d) before him Abel offered an animal sacrifice.

- (3) The details of the slaughter: (a) It was 100 camels, (b) some of which may have been slaughtered by ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; (c) the meat, skins, and coverings of which were distributed to all those present, (d) along with the prophet Muhammad’s hair and perhaps fingernails and toenails, (e) the cutting and paring of which are required to be done after the sacrifice is performed.
- (4) The animals sacrificed: (a) Camels acquired by the prophet Muhammad, and (b) some number by ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (c) from a raid on a pagan temple in Yemen; (d) the camels were marked with their own blood from a ritually inflicted wound on their hump and were garlanded with leather sandals; (e) wergild and (f) bride price is calculated and paid in camels; and (g) in the past, 100 camels were sacrificed to redeem the prophet Muhammad’s father from being sacrificed.
- (5) Other instances of sacrifice in pre-Islamic Arabia and the life of the prophet Muhammad: (a) Camels were in pre-Islamic times buried alongside warriors and their weapons; (b) sacrifices were made at special occasions such as springtime first-fruit sacrifices or were used at fairs in the summer; (c) like other pagans in pre-Islamic Arabia, the prophet Muhammad made sacrifices to fertility goddesses and to storm gods residing on mountains; and (d) he sacrificed different kinds of animals at different times in his life (one or two sheep and rams, goats given to others for sacrifice, cows for wives, and camels at al-Ḥudaybiyah).
- (6) The significance of sacrifice in the “sectarian milieu” of the late antique and medieval Middle East – a much larger and broader list of attributes: (a) The camel is impure and prohibited from being eaten in the Bible and Jewish law; (b) the death and resurrection of Jesus is supposed to have ended the need for all future animal sacrifices, and, (c) according to Muslim scholars Jews no longer perform sacrifices because their temple was destroyed when they disobeyed God and killed the last Israelite prophet Jesus.

It is difficult to determine if (and which of) these “variables” might be applicable to a more general conception of sacrifice without correlating them to other specific instances of “sacrifice” from other contexts. A comparison between the camel sacrifice of the prophet Muhammad and the ancient Hawaiian “sacrifice” that accompanies the annual *luakini* temple ritual highlights the following commonalities and discrepancies.<sup>50</sup>

Common to both the Hawaiian sacrifice and the prophet Muhammad's camel sacrifice are: (a) accounts of the rituals are idealized not first-hand observations; (b) communal meals are eaten (although it is not certain that anyone other than the prophet Muhammad and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ate the camels at the time they were slaughtered); (c) purification rites precede the sacrifice; (d) ritual processions to the place of sacrifice (there may also have been a type of "pilgrimage" to the temple site in ancient Hawaii); (e) chanting of particular phrases; (f) rituals symbolizing conquest of territory; (g) the victims are captured from enemies; and (h) mountains are associated with the dwelling place of deities.

Unlike the prophet Muhammad's camel sacrifice, the Hawaiian sacrifice features (a) a human victim (b) that is not eaten; (c) preparation of a cult object from the ritual felling of a sacred tree; (d) priests and a class system play a significant role in the sacrifice, and (e) the burning of "fragrant substances" at the temple site.

Possible equivalences between the two sacrifices include: (a) The Hawaiian sacrifice centers on the renovation or rebuilding of the *luakini* temple, and the prophet Muhammad's camel sacrifice is connected to his purification of the Ka'bah nearby in Mecca; (b) The Hawaiian sacrifice is performed by the king, and the camel sacrifice is performed by the prophet Muhammad (with the possible exception that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib may have slaughtered some of the camels and been responsible for distributing the meat, skins, and coverings); (c) Bones and hair from the Hawaiian victim are given to certain people such as the king to wear or adorn items he uses, and the camels and hair (and nails) of the prophet Muhammad are distributed to all his followers present; (d) The Hawaiian altar is in the temple, and the prophet Muhammad designates all of Minā, the roads to Mecca, and possibly Mecca itself as an "altar" or place of sacrifice.

As a second point of comparison with the prophet Muhammad's camel sacrifice, take for example one particular instance of a reindeer sacrifice [myr] among the eastern Khanty of Surgut region in the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug in Central Russia in March 1994.<sup>51</sup>

In both the reindeer sacrifice and the prophet Muhammad's camel sacrifice: (a) participants travel as a group to the place of the sacrifice; (b) athletic-like feats are part of the rituals; (c) men and women are separated; (d) the animals sacrificed are identified with the specific families and individuals who donated them; (e) bowing, circling, and prayers

that involve touching one's forehead to the ground accompany the ritual; (f) the animals have clothes or garlands hung around their necks; (g) circumambulation of a sacred location is part of the ritual; (h) the meat of the animals is distributed in relatively equal portions; and (j) successful performance of the sacrifice results in special merit for those participating.

Distinct from the camel sacrifice of the prophet Muhammad, the Khanty sacrifice (a) is reported as observed by outside scholars for whom the occurrence is of anthropological interest; (b) the location of the ritual varies, although most occurrences of the ritual take place in the same general vicinity; (c) money and merchandise is offered on an altar; and (d) the ritual includes drumming and singing after ingesting wild toadstool hallucinogens.

Possible equivalences between the prophet Muhammad's camel sacrifice and the Khanty sacrifice include: (a) sticks with notches indicating the number of days until the reindeer ritual is to be performed are delivered to potential participants as an invitation, and the Ḥajj is performed in response to the call made by Abraham as recorded in Q 22:27; (b) the location of the reindeer ritual is communicated in a dream, and the location of Abraham's sacrifice is revealed by God or an angel; (c) the Khanty ritual involves throwing meat and blood at a metal "black man" erected for the occasion, and the Ḥajj includes throwing stones at pillars representing Satan; (d) the meat from the slaughtered reindeer is cooked, transported, and given to others, and the prophet Muhammad distributes the meat, skins, and coverings of the camels to his followers; (e) certain parts of the reindeer (jawbone, cuts of meat) are set aside for specific individuals, and in some accounts the prophet Muhammad shared with 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib alone a special broth made with pieces of all 100 camels; and (f) Khanty men circumambulate the sacred tree, and Muslims circumambulate the Ka'bah.

It is possible, from these three examples alone, to make some tentative generalizations about "sacrifice." All three, of course, involve killing, and all three include a communal meal, although in the Hawaiian ritual the human slaughtered is not eaten whereas the camels and the reindeer are eaten. All three involve ritual processions to the site, group rituals at the site involving the chanting of certain phrases, and in all three, particular parts of the victim are reserved for certain people.

In a few cases, only two of the three examples share a variable that seems to be a significant part of the sacrifice. In the Hawaiian and Islamic examples, the victim offered is captured, as a prisoner of war or in a raid on an enemy tribe. In the Khanty and Islamic examples, the victim

represents the family or individual who donates it. Also, both the Khanty and Islamic rituals include throwing things (meat and blood, rocks) at a representation (iron black man, pillars) as a ritual to ward off evil. In both the Hawaiian and Khanty examples, but apparently not in the prophet Muhammad's sacrifice, special inedible pieces (bones, skins) of the victim are saved to be worn by specific individuals as a type of decoration or trophy insignia.

This approach to defining "sacrifice" is a little like (a) taking every recipe that is identified as making a "cake" (e.g., German chocolate cake, cheesecake, birthday cake, angel food cake), (b) listing the ingredients of each recipe, (c) determining what ingredients are present in all examples of "cake," and (d) concluding that these common ingredients constitute what are necessary or constant elements in any definition of "cake" as a category. To be useful, the category would need to differ sufficiently from other similar items, such as "bread" or "pie" as categories. Perhaps if the relative amounts of the ingredients in each recipe were added (e.g., 1:1 ratio of flour to sugar, 84:1 ratio of flour to salt, 42: 1 ratio of flour to vanilla in a German chocolate cake) versus (e.g., 3.5:1 ratio of flour to water, 168:1 ratio of flour to salt, 105:1 ratio of flour to sugar in wheat bread) and (5:1 ratio of flour to sugar in apple pie), the difference would be more evident. Certainly "bread" has the lowest ratio of sugar to flour, then "cake" (not counting the frosting), followed by "pie" (not counting the crust). But what would it tell us about "sacrifice" in general to know that many or most examples of it include the killing and eating of an animal? And is that sufficient to distinguish "sacrifice" from "hunting" or from the nonritual "slaughtering" of an animal for food?

"Sacrifice" is not a descriptive, but rather an analytical term. We do not merely observe sacrifice. Rather, we label things we find as being "sacrifice" because they correspond to our preconceived notions of what fits the category, and because our definition of the category in certain ways allows us to make arguments about even more abstract and generic categories like "ritual" and "religion" as they apply to what we know and want others to know.

#### NOSTALGIA AND THE ORIGINS OF RELIGION

Perhaps it is no mere coincidence that both William Robertson Smith and Muslim scholarship recover the origins of religion through the lens of a camel sacrifice.

There is nothing to suggest, in Islamic sources or elsewhere, that Abraham offered camels, or that he drove a sacrificial animal into Mecca and then from ‘Arafāt to al-Muzdalifah and to Minā where it was slaughtered. The animal he is supposed to have slaughtered in the place of his son was, by some accounts, a wild ram that came down from the top of the nearby mountain. Perhaps echoing Genesis 22:14, Q 37:107 does not make explicit even that Abraham was commanded by God to sacrifice the animal, nor does it mention an animal at all, only that “he” (the son from being killed, Abraham from having to sacrifice his son?) was redeemed by a “great sacrifice” [bi-dhibh-in ‘azīm-in]. Much of the classical Arabic references to Abraham being in the vicinity of pre-Islamic Mecca associate him with the Ka‘bah. And there is no biblical or pre-Islamic exegetical precedent for Abraham performing what seem to be pagan hunting rituals in the mountains and hills outside Mecca, nor is there any pre-Islamic reference to Abraham in Arabia.

Muslim jurists, defining the Islamic Ḥajj on the basis of ḥadīth reports of the prophet Muhammad’s final Ḥajj, combine what they claimed to have been two separate sets of rituals: a pre-Islamic “ḥajj” during the festival of the Dhū al-Majāz market in the valley near ‘Arafāt and al-Muzdalifah during the first ten days of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and a pre-Islamic “‘umrah” focused on the Ka‘bah and its immediate precincts during the springtime month of Rajab. By combining the two sets of rituals, Muslim jurists not only incorporate into Islam the “pagan” rituals of the pre-Islamic ḥajj, providing them with a biblical pedigree by assigning their origins to Abraham, but they also substantiate the Arab character of the original, pre-Mosaic biblical religion.

Muslim scholars, living hundreds of years after the prophet Muhammad, in urban centers far removed from Mecca, describe a romanticized Arabia on the eve of Islam coinciding with the idolatry of ancient Israel and the corruption of the religion by the clerical hierarchy of the temple. Frequent references in the Quran, confirmed by exegetical ḥadīth reports, attesting to the correspondence between the rejection of Muhammad’s prophetic message by the Jews and the disobedience of the ancient Israelites in the face of multiple prophetic warnings, further confirmed the reality of an idolatrous pre-Islamic Arabia ready for the return of Islam. It is a vision of Arabia that allows for Islam to claim to recover the original religion of Abraham preserved only among the traditions and practices of the Arabs, its true origins having been misunderstood by pagans and misappropriated by Jews and Christians.

The true meaning and practice of sacrifice in particular was rescued by the prophet Muhammad from its contaminated state under the control of the pre-Islamic pagan priestly classes. Unlike Christianity, which effectively dismissed and simply discontinued the reality of animal sacrifice, Islam revived it. But Islam did not restore the animal sacrifice of the Jerusalem cult. Rather, Islam brought back the original meaning of sacrifice as it was practiced by Abraham: an opportunity to offer oneself for the benefit of the community. In Genesis 21:33 Abraham “plants a tree” [vay-yiṭa’ eshel] and invokes a name of God as he had done when making sacrifices at Shechem (Gen 12:6) and Hebron (Gen 13:18). Each of his “sacrifice sites” not only marked the land for Yahweh but offered to the local pagan nations the opportunity to follow the true religion and worship the true God who created the world. Jewish exegesis claims that Abraham established a sanctuary at Hebron to which he called the local pagan inhabitants to the worship of the true God, and Muslim sources say he established a mosque. Muslim exegesis of Q 14:35–41, Q 2:125–129, Q 22:26–27, and Q 3:96–97 narrates how Abraham likewise invokes the name of God and builds the Ka‘bah in Mecca after making his sacrifice at Minā. Not unlike Jesus’ offering of himself to form the Church through its members, the prophet Muhammad gives his own body (whether the proceeds from the spoils of overcoming opponents of Islam, his lived life recorded in ḥadīth reports, or by removing and distributing pieces of his actual body) to establish the Muslim community [ummah].

This sort of quest for a lost original religion, and a nostalgia for a past that never existed inspired William Robertson Smith to visit Mecca in the early spring months of 1880, just seven years before he would deliver his famous “Lectures on the Religion of the Semites” featuring the camel sacrifice of St. Nilus. He was traveling from Jeddah to al-Ṭā’if as part of a larger tour of the Ḥijāz. Robertson Smith had received special written permission from the Emir and Sharīf of Mecca, the Hāshemite Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, uncle of the famous Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī who launched the Arab revolt against the Ottomans with the promise of British support in 1916.

The visit to Mecca was part of Robertson Smith’s second trip to the Middle East. In late 1878 he had traveled to Alexandria and Cairo, making his way up the Nile in February 1879 and then to Palestine in the spring. In late 1879 he again traveled to Cairo, and from there to the Arabian peninsula via Jeddah in early 1880. Both trips were during the time when his lectureship in Hebrew at the Aberdeen Free Church College had been revoked while eight separate counts of heresy were being

brought against him. Although after three years he was acquitted of all charges, including the final one over his views regarding the date and authorship of Deuteronomy, he was still dismissed from his position at the Aberdeen Free Church College and instead took up a position as a reader in Arabic at Cambridge University, where he was later offered a professorship in Arabic at Christ's College.

In his letters from the trip through the Hijāz, Robertson Smith makes a number of comments identifying the realia of what he observes in contemporary Arab life with his romanticized vision of pre-priestly Israel. He compares flocks and shepherdesses he sees to women and children tending flocks in the Bible: Rachel, Zipporah, and David. At another time, he compares the lance of his bedouin guard, "erected beside his bivouac," to the spear of Saul set outside his tent in 1 Samuel 26:5–24.<sup>52</sup> At the time, Robertson Smith was already entertaining the idea that the Israel for which he was searching, the one lost to the priestly redaction of the Bible, was to be found in the pre-Islamic practices of the Arabs. In his article on "Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Testament," published in 1880, Robertson Smith argued that the existence of totemism among the Arabs demonstrated that references to animal names in the Bible were evidence of an earlier pre-biblical Israel based on a spiritualism not encumbered by the ritual sacrifices of the priests.<sup>53</sup> Traveling through his imaginary Arabia, Robertson Smith experienced first-hand the "primitive and unchanging character of nomadic life" displayed by the modern-day bedouin.<sup>54</sup> He believed that Islam itself allowed for this because the prophet Muhammad had allowed so much of pre-Islamic Arab paganism into his new religion.<sup>55</sup>

Robertson Smith's travels in Arabia caught the attention of other European scholars, among them Julius Wellhausen, then a professor of theology at the University of Greifswald. He had already published a first edition of his *Geschichte Israels* (in 1878), the second edition of which (entitled *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*) would appear in 1883 shortly after his *Muhammed in Medina*, a translation and study of al-Wāqidi's *Kitāb al-maghāzī* in German.<sup>56</sup> In a letter dated July 1881, Wellhausen writes to Robertson Smith regarding his articles in the *Scotsman* about his travels in Arabia, copies of which Wellhausen had received the year before from Robertson Smith.

I have now studied the account of your travels in the Hidjaz in the way it deserves, having read it only superficially and incompletely around Easter 1880. I have learnt much from it which is important to me at the moment. It is only your description of the Wadi Dji'rana that has enabled me to visualize the return of



Muhammad after the battle of Hunayn. I only wished the surroundings of Mecca and especially of Medina would be covered in other places also by travellers like you. That Burton is just silly, insufferable.<sup>57</sup>

Like Robertson Smith, Wellhausen came to the study of Arabic and Islam after his views on the Bible had come into conflict with his position teaching theology. Unlike Robertson Smith, who insisted on publicly defending his views and may have been surprised when his coreligionists did not recognize how the critical study of the Bible could help revitalize Old Testament theology, Wellhausen himself resigned his position because he feared his interest in the “scientific treatment of the Bible” would undermine the faith of his students preparing to be ordained as Lutheran ministers.<sup>58</sup>

Both Wellhausen and Robertson Smith discovered in “Arabic paganism” and its vestiges in Islam a living representation of a pre-Mosaic biblical religion of the type promulgated by the Israelite prophets. Wellhausen moved away from theology toward Islam as politics, an idea he found in the prophet Muhammad’s “foundation of the state by means of Islam in Medina,” a view of Islam later taken to extremes by the next generation of Nazi German scholarship.<sup>59</sup> Robertson Smith moved in the other direction: the more he investigated and learned from the Arabic sources, the better able he was to reconstruct the history of religion, from which he sought to construct theology. Robertson Smith learned from the classical Arabic accounts of paganism in pre-Islamic Arabic, something he saw with his own eyes on the ground during his visit in the Ḥijāz, evidence with which to uncover the history behind the Old Testament. Wellhausen’s “source-critical” approach to the Bible gave Robertson Smith the means to separate out different strata of biblical text. Pre-Islamic Arabia and its traces in Islam gave Robertson Smith the material he needed to reconstruct the lost and hidden history of ancient Israel, something literary criticism could only hint at but not provide.<sup>60</sup>

Christianity, for Robertson Smith and other “liberal” theologians like him at the end of the nineteenth century, was a historical religion, and hence theology must focus on “salvation history” not law and dogma. This salvation history could be glimpsed, through a critical approach to the text of the Bible, in the spiritual and often rebellious counternarrative of the prophets, hidden beneath layers of priestly and legal editing. Unlike much of his cohort, maybe because of his facility with languages, maybe because of his heresy trial, Robertson Smith turned toward Arabia. Arabia enabled Robertson Smith the ability to write a fuller history of religion within which to situate the trajectory from Adam to Christ,

comparing the dogmatic-minded clericalism of his critics to the Pharisees who refused to accept Jesus as the culmination of prophecy. In this sense, the Old Testament theology of Robertson Smith was not unlike the approach of Muslim scholars, reconstructing a prophetic history or “history of prophets” from a corrupted text of the Bible and an imagined idolatrous past.

Both Robertson Smith and Muslim scholars share a nostalgia for a past that never existed, a romantic vision that allowed them to project their future into the past, to give a genealogy to the present by substantiating it with an origin from long ago. But what if Muslim scholars, the sources on which Robertson Smith relied for his vision of pre-Islamic Arabia, were themselves imagining a romanticized version of Arabia on the eve of Islam, an idolatrous paganism that was the result of a corruption of a true monotheism? Not unlike the prophets of the Bible calling the Israelites back from their superstitious rituals and proliferation of a temple cult that was only intended as a temporary punishment for failing to acknowledge Yahweh as their only God, the prophet Muhammad was sent to restore the original religion followed by Abraham. Or is it to be expected as a matter of course that Protestant Old Testament theology would be taking roughly the same approach as Muslim scholarship, trying to explain how the “new” revelation was actually a continuation of and replacement for the “old” one?

Had Robertson Smith written about the prophet Muhammad’s camel sacrifice, he would no doubt have noted all the similarities with the camel sacrifice described by St. Nilus. He would also have admired it as the ideal example of the kind of sacrifice he sought – sacrifice as social communion. None of the animal is wasted on the superstitious beliefs of needing to feed the gods or to curry favor with the gods by offering them a gift. Nor does the prophet Muhammad’s camel sacrifice throw out the baby with the bathwater. Islam retained sacrifice, but did so by returning it to its original, practical roots: to create social bonds by distributing to others what was obtained at great cost, giving something or all of yourself up for the greater good of society. Camels offered were a symbol identifying both the prophet Muhammad himself and the society he represented, and their sacrifice substantiated the original legitimacy of the Muslim community. From the perspective of Robertson Smith and perhaps the discipline that was built upon his views, the Islamic sacrifice is a “rational” even scientific version of the Christian Eucharist. In fact, the prophet Muhammad’s camel sacrifice is the perfect Protestant version of the last supper – the association of the Prophet’s

body with the camels is clearly symbolic, reinforced by the distribution of his hair (and nails), and the real function of the sacrifice as it is understood and prescribed in Muslim jurisprudence makes explicit what is obfuscated in other sacrifices.

#### PRACTICE OF SACRIFICE

Greek mythology explicitly links the origins of religion with the genesis of human society and civilization. The titan Prometheus returns to humanity the ability to make fire along with the gift of all the other “arts” of civilization, thus ending the Edenic existence of the “golden” age. Zeus had hidden fire from humanity after he had been tricked by Prometheus into accepting as his sacrifice the inedible bones rather than the meat and fat of a slaughtered ox. Thus in Greek sacrifice none of the food is wasted on the gods. Sacrifice is not the destruction of an animal but a practical communal meal. Rather than destroying (burning) the animal just to propitiate the gods, the Greeks cooked the meat as food and made it useful – not only as sustenance but also as a means to inculcate and maintain social identity, cohesion, and hierarchy. Indeed, the whole physical and political structure of the “city” was a manifestation of these mythical origins of sacrifice.<sup>61</sup>

The camel sacrifice of the prophet Muhammad is a mythical critique of “sacrifice” in the history of religions. Like the Greek myth, it decisively displays a connection between the foundations of the Dār al-Islām and the camel sacrifice of the prophet Muhammad, and before him the sacrifice of Abraham, and of Abel. It combines the combat model of the ancient Near East with the Indo-European self-sacrifice of a primordial being. It consciously rejects the clerical elaboration of sacrificial rituals in ancient Israel and the wholesale spiritualizing dismissal of the practice in Christianity. The Islamic sacrifice is even more practical and direct than Greek sacrifice – every part of the animals, including their hides, coverings, and tack, is given directly to the society that the ritual inaugurates and celebrates. Unlike the Greek ritual or the Australian Intichiuma that are restricted to the initiated few, the proceeds of the Islamic sacrifice are distributed equally to everyone without regard to establishing a hierarchy based on class, race, and gender. Meat from modern Ḥajj sacrifices is distributed to tens of millions of people in dozens of countries around the world. The camel sacrifice of the prophet Muhammad is a kind of totem meal in which eating and becoming your god is replaced with offering yourself for the world.

## NOTES

- 1 See “Iraqi Leader’s Koran ‘Written in Blood,’” BBC News (September 25, 2000); Martin Churlov, “Qur’an Etched in Saddam Hussein’s Blood Poses Dilemma for Iraq Leaders,” *Guardian* (December 19, 2010); Max Fisher, “Iraq Tries to Ignore Koran Written in Saddam’s Blood,” *Atlantic* (December 22, 2010).
- 2 See Abū Zakariya Yaḥyā b. Sharaf al-Nawawī, *al-Tibyān fī adāb ḥamalāt al-Qur’ān*, ed. Zuhayr Shafiq Kabbī (Beirut, 2012).
- 3 John Burns, “Threats and Responses: The Iraqi Leader; Hussein’s Obsession: An Empire of Mosques,” *New York Times* (December 15, 2002), notes that the mosque contained no memorial to the 100,000 Iraqis reported to have lost their lives during the battle.
- 4 See Ewan MacAskill, “Mosque That Thinks It’s a Missile Site,” *Guardian* (May 17, 2002), [www.theguardian.com/world/2002/may/17/iraq.ewenmacaskill](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/may/17/iraq.ewenmacaskill).
- 5 See J. C. Heesterman, *The Broken World of Sacrifice: An Essay in Ancient Indian Ritual* (Chicago, IL, 1993), esp. 45–85; Paul Mus, “Ou finit Puruṣa?” in *Mélanges d’Indianisme a la mémoire de Louis Renou*, ed. Louis Renou and Vasudeva Agrawala (Paris, 1968), 539–563.  
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- 7 See James Darmesteter, trans., *The Zend Avesta* (Oxford, 1987), 2:292–293; Bruce Lincoln, “The Indo-European Myth of Creation,” *History of Religions* 15 (1975): 121–145, esp. 131; John Greppin, “Xvarenah as a Transfunctional Figure,” *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 1 (1973): 232–242; K. A. H. Hidding, “The High God and the King as Symbols of Totality,” in *La regalita sacra*, ed. R. Pettazzoni (Leiden, 1959), 54–62; Arthur Christensen, *Les types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l’histoire légendaire des Iraniens* (Leiden, 1934), vol. 2; Emile Benveniste, “Traditions indo-iraniennes sur les classes sociales,” *Journal asiatique* 230 (1938): 534–535.
- 8 See Ronald Inden, “Ritual, Authority, and Cyclical Time in Hindu Kingship,” in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, ed. J. F. Richards (Delhi, 1998), 41–91; Mus, “Ou finit Puruṣa?” 539–563; R. N. Dandekar, “Yama in the Veda,” *B.C. Law Commemorative Volume*, ed. D. R. Bhandarkar (Calcutta, 1945), 1:194–209; Lincoln, “The Indo-European Myth of Creation,” esp. 132–133; Henry Heras, “The Personality of Yama in the Rgveda,” in

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- 9 See, for example, *Taishu shinshū daizukyu*, 46:1937 cited in James Benn, "Where Text Meets Flesh: Burning the Body as an Apocryphal Practice in Chinese Buddhism," *History of Religions* 37 (1998): 295–322, esp. 311–312; Alvin Cohen, "Coercing the Rain Deities in Ancient China," *History of Religions* 17 (1978): 244–265, esp. 249–250.
- 10 See Kristofer Schipper, "The Taoist Body," *History of Religions* 17 (1978): 355–386; Kristofer Schipper, *Empereur Wou des Hans dans la legende taoiste* (Paris, 1965). On the identification of the body with the earth, see Meredith McGuire, "Religion and the Body: Rematerializing the Human Body in the Social Sciences of Religion," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 29 (1990): 283–296; Joseph Bastien, "Qollahuaya-Andean Body Concepts: A Topographical Hydraulic Model of Physiology," *American Anthropologist* 87 (1985): 595–611; Victor Turner on Ndembu, *The Drums of Affliction* (Oxford, 1968).
- 11 On Yima, see Shaul Shaked, "First Man, First King. Notes on Semitic–Iranian Syncretism and Iranian Mythological Transformations," in *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions. Dedicated to R. J. Zwi Werblowsky*, ed. S. Shaked and others (Leiden, 1987), 238–256; Jean Kellens, "Yima, magicien entre les dieux et les hommes," *Acta Iranica* 23 (1984): 267–281; Sven Hartman, *Gayumart: Études sur le syncretisme dans l'ancien Iran* (Uppsala, 1953). On Romulus and Remus, see Puhvel, "Remus et Frater," 146–157; Kretschmer, "Remus und Romulus," 288–303.
- 12 See Cohen, "Coercing the Rain Deities in Ancient China," 244–265; Edward Schafer, "Ritual Exposure in Ancient China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14 (1957): 130–184; Derk Bodde, "Sexual Sympathetic Magic in Han China," *History of Religions* 3 (1964): 292–299.
- 13 See Geo Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion (King and Saviour IV)*. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1951:4 (Uppsala, 1951), esp. 42–58.
- 14 See Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (Chicago, IL, 1948), esp. 148–214.
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- 16 See Anton J. L. van Hoof, *From Autothanasia to Suicide: Self-Killing in Classical Antiquity* (New York, 1990), 55.
- 17 See Valerio Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii*, trans. Paula Wissing (Chicago, IL, 1985).
- 18 See Mircea Eliade, *Zalmoxis the Vanishing God: Comparative Studies in the Religions and Folklore of Dacia and Eastern Europe*, trans. Willard Trask (Chicago, IL, 1971).
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- 20 See Smith, *To Take Place*, 19–20.
- 21 See T. Abusch, "Marduk," in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 543–549; W. G. Lambert, "The Great Battle of the Mesopotamian Religious Year: The Conflict in the Akītu House," *Iraq* 25 (1963): 189–190; W. G. Lambert, "The Reign of Nebuchadnezzar I: A Turning Point in the History of Ancient Mesopotamia," in *The Seed of Wisdom*, ed. W. S. McCullough (Toronto, 1964), 3–13; W. G. Lambert, "Studies in Marduk," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47 (1984): 1–9.
- 22 See the text translated in Alexander Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis: The Story of Creation*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1951), 62–63.
- 23 See KTU II.7:9–12 [= Dietrich and others, *Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*]. On link between Ugarit and Enuma Elish, see Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Battle between Marduk and Tiamat," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88 (1968): 104–108. Also see S. Loewenstamm, "Anat's Victory over the Tannanu," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 20 (1975): 22–27, esp. 27. For the most recent and comprehensive study of the relationship between the Ugaritic materials, Mesopotamian texts, and biblical accounts, see John Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (Cambridge, 1985). The standard but dated study is Johann Friedrich Hermann Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und endzeit. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Ge. 1 und Ap. Joh. 12* (Göttingen, 1895). For an overview of recent scholarship, see Mary Wakeman, "The Biblical Earth Monster in the Cosmogonic Combat Myth," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 88 (1969): 313–320; Mary Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster: A Study in Biblical Imagery* (Leiden, 1973).
- 24 KTU 1.3.iii:38–39, cited in W. Hermann, "Baal," *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 132–139.
- 25 See KTU 1.5–6 and CTA 5–6 [= Andrée Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939* (Paris, 1963)]. On the connection with the agriculture cycle, see B. Margalit, *A Matter of "Life and Death": A Study of the Baal-Mot Epic* (CTA 4-5-6),

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- 27 Taken from Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, ed. and trans. Karl Mras and Édouard Des Places (Berlin, 2012), I.10.28; H. W. Attridge and R. A. Oden, *Philo of Byblos: The Phoenician History* (Washington, DC, 1981), 52–53, cited in Hermann, “Baal,” 135.
- 28 See Lincoln, “The Indo-European Cattle-Raiding Myth,” 42–65; V. Ivanov and V. Toporov, “Le mythe Indo-Européen du dieu de l’orage poursuivant le serpent: Réconstruction du schème,” in *Echanges et communications: Mélanges offerts à Claude Lévi-Strauss à l’occasion de son 60<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, ed. Jean Pouillon and Pierra Maranda (Hague, 1968), 1180–1206; NE: David Knipe, “The Heroic Theft: Myths from Rgveda IV and the Ancient Near East,” *History of Religions* 6 (1967): 328–360; Walter Brenneman, “Serpents, Cows, and Ladies: Contrasting Symbolism in Irish and Indo-European Cattle-Raiding Myths,” *History of Religions* 28 (1989): 340–354; H. J. Rose, “Chthonian Cattle,” *Numen* 1 (1954): 213–227; Arabagian, “Cattle Raiding and Bride Stealing,” 107–142; Joseph Fontenrose, *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins* (Berkeley, CA, 1959). On Heracles, see Jean Bayet, *Les origines de l’Hercule romain* (Paris, 1926); Bernard Schweitzer, *Herakles* (Tubingen, 1922); Paul Kretschmer, “Mythische Namen: Herakles,” *Glotta* 8 (1916): 121–129.
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- 30 On water symbolism in the Bible, see P. Reymond, *L’eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l’Ancien Testament* (Leiden, 1958).
- 31 See John Day, “Dragon and Sea, God’s Conflict with,” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 2:228–231.
- 32 See Day, “Dragon and Sea, God’s Conflict with,” 230; Day, *God’s Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea*, 177–178; B. W. Anderson, “The Slaying of the Fleeing, Twisting Serpent: Isaiah 27:1 in Context,” in *Uncovering Ancient Stones*, ed. L. M. Hopfe (Winona Lake, IN, 1994), 3–15.
- 33 See C. Kloos, *Yhwh’s Combat with the Sea* (Leiden, 1986); Robert Oden, *The Bible without Theology: The Theological Tradition and Alternatives to It* (San Francisco, CA, 1987).

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- 35 See A. Y. Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (Missoula, MT, 1976); N. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton, NJ, 1987); O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* (Berlin, 1962); Elain Follis, "Sea," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 5:1058–1059.
- 36 See Oliver and Steinberg, *The Road to Martyr's Square*, esp. 20–23.
- 37 See Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *al-Isbrāf fi manāzil al-ashrāf*, ed. Najm 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khalaf (Riyadh, 1990), 271; Kohlberg, "The Development of the Imami Shī'ī Doctrine of *jihād*," 64–86 [= *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shī'ism* (Aldershot, 1991)], esp. 69–73; Lecker, "On the Burial of Martyrs in Islam," 39–40.
- 38 See al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 13:12; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī Zaynād al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-ghaybah*, ed. A. A. Ghaffārī (Tehran, 1397), 121.
- 39 On the sword, see David Alexander, "Dhu al-fakār," PhD dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1984; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, on Q 8:41; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 21:14. The sword is associated with Jesus in al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 92:88–89; al-Tirmidhī, *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 31:5, 10, 33; Ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, 36:11.
- 40 In addition to his overview of theories in René Girard, *La violence et le sacré* (Paris, 1972), trans. Patrick Gregory, *Violence and the Sacred* (Baltimore, MD, 1972), see René Girard, *Le sacrifice* (Paris, 2003). Also bearing on this view is René Girard, *Le bouc émissaire* (Paris, 1982), trans. Yvonne Freccero, *The Scapegoat* (Baltimore, MD, 1986) and René Girard, *Des choses cachées depuis la fondation du monde* (Paris, 1978), trans. Stephen Bann and Michael Metteer, *Things Hidden Since the Foundation of the World* (Stanford, CA, 1987).
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- critique of this view, see J. Z. Smith, "A Pearl of Great Price and a Cargo of Yams: A Study in Situational Incongruity," *History of Religions* 16 (1976): 1-19 [= his *Imagining Religion*, 90-101].
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- 44 My characterization of these different perspectives comes from the pellucid and succinct analysis of Burton Mack, "Introduction: Religion and Ritual," in *Violent Origins*, 1-72.
- 45 See the theory of sacrifice as destruction but not annihilation in the work of George Bataille, *Theorie de la religion* (Paris, 1973), trans. Robert Hurley, *Theory of Religion* (New York, 1989). On his theory, see Jean-Michel Heimonet, *La mal à l'oeuvre: Georges Bataille et l'écriture du sacrifice* (Marseille, 1987); Jeremy Biles and Kent Brintnall, *Negative Ecstasies: Georges Bataille and the Study of Religion* (New York, 2015).
- 46 See Heesterman, *The Broken World of Sacrifice*, passim but esp. 7-44.
- 47 Valeri, "Wild Victims," 105 and see 105-110 for further discussion of these divisions.
- 48 See McClymond, *Beyond Sacred Violence*; and her article condensing the argument and examples, Kathryn McClymond, "The Nature and Elements of Sacrificial Ritual," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 16 (2004): 337-366.
- 49 The same can be said of course for other animal sacrifices in which parts of the animal are preserved, in sausage form for example or salted, and saved for distribution to people not present at the slaughter (4) and distribution (6) of the animal. See, for example, Ekroth, "Meat in Ancient Greece," 249-272.
- 50 For a full and detailed description of the ritual, including an analysis of the sources and interpretation, see Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice*, 234-339, based on David Malo, *Ka Mooolo Hawaii*, trans. N. B. Emerson, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (Mooolo Hawaii), Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum special publication 2, 2nd ed. (Honolulu, 1951); Samuel M. Kamakau, *The Works of the People of Old: Na hana a ka po'e kabiko*, trans. Mary Kawena Pukui, ed. Dorothy Barrère (Honolulu, 1976); John Papa I'i, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, trans. Mary Pukui, ed. Dorothy Barrère (Honolulu, 1959; reprinted 1963).
- 51 The description is taken from Andrew Wiget and Olga Balalaeva, "Khanty Communal Reindeer Sacrifice: Belief, Subsistence and Cultural Persistence in Contemporary Siberia," *Arctic Anthropology* 38 (2001): 82-99. More details and discussion can be found in Andrew Wiget and Olga Balalaeva, *Khanty, People of the Taiga: Surviving the 20th Century* (Anchorage, 2011).

- 52 See Robertson Smith, "A Journey in the Hejaz," *The Scotsman* (March 3, 5, 9, 27, April 3, 15, 24, May 11, 14, 18, 1880) [= Robertson Smith, *Lectures and Essays of William Robertson Smith*, ed. John Sutherland Black and George Chrystal (London, 1912), 484–597.
- 53 See William Robertson Smith, "Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Arabs in the Old Testament," *Journal of Philology* 9 (1880): 455–483 [= Robertson Smith, *Lectures and Essays of William Robertson Smith*, 455–483].
- 54 Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 14.
- 55 Portions of this paragraph were taken from my "Translation, Travel, Transfiguration and the Practice of Scholarship in the Study of Religion," in *Words of Experience: Translating Islam with Carl W. Ernst*, Comparative Islamic Studies Series, ed. Ilyse Morgenstein Fuerst and Brannon Wheeler (London, 2021), 206–221.
- 56 Julius Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels* (Berlin, 1878), reprinted as *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin, 1883).
- 57 Cited from Bernard Maier, *William Robertson Smith: His Life, His Work and His Times* (Tübingen, 2009), 179.
- 58 See Wellhausen's letter of resignation, quoted in Oden, *The Bible without Theology*, 20.
- 59 See David Motadel, *Islam and Nazi Germany's War* (Cambridge, MA, 2014).
- 60 On Robertson Smith's developing historical theology, see Gillian Bediako, *Primal Religion and the Bible: William Robertson Smith and His Heritage* (Sheffield, 1997), esp. 220–253.
- 61 See Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique* (Paris, 1864; reprinted, 2015).

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# Index

- !Kung, 15
- 1 Kings
- 1:3-21, 164
- 6:38, 59
- 8:41-43, 203, 211
- 12:1-24, 15
- 12:32, 59
- 18:38, 12
- 20:35-36, 15
- 1 Samuel
- 7:9, 13
- 13:12, 13
- 1 Samuel 1:3-21, 164
- 100 camels, vii, 1, 63, 240, 250, 254-6,
- 258, 294, 331, 339-40, 342, 344
- 2 Corinthians 5:21, 201
- 2 Enoch 30:8, 264
- 2 Kings
- 2:23-24, 15
- 3:27, 12
- 10:24, 12
- 21:18, 166
- 2 Samuel 24:21-25, 13
- Abarbanel, Isaac ben Judah, 11, 15
- 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī, 250
- 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakrah, 46
- 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr,
- 57, 263, 290-1
- 'Abdallāh b. Ḍamrah al-Sulūlī,
- 291
- 'Abdallāh b. Jahsh, 299
- 'Abdallāh b. Ṣayfī, 293
- 'Abdallāh 'Azzām,
- 301-3
- 'Abdallāh Ibn Abī Najih, 41
- Abel, 84, 214-17, 223, 255, 341, 351
- Abimelech, 218
- Abraham, vii-viii, 11-12, 21, 45, 51, 62-3,
- 155, 170-2, 176, 198, 200-14,
- 216-19, 221, 223-4, 244, 248, 255,
- 258, 265, 284, 286, 292, 341, 344,
- 346, 350-1
- Abū al-'Āliyah, 204-5
- Abū Ans al-Tahāmī al-Qahtānī,
- 299
- Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, 294, 308
- Abū Bakr (Caliph), 48, 53, 61, 87, 243, 250,
- 287, 305, 307
- Abū Dā'ūd, 2, 42, 46, 49, 55, 57, 85-6, 162,
- 222, 247, 284, 286, 293
- Abū Dharr, 205, 292, 304
- Abū Dhu'ayb al-Hudhālī, 296
- Abū Faḍl al-Irāqī, 310
- Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān b. Thābit, 43
- Abū Hurayrah, 55, 62, 215, 222, 247,
- 284-5, 297, 302
- Abū Islām al-Anṣārī, 310
- Abū Mus'ab 'Abd al-'Azīz 'Abd al-Hādī
- Dayhānī, 299
- Abū Nu'aym, Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh,
- 259
- Abū Qays Ṣirma Ibn Abī Anas, 59
- Abū Qubays, 174, 213, 292
- Abū Ṭalḥah, 1, 251-3, 256, 259, 303
- Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, 208
- Abū Wāqid al-Laythī, 163
- Abū Yaḥyā al-Lībī, 304
- Abyār 'Alī, 162

- Achilles, 6, 8, 261
- Acts  
 3:1, 201  
 10:9–16, 202  
 15:9–11, 202  
 21:26, 201  
 24:11–12, 201
- Adad, 156
- adhā, 46, 61–3, 173, 287, 341
- Adonis, 261
- Afghanistan, 299, 306, 311
- Aflāq, 208
- agrarian, 39, 41, 80, 102, 216, 265
- Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, 2, 45, 59, 83, 86, 286, 297, 312
- ‘Ain Jawān, 92, 208
- ‘Ā’ishah, 42, 46, 53, 55, 57–8, 61, 161, 247, 257, 262, 284–5, 288
- Akab, 94
- Akkadian, 94, 97
- Alexander the Great, 152
- al-firqaḥ al-najīyah, 310
- ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 169, 204, 215, 220, 258, 285, 289, 340, 342–4
- Alilat, 260
- Almaqah, 154
- al-Ṣaḥāb Media, 304
- altar, 7–8, 12, 14–16, 52, 94, 101, 166, 168, 170, 172, 199, 222–4, 240, 249, 331, 343–4
- al-tā’ifah al-mansūrah, 310
- American Airlines flight 11, 77, 282
- Amianus Marcellinus, 7
- ‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl, 84, 289
- ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, 21, 81–2, 85–7, 336
- ‘Amr b. Laḥay al-Khuzā’ī, 289
- Anas b. Malik, 42, 253
- animal sacrifice, vii, 20–1, 39–40, 45, 52, 63, 80–1, 93, 151, 159, 172, 200, 210, 222, 242, 244–6, 248, 341, 347
- ‘Antarah b. Shaddād, 86, 287
- anṣāb, 48, 84, 167, 289
- Aphrodite, 155, 166
- Apollo, 59
- Āq Shams al-Dīn Shaykh al-Islām, 295
- ‘Aqīqah, 50, 256–7
- ‘aqr, 86, 240
- Arab, vii, 6–8, 22, 55, 59, 81–5, 87–9, 96, 103–4, 106, 151, 166, 200, 206, 208–10, 217, 219, 240, 243, 265, 290–1, 295, 331, 346–8
- Arabia, viii, 4, 12, 21, 40, 51, 55, 63, 81, 88, 93–4, 96, 104–6, 151–4, 156, 159–60, 165, 168, 170, 173–4, 176, 209, 211, 219, 223, 243, 247, 258, 265, 336, 342, 346, 348–9
- Arabian peninsula, 6, 21–2, 44, 48, 81, 88–9, 91, 93–4, 103–4, 153, 168, 207–9, 283–4, 296, 336, 341, 347
- Arabic, ix, 7, 20–1, 40, 48–9, 61–2, 84, 86, 88, 105, 151, 153, 156–7, 166–7, 169, 176, 207, 209, 282, 287–8, 346, 348–9
- Arabs, 1, 4–8, 21, 23, 48, 55, 57, 81, 84–5, 87–8, 91, 103–6, 151, 161, 163, 166–7, 171, 176, 199, 207–8, 239, 242, 260, 262, 265, 287, 296, 336, 346, 348
- ‘Arafah. *See* ‘Arafāt
- ‘Arafāt, 21, 43, 46–7, 52, 54, 56–7, 59, 160, 163, 167–74, 176, 212, 240, 243, 246, 260, 341, 346
- Aramaic, 49, 89, 91, 167, 207
- armor, vii, 21, 81, 92, 97, 104, 220, 292, 307
- Ashvamedha, 80, 96, 100–2, 104, 155
- ‘Āsim b. Thābit, 302
- Aslam Abi ‘Imrān, 305
- Aṣma’ī, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Qurayb, 56, 105
- ‘Asqalān, 311
- Atargatis, 168, 261
- ‘Athtar, 154, 158, 165–6
- ‘atīrah, 54, 56, 151, 170, 242, 246
- Ayman al-Zawāhirī, 304
- Azor, 95
- Azraqī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh, 8, 51, 171, 174, 176, 289–91
- Baba Jan, 96
- Babylonian Talmud, 55, 210
- Bactrian, 88, 90–1, 159
- Badr, 45, 221–2, 293, 300, 302, 309–11, 335
- Baghdad, 40, 308–9
- Bahrain, viii, 91–3
- balīyah, 89
- Banāt ‘Ād, 155
- Banū Mughīrah, 263
- Banū Taghlib, 221
- Baṣrah, 105, 173, 208
- Bat, 90
- Bayhaqī, 250



- Baynunah, 90, 93  
 bayt, 45, 49, 55, 60, 166, 204, 288, 292  
 bayt allāh, 60  
 Ba'al, 48, 52, 166, 168, 174, 263, 333-5  
 Ba'al Şaphôn, 168  
 Bedouin, 60, 84, 88, 105, 243, 261, 263  
 Beirut, 198, 311  
 Bethel, 50, 212, 224  
 Bible, vii, 4, 22, 170, 200, 207, 209, 222, 240, 255, 263, 288, 342, 348-50  
 Bi'r Himā, 153, 158  
 blood, 3-4, 7, 9-10, 14-17, 19, 23, 39, 43, 48-50, 62, 84-5, 101, 152, 157-61, 167, 172, 174, 218, 223, 242, 244, 247, 249, 256-7, 260, 262, 264, 298-301, 330, 333, 338-9, 342, 344-5  
 Blood Quran, 330  
 body, 3, 14, 18, 22-3, 47, 93, 100, 105, 167, 206, 223-4, 240, 243-4, 249-50, 252-4, 256-7, 260-2, 264-5, 282-3, 294-6, 298-304, 306-11, 313, 330-3, 336-40, 347, 351  
 body of Christ, 23  
 bone, 4, 19, 93, 99, 239, 257, 331  
 bow, 98, 104, 153, 155, 167  
 British Museum, 150  
 Buddha, 3, 330-2  
 Bukhārī, 42, 50-1, 55-6, 161, 252-3, 259, 284-5, 293, 297, 310  
 Buraydah, viii  
 burial, vii, 21, 23, 50, 81-2, 89-99, 102-4, 156, 166, 208, 254, 256, 260, 263, 286, 288, 290, 292, 294, 296, 301, 305-6, 308-9, 313, 337  
 Burton, Richard, 88, 163, 240, 349  
 Byblos, 97, 156, 333  
  
 Cain, viii, 84, 215-18, 223  
 cairn, 82, 84, 165  
 Cairo, 40, 347  
 Campus Martius, 101  
 Caner, Daniel, 5  
 Çatal Hüyük, 48, 223  
 cattle raiding, 219  
 chariot, 88, 95, 98, 101  
 Christian, ix, 3-4, 6-8, 23, 39-40, 53, 55, 167, 198, 201-4, 207, 209, 214-15, 220, 224, 252, 260, 282, 284, 286, 292, 296, 350  
 Christianity, vii, 39-41, 200-1, 203-4, 221, 347, 349, 351  
 circumcision, 40, 206  
 clan, 9-11, 15-18, 86, 175, 207  
 Claudius Aelianus, 98  
 cock, 198  
 combat, 23, 93, 97, 101, 104, 163, 306, 312, 330, 332-3, 335, 351  
 communion, 18-19, 350  
 Constantinople, 4, 198, 207, 295-6, 305, 309  
 contagion, 11  
 corpses, 15, 22, 97, 163, 240, 287, 293, 309, 313  
 cow, 42-3, 49, 61, 242  
 Crete, 52, 59, 103, 150  
 Cyprus, 98  
  
 ḍahhā, 49  
 Ḍahhāk, 215  
 Dajjāl, 335  
 Damascus, 7, 40, 254, 296  
 Damīrī, Muḥammad b. Mūsā, 82, 256  
 Daniel 4:7-9, 332  
 dār al-harb, 297  
 Dār al-Islām, 23, 330, 332, 351  
 daughters of Allāh, 165  
 Day of Resurrection, 293, 297-8  
 dead, 22, 52, 85, 96, 99, 175-6, 202-3, 224, 240-1, 253-4, 263, 283, 287, 289, 293, 306, 331, 336, 340  
 death, 1, 3, 8, 12, 20-1, 44, 46, 54, 60, 63, 81-3, 85-7, 89, 158, 163-4, 175, 200-1, 203, 215-17, 221, 243-4, 251-2, 254, 262-3, 285, 287, 290, 293-6, 306-8, 310, 313, 331, 333, 337-8, 340-2  
 Dedan, 166  
 deer-stones, 99  
 desert, viii-ix, 5, 8, 14, 21-2, 48, 96, 103, 105, 153, 159, 164-5, 207, 209-10, 265, 346  
 Deuteronomy 21:12-13, 263 27:22, 201  
 Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, 82  
 Dhahran, 90  
 Dhāt al-anwāt, 163  
 Dhāt al-Salāsil, 87  
 Dhū al-Faqār, 335  
 Dhū al-Hijjah, 20, 40, 46, 52, 55-7, 173, 246, 346

- Dhū al-Hulayfah, 47, 157, 162,  
     164, 243  
 dhū al-ka' bāt, 208  
 Dhū al-Majāz, 20-1, 40, 56-7, 60, 171-2,  
     174, 176, 346  
 Dhū al-Qa'dah, 42, 55-6, 246  
 Dhū al-Sharā, 168, 289  
 Dhū Qaraḍ, 219  
 Dinka, 219  
 Dinkha Tepe, 96  
 Dio Cassius, 101  
 dismemberment, 3, 100, 102, 265, 331,  
     333, 336  
 dog, 95, 98, 159, 243, 308  
 Dogon, 17  
 Dogu Ergil, 304  
 Doha, vii, 92  
 dome of Abraham, 207-8  
 Dome of the Rock, 224  
 donkey, 91, 95, 220, 252  
 Dūmat al-Jundal, 94  
 Dūr, 92  
 Dura-Europos, 168  
 Durkheim, Emile, 8-10, 15, 18, 240, 338  
  
 Easter, 52, 348  
 Eden, 14-15, 163, 214, 216, 255, 292  
 Edessa, 7-8, 166  
 Egypt, 8, 12-13, 82, 86-7, 92, 95, 97, 103,  
     150, 155, 169, 218, 332, 334  
 El Shaddai, 171  
 Eliade, Mircea, 239-40  
 Elias of Marw, 207  
 elōnē mamrē, 212  
 emblem, 18  
 Enuma Elish, 332  
 Ephesians 2:11-20, 202  
 'ephōd, 287  
 Equus October, 21, 81, 101-2, 104, 155  
 Esau, 218  
 Ethiopia, 61, 87-8, 92, 211, 221, 285  
 être sacré, 18  
 Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 15  
 Exodus  
     3:12-16, 13  
     5:3, 13  
     23:16, 59  
     24:8, 14  
 exogamy, 9, 11  
 Ezekiel 20:26, 255  
 Ezra 9:3, 263  
  
 faḍā', 297  
 fair, 20-1, 40, 162, 172, 175-6, 198  
 fara', 55-6, 246  
 Fārān, 209  
 Fāsī, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad,  
     290, 293  
 Fāṭimah, 163, 257, 300, 308  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation, 282  
 fertility, 17, 21-2, 53, 96, 99-101, 103,  
     150, 154-6, 163-4, 166, 168-9, 171,  
     174-6, 218-19, 224, 258, 265, 332-3,  
     342  
 fidyah, 241-2  
 first-fruits, 54, 152, 246  
 fish, 155  
 fitnah, 3  
 fiṭrah, 206  
 Freud, Sigmund, 8-10, 15, 18, 239-40, 337  
 funeral, 82-3, 85, 89, 95, 106, 336  
 Fuwaydah, 92  
  
 Galatians 5, 202  
 Gath, 95  
 Gaza, 5, 88, 95, 198, 299, 307  
 gazelle, 57, 151, 154-7, 167, 223, 242  
 Genesis  
     4:1, 217  
     4:15, 217  
     6:7, 15  
     8:20, 12  
     9:3-4, 14-15  
     12:6, 347  
     12:7, 212  
     12:10-20, 218  
     13:17, 213  
     13:18, 347  
     14:1-16, 210  
     14:18-20, 211  
     14:21-24, 210  
     17:9-14, 202  
     18:7, 11  
     18:7-8, 200  
     19:4-5, 15  
     19:26, 15  
     20:1-17, 218  
     20:12, 201  
     21:4, 224  
     21:13, 11, 210, 214, 255  
     21:14, 346  
     21:21, 209  
     21:34, 347

- 21:22, 12  
 27:9, 11  
 27:27-29, 170  
 Ghabghab, 162  
 Ghaṭafān, 219-20  
 ghawr al-ka'bah, 291  
 Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, 286  
 gift, 13, 18, 89, 247-9, 256, 294, 330, 332, 350-1  
 Girard, René, 337  
 goat, 15, 100, 155, 198, 213, 242, 255, 257  
 Godin Tepe, 96  
 golden calf, 14, 163  
 golden gazelles, 89, 156, 165, 292  
 Gospel, 205  
 grave, 82, 85, 89-93, 96-8, 224, 263, 287, 290, 295-6, 301, 306, 311, 313  
 graveyard, 254, 283, 287, 292-4  
 Greek, 4-5, 16-17, 48, 84, 86, 98, 102, 152, 161, 168, 201, 262, 351  
  
 Hadad, 168, 263  
 Ḥaḍramawt, 90, 93, 152, 165, 173  
 hady, 160-1, 214  
 Hagar, 6, 209, 290  
 hair, 1, 4, 19, 22, 43, 45, 50, 58-9, 85, 105, 157, 161-2, 205, 239, 241, 244, 247, 249-53, 256-64, 282-3, 287, 312, 331, 336, 340, 342-3, 351  
 Ḥajj, vii, 20-2, 40-6, 48-9, 53-5, 58, 61-3, 82, 150-1, 162, 171-3, 175-6, 198-9, 204, 206, 212, 222-4, 240-1, 243-9, 256, 260-3, 265, 283, 287, 291, 293-4, 312-13, 336, 338-9, 341, 344, 346, 351  
 ḥajj al-ifrād, 246  
 Ḥākim, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, 259  
 Ḥalabī, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, 60, 222, 291  
 Halwa, 95  
 Hamadānī, 209  
 Ḥamās, 298, 305-6  
 ḥanīf, 60, 203-4, 207  
 Harawī, Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Salām, 151  
 Ḥarrān, 166, 207  
 Harrāsī, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, 262  
 Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 170, 206, 292  
 Hasanlu, 96  
 Hasan Bar Bahlūl, 7  
  
 Hassan Butt, 304, 309  
 ḥaṭīm, 52  
 Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī, 85, 288  
 Hatra, 48, 290  
 Hawaiian, 342  
 Ḥawlānī, 104  
 ḥawṭah, 243  
 Ḥā'il, viii, 173  
 Hebrews  
     2:17, 201  
     9:11-14, 201  
     11:17-19, 202  
 Heesterman, J. C., 338  
 henna, 259-60  
 Henninger, Joseph, 6  
 Hercules, 201  
 Herodotus, 48, 83, 88, 98, 104, 260, 263, 332  
 Heussi, Karl, 5  
 Hieropolis, 261  
 Ḥijāz, 48, 55, 60, 91, 106, 175, 200, 208-9, 347-9  
 ḥijr, 52  
 Hijrah, 46, 53, 61  
 Hippolytus, 253  
 Ḥirah, 7, 87  
 Ḥirā', 58  
 Hittite, 96, 150, 161, 169  
 Hofuf, 159  
 horned, 46, 92, 153-6, 166-7, 169, 214, 223  
 horses, 21, 81, 90-1, 94-102, 104, 150, 152-3, 156, 167, 173, 175, 216, 263, 285  
 Hubal, 53, 212  
 Ḥudaybiyah, 58  
 Ḥudhayfah b. Ghānim, 290  
 human sacrifice, 6, 8  
 hump, 47, 104, 158, 160-1, 172, 339, 342  
 Ḥums, 57-60, 166  
 Ḥumş, 296  
 Ḥunayn, 42, 163, 219, 222, 256, 302  
 hunting, viii, 21-2, 39, 43, 52, 55, 57, 60, 80, 85, 88, 91, 93-4, 98-9, 104, 151-2, 154-5, 157-8, 160, 164-8, 170, 172-3, 175-6, 212, 217-18, 239, 241-4, 337, 345-6  
 hunting rituals, 21  
 Hüseyindede Tepe, 150  
 Ḥuṭay'ah, Jarwal b. Aws, 258  
 hyena, 242  
 Hyksos, 95, 97, 150

- Ibn 'Abbās, 1, 56–8, 62–3, 155, 158, 162, 170, 204–6, 213–14, 221, 249, 255, 284–5, 288, 292, 295
- Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 288
- Ibn 'Abd Rabbih Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, 295–6
- Ibn 'Aqīl, Abū al-Wafā' 'Alī, 286
- Ibn 'Aṭīyah, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Ghālib, 216
- Ibn Abī al-'Izz, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, 301
- Ibn Abī Laylā, 258
- Ibn al-'Arabī, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, 48, 62, 305, 307
- Ibn al-'Arabī, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, 284
- Ibn al-A'tham, Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad, 310
- Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn, 213, 294, 300, 310
- Ibn al-Ḍiyā', Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, 291–2
- Ibn al-Jawzī, Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Rahmān, 218, 296
- Ibn al-Jurayj, 212
- Ibn al-Kalbī, Hishām, 7, 48, 50, 56, 59–60, 63, 162, 164, 166, 208–9, 212, 243
- Ibn al-Mubārak, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 299, 301, 312
- Ibn al-Nahḥās, Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, 297–8, 300, 304–5, 311
- Ibn al-Sarrāj, 86
- Ibn Bābawayh, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, 284, 303
- Ibn Durayd, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, 263
- Ibn Ezra Abraham ben Meir, 12–13
- Ibn Ḥajar, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, 42, 50, 57, 163–4, 252, 259, 284–5, 293, 300, 302
- Ibn Ḥamdūn, Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, 88
- Ibn Ḥibbān, Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad 297
- Ibn Hishām, 'Abd al-Malik, 41, 45, 47, 51, 53, 63, 204, 253, 261–2, 289, 300–1, 303
- Ibn Iṣḥāq, 51, 59–60, 63, 163, 217, 219, 300
- Ibn Kathīr, Ismā'il b. 'Umar, 46, 53, 56–8, 85, 163, 204–5, 213–15, 250, 255, 258, 299, 305
- Ibn Mājah, 85, 158, 222, 298
- Ibn Manzūr, Muḥammad b. Mukarram, 151, 258
- Ibn Mas'ūd, 204
- Ibn Mujāwir, Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb, 54
- Ibn Qudāmah, 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad, 44–5, 162, 285, 298
- Ibn Rushd, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, 44, 159, 241, 244
- Ibn Sa'd, Aḥmad, 45, 164, 204, 212, 214, 220, 251–3, 290, 296
- Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Faṭḥ al-Dīn, 85, 258
- Ibn Taymīyah, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, 286, 304
- Ibn 'Umar, 'Abdallāh, 3, 46–7, 53, 61, 89, 105, 157–8, 164, 172–3, 247, 255, 260, 292, 300, 311
- Ibrāhīm al-Nakhā'ī, 173
- 'Ibrī, 92
- 'Īd al-aḏḥā, vii, 61
- Idris, 205
- ifāḍah, 52, 170–3, 176, 240, 336
- iḥram, 43, 51, 160, 254
- iḥṣār, 245
- Ikaros (Failaka), 92
- 'Ikrimah, 47, 62, 255
- 'Imrān b. Ḥusayn, 42
- 'Imrānī, Yahyā b. Abī al-Khayr, 44
- Inanna, 154
- India, iv, 21, 96, 100, 102, 174, 249–50, 257
- Indo-European, 3, 21, 23, 81, 96, 98, 102–4, 219, 240, 264, 333, 335, 351
- Indo-Iranian, 96, 106
- Intichiuma, 17, 351
- Intifāḍah, 298–9, 301–2, 309
- Iran, 88, 92, 96, 102, 207
- Iraq, 92, 174, 208–9, 299, 306–7, 309–11
- Isāf and Nā'ilah, 45, 49, 243
- Isaiah 27:1, 334
- Iṣfahānī, Abū al-Faraj, 289
- Ishmael, 53, 171, 204, 206, 209, 211, 255, 290–2
- Islamic civilization, 3, 83, 85, 294, 309, 313
- Ismā'il b. Rāfi' al-Qā'ī, 214
- Israel, ix, 11, 13–16, 19, 156, 201, 203, 265, 299, 334, 346, 348–9, 351
- Israelite, 12–13, 16, 59, 84, 170, 201, 214, 287, 291, 333–4, 339, 342, 349
- i'tikāf, 54, 57–9, 210
- Jabal al-'Asāl, 153, 159
- Jabal al-Buḥaiṣ, 90
- Jabal al-'Imālah, 90
- Jabal al-Nūr, 51, 60
- Jabal al-Zanṭūr, 156
- Jabal Ithlib, 50
- Jabal Kawkab, 154, 158

- Jabal Qārah, 93, 153, 159  
 Jabal Qurmah, 153  
 Jābir b. 'Abdallāh, 43, 49, 61, 222, 247,  
     251, 298, 301  
 Jāḥiẓ, Abū 'Uthman 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Kinānī,  
     84–5, 105, 138  
 Janussan, 92  
 Jawf, 153, 155, 170  
 Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, 300  
 Jeremiah  
     6:20, 12  
     7:29, 263  
 Jerome, 6  
 Jerusalem, ix, 22, 39, 46, 58–9, 155, 173,  
     198–201, 203, 211, 224, 261, 287,  
     292, 309, 333, 347  
 Jesus, 3, 6, 201–3, 214, 217, 253, 291–2,  
     342, 347, 350  
 Jidd Hafṣ, 90  
 jihād, 312  
 Jinn blocks, 208  
 jiwār, 58, 61  
 jizya, 220  
 Ji'rānah, 42, 48  
 John 8:56, 203  
 Jordan, viii, 4, 165–6, 174, 258, 263  
 Joshua  
     10:1–3, 211  
     10:10–11, 15  
 Jubbah, viii, 153  
 Jubilees 22:24, 224  
 Judaism, vii, 39–40, 200–1, 203–4  
 Judges  
     6:25, 166  
     16:17, 262  
     20:26, 13  
     21:19, 59  
 Jurhum, 53, 209  
  
 kabash, 214  
 Kangaroo, 9, 18  
 katam, 259–60  
 Ka'b al-Aḥbār, 290, 296  
 Ka'bah, 3, 22, 40, 42–3, 45–9, 51–4, 56–62,  
     89, 155–6, 160, 165–6, 170–2, 200,  
     203–4, 206–8, 210–14, 216, 222–4,  
     243, 245–6, 251, 255, 260, 287–92,  
     297, 309, 313, 341, 343–4, 346–7  
 Kfar Yāsif, 168  
 Khadijah bt. Khuwaylid, 292  
 Khālid b. al-Walīd, 162, 220, 259, 263  
 Khandaq, 310  
 Khanty, 343  
 Kharj, 208  
 Khawārij, 261, 263  
 khirigsuur, 99  
 khubbā', 58–9, 209  
 king, 3, 6–7, 13, 17, 19, 59, 87–9, 95–7,  
     100–3, 152, 154, 210, 218–19, 222,  
     224, 264, 330–3, 335, 343  
 Kirwam, 154, 165–6  
 Kisā'ī, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Aī b. Ḥamza 217  
 kites, 21, 153, 165  
 Koze, 168  
 Kristeva, Julia, 337  
 Kūfah, 86  
 Kurkh Monolith, 88  
  
 Lachish, 95  
 Laotzu, 332  
 Lāt, 7, 45, 48, 51, 57, 156, 164–7, 222  
 late antiquity, 6, 8, 81, 106, 200, 212, 240  
 Laylat al-Qadr, 52  
 Lebanon, viii, 306  
 Lecker, Michael, 309  
 Leviathan, 334  
 Lévi-Strauss, Claude, ix, 10–11, 15, 19  
 Leviticus  
     1:2, 12  
     1:3, 12  
     1:4, 13  
     1:17, 15  
     3:16, 13  
     3:17, 15  
     6:27, 15  
     9:7, 13  
     10:1–3, 15  
     11:44–45, 15  
     14:20, 13  
     16, 201, 214  
     16:24, 13  
     17:1–16, 223  
     17:3–4, 15  
     17:10–14, 15  
     18:9, 201  
     19:2, 15  
     20:7, 15  
     22:19–20, 12  
     26, 15  
     26:29, 255  
 Leviticus Rabbah, 12–13, 16  
 Liḥyānite, 55

- luakini, 342  
 Lucian of Samosata, 260  
 Luke 7:36–50, 253  
 Luqmān, 51
- Madā'in Šāliḥ, viii, 94, 156, 208  
 madhbah, 240  
 maghārah al-kunūz, 292  
 “Magnificent 19,” 298  
 Mahdī al-Qā'im, 335  
 mahr, 255–6  
 Maḥram Bilqīs, 154  
 Maimonides (Abū 'Imrān Mūsā bin Maymūn), 13, 201  
 Majannah, 56, 60  
 Makki, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī, 48  
 Mālik b. Anas, 42, 46, 49, 57, 157, 160, 164, 173, 222, 245, 249, 284, 290  
 Manāf, 53, 212  
 Manāh, 164  
 Manāt, 7–8, 45, 51, 57, 165–6, 212, 222  
 manḥar, 46, 53, 213, 222, 240  
 Marduk, 332  
 Mari, 95, 156  
 Ma'rib, 94, 152  
 Māriyah bt. Sham'ūn, 221  
 Mars, 101–2  
 martyrdom, viii, 3, 282–3, 294, 303, 306–9, 311–13, 332, 335  
 Marwah, 42, 48–9, 53, 56, 171–2, 176, 212, 222, 243  
 Mary Magdalene, 252  
 mashā'ir al-ḥarām, 169, 172  
 Mašjid al-Khayf, 291  
 Mašjid al-Nabawī, 287  
 Mašjid Ibrāhīm, 286  
 Mas'ūdī, 'Alī b. al-Ḥussayn, 290  
 Matthew  
   5:23–24, 201  
   8:4, 201  
   28:9, 253  
 Maysar, 90  
 mazbēah, 222  
 McClymond, Kathryn, 339  
 meal, 9–10, 18–20, 23, 39, 83, 89, 94, 239–40, 338, 344, 351  
 meat, 1–2, 7, 9, 13–14, 16–17, 22, 42–5, 49, 51, 55, 61, 82–6, 88, 94, 105, 157, 160, 174, 216, 223, 241–2, 244, 249, 251, 258, 265, 283, 335, 338, 340, 342–5, 351
- Mecca, vii–viii, 1–3, 7–8, 21–2, 40–53, 55–62, 82, 84, 86–7, 89, 155–6, 159–62, 164, 166, 169, 171–6, 199, 206–16, 221–2, 224, 240–1, 243, 245–6, 249, 251, 255, 259–60, 283, 285, 287–93, 297, 312–13, 341, 343, 346–7, 349  
 Medieval, 3  
 Medina, 1, 22, 47, 58, 61, 82, 87, 162, 213, 219–22, 243, 252, 259, 261, 287, 293, 297–8, 348–9  
 Mediterranean, vii, 39, 52, 94, 97–9, 106, 151, 154–5, 200  
 Melchizedek, 211  
 Melchizedek Document (11Q13), 211  
 Merzu'ah, 90  
 Mesopotamia, 12, 95–6, 166, 200, 265  
 Micah  
   1:16, 263  
 Middle East, vii, ix, 249, 311, 342, 347  
 midrash, 210  
 Mikhnaf b. Sulaym, 54  
 Minā, 1, 21, 41, 45–6, 49, 56–8, 63, 84, 86, 156–7, 160, 164, 167, 170, 172, 174, 212–14, 222–4, 240, 243, 250, 254, 258, 261, 291, 336, 341, 343, 346–7  
 Minaean, 55, 152  
 Minoan, 52, 103, 150  
 Mizpah, 13  
 Mleiha, 90–1, 93, 336  
 Mongol, 223  
 Moses, 12–14, 16, 22, 84, 163, 201–5, 213, 217–18, 291–3  
 Mount Kawkab, 56  
 mourning, 263, 287, 290  
 msgd, 49  
 Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, 305  
 Muḥammad 'Atṭā, 282  
 Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn, 253  
 Muḥammad Shams al-Ḥaqq, 293  
 Muḥaṣṣab, 172  
 Muḥassir, 172  
 Mujāhid b. Jabir, 49, 54, 62, 204, 206, 213–15, 224, 297, 303  
 Muqaddasī, 209  
 Muqātil b. Sulaymān, 216, 290, 292  
 Muzdalifah, 21, 41, 43, 47, 52, 56–9, 160, 167–74, 176, 212, 216, 240, 243, 246, 346  
 Mu'adh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūh, 300  
 Mu'amar b. 'Abdallāh, 1  
 Mu'awiyah, 87, 255

- Nabataean, 49, 94, 168, 208  
 Nabī Maṭar, 174  
 Nābulṣī, 250  
 Naḍīr, 221  
 Nahmanides (Mōsheh ben Nāḥmān), 12–13  
 nahr, 49, 157, 247  
 Nails, 22, 43, 45, 51, 160, 164, 206, 222,  
     241, 245–7, 249, 254, 258–60, 263,  
     287, 336, 340–1, 343, 351  
 Najrān, 164, 208–9  
 nakhlah, 264  
 Nakhlat al-Sha'mīyah, 169  
 Naqīl al-Shijā', 152, 165  
 Narrations, 4–7  
 Nās, Faṭḥ al-Dīn b. Sayyid, 85  
 Nawāf al-Ḥāzm, 282  
 Nawawī, Yaḥyā b. Sharaf,  
     82, 259, 285  
 Nawruz, 52  
 Nawwāf al-Takrūrī, 303, 307  
 Near East, 3, 21, 52, 81, 91, 93, 97–9, 102,  
     106, 151, 154–5, 165, 175, 211, 213,  
     222–3, 247, 249, 255, 330, 332,  
     335–6, 351  
 necropolis, 91, 93  
 Negev, 48, 167  
 New Testament, 6, 39, 201, 335  
 Nilus Ancyra, 6  
 nomadic, 14, 39, 41, 57, 80, 106, 176, 348  
 Numbers  
     6:9–12, 263  
     7:3, 12  
     11:1–3, 15  
     11:4–38, 15  
     16:27–32, 15  
     16:35, 15  
     16:49, 15  
     21:4–9, 15  
     25:9, 15  
     25:15, 12  
     31:5, 13  
 offering, 3, 6–7, 12–14, 16, 19, 21–2, 44,  
     50, 54, 61, 81, 83–4, 87, 89, 94, 106,  
     152, 154–7, 165, 168, 176, 201, 207,  
     214, 216, 223, 241–3, 246, 248, 256,  
     258, 261, 308, 310, 330–2, 338–9,  
     347, 350–1  
 Og, 217–18  
 Old Testament, 350  
 Old Testament theology, 350  
 Oman, vii, 90–2  
 onager, 153, 155, 258  
 oryx, 153–4, 159  
 Osama bin Laden, 311  
 Osmankayesi, 96  
 ostrich, 153, 242  
 pagan, 13, 20–2, 40, 46, 48–51, 53, 59–60,  
     84, 89, 150, 162–4, 171–3, 176, 211,  
     216, 243, 260, 263, 302, 336, 342,  
     346–7  
 Palestine, 7, 82, 90, 95, 198–9, 244, 299,  
     306, 308–9, 311, 347  
 Palmyra, 7, 48, 58, 94, 166,  
     174, 209  
 pastoralism, 106, 217, 265  
 penis, 101, 300  
 Pentagon, 282  
 Pesah, 260  
 Petra, 7, 94, 156, 166–8, 208, 288, 290  
 Philo, 12, 84, 333  
 Philoxenos of Mabbug, 217  
 pilgrimage, 1–3, 20, 22, 40–1, 44–7, 49,  
     51–2, 54–7, 60, 62–3, 82, 84, 86, 89,  
     93–4, 161–2, 175–6, 198, 200–1, 204,  
     211–13, 224, 240, 245–8, 250–1, 254,  
     258–62, 290–2, 295, 337, 343  
 Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer, 201, 217  
 Prajapati, 100, 331  
 Priam, 102  
 primal being, 23, 264  
 primal horde, 9  
 primordial, 3, 9, 15, 22, 100, 104, 240, 264,  
     294, 331–4, 337, 351  
 Prometheus, 84, 351  
 Psalm  
     29, 334  
     74:12–17, 334  
     89:9–12, 334  
     93, 334  
     104, 334  
     110:4, 211  
     204, 333–4  
 Qairouan, 254  
 qalada, 47  
 qalā'id, 161  
 Qaryat al-Faw, 90, 159, 166  
 Qaṣīdah, 153, 173  
 Qaṣṭallānī, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b.  
     Muḥammad, 259, 285

- Qataban, 154  
 Qatādah, 42, 49, 62, 204, 286, 302  
 Qatar, vii, 92  
 Qaws Quzah, 167  
 Qays b. Abi Hāzim, 303  
 Qays b. 'Āṣim, 260  
 Qā'idah, 309  
 qiblah, 224, 285  
 Qiṭmīṭ, 167  
 Qos, 167-9  
 qubbah, 58, 208-9, 285  
 Qudayd, 51, 164, 166, 243  
 Quran, vii, 2, 40, 57, 105, 163, 171, 175,  
     200, 203, 205-6, 241, 260, 282-3,  
     286, 310, 312, 330, 346  
     2:124, 203, 205-6  
     2:125, 206, 211, 224, 284  
     2:125-128, 212  
     2:125-129, 347  
     2:126-129, 211  
     2:128, 172  
     2:129, 206  
     2:130-140, 216  
     2:135, 204  
     2:135-137, 203  
     2:136-147, 45  
     2:158, 48, 171, 212  
     2:187, 262  
     2:195, 305  
     2:196, 47, 214, 245-6  
     2:196-200, 243  
     2:198, 56-7, 158, 169  
     2:198-199, 171  
     2:200, 172  
     2:203, 57  
     2:249-251, 304  
     2:31, 264  
     2:67-73, 214  
     3:138-142, 302  
     3:19, 204  
     3:65-68, 216  
     3:67, 204  
     3:95, 203  
     3:96-97, 347  
     4:101, 220  
     4:125, 203  
     5:11, 220  
     5:1-4, 164  
     5:2, 161, 214  
     5:3, 2  
     5:27, 214, 216, 218  
     5:27-31, 215  
     5:28, 215  
     5:29, 215  
     5:95, 43-4, 160, 241-2, 249  
     5:103, 52  
     6:103, 45, 166  
     6:138, 53  
     6:143, 214  
     6:143-144, 54  
     6:161, 204  
     6:74-87, 210, 217  
     7:31-32, 243  
     8:24-32, 176  
     10:24, 175  
     14:35-41, 347  
     14:37, 61  
     16:57, 165  
     16:120, 203  
     16:123, 204  
     17:1, 290  
     17:140, 165  
     19:41-50, 210  
     20:133, 204  
     21:51-70, 210  
     22:25, 61  
     22:26-27, 347  
     22:26-33, 213  
     22:26-38, 45  
     22:27, 344  
     22:33, 44, 46  
     22:33-37, 246  
     22:34, 172  
     22:36, 171  
     22:36-37, 243  
     22:67, 172  
     26:196, 204  
     29:16-27, 210  
     32:27, 176  
     37:83-99, 210  
     37:107, 213, 215, 224, 254, 346  
     37:149-151, 165  
     41:37, 210, 217  
     48:18, 164  
     48:25, 47-8, 214  
     53:10-18, 163  
     53:19-20, 165  
     53:20, 166  
     53:36-37, 204  
     53:37, 205  
     56:36-37, 204  
     59:66-67, 219



- 87:14-19, 205  
 87:18-19, 204  
 89:1-2, 57  
 Quraysh, 3, 57, 87, 162, 212, 216, 220, 300  
 Qurayza, 221  
 Qurṭubī, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad  
   b. Aḥmad, 305  
 Quşays, 93  
 Quşayy b. Kilāb, 211  
 Quzaḥ, 41, 52, 167-72, 212, 216
- Rabadha, 90  
 Rabī'a b. Mukaddam, 86  
 raiding, 88, 104, 106, 151, 154, 158, 175,  
   217-19, 333  
 rain, 15, 17, 154, 174-5, 295-6  
 Rajab, 40, 53-4, 56, 58, 60, 62, 87, 152,  
   246, 287, 346  
 ram, vii, 46, 49, 90, 155, 170, 200, 210,  
   213-14, 217-18, 223-4, 242, 244,  
   247, 255, 346  
 Ramaḍān, 52, 57, 60, 209, 260  
 Ras Shamra, 59, 168  
 Rashi (Rabbi Shlōmoh Yizḥaqī), 11-12, 55,  
   201  
 Rawḍa, 159  
 Raybun, 93  
 Ra's al-Hadd, 93  
 Red Sea, 4, 164, 209  
 reindeer sacrifice, 343  
 Reshef, 97  
 Rg Veda 10:90, 264  
 riding animals, 21, 81  
 ritual, 11, 13, 15-17, 19-20, 22-3, 39-40,  
   42-3, 45, 48, 50, 52-4, 56-63, 80,  
   83-4, 93-5, 98-102, 104-5, 150-60,  
   162, 164-5, 167, 169-76, 202, 206,  
   209-13, 216, 218, 224, 240-2, 244-5,  
   249, 251, 256-7, 260-3, 265, 282,  
   286-8, 297, 309, 311-13, 330, 338,  
   340-2, 344-5, 348, 351  
 ritualized, viii, 9, 20-1, 93, 101, 167, 173,  
   176, 336-7  
 Riyām, 165  
 Robertson Smith, William, vii, ix, 1, 4,  
   8-11, 15, 18, 170, 239-40, 331, 338,  
   345, 347-50  
 rock art, viii, 21, 151, 153, 158-9  
 Romans  
   4:11-12, 202  
   8:3, 201
- Rome, 8, 21, 92, 101-2, 207, 261, 309, 332  
 Romulus, 211  
 rukn, 289  
 Ruqbah, 93
- Sabaic, 55, 154, 158, 165, 170  
 sacred, 3, 8, 18-20, 43-4, 51-2, 54, 60, 84,  
   98, 160-2, 165-6, 169, 174, 199, 242,  
   245, 248, 254, 262, 290, 301, 331,  
   343-4  
 Saddam Hussein, 330  
 saddle, 104  
 Ṣafā, 42, 48-9, 53, 56, 171-2, 176, 212-13,  
   216, 243  
 Safaitic, 48, 55, 157-9, 174  
 Safouh, 93  
 Sa'īd Ibn Jubayr, 52, 57, 62, 170, 174  
 Sakakah, 263  
 Sakhāwī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd  
   al-Rahmān, 301  
 Salim b. Ka'b, 159  
 Salmān al-Fārisī, 294  
 Samson, 262  
 Samur, 161  
 sandal, 47  
 Ṣan 'ā', 165  
 Sār al-Jisr, 92  
 Saracens, 6-7  
 Sasanian, 87, 90  
 Saudi Arabia, vii, 299, 309  
 Saussure, 11  
 Seth, 205, 215, 217  
 Shabāb, 310  
 Shabwa, 94, 152  
 Shāfi'ī, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Idris,  
   83, 242, 244, 286  
 Shahr-i Qumis, 96  
 Shahwān b. 'Īsā, 85  
 Shakūrah, 91  
 Shāmī, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ṣalīḥī, 290  
 shave, 45, 164, 244, 250, 260-3  
 shaving, 45, 50-1, 157, 160, 206, 243, 245-7,  
   250, 256, 259-63, 282, 287, 341  
 Shawkānī, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, 285  
 Shawwāl, 42, 55, 58, 246  
 sha'ara, 47  
 sha 'ā'ir allāh, 171, 212  
 Sha'bān, 52  
 Shi'b 'Aql, 165  
 Shi'b Kheshiya, 93  
 Shuwaymis, 93

- Siberia, 80  
 Sidr, 156, 162-3  
 Sidr al-muntahā, 163  
 Şifīn, 335  
 Sinai, 1, 4-7, 12, 14, 48, 88, 260, 262, 289  
 skin, 1, 12, 55, 85, 224, 239, 249-50, 257, 262-3, 283, 300, 307, 330-1  
 skulls, 93, 223, 298  
 Somerset, 282  
 Song of Songs, 253  
 Sozomen, 198-9  
 spear, 62, 91, 98, 101-2, 158-61, 346, 348  
 St. Nilus, 4-5, 8-10, 19, 23, 167, 239-40, 338, 347, 350  
 storm god, 52, 158, 165-8, 170-1, 174-5, 212  
 study of religion, 1, 4, 18, 23, 331, 337  
 Subkī, Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Kāfī, 294  
 substitute, 9-11, 14, 22, 50, 57, 88, 101, 214-15, 218, 241, 249, 254, 257, 262, 265, 283, 294, 308, 331-2, 336, 339-40  
 Substitution, 11, 254  
 Suddī, 161  
 Sufi, 250, 261, 307  
 Sufyān al-Thawrī, 215  
*sukk*, 253  
 sukka, 260  
 sukkah, 59  
 Sukkōt, 260  
 Suqām, 162  
 Suyūfī, Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, 47-9, 62, 205, 255, 312  
 su'r, 252  
 sweat, 251-3  
 Syria, 8, 12, 48, 51, 55, 61, 87-8, 90, 94, 150, 153, 157, 165, 168, 170, 208, 212, 261, 263, 297  
 Syriac, 5, 7, 207-8, 217  
 Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Jarīr, 46, 52, 89, 155, 161, 164, 169, 171, 204-5, 212-16, 220, 252, 255, 295, 298  
 Ṭabarī, Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh, 157  
 Ṭabarsī, Abū al-Faḍl b. Ḥasan, 205, 213, 255  
 al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, 215  
 Tabūk, 282  
 tack, 90-1, 96, 98, 157, 258, 336, 340, 351  
 taḥannuf, 59-60, 210  
 taḥannuth, 52, 58-60  
 tamattu', 43-4  
 Tarim, 173  
 tawḥīd, 248  
 Taymā', 50, 55  
 Ṭā'if, 45, 51, 162, 164, 166, 219, 222, 243, 260-1, 347  
 Ta'lab, 165, 170  
 Tell al-'Ajjūl, 95  
 Tell al-Dab'a, 95, 150, 169  
 Tell al-Maskhūṭā, 95  
 Tell al-Rimah, 95  
 Tell al-Sweyhat, 95  
 Tell Arbid, 94  
 Tell Brak, 95  
 Tell Haror, 95  
 Tell Jemmeh, 95  
 Tell Khazneh, 92  
 Tell Mozan, 94-5  
 temple, 5-6, 17, 22, 39, 41, 49, 55, 58-9, 152, 154-6, 165, 200-1, 203, 208-9, 211, 222, 224, 262, 288, 332-3, 335, 342-3, 346, 350  
 Temple of the Obelisks, 97  
 tent, 12, 16, 50, 58-60, 106, 207-8, 212, 298, 348  
 territory, 17, 21-2, 81, 84, 89, 96, 99-102, 104, 155, 175, 224, 249, 282-3, 295-6, 298, 301-2, 306, 308, 311, 313, 330, 333, 335, 343  
 Teshub, 168  
 Thabīr, 51-2, 57-8, 156, 168, 170, 213-14  
 Thāj, 208  
 Tha'labī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, 205, 213, 215, 217, 255  
 Thamūdic, 55  
 Thawr, 51, 57, 168, 170, 213  
 Theseus, 211, 262  
 Tiamat, 332  
 Tihāmah, 49  
 Tirmidhī, Muḥammad b. 'Īsā, 55, 169, 312  
 Torah, 201-3, 205, 210, 296  
 totem, 9, 11, 17-19, 83, 105, 338, 351  
 totemism, 9-11, 15, 19, 348  
 traps, 21, 80-1  
 trident, 168  
 trophy, 151, 175, 345  
 Troy, 102  
 tumuli, 92

- Ugarit, 95, 156, 168  
 Ugaritic, 59, 168, 263, 333, 335  
 Uḥud, 222  
 'Ukāz, 56-7, 60, 162, 166, 174, 208  
 'Ulā, viii, 256  
 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 61, 284, 297  
 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 54, 221, 287, 293, 296, 302  
 Umm al-Marra, 95  
 umm al-qurrā, 294  
 Umm al-Quwayn, 92  
 Umm Salama bt. Al-Mughīrah, 221  
 Umm Sulaym, 1, 251-4, 256, 259  
 'Umrāh, 20, 40-1, 43-4, 47-9, 53-5, 61, 245-8, 287, 291, 294  
 United Airlines flight 93, 282  
 United Arab Emirates, vii  
 Upanishads, 100  
 Uqayṣir, 261  
 Uruk, 223  
 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr, 53, 162, 173, 300  
 'Uyūn al-Jawā', viii  
 'Uzzā, 6-8, 50-1, 57, 156, 162, 164-6, 168-9, 212, 222
- Vedic, 100-1, 331, 339  
 Venus, 5-6, 8, 156, 166
- Wādī al-Nār, 212  
 Wādī Bajdha, 153-4  
 Wādī Ghabr, 90  
 Wādī Nasīb, 88  
 Wādī Qāniyah, 154, 174  
 Wādī Ramm, 90  
 Wādī Wajj, 162, 164, 166, 243  
 Wahb b. Munabbih, 163-4, 209, 216, 291  
 Wāqidi, Muḥammad b. 'Umar, 45-6, 53, 63, 261, 348  
 warrior, 3, 17, 91, 97-102, 104, 151, 155, 212, 219, 224, 264, 333, 335
- weapons, vii, 21, 59, 81, 89, 91-2, 94-100, 103-4, 153, 156, 163, 168, 218, 220, 222, 262, 265, 303, 309, 336, 342  
 Wellhausen, Julius, 348  
 wergild, 2, 255, 342  
 white sheep, 7, 50  
 wife stealing, 217, 219  
 wild animals, 10, 12, 15, 21-2, 43-4, 80, 86, 99-100, 152, 154-6, 164, 167, 169, 176, 218, 241-5, 249, 295, 301, 312, 334  
 wuḍū', 83  
 wuqūf, 52, 57, 169, 171-3, 176, 240, 243, 336
- Xenophon, 152
- Yahweh, 11-16, 19, 84, 170, 201, 209, 212, 217, 223, 333-4, 347, 350  
 Yak, 106  
 Yāqūt, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥamawī, 48, 51, 156, 165, 167, 208-9, 212-13, 261  
 Yassir 'Arafat, 299, 306  
 Yayḥā b. 'Aṭā', 250  
 Yazilikaya, 168  
 Yemen, 2, 54, 89-90, 92, 155, 158, 165, 215, 222, 255, 341-2
- Zabīdī, Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī, 86, 262  
 Zagmuk, 52  
 zakāt, 83  
 Zamakhsharī, Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar, 216  
 Zamzam, 52, 176, 212, 290, 292  
 Zechariah, 12:11, 263  
 Zeus, 351  
 Zimri-Lim, 95, 156  
 Zufār, 244

