

THE GREAT PILGRIMAGE OF MUḤAMMAD: SOME NOTES ON SŪRA IX

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The third verse of Sūra IX of the Qur'ān speaks of "the great pilgrimage", during which a certain proclamation (*adhān*) was to be made to the people on behalf of Allāh and His apostle. Various verses of Sūra IX are regarded in Muslim tradition as a part of that proclamation.¹ R. Bell, in his article "Muḥammad's pilgrimage proclamation",² maintains that "the *adhān* was intended to be proclaimed at the pilgrimage of the year VIII",³ that is to say, shortly after the submission of Mecca. In Bell's view, the *adhān* is mainly a "warning to the Meccans as to the consequences of any attempt to break their oaths", and a "reminder to the newly converted Meccans that the acceptance of Islam involved duties as well as advantages".⁴

Bell's observations do not seem to have much support in the vast material preserved in the compilations of *tafsīr*, *sīra* and *hadīth*. In the present paper, an examination of this material is undertaken, with the hope that this will help in gaining a better understanding of some passages in Sūra IX, and hence also of a crucial phase in the history of early Islam.

Verse 3 of Sūra IX reads:!

And a proclamation from Allāh and His messenger to the people [to be made] on the day of the great pilgrimage, that Allāh is clear of the

¹ Traditions vary as to the exact number of verses in our sūra which actually belong in this proclamation. The numbers given are 10, 13, 28, 30, 40. See e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Būlāq 1323/1905, repr. Beirut 1972, x, 49; al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Beirut 1961, x, 9; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl*, Cairo 1385/1966, II, 172; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo 1314/1896, repr. Beirut n.d., III, 209; Ibn Hajar al-Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī, sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Būlāq 1301/1883, repr. Beirut n.d., VIII, 240.

² *JRAS* (1927), 233-44.

³ *Ibid.*, 241.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 238-9.

musbrikūn, and also His messenger. If you repent, it is better for you. But if you turn your backs, then know that you cannot frustrate Allāh. Inform those who disbelieve of a painful punishment.

The phrase *al-ḥajj al-akbar* ("the great pilgrimage"), during which the *adhān* was to be made, is crucial for the understanding of this proclamation. Grimme⁵ maintained that this was the title Muḥammad had given his expedition to Mecca (8/630). This explanation was quite rightly rejected by Bell, who pointed out that Muḥammad's expedition to Mecca had not been a *ḥajj*.⁶ Bell's own view seems to be that *al-ḥajj al-akbar* stands for the first pilgrimage performed after the conquest of Mecca (see above). Bell, however, does not explain why this particular *ḥajj* should be labelled as *akbar*. The weak point in the identification of *al-ḥajj al-akbar* with the pilgrimage of 8/630 is that Muḥammad himself did not participate in it.⁷ It seems that Bell was aware of this fact, for which he supplies the somewhat doubtful explanation that the actual arrangements for the *adhān* had already been made by Muḥammad himself, a month earlier, after the battle of Hunayn, when he made a hurried visit to Mecca in the month of Dhū l-Qa'da, ostensibly to perform the *'umra*.⁸

R. Paret⁹ refrains from deciding which particular *ḥajj* is meant by our *al-ḥajj al-akbar*. Confining himself to explaining the meaning of *akbar*, he suggests that the "great" pilgrimage be regarded as opposed to "minor" pilgrimage, the former standing for the *ḥajj* proper, the latter for the *'umra*. The *'umra*, it is true, is labelled quite often as *ḥajj asghar*, but this indicates only the relation of *'umra* to *ḥajj*, leaving veiled the meaning of

⁵ H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, Münster 1892, 1, 128.

⁶ Bell, *art. cit.*, 235. But curiously enough, the year of the conquest of Mecca is really said to have been labelled by Muḥammad as *'am al-ḥajj al-akbar*. See al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 211 (from al-Ṭabarānī).

⁷ The leader of this *ḥajj* was 'Attāb b. Asīd. See e.g. Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawīyya*, ed. al-Saqqā, al-Abyārī, Shalabī (I-IV), repr. Beirut 1971, IV, 144; al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. J. M. B. Jones, London 1966, III, 959-60; al-Azraqī, *Akhhār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, repr. n.p., n.d., 127-8. According to 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, however, the leader was Abū Bakr. See e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa-l-mulūk*, Cairo 1939, II, 353. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, VIII, 65, 242; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīm*, repr. Dār al-Fikr n.d., III, 332; al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ 'alā l-mawābīb al-ladunīyya li-l-Qastallānī*, Cairo 1329/1911, repr., Beirut n.d., III, 94.

⁸ Bell, *art. cit.*, 239.

⁹ R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar und Konkordanz*, Stuttgart 1971, 195.

our particular *al-ḥajj al-akbar*. The fact that this phrase is quite unique, appearing only once in the Qur'ān, in contrast to the more current *al-ḥajj*, indicates that the former must have an altogether different meaning, other than just *ḥajj* proper.

The clue to the true meaning of *al-ḥajj al-akbar* seems to have been preserved in a most instructive tradition, recorded by al-Ṭabarī on the authority of Hammād b. Salama (d. 167/789¹⁰), who had it from 'Alī b. Zayd b. Jud'ān (d. 131/748¹¹), who had it from 'Abdallāh b. al-Hārith b. Nawfal (d. 84/702¹²). He said: "the day of *al-ḥajj al-akbar* was the farewell pilgrimage (*ḥajjat al-wadā'*), during which the *ḥajj* of the Muslims coincided with the *ḥajj* of the Christians and the Jews".¹³ A further tradition, quoted from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110/729¹⁴) by his disciple 'Abdallāh b. 'Awn (d. 151/766¹⁵), says that *yawm al-ḥajj al-akbar* was a day in which the *ḥajj* of the apostle of Allāh occurred simultaneously with the *ḥajj* of the Bedouins.¹⁶ Ibn Mardawayh recorded a further tradition on the authority of the *ṣaḥābī* Samura b. Jundab according to which the *yawm al-ḥajj al-akbar* was in the year during which the Muslims and the *mushrikūn* made the *ḥajj* during (the same) three days, and also the Jews and the Christians made the *ḥajj* during (the same) three days, and thus the *ḥajj* of these four communities coincided during six (successive) days.¹⁷

The conclusion to be drawn from the traditions just quoted is that *al-ḥajj al-akbar* denotes a combined pilgrimage, comprising rites of different communities, which is to be identified with the *ḥajjat al-wadā'*. This was Muḥammad's last pilgrimage, which was performed in 10/632, shortly before the Prophet's death.¹⁸

¹⁰ See on him al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-i'tidāl*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1963, I, 590 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, III, 127 ff.

¹² al-'Asqalānī, *al-Isāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1972, V, 9-10.

¹³ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, X, 54: "*yawma l-ḥajji l-akbari*": *kānat ḥajjatu l-wadā'i; ijta'ma'a fīhi ḥajju l-muslimīna wa-l-naṣārā wa-l-yahūdī*. See also al-Khāzin, *Lubāb al-ta'wīl fī ma'āni al-tanzīl*, Cairo 1317/1899, II, 241; Abū Hayyān, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, Cairo 1328/1910, V, 7.

¹⁴ F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden 1967, I, 663.

¹⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut 1960, VIII, 268.

¹⁶ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, X, 51-2: *kāna yawman wāṣaqa fīhi ḥajju rasūli llāhi (ṣ) wa-ḥajju ahli l-wabari*.

¹⁷ al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 211.

¹⁸ Ibn Hishām, IV, 248 ff.; al-Wāqidī, III, 1088 ff.; Ibn Sa'd, II, 172 ff.;

This pilgrimage was labelled as *ḥajj akbar* because it coincided with feasts of Jews and Christians, which were probably celebrated together with the Arab *ḥajj*.

Outside elements were indeed involved in the Meccan rites. This may be concluded from the mere fact that on the stone known as *maqām Ibrāhīm*, a famous place of worship in Mecca, there was an inscription written in an unidentified language. The passage in the Leiden ms. of al-Fākihī's book on Mecca, which contains a reproduction of that inscription, was first noticed by E. Osiander, who considered it to be a Ḥimyarite one.¹⁹ Later on, Dozy deciphered it as being, or perhaps only read into it, a Hebrew text.²⁰ Involvement of Christians in the Meccan rites is attested by the report that in Muḥassar, a valley near Muzdalifa and Minā, there was a special place of worship (*mawqif*) for Christians.²¹

The Judaeo-Christian feasts which corresponded to Muḥammad's *ḥajj al-wadā'* can only be Passover and Easter, because for 200 years before Muḥammad the *ḥajj* was always celebrated in spring, whereas the *'umra* occurred in autumn.²² The correspondence of the Arab *ḥajj* with spring, and hence with Passover and Easter, was the result of the introduction of the *nasi'* (intercalation) in Arabia.²³ The pre-Islamic Arabs adopted

al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, II, 401 ff.; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-atḥar*, repr. Beirut n.d., II, 272 ff.; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, repr. Beirut, 1974, V, 109 ff.; al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, ed. Ṭaha 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Sa'd, Cairo 1973, IV, 247-8; al-Zurqānī, III, 104 ff.; al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, Cairo 1320/1902, repr. Beirut n.d., III, 256 ff.; al-Khargūshī, *Sharaf al-Muṣṭafā*, ms. Br. Mus. Or. 3014, fols. 164b ff.; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Qirā li-qāṣid Umm al-Qurā*, ed. al-Saqqā, Cairo 1970, 133 ff.; Ibn Bābawayhi, *'Ilal al-sbarā'i*, Najaf 1966, 412-14.

¹⁹ ZDMG X (1856), 28-9.

²⁰ R. Dozy, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka (aus dem Holländischen übersetzt)*, Leipzig-Haarlem 1864, 155 ff., 195 ff.; Cf. M. J. Kister, in *Le Muséon* LXXXIV/3-4 (1971), 477 ff.

²¹ Muḥibb al-Dīn, *Qirā*, 155-6.

²² See especially K. Wagendonck, *Fasting in the Koran*, Leiden 1968, 123 ff. For the date of the *ḥajj al-wadā'* and the Arabian calendar cf. further A. Sprenger, "Über den Kalender der Araber vor Mohammed", ZDMG XIII (1859), 134 ff.; H. A. 'Alī "The first decade in Islam", *MW* XLIV (1954), 126 ff.; W. Hartner, *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, s.v. "Ta'rikh"; A. J. Wensinck, *EI*¹ s.v. "Ḥadjj".

²³ For this practice, see Paret, *op. cit.*, 202-3, with further references. For a clear exposition of the history of the *nasi'*, see especially al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Cairo n.d., repr. Tehran n.d., XVI, 50 ff., 55 ff.

this practice in order to regulate the operation of some of their main markets in the Meccan vicinity (in Muḥammad's time 'Ukāz, Dhū l-Majāz and Majinna),²⁴ which were open during the time when pilgrims used to come to the *hajj*.²⁵ Because of the Arabian calendar which was, and still is, a lunar one, the *hajj* was varying, in the course of time, from one season to another, which disturbed the whole commercial system. To prevent this, the *nasi'* was eventually introduced; the *hajj* was detached from its original lunar month (Dhū l-Hijja) and was attached instead to a suitable and unchangeable season, which was spring. The exact way in which the Arabs calculated the time of the *hajj* is not clear;²⁶ at any rate, due to the *nasi'*, the Arab *hajj* was occurring very close to Passover, with which, indeed, it had much in common.²⁷

The Jews, from whom the Arabs learned the *nasi'*,²⁸ were always involved in its operation. This is to be concluded from the following remarkable report which is quoted from al-Ṭabarānī by Ibn Ḥajar.²⁹ This report is about the *yawm al-'āshūrā'* which, like the Hebrew Day of Atonement, occurred in autumn, and was probably observed in Mecca in close association with the rites of the *'umra*, which occurred in autumn as well (see above).³⁰ According to al-Ṭabarānī, *yawm al-'āshūrā'* was the day on which the *kiswa* of the Ka'ba was renewed.³¹ This day would vary through (various parts) of the

²⁴ For these markets see e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, III, 472-4.

²⁵ For trade during the sacred months and the seasonal markets, see further J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², repr. Berlin 1961, 87 ff.; Kister, "Some reports concerning Mecca", *JESHO* xv (1972), 76 ff.; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history, A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132), a new interpretation*, Cambridge 1971, 3 ff.

²⁶ For the different Muslim accounts, see Sprenger, *art. cit.*, 145 ff., and further A. Moberg, *EI*¹ s.v. "Nasi'".

²⁷ E.g. Dozy, 126 ff.; J. B. Segal, "The Hebrew festivals and the calendar", *JSS* vi (1961), 81 ff. See also Moberg, *art. cit.*: "As the Jewish system served to move the feast of Pesah to a suitable season of the year, the Arab system can only have been intended to do the same for the *hadjdj* and the fairs associated with it in the vicinity of Mecca".

²⁸ E.g., al-Rāzī, xvi, 50.

²⁹ *Fath al-bārī*, IV, 215.

³⁰ For fasting in Rajab, the original month of the *'umra*, see Wagten-donck, 116 ff.; Kister, "Rajab is the month of God..." *IOS* I (1971), 199 ff.

³¹ Thus also in Islam. Mu'āwiya used to renew the *kiswa* on *yawm al-'āshūrā'* and at the end of Ramaḍān. Al-Ma'mūn used to do it on *yawm al-tarwīya*, at the beginning of Rajab, and on 27 Ramaḍān. See Muḥibb al-Dīn, *Qirā*, 516-7, 518-9.

year. Therefore they (i.e. Quraysh) used to come to a certain Jew, who would calculate for them [the proper date]. When he died, they used to come to Zayd b. Thābit and ask him [for the same].³²

A tradition of Mujāhid about the *nasī'* seems to be of some importance. According to this tradition, the Arabs used to perform the *hajj* in the same (lunar) month during two successive years only, then each third year they used to postpone the *hajj* to the next month for two years, and so on. In 9/631, when the *hajj* of Abū Bakr was carried out, the *hajj* fell in Dhū l-Qa'da. In the following year, during the *hajjat al-wadā'*, the *hajj* occurred in Dhū l-Ḥijja. This was the time when Muḥammad proclaimed in his *kuṭba* that Time has returned to its original disposition, as it had been at the moment Allāh created heaven and earth.³³ From Mujāhid's tradition it is to be concluded that when Muḥammad performed his last *hajj*, the Arab pilgrimage not only coincided with feasts of Jews and Christians but also occurred in its original lunar month of Dhū l-Ḥijja.

It remains now to elucidate the meaning of the term *yawm* in the Qur'ānic phrase *yawma l-ḥajji l-akbari*. The correct meaning of this term seems to have been preserved in a tradition which is again recorded on the authority of Mujāhid. This tradition says that *yawm al-ḥajj al-akbar* stands for "the time of the *hajj*, that is to say, all the days of the pilgrimage".³⁴ A further tradition containing Mujāhid's interpretation says that "*al-ḥajj al-akbar* are the days of Minā as a whole and the gatherings of the *mushrikūn*, when they were at [the markets of] Dhū l-Majāz, 'Ukāz and Majinna".³⁵ Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778³⁶) also

³² Zayd b. Thābit knew Hebrew as well as Syriac. See al-'Asqalānī, *Iṣāba*, II, 593-4. The report of al-Ṭabarānī indicates that the '*āsbūrā'* was observed in Mecca already before Muḥammad's *hijra*, contrary to the opinion advanced by Wensinck (*EI*², s.v. "Āshūrā"). Cf. also S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1966, 96.

³³ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, x, 93. For Mujāhid's tradition see also Sprenger, *art. cit.*, 142 ff.; J. Fück "Zu an-Nasī'", *OLZ* xxxvi (1933), 282-3. See further Ibn Sa'd, II, 186-7; al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li-ahkām al-Qur'ān*, Cairo 1967, VIII, 137; al-Ṭabarsī, x, 60; al-Rāzī, xvi, 57; al-Khāzin, II, 265; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 237; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, II, 354, 357.

³⁴ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, x, 53 (from Ibn Abī Najīh and Ibn Jurayj). See also Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, Islamabad n.d., I, 272-3.

³⁵ al-Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*

³⁶ Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 518.

considered the phrase *yawm al-ḥajj al-akbar* as signifying the whole time of the *ḥajj*. He said that this expression was like *yawm al-jamal* and *yawm Šiffīn*, i.e. its period as a whole.³⁷

II

The “great pilgrimage” was the time for the *adhān*. Its main object was to sever the ancient relations between the Meccan rites and foreign culture and to establish a new system of ceremonials, based on Islam alone.

According to verse 3, the *adhān* consists mainly of the declaration that Allāh is *barī'un mina l-mushrikīn*. The phrase *barī'un min* denotes in the present context a breaking of relations, or rather, withdrawal of protection.³⁸ The protection of God which is hereby declared withdrawn from the *mushrikūn* is the ancient sacredness of the holy months (Rajab, Dhū l-Qa'da, Dhū l-Ḥijja and Muḥarram), which, in Jāhilī times, had provided all people, of whatever faith,³⁹ with total protection on their way to and from the *ḥaram* of Mecca. The prohibition of bloodshed during these months was adopted at a time by the Qur'ān (V, 2), and it was permitted to violate it only in case of self defence (II, 191, 217). But the *adhān* of our sūra brings it to an end. Security will be based, from now on, on Islam and not on *iḥrām*.

In some further verses of our sūra, this is stated in explicit terms. Verse 28, which seems to form an integral part of the deliverance with which we are concerned here,⁴⁰ reads:

Oh those who believe, the *mushrikūn* are none but impure, therefore they should not approach the sacred mosque after this year of theirs ...

The wording of this verse, which according to Qatāda (d. 118/736⁴¹) was delivered during *ḥajjat al-wadā'*,⁴² is reflected in the

³⁷ al-Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*

³⁸ E.g. Ibn Sa'd, I, 270: *wa-dhimmatu Muḥammadin barī'atun mimman 'aṣābu*, and 288: *wa-dhimmatī minhu barī'atun*. See also Qur'ān VIII, 48.

³⁹ See e.g. Wellhausen, 87: “Wer wollte aus jedem Stamme, konte kommen; auch Christen waren nicht ausgeschlossen”.

⁴⁰ See e.g. Mujāhid, *Tafsīr*, I, 276: *fa-bādbihi l-āyatu ma'a awwali barā'a fī-l-qirā'a*, *wa-ma'a ākhirihā fī-l-ta'wīli*, and also al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, X, 76; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 227.

⁴¹ Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 31.

⁴² al-Qurṭubī, VIII, 106; Abū Ḥayyān, V, 28. See also al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār*

announcement said to have been made by Muḥammad. The *ṣaḥābī* Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī related that Muḥammad had proclaimed that "No-one will enter paradise except a Muslim, and no naked man will perform the *tawāf*, and no *musbrīk* will approach the sacred mosque, when this year is over. Whoever has been given a respite⁴³ by the Prophet, his respite [shall be fulfilled] to [the end of] his allotted period".⁴⁴ According to another version, related on the authority of the *ṣaḥābī* Jābir b. 'Abdallāh, the Prophet declared that "No *musbrīk* will ever enter the sacred mosque after this year of mine, except for those who have treaties and your slaves".⁴⁵

Two further verses in our sūra permit access to the holy sanctuaries to Muslims only. The verses (17-18) read:

17. It is not for *musbrīkūn* to dwell in the mosques of Allāh while they bear witness against themselves to their own disbelief...
18. He only shall dwell in the mosques of Allāh who believes in Allāh and in the Last Day, and performs the *ṣalāt* and gives the *ṣakāt*...

The *musbrīkūn* who are mentioned in verse 17 are said to be Christians, Jews, Ṣābi'ūn and Arab polytheists. Traditions to this effect are recorded by al-Ṭabarī on the authority of al-Suddī.⁴⁶

That the verses quoted thus far indeed abrogate the ancient sacredness of the holy months is stated in traditions recorded by al-Ṭabarī on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās and Qatāda.⁴⁷ Henceforth it became lawful to wage war and kill all non-Muslims who approached the Ka'ba, even in the sacred months.⁴⁸

al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl, Cairo 1955, I, 196. But cf. differently Kister, "Some reports concerning Mecca", 78-9.

⁴³ See verses 2 and 4 in our sūra.

⁴⁴ al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 227 (from Ibn Mardawayhi): ... *lā yadkhulu l-jannata illā nafsun muslimatun, wa-lā yaṭūfu bi-l-bayti 'uryānu wa-lā yaqrabu l-masjida l-ḥarāma musbrīkun ba'da 'āmihim hādhā, wa-man kāna baynahu wa-bayna rasūli llāhi (ṣ) ajalun, fa-ajaluhu muddatuhu*.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 226 (from Ahmad): *lā yadkhulu l-masjida l-ḥarāma musbrīkun ba'da 'āmi hādhā abadan illā ablu l-'abdi wa-khadamukum*. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, II, 346; al-Qurṭubī, VIII, 106.

⁴⁶ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, X, 66. For Jews and Christians being labelled as *musbrīkūn*, see further al-Wāqidī, I, 215 (Jews); al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1958, III, 242 (*banū l-asfari*, i.e. Byzantines).

⁴⁷ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, VI, 40 (on V, 2). See also al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, II, 254; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, II, 5.

⁴⁸ Already before the proclamation of the *adbān*, Muḥammad himself had stopped observing the sacredness of the holy months. He reportedly attacked

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A further verse in our sūra, which is said to have abrogated the sacredness of the holy months, is 36b:

... and fight the *mushrikūn* totally as they fight you totally ...

According to Sufyān al-Thawrī, Qatāda, 'Aṭā' al-Khurāsānī (d. 135/757⁴⁹) and al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742⁵⁰), this verse means the abolition of the sacred months, and makes it lawful to shed the blood of non-believers at any time.⁵¹

That on the *ḥajj al wadā'* the *mushrikūn* were prohibited from entering the Meccan *ḥaram* is suggested also in some traditions concerning a passage outside our sūra and which is said to have been revealed on the same occasion. Sūra V, 3 reads:

Today I have perfected your *dīn* for you and fulfilled my favour upon you; and I am satisfied with Islam as your *dīn*.

According to Qatāda, this verse was revealed on the day of 'Arafa, when Allāh expelled the *mushrikūn* from the sacred mosque and purified for the Muslims their *ḥajj*.⁵² According to Sa'id b. Jubayr (d. 95/714⁵³), this verse denotes the accomplishment of the *ḥajj* and the expulsion of the *mushrikūn* from the House (i.e. the Ka'ba).⁵⁴ This verse, which is said to have been revealed on *yawm al-ḥajj al-akbar*,⁵⁵ is considered as the last deliverance of Muḥammad regarding *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām*.⁵⁶

The proclamation of the *adhān* brings the idea of *jihād* against non-Muslims to its utmost extremity.⁵⁷ Henceforth,

the Hawāzin at Hunayn and besieged al-Tā'if during Shawwāl and Dhū l-Qa'da. See, for instance, al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 206 (on II, 217), and also al-Khāzin, II, 264; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, II, 355-6; al-Bayḍāwī, I, 197; al-Qurṭubī, VIII, 134. Some problems regarding the observation of the sacred months had risen already in 2/624 in connection with the incident of Nakhla. For this affair, see for instance F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, tr. H. H. Schaefer, Heidelberg 1961, 236 ff., and also Sprenger, *art. cit.*, 143-4.

⁴⁹ Sezgin, *GAŚ*, I, 33.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 280.

⁵¹ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 206 (on II, 217). Cf. *ibid.*, VI, 40 (on V, 2). See also al-Khāzin, II, 264; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 252.

⁵² al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, VI, 52: ... *ḥīna nafū llāhu l-mushrikīna 'ani l-masjidi l-ḥarāmi wa-akblaṣa li-l-muslimīna ḥajjabum*.

⁵³ Sezgin, *GAŚ*, I, 28.

⁵⁴ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, VI, 52: *tamāmu l-ḥajji wa-nafyu l-mushrikīna 'ani l-bayti*. See also al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, II, 258.

⁵⁵ al-Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*; al-Suyūṭī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, II, 13.

⁵⁶ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, VI, 51. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, II, 12.

⁵⁷ For the development of this idea, see e.g. E. Tyan, *EI*², s.v. "Djihād".

non-Muslims should be fought just because of their disbelief, irrespective of time, territory or their actual attitude towards the Muslims. The fact that this principle of total war was established by MuḤammad during the *hajjat al-wadā'* is reaffirmed by al-Wāqidi,⁵⁸ who reports that MuḤammad, during that pilgrimage, made the following statement:

I am ordered to fight the people till they say "There is no God but Allāh". And on saying it, they render inviolable their blood and property. And it is up to Allāh to make their account.⁵⁹

This statement, although belonging to *ḥadīth* material of later times,⁶⁰ nevertheless fits in with the evidence of the above Qur'ānic passages, from which it is to be concluded that MuḤammad, shortly before his death, declared that war should be made on all non-Muslims till they embraced Islam.

The principles put forward by the *adhān* for the attitude towards non-Muslims were received by certain scholars of early Islam with some reserve. 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114/732), for instance, held that the sacredness of the holy months was never abrogated by the Qur'ān.⁶¹ Likewise, it was contended that the prohibition of non-Muslims from approaching the Meccan sanctuary had never been a total one. Some scholars like Abū Ḥanīfa held that Jews and Christians may be allowed into Muslim mosques, and even into the one at Mecca.⁶² The idea of total war against all non-Muslims was modified already in the Qur'ān itself; verse 29 of our Sūra, a well-known one, grants the *ahl al-kitāb*, i.e. Jews, Christians as well as Persians, the choice of paying the *jizya*. In the same manner, the above proclamation of MuḤammad about combatting the people till they professed

⁵⁸ III, 1113.

⁵⁹ For this tradition, cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, 13-14. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 113; al-Bukhārī, I, 13, 108-9, II, 131, IX, 19; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1334/1915, I, 36-9. Further references in Wensinck, *Handbook*, 238 (s.v. "Unity"), 246 (s.v. "War").

⁶⁰ Wensinck, *Muslim creed*, 14. Cf. also Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des Islamischen Gesetzes*, Leiden-Leipzig 1910, 338.

⁶¹ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 206. See also Tyan, *art. cit.*

⁶² For these problems, see e.g. al-Qurṭubī, VIII, 103 ff.; Abū Ḥayyān, V, 28; al-Zamakhsharī, II, 183-4. This opinion is reflected in some further versions of the above statement of MuḤammad: ... *fa-lā yaqrabū l-masjida l-ḥarāma ba'da 'āmibim ḥāḍir illā an yakūna 'abdan aw aḥadan min abli l-dhimmati*. (al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 226), alternatively ... *ba'da 'āmibim dhālika, illā ṣāḥibu l-jizyati aw 'abdu rajulin mina l-muslimīna* (*ibid.*, 227).

the faith could be applied to polytheists only, to the exclusion of Jews, Christians, and especially those Arabs who had embraced Islam but refrained from paying *zakāt* during the *ridda*.⁶³

III

The proceedings taken by Muḥammad during the *hajjat al-wadā'* were designed not only to expel all non-Muslims from the system of the *hajj* and the sacred months but also to cut off all relations which the *hajj* had had with Judaeo-Christian feasts; Muḥammad strove to establish a new coherent system for the *hajj*, in fact, a new *hajj akbar*.

The most decisive step taken for that object was the abolition of the *nasī'*. Verse 37 of our sūra reads:

The *nasī'* is just an addition in disbelief ...

The direct effect of the abolition of the *nasī'*, for which western scholars have tried to give various explanations,⁶⁴ was that the *hajj* no longer adhered to Passover and Easter. In fact, some traditions claim that Muḥammad's farewell pilgrimage was the only *hajj* which coincided with feasts of Jews and Christians; "this had neither happened before, since the creation of the world, nor afterwards, till the day of resurrection",⁶⁵ After the *hajjat al-wadā'*, the pilgrimage was to occur always in Dhū l-Hijja,

⁶³ Such was the attitude of Shī'īs who opposed Abū Bakr's wars against the people of the *ridda*. As against this attitude, there appeared further versions of the same statement, stressing that performance of *ṣalāt* and payment of *zakāt* are also obligatory. For these problems, see Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-bārī*, xii, 243 ff.; al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, on the margin of al-Qaṣṣallānī's *Irshād al-sārī*, Būlāq 1340/1886, i, 257 ff.

⁶⁴ Sprenger (*art. cit.*, 144) suggested that Muḥammad intended to separate the *hajj* and the sacred months from the season of trade in order to turn the tradesmen into a nation of warriors who would live on the *jizya*. W. M. Watt (*Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 300), says that "As reason for the prohibition of intercalation, there are two main possibilities. The method of settling when a month was to be intercalated may have been connected with paganism in some way of which we are not aware; it was certainly linked with the observance of the sacred months. Or else there may have been a risk that the uncertainty about which months were sacred would cause disputes and endanger the *Pax Islamica*". See further Buhl, 350-1; Bell, *art. cit.*, 242, and cf. J. Wansbrough, *The sectarian milieu*, Oxford 1978, 47-8.

⁶⁵ al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, iii, 211. Cf. also al-Zamakhsharī, ii, 173; Abū Ḥayyān, v, 7; al-Khāzin, ii, 241.

irrespective of the season.⁶⁶ As public security was based on Islam instead of on *ibrām*, merchants could proceed to the seasonal markets even without the protection of the *hajj* time. Once the *nasī'* was abolished and the *hajj* affixed to Dhū l-Hijja, the doubts as to when the pilgrimage was to be celebrated were removed,⁶⁷ and the Muslims could thus dispense with the assistance of Jews in calculating their calendar. It is most instructive that about this same time, Muḥammad also changed the date of the 'Āshūrā', which had been fixed according to the Jewish calendar (see above). According to Ibn Ḥajar, Muḥammad used to follow the *ahl al-kitāb* in everything for which he had not received a special decree from Allāh, and especially when this was opposed to the practices of the polytheists. When Mecca was conquered and Islam became widespread, Muḥammad wished to oppose the *ahl al-kitāb* as well; he therefore ordered a change in the time of the 'Āshūrā' fasting.⁶⁸

As a matter of fact, Muḥammad's attempts to separate the Muslim feasts from Passover and Easter did not meet with complete success. In the Middle Ages, Muslims used to participate in the celebrations of the "great" Saturday which preceded Easter.⁶⁹ This seems to be a reflection of the old link between the feasts of Easter and Passover and the Arab *hajj*, the "great" pilgrimage.

Just as Muḥammad tried to dissociate the *hajj* from spring, he also wished to detach the *'umra* from its own special season, i.e. autumn (see above), and to combine it with the *hajj*. The *'umra* consisted mainly of the *ṭawāf*, i.e. a seven-times circumambulation of the Ka'ba, a ceremony which had much in common with the ancient autumn festivals of Tabernacles.⁷⁰ The *'umra* was brought to an end, and the *ibrām* was discarded with a resumption of shaving (*halq*) and with slaughtering of animals

⁶⁶ See e.g. al-Zamakhsharī, II, 188: *wa-raja'ti l-ashburu ilā mā kānat 'alayhi wa-'āda l-hajju fī dbī l-hijjati wa-batula l-nasī'u llādhī kāna fī l-jābilyya*.

⁶⁷ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 159 ff. (on II, 197, *wa-lā jidāla fī l-hajji*). Cf. also al-Rāzī, V, 160-1.

⁶⁸ Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, IV, 212-3.

⁶⁹ See M. Sharon, "Passover or Easter, a study of an Arabic inscription from Ramla", *Arabic and Islamic studies* II (Ramat Gan 1978), pp. xxxi ff.

⁷⁰ See especially Dozy, *Israeliten*, 113 ff. For the feasts of Tabernacles in various regions and times, see Wagtendonck, 116; and further G. E. Von Grunbaum, *Muhammadan festivals*, repr. London 1976, 29.

(*nahr*), at Marwa, near the Ka'ba. In order to separate the 'umra from autumn and to incorporate it into the *hajj* (cf. Qur'an II, 196), Muḥammad ordered his companions during the *hajjat al-wadā'* to perform the *tawāf* and the *sa'y* (running between Ṣafā and Marwa), and then to terminate their *ibrām*, thus accomplishing the 'umra. This was to be followed by a resumption of *ibrām* for the rest of the *hajj*.⁷¹ This order was quite revolutionary, and Muḥammad's companions hesitated to respond. The reason for their hesitation was that in pre-Islamic times performance of the 'umra during the time of the *hajj* had been considered a grave sin.⁷²

The reason for this Jāhilī taboo is given by al-Azraqī, who reports that Quraysh allowed entrance into the markets of Ukāz, Majinna and Dhū l-Majāz only to those in a state of *ibrām* for the *hajj*.⁷³ This was, of course, essential for the security of trade. Hence it is clear that performance of the 'umra during the time of the *hajj* was entirely out of place; one could not accomplish the 'umra and put off *ibrām* without violating the security of the markets outside Mecca and the sanctity of Minā, whither pilgrims would proceed at the end of their trading. But the Prophet, who wished to substitute Islam for *ibrām*, did not consider the breaking of *ibrām* after the 'umra as a reason for its exclusion from the *hajj*. The most important thing for him was to establish a unified system out of the various seasonal rites, to be then performed in one sequence by all Muslims. The old taboos no longer counted.

⁷¹ Muslim jurists could not reach agreement on the question whether Muḥammad was performing *tamattu'* or *qirān*; or perhaps he was in a state of *ifrād*, to the exclusion of his companions who performed either *tamattu'* or *qirān*. See e.g. Ibn Hishām, IV, 248-9; al-Wāqidī, III, 1092; Ibn Sa'd, II, 173, 174-6, 187-8; Mālik, *al-Muwatta'*, in al-Suyūṭī's *Tanwīr al-ḥawālik*, *sharḥ 'alā muwatta'* Mālik, repr. Beirut 1973, I, 310 ff.; al-Bukhārī, II, 174 ff.; Muslim, IV, 27 ff., 47 ff.; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, Cairo 1952, I, 411 ff.; al-Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, in Ibn al-'Arabī al-Mālikī's *Arīḍat al-ahwādī bi-sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī*, IV, 36 ff.; al-Khargūshī, *Sharaf al-Muṣṭafā*, fols. 164b-165a; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, II, 273, 274-5; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, V, 120 ff.; Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-bārī*, III, 338 ff.; al-Ḥalabī, III, 258 ff., 263 ff.; Muḥibb al-Dīn, *Qirā*, 106 ff., 589 ff.; al-Rāzī, V, 141 ff.; and also R. Paret, *EI*¹, "'Umra".

⁷² See al-Bukhārī, II, 175: ... *kānū yarawna anna l-'umrata fī asbburi l-ḥajjī min affari l-fujūri fī l-ardī*..., and also Wellhausen, *Reste*, 84. See further Muslim, IV, 56; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 214; al-Azraqī, 132; al-Khargūshī, fol. 164b; Muḥibb al-Dīn, *Qirā*, 145, 624, and cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 151 ff.

⁷³ al-Azraqī, 132.

Indeed, Muslim sources inform us that Muḥammad combined the *hajj* and the *'umra* precisely in order to do away with old convictions. Thus it is related that Muḥammad ordered 'Ā'isha to perform the *'umra* in Dhū l-Hijja only in order to suspend the custom of the polytheists.⁷⁴ Likewise, al-Khargūshī says that "Allāh wished that the habits to which they (i.e. the Muslims) had become accustomed should be removed from their hearts, and that the *'umra* would not cease the year through".⁷⁵ Ibn Ḥajar explains as well that Muḥammad performed the *'umra* in the course of the *hajjat al-wadā'* in order to do away with the conviction of Quraysh that *'umra* should not be allowed during the months of the *hajj*. The beginning of this was at al-Ḥudaybiyya. Their *ibrām* for the *'umra* was in Dhū l-Qa'da (6/628), which belongs in the months of the *hajj*. They were in a state of fear lest a battle should start between them and the *mushrikūn*, as the latter had stopped them from approaching the House. Therefore they broke their *ibrām* [outside Mecca], and this was the first *'umra* which occurred during the months of the *hajj*. Later on, *'umrat al-qadiyya* took place, again in Dhū l-Qa'da (7/629), and then the Prophet wished to confirm it by overdoing it, so that he ordered them (sc. in the *hajjat al-wadā'*) to insert the *'umra* into the *hajj*.⁷⁶ The affiliation of the *'umra* to the rites of the pilgrimage provided the phrase *al-hajj al-akbar* with a new meaning, a purely Islamic one. According to Mujāhid, *hajj akbar* signified *qirān* (i.e. the combined performance of *hajj* and *'umra*), as opposed to *hajj asghar* which signified *ifrād* (i.e. *hajj* by itself, without *'umra*).⁷⁷

The combination of *hajj* and *'umra*, as prescribed by Muḥammad, did not become an accepted *sunna*. How could Muslims accept light-heartedly the breaking of *ibrām* before completing the rites of the *hajj*? Several prominent Muslims

⁷⁴ Abū Dāwūd, I, 458; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, III, 337; Muḥibb al-Dīn, *Qirā*, 624.

⁷⁵ al-Khargūshī, *loc. cit.*: *fa-arāda llāhu subhānahu an yuzila 'an qulūbihim mā ta'awwadūhu wa-alifūhu wa-an lā tanqatī'a l-'umratu fī kulli waqt.*

⁷⁶ Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, III, 337. A further *'umra* was performed by Muḥammad in 8/630 from al-Ji'irāna, again in Dhū l-Qa'da. On the other hand, some claimed that one or more of Muḥammad's *'umras* occurred in Shawwāl or Rajab, both sacred. For the lists of Muḥammad's *'umras* and their dates, see Mālik, I, 316; Ibn Sa'd, II, 170-2; al-Wāqidī, III, 1088; al-Azraqī, 430; al-Khargūshī, fol. 166b; Sprenger, *art. cit.*, 151 ff.; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mecque*, Paris 1923, 199.

⁷⁷ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, X, 54.

reportedly rejected this practice, or at least preferred to combine the rites without putting off *ihram* after the *sa'y*.⁷⁸ Rather, they thought it appropriate to perform the 'umra during Rajab, much in accordance with the ancient Jāhilī practice.⁷⁹ Others preferred to do it during Ramaḍān.⁸⁰ The majority of Muslim scholars claimed that the combination of these rites had been just a special prerogative (*khāssa* or *rukhsa*), for those who were with Muḥammad in his farewell pilgrimage.⁸¹

In the course of the *hajjat al-wadā'*, Muḥammad also affiliated to the pilgrimage the rites of 'Arafa (cf. Qur'ān II, 199), which had been excluded by Quraysh and the *hums* from the worship.⁸² The centre of the *hajj* for the *hums* had been Minā and Muzdalifa (Jam'), which, unlike 'Arafa, were considered part of the *haram*. In pre-Islamic times, there were frequent quarrels between the *hums* at Minā and the rest of the Arabs at 'Arafa, both claiming their own rites to be the perfect *hajj*.⁸³ The affiliation of the rites of 'Arafa to the ceremonials of the Muslim *hajj* was intended to

⁷⁸ The main opponents of the combination of *hajj* and 'umra were 'Umar (Mālik, I, 317; al-Tirmidhī, IV, 39; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, v, 135; but contrast Abū Dāwūd, I, 418), Uthmān, who was disputed in this matter by 'Alī (Mālik, I, 312; al-Bukhārī, II, 175; Muslim, IV, 46) and Mu'āwiya (Abū Dāwūd, I, 416; al-Tirmidhī, IV, 38). Tradition ascribes to Muḥammad himself the prohibition of combining the *hajj* and the 'umra (Abū Dāwūd, I, 416; Muḥibb al-Dīn, *Qirā*, 625). Likewise, it was reported that the prophet, during the *hajjat al-wadā'*, performed the *hajj* only (al-Tirmidhī, IV, 36-7; al-Ḥalabī, III, 259; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, v, 121). Those who were opposed to the combination of 'umra and *hajj* had to cope with the utterance of the prophet *dakhalatī l-'umratu fī l-hajji ilā yawmi l-qiyāmati* (al-Tirmidhī, IV, 163). They explained it as though performance of *hajj* dispenses with 'umra. Cf. Muḥibb al-Dīn, *Qirā*, 145.

⁷⁹ See e.g. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 78-9; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 194-5; Kister "Rajab is the month of God...", 219-20.

⁸⁰ E.g. Mālik, I, 319; Abū Dāwūd, I, 459-60; al-Tirmidhī, IV, 167; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 193 ff.; Paret, *art. cit.* 'Umra during Ramaḍān was even named *al-hajj al-asghar*. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, x, 54; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 212.

⁸¹ Muslim, IV, 46; Abū Dawūd, I, 420; al-Ḥalabī, III, 265; Muḥibb al-Dīn, *Qirā*, 591, 592; al-Suhaylī, IV, 247.

⁸² See e.g. al-Bukhārī, II, 199 ff.; Muslim, IV, 41, 43-4; Abū Dāwūd, I, 441, 444; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 169 ff.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, III, 411 ff.; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 226-7; Muḥibb al-Dīn, *Qirā*, 135, 147-8, 381 ff. Cf. Kister, "Mecca and Tamim", *JESHO* III (1965), 138; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 246.

⁸³ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 159; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, I, 238; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 220. It is related that in pre-Islamic times Muḥammad himself used to participate in the rites of 'Arafa, despite his being one of the *hums*. See e.g. al-Wāqidī, III, 1102; Muḥibb al-Dīn, *Qirā*, 148; Kister, *loc. cit.*

suppress the 'Arafa-Minā debate. But here again reality proved stronger. In the Islamic version of this contest, the Qur'ānic honourable title, *yawm al-ḥajj al-akbar*, has become the main focus. This phrase was dissociated from its original context, and was applied by each party to its own specific rites. Partisans of 'Arafa produced traditions ascribing to the Prophet himself the declaration that the day of 'Arafa was *yawm al-ḥajj al-akbar*,⁸⁴ whilst partisans of the Minā rites did the same for *yawm al-nahr*.⁸⁵

In conclusion, Muḥammad, during the *ḥajjat al-wadā'*, "the great pilgrimage", adopted several measures which were designed to purify the rites of the pilgrimage from Jāhili as well as from Judaeo-Christian elements and to establish a new consolidated system for all the Muslims. These steps were taken towards the end of Muḥammad's life, when, after the submission of Mecca and al-Tā'if, he could at last try and base the *ḥajj* on Islam alone.

IV

The above traditions which relate that Muḥammad's *ḥajjat al-wadā'* was "the great pilgrimage", and that on this occasion the Prophet announced the expulsion of all non-Muslims from the system of the *ḥajj* and the sacred months, are relatively rare. These traditions are outnumbered by other, more convenient traditions, in which it is suggested that the Meccan pilgrimage had been purified from all non-Muslim elements already before Muḥammad's own *ḥajj*, so that when Muḥammad himself came to the pilgrimage he did not have to mix with *mushrikūn*. Such traditions which relate that no polytheist was present in Muḥammad's last *ḥajj* were preferred in early Islam, as being

⁸⁴ E.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, x, 49-50; Ibn Hishām, iv, 252; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, 1, 222.

⁸⁵ Ibn Sa'd, ii, 183-4; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, x, 53; al-Bukhārī, ii, 217; al-Hākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak 'alā l-ṣaḥīḥayn*, Hyderabad 1342/1923, ii, 331. It was explained that this day was called *akbar* because both the *ḥums* and the *ḥilla* used to perform the *wuqūf* on that day and in the same spot, at al-Muzdalifa (Jam'). See Abū Ḥayyān, v, 7; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, viii, 242. It was also related that on *yawm al-nahr* the *ḥajj* coincided with the Judaeo-Christian feasts. See Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, ii, 354.

more in accordance with the view about Muḥammad's *īṣma*, i.e. his aversion from idolatry owing to Allāh's guidance.⁸⁶

Traditions of this new kind are initially found in some further interpretations concerning the verse *al-yawma akmaltu lakum dīnakum* which is said to have been revealed during the *hajjat al-wadā'* (see above). According to al-Sha'bī (d. 103/721⁸⁷), this verse was revealed at 'Arafa, "when all emblems of the Jāhiliyya had been demolished, and idolatry had vanished, and in that year no *mushrik* performed the *hajj* [with the Muslims]".⁸⁸ Accordingly, early Muslim scholars held that Muḥammad's *hajj* should always be called *hajjat al-Islām*.⁸⁹ Traditions to the effect that Muḥammad had taken part in the *hajj* in previous occasions as well,⁹⁰ i.e. before its purification, were rejected by some scholars of early Islam, who contended that the *hajjat al-wadā'* had been Muḥammad's one and only pilgrimage since his first revelation.⁹¹

The view that no *mushrik* took part in Muḥammad's *hajjat al-wadā'* eventually resulted in the shifting of the *adhān* from this *hajj* to an earlier one, that of 9/631, which was conducted by Abū Bakr.⁹² Several traditions say that this was *al-hajj al-akbar*,

⁸⁶ For the development of the concept of Muḥammad's *īṣma*, see e.g. T. Andrea, *Die Person Muhammads*, Upsala 1917, *passim*; H. Birkeland, *The Lord guideth*, Uppsala 1956, *passim*.

⁸⁷ Sezgin, *GAS*, 1, 277.

⁸⁸ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, vi, 52: ... *haythu hudima manāru l-jāhiliyyati wa-iddmaḥalla l-shirkū wa-lam yahijja ma'abum fī dhālika l-'āmi mushrikūn*. See also Ibn Sa'd, ii, 188; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, ii, 258. Several modern scholars as well have adopted the view that the *hajj* of Muḥammad did not include any *mushrik* at all. See especially W. Muir, *The life of Moḥammad*, ed. T. H. Weir, Edinburgh 1923, 468 ff.; Buhl, 340 ff., and also M. Hamidullah, *Le prophète de l'Islam*, Paris 1959, 179 ff.; Wensinck, *EI*², "Hadjj".

⁸⁹ al-Wāqidī, iii, 1089; Ibn Sa'd, ii, 173, 188-9.

⁹⁰ al-Bukhārī, v, 223-4; Muḥibb al-Dīn, *Qirā*, 160; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib al-Abī Ṭālib*, Najaf 1956, i, 152; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, viii, 82; al-Khargūshī, fol. 163a-163b; al-Zurqānī, iii, 105-6; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, v, 109, 110; al-Ḥalabī, iii, 256.

⁹¹ al-Wāqidī, iii, 1089; Ibn Sa'd, ii, 173, 189. Cf. al-Zurqānī, iii, 105; Sprenger, *art. cit.*, 150, and see further al-Suhaylī, iv, 77.

⁹² For Abū Bakr's *hajj*, see Ibn Hishām, iv, 188 ff.; al-Wāqidī, iii, 1076 ff.; Ibn Sa'd, ii, 168-9; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 382-3; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, v, 36 ff.; al-Zurqānī, iii, 89 ff. Sometimes it was related that the prohibition of *mushrikūn* from approaching Mecca had been proclaimed by Muḥammad even earlier, as soon as Mecca was conquered (8/630). See al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, iii, 227: *inna rasūla llābi (s) qāla 'āma l-fatḥi: "lā yadkhulu l-masjida l-ḥarāma mushrikūn wa-lā yu'addī muslimun jizyatan"*.

which coincided with the feasts of the Jews and the Christians,⁹³ and that it occurred in Dhū l-Ḥijja.⁹⁴ The person who reportedly undertook the proclamation of the *adhān* during Abū Bakr's *ḥajj* was Abū Hurayra. The following tradition was recorded by al-Bukhārī and Muslim: "Abū Bakr, during the pilgrimage which he conducted, before the *ḥajjat al-wadā'*, sent Abū Hurayra, among others, to announce on *yawm al-naḥr* that no *musbrik* would make the *ḥajj* after that year and that no naked person would perform the *ṭawāf*..."⁹⁵ An additional passage of the same tradition, as recorded by al-Bukhārī, reads: "Abū Bakr broke the treaties of the people in that year, and in the year of the *ḥajjat al-wadā'* during which the prophet made his pilgrimage, no *musbrik* performed the *ḥajj*!"⁹⁶

The passage just quoted mentions a further proclamation made by Abū Bakr himself concerning the end of the treaties of Muḥammad's allies. This is a reflection of the deliverance of the *barā'a* which is recorded in the Qur'ān in close association with the *adhān* (IX, 1 ff.). In a further tradition, the main role in announcing both the *adhān* and the *barā'a* is transferred to Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; he was reportedly ordered by Muḥammad to follow Abū Bakr and his fellow-pilgrims and to perform the task himself.⁹⁷ This tradition is recorded by al-Bukhārī.⁹⁸ Abū

⁹³ al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, x, 54 (from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī); al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 211-2.

⁹⁴ Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, VIII, 242; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 236; al-Zurqānī, III, 89.

⁹⁵ al-Bukhārī, v, 212; Muslim, IV, 106-7; Abū Dāwūd, I, 451; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, x, 52.

⁹⁶ al-Bukhārī, IV, 124: ... *fa-nabadha Abū Bakrin ilā l-nāsi fī dhālika l-āmi, fa-lam yaḥijja 'āma ḥajjati l-wadā'i llādhi ḥajja fīhi l-nabiyyu (s) musbrikun*. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, VIII, 241; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, v, 37-8; al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 211; al-Zurqānī, III, 92.

⁹⁷ Some Shī'is claimed that Muḥammad originally assigned the proclamation to Abū Bakr, then discharged him and also dismissed him from the leadership of the *ḥajj* and appointed 'Alī instead. Abū Bakr's partisans held that he was not dismissed because the proclamation had been assigned to 'Alī from the outset, the leadership of the *ḥajj* remaining always with Abū Bakr. It was further maintained that 'Alī's appointment did not signify his special virtue, as this was only the result of the old Arab practice according to which treaties had to be denounced by the person involved or by one of his blood relations. For a detailed discussion of these matters, see Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sbarḥ naḥj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1329/1911, repr. Beirut n.d. IV, 180 ff. For the various traditions, see also Ibn Bābawayhi, *ʿIlal*, 189-90. It may also be noted that, according to some traditions, the Prophet sent 'Alī to proclaim the

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Hurayra is said to have related: "Abū Bakr sent me among heralds which he sent during that pilgrimage, on *yawm al-nahr*, to announce at Minā that no *mushrik* would perform the *ḥajj* after that year and that no naked person would perform the *ṭawāf*. Meanwhile, the Prophet sent after us 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, ordering him to announce the *barā'a*. 'Alī announced with us to the people at Minā, on *yawm al-nahr*, the *barā'a*, and that no *mushrik* would perform the *ḥajj* after that year and that no naked man would perform the *ṭawāf*'. 'Alī's proclamation of the *adbān* and the *barā'a* is related in numerous additional traditions; but the study of these traditions must be left for a separate article dealing solely with the announcement of the *barā'a*.

SUMMARY

1. In some remarkable traditions, which seem to have preserved a great deal of historical truth, it is related that the Qur'ānic unique phrase *yawm al-ḥajj al-akbar* stands for Muḥammad's farewell pilgrimage (10/632), which coincided with the *ḥajj* of the Jews and the Christians.
2. The *ḥajj* of the Jews and the Christians can only be Passover and Easter, due to the fact that the *ḥajj*, in Muḥammad's days, occurred in spring.
3. The *ḥajj akbar* is therefore a series of combined spring feasts, performed jointly by various communities.
4. The *adbān* which was due to be proclaimed during the *ḥajj akbar* of 10/632 was designed to announce the end of the *jāhili* sacredness of the holy months and to expel all *mushrikūn* from the *ḥajj*. This observation is based on the following facts:
 - (a) The phrase *barī'un min* denotes withdrawal of protection.
 - (b) In numerous traditions, the proclamation of the *adbān* is associated with the prohibition of all *mushrikūn* from taking part in the *ḥajj*.
 - (c) Various verses in Sūra IX itself permit access to the Meccan *ḥaram* to Muslim pilgrims only.
5. During the farewell pilgrimage, Muḥammad also tried to create a new kind of *ḥajj akbar* which would be totally separate from foreign feasts. For this object, the following steps were taken:
 - (a) Muḥammad abolished the *nasī'* (intercalation), which was the reason why the *ḥajj*, in Muḥammad's days, and also for at least

barā'a, not during Abū Bakr's *ḥajj* but rather during 'Alī's own journey to al-Yaman, which took place shortly afterwards. See al-Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 210.

⁹⁸ al-Bukhārī, VI, 81.

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two hundred years before, occurred in spring. Due to the suspension of the *nasī'*, the *ḥajj* was detached from spring and therefore was no longer due to coincide with Passover and Easter.

- (b) The *'umra*, which was performed during autumn, was combined with the *ḥajj*, and this gave a new, purely Islamic meaning to the term *ḥajj akbar*. The rites of 'Arafa were also incorporated into the *ḥajj*; this gave rise to some further traditions identifying these rites with the Qur'ānic *yawm al-ḥajj al-akbar*. In other traditions, it is related that *yawm al-ḥajj al-akbar* stands for *yawm al-nahr*.
6. The concept of the *'isma*, which gradually developed in early Islam, gave rise to new secondary traditions in which the proclamation of the *adhān* was shifted from Muḥammad's to Abū Bakr's *ḥajj* (9/631). It could thereby be maintained that when Muḥammad consented to coming to the *ḥajj*, it was already purely Islamic.