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THE KA'BA

Aspects of its ritual functions and position in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times

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The history of the Ka'ba in pre-Islamic times, as recorded in the Arab sources, is, in many cases, related from a specific Islamic viewpoint, and formulated in a special Islamic terminology, which has, sometimes, undergone a process of adaptation and re-adaptation. But, in spite of these disadvantages of the Muslim records, which have already been noticed by western scholars,¹ one may still come across many passages which seem to reflect the authentic pre-Islamic reality of the Ka'ba. Even passages containing details which appear to be contradictory, or, inconsistent, or even legendary, are, more often than not, most revealing with respect to the history of the Ka'ba.

The present study is based upon the assumption that much of the inconsistency in the information about the Ka'ba, as recorded in our sources, is essentially the result of real changes and developments which took place in the structure, ritual functions and position of the Ka'ba in pre-Islamic times, and in the attitude of the worshippers towards this sanctuary since it became part of Muslim worship. Some of these changes and developments are studied in the present article, the outline of which is as follows:

1. The structure of the Ka'ba
2. The ritual functions of the Hijr
3. The sacredness of the Hijr in Islam
4. The Ḥaṭīm
5. The position of the Ka'ba in relation to other places of worship in Mecca.

¹ See, e.g., Hawting, "Origins", 23ff.

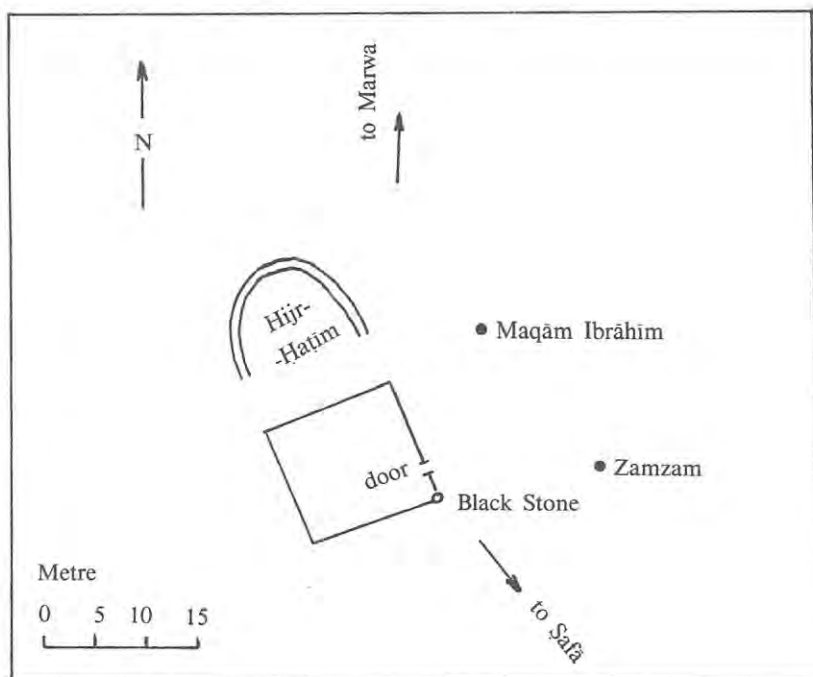


Fig.1: The Ka'ba and its surroundings

(Fig. 1 and fig. 2 have been prepared according to the groundplan of the Ḥaram in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, tr. by J.H. Monaham, Leiden 1970. Scale in metres was calculated according to map in *National Geographic Magazine* vol. 154, 1978, pp. 584-585).

1. The structure of the Ka'ba

Some Muslim sources contain instructive information concerning the original state of the Ka'ba in pre-Islamic times. Ibn Jurayj (d. 150H/767), who was born in Mecca and had an excellent knowledge of the history of his home town, relates that the Ka'ba was originally an *ʿarish* into which cattle could burst, and it remained in this condition till Quraysh built the Ka'ba, 15 years before Muḥammad's first revelation.² The

² ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 98.

term "*arish*" has a profound ritual significance. This was, in fact, the word by which the Arabs used to refer to the Tabernacle which was built in the wilderness by the Children of Israel, in the time of Moses.³ The report of Ibn Jurayj seems to imply that the Ka'ba was originally built and treated like a similar sacred tabernacle, in which the dominant element was the *kiswa*.⁴

The structure of the ancient, pre-Qurashī, Ka'ba was determined by a most crucial environmental factor – floods. These were quite frequent in that area. The rain water used to flow into the valley of the Ka'ba from the area of the Ṣafā and the Marwa (= upper Mecca).⁵ In fact, it is reported that the water used to flow down the area of Bāb Banī Shayba which is situated opposite the façade of the Ka'ba.⁶ In order to protect the Ka'ba from the damage of these floods, a barrier (*jidār*) was built near the Ka'ba at a very early period which, in order to be effective, must have been situated between the façade of the Ka'ba and the area of the Ṣafā and the Marwa. The reports about the building of the *Jidār* relate that it took place during the time of the ancient tribe of Jurhum, after the Ka'ba had been damaged by a flood which had come from upper Mecca. The builders of the *jidār* were called "al-Jadara".⁷ The barrier, which is also referred to as "*radm*", was inadequate, and according to Mūsā b. 'Uqba (d. 141H/758), it was eventually overflowed, which urged Quraysh to turn the Ka'ba itself into a massive building.⁸

A further report concerning the builders of the *jidār*, i.e., the "Jadara", was recorded by Mughulṭāy to the effect that the "Jadara" were

³ According to Muslim sources, the length of the *arish* of Moses was seven cubits and its height equalled that of Moses. See Khargūshī, 201^b. These dimensions are identical with the dimensions of the Tabernacle as recorded in Tha'labī 208. The *arish* of Moses served as the model for the mosque of the prophet in al-Madīna. See 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 154; Bayhaqī, II, 262. And see also M.J. Kister, "A booth like the booth of Moses", *BSOAS*, XXV, 1962, pp. 150 ff.

⁴ On the *kiswa* of the Ka'ba in pre-Islamic times see e.g., *Qirā*, 515 ff.; Ḥalabī, I, 173; 'Adawī, 78^b ff.; Wellhausen, 73; Von Grunebaum, 24. The original state of the Ka'ba seems to be reflected in Muslim legends relating that in Adam's time the Ka'ba was a tent (*khayma*). See e.g., Azraqī, 8, 357–358; Khargūshī, 192^b; Shāmī, I, 233–234; *Qirā*, 653; Ḥalabī, I, 149 ff.; Von Grunebaum, 19.

⁵ For the boundaries of upper Mecca see Azraqī, 477, 478 ff.

⁶ Azraqī, 275.

⁷ See Shāmī, I, 192; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, I, 53–54; Suhaylī, I, 128; 'Adawī, 76^b. And cf. Azraqī, 48; *Aghānī*, XIII, 109; Ibn Hishām, I, 109; Ya'qubī, I, 204.

⁸ Bayhaqī I, 331; Kalā'ī, I, 267; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, I, 51–52; Zurqānī, I, 203; Ḥalabī, I, 141.

thus named because they had built the "Hijr" which was part of the House.⁹ This report indicates that the *jidār* formed part of something known as "Hijr", which was regarded as an integral part of the Ka'ba. The term "Hijr" refers nowadays to a semi-circular open air enclosure situated opposite the north-western wall of the Ka'ba (see fig. 1), and it is indeed regarded as an integral part of the Ka'ba. The report of Mughultāy must, therefore, refer to a similar enclosure which, however, lay between the *jidār* and the façade of the Ka'ba, and was likewise called "Hijr". In fact, there is evidence in Muslim sources that the enclosure to which the term "Hijr" was originally applied was indeed situated opposite the front wall of the Ka'ba, i.e., in the area where the Black Stone, Maqām Ibrāhīm and Zamzam are found.¹⁰ In several early verses recorded on the authority of pre-Islamic composers, the Hijr is located in precisely this area. One of these verses mentions women lamenting the death of 'Abdallāh b. Jud'ān, "between Zamzam and the Hijr."¹¹ More current are the verses composed by a man of Zubayd who, in pre-Islamic times, came to Mecca in order to perform the 'Umra, and his merchandise was taken from him unjustly by one of the Meccans. The Zubaydī ascended the mountain of Abū Qubays and recited some verses in which he asked for the help of Quraysh. He stated that he had been cheated *bayna l-hijri wa-l-ḥajarī*, i.e., between the Hijr and the Black Stone.¹² In another version of the same verse, this event is set "between the Maqām, the Rukn, and the (Black) stone" (*bayna l-maqāmi wa-bayna l-rukni wa-l-ḥajarī*).¹³

Another instructive report concerning the original structure of the Ka'ba has been recorded on the authority of Ma'mar b. Rāshid (d. 154H/770). It runs as follows:¹⁴

⁹ Mughultāy, 54b: *wa-'inda Ibn Mākūlā: "summū 'l-Jadara' li-annahum banaw l-Hijra wa-huwa mina l-bayt.*

¹⁰ It follows that there is not much ground to Luling's view (p. 132 ff.) according to which the Hijr was originally a Christian apse situated on the north-western side of the Ka'ba, being directed towards Jerusalem.

¹¹ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 173.

¹² E.g., *Aghānī*, XVI, 65; *Kalā'ī*, I, 146; *Khargūshī*, 183a; *ʿIsāmī*, I, 190; *Suhaylī*, I, 156; *Nahj*, III, 472; *Ibn Kathīr*, II, 291.

¹³ *Aghānī*, XVI, 64, l. 4 from bottom.

¹⁴ *Fath al-bārī*, III, 350; *ʿAbd al-Razzāq*, V, 102. See also *Ḥalabī*, I, 159; *Zurqānī*, I, 205; *ʿAdawī*, 60b. And cf. further *ʿIsāmī*, I, 167; *Ibn Hishām*, I, 205; *Bayhaqī*, I, 328; *Ṭabarī*, *Tārīkh*, II, 37; *Azraqī*, 104, 106.

The Ka'ba was built in the Jāhiliyya with loose stones (*radm*), without clay. Its height was such that young goats could burst into it. It had no roof, and its clothes (*thiyāb*, i.e., the *kiswa*) were merely laid upon it, hanging down. . . It had two corners, like this ring: □

This report seems to provide a further indication that the enclosure between the *jidār* and the Ka'ba, i.e., the semi-circular *Hijr*, was an integral part of the sanctuary, so that both the *Hijr* and the Ka'ba formed one unit, being a sacred ring-like enclosure, made of loose stones and covered with the *kiswa*.

The next stage in the history of the structure of the Ka'ba was only a few years before Muḥammad's first revelation, when the ancient *ʿarīsh* was turned into a permanent roofed structure.¹⁵ The exact date of the foundation of this structure is not clear,¹⁶ but, at any rate, it is related that the timber for it was taken from the ship of a Byzantine merchant named Bāqūm which had been cast ashore near Jedda.¹⁷ According to al-Fākihī, Bāqūm agreed to deliver the timber to Quraysh on condition that they transported his merchandise to Syria with their trade caravan.¹⁸ Another tradition relates that Quraysh agreed that the people of the ship would sell their merchandise in Mecca itself, without paying the usual taxes which Quraysh used to collect from Byzantine tradesmen.¹⁹ Other reports maintain that the ship was carrying marble, timber and iron from

¹⁵ Lüling (p. 140 ff.) maintains that already before Quraysh the Ka'ba was a permanent, roofed building. This assumption is not borne out by the sources.

¹⁶ It is reported that the Ka'ba was built 5 or 15 years before Muḥammad's first revelation. Muḥammad's age is said to have been 15, 25, 30 or 35. See Bayhaqī, I, 334; ʿAbd al-Razzaq, V, 98, 103; *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 351; Mughulṭāy, 97^a; Ibn Hishām, I, 204; Nahravālī, 52; Ḥalabī, I, 141; Zurqānī, I, 203. According to al-Bayhaqī (I, 331), the Ka'ba was built 15 years after the Fijār. It is also reported that the building of the Ka'ba took place 25 years after the Year of the Elephant (Mughulṭāy, 97^a). According to al-Zubayr b. Bakkar (fol. 129^b), it took place 55 years after the Elephant, and 15 years before the Hijra. An earlier construction is reported to have been made in the days of Quṣayy. See Shāmī, I, 192; Nahravālī, 43-44; ʿAdawī, 76^b; ʿIṣāmī, I, 162; Zurqānī, I, 206; Ḥalabī, I, 162. In some early verses it is stated that Jurhum participated with Quraysh in the building of the Ka'ba. See Zuhayr, *Muʿallaqa*, 16; Aʿshā Maymūn, *Diwān*, ed. M.M. Husayn, Beirut n.d., p. 161 (XV, 44). One tradition reports that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib as well carried out some construction work in the Ka'ba. See Zurqānī, I, 206. It is also reported that one of the names of the Ka'ba was "*banīyyat Abī Ṭālib*" (ʿAdawī, 81b).

¹⁷ Ibn Hishām, I, 205; Ibn Saʿd, I, 145; ʿAbd al-Razzaq, V, 102; Azraqī, 104-105, 107; Zurqānī, I, 204; Suhaylī, I, 225. See further *ET*², s.v. "Ka'ba"; Lüling, 145.

¹⁸ *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 351 (from al-Fākihī).

¹⁹ ʿAdawī, 61^a.

biyyat

Byzantium for the restoration of a church in Abyssinia, which had been burnt by the Persians.²⁰ A unique report recorded by Ibn Ḥajar relates that Quraysh asked Bāqūm (who is reported to have been an architect or a carpenter) to build the Ka'ba for them, "on the model of churches" (*ʿalā bunyān al-kanā'is*).²¹ According to another version, they asked him to build the Ka'ba on the Syrian model (*bunyān al-Shām*).²²

These reports indicate that the new building of the Ka'ba was inspired by certain Christian models, but it may be supposed that this applied to the inner decoration rather than to the structure of the building. We know that the interior of the Ka'ba was decorated with the images of some prophets, angels, and trees,²³ as well as with the images of Jesus and Maria. On the conquest of Mecca, the prophet himself ordered to leave the images of Jesus and Maria untouched,²⁴ and in the days of ʿAṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ (d. 114H/732) these images were still in existence.²⁵ The roofed building of the Ka'ba as constructed by Quraysh seems to have been of a square shape, not including the semi-circular space called Ḥijr, which was left out, opposite the façade of the new building. In fact, it is related that Quraysh were unable to finance the construction of the Ḥijr as a section of the Ka'ba.²⁶

The next stage in the history of the Ka'ba was in the days of ʿAbdalāh b. al-Zubayr. In the year 65H/684 he rebuilt the Ka'ba after it had been damaged in the recent battles with the Umayyads. Ibn al-Zubayr made some changes in the structure of the Ka'ba, the most notable of which was the extension of the building on its north-western side, where the area known nowadays as "Ḥijr" is situated.²⁷ In so doing, he relied

²⁰ Ḥalabī, I, 143; Nahrawālī, 50.

²¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, I, 266. See also Zurqānī, I, 203; Ḥalabī, I, 144.

²² Azraqī, 114; Lūling, 145.

²³ Azraqī, 110-111; ʿIṣāmī, I, 166; ʿAdawī, 64^b.

²⁴ Azraqī, 113: *...fa-amara rasūlu llāhi (s) an yamḥū tilka l-ṣuwara illā mā kāna min ṣūratī ʿĪsā wa-Maryam*. See also ʿAdawī, 64^b-65^a.

²⁵ Azraqī, 111-112. Lūling (p. 130) states that the images of Jesus and Maria were erased by Muḥammad's order on the conquest of Mecca, together with the rest of the pagan images. This statement is based upon a mis-interpretation of the Arabic text of al-Azraqī.

²⁶ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 104, 129, 131; Kalāʿī, I, 115; ʿAdawī, 63^a; Nahrawālī, 82; Azraqī, 105, 109, 115, 142; Ḥalabī, I, 144.

²⁷ Lūling's postulate is that the Ḥijr always formed part of the roofed Ka'ba, i.e., also before Ibn al-Zubayr. He bases his view (pp. 156-157) upon a passage in Azraqī 137, in which he believes to find a statement that the ancient Ḥijr was destroyed together with the rest of the

upon a tradition of the prophet favouring such a proceeding. This section was later demolished by al-Ḥajjāj (74H/693), who restored the Ka'ba to its pre-Zubayr dimensions.²⁸ The inclusion of the area north-west of the Ka'ba in its new building was the result of the unearthing of some old rocks in this area which were identified by Ibn al-Zubayr and his contemporaries as the ancient foundations of the Ka'ba, dating back to the times of Abraham. They were accordingly named *qawā'id Ibrāhīm*, i.e., the foundations of Abraham. Wishing to restore the Ka'ba to its assumed original dimensions, Ibn al-Zubayr decided to include this area in the new building.

It seems that in Ibn al-Zubayr's days the area north-west of the Ka'ba was already known as "Ḥijr". The application of this term to that area was the result of some ritual functions which this area shared with the area originally called Ḥijr, which lay opposite the façade of the Ka'ba. As will be seen below, the latter area functioned as a place of prayer, the front wall of the Ka'ba being, in fact, Muḥammad's first *qibla* during the Meccan period. After the Hijra to Medina, however, when Muḥammad abandoned the temporary *qibla* of Jerusalem,²⁹ and

Ka'ba when the Umayyads attacked Ibn al-Zubayr, which means that the Ḥijr had been part of the Ka'ba before that event. But as a matter of fact, Lüling misreads the Arabic text of al-Azraqī which actually has "*al-ḥajar*", and not "*al-ḥijr*". This passage merely describes the stoning of the Ka'ba by the *manjaniq* which was set on Abū Qubays, while each stone shot at the Ka'ba was immediately followed by another one: *wa-la-qad ra'aytu l-ḥajara yamuru fa-yahwi l-ākharu 'alā atharihi* (not "*āthārihi*", as rendered by Lüling). Lüling (p. 157) similarly misreads "*al-ḥijr*" instead of the correct "*al-ḥajar*" in Azraqī, 151, where the passage evidently deals with the Black Stone (*al-ḥajar*) which was cracked (*infalaqa*), and blackened (*iswadda*), in the fire in Ibn al-Zubayr's days.

²⁸ E.g., 'Abd al-Razzaq, V, 104, 124-132; Azraqī, 114-115, 138-154, 218-221; Khargūshī, 175^a ff.; 'Adawī, 67^a ff.; Shāmi, I, 192-196; Nahrawālī, 80-85; *Qirā*, 508-513; Suhaylī, I, 221-222; 'Iṣāmī, I, 167 ff.; Ibn Kathīr, I, 165-166; Ḥalabī, I, 169 ff.; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, III, 354 ff.; *ET*², s.v. "Ka'ba". Cf. Lüling, 149 ff., an implausible assessment of these reports.

²⁹ According to some reports, Muḥammad started to pray towards Jerusalem right after the Hijra, in order to please the Jews of al-Madīna. See Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 4, 13; Rāzī, IV, 104. See also *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, I, 88, 90; Rāzī, IV, 110. According to other reports, however, Muḥammad had started praying towards Jerusalem already before the Hijra. According to Ḥalabī, I, 264, he had done so since the *isrā'*. According to others, Jerusalem became Muḥammad's *qibla* 18 months before the Hijra (*Faṭḥ al-bārī*, I, 90, from Ibn Māja). Still others maintained that Muḥammad prayed towards Jerusalem since his first revelation. See 'Adawī, 151^a (in *Hirā'*); *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, I, 88. The latter opinion seems to be secondary, its aim being to suppress the fact that Muḥammad, at a certain stage, abandoned his original *qibla* (the Ka'ba) in favour of Jerusalem. In fact, most of the traditions describing his prayer towards Jerusalem, while in

resumed the *qibla* of the Ka'ba,³⁰ he prayed, of course, towards the only wall facing Medina, namely, the north-western one. This wall became the new Muslim *qibla*, the exact direction of which was fixed according to the waterspout (*mi'zāb*) located in this wall.³¹ Some traditions actually recount the virtues of prayers held opposite the *mi'zāb*.³² In this manner, the entire area opposite the wall of the new *qibla* could eventually take on the title "Hijr", which had been originally applied to the area next to the wall of the first *qibla*, i.e., the façade of the Ka'ba.

2. The ritual functions of the Hijr

As seen above, the Ka'ba was originally an open air enclosure, including the section known as Hijr, which was situated opposite the façade of the Ka'ba itself. It seems that the main function of the entire enclosure containing the Ka'ba and the Hijr was to mark the boundaries of a sacred ground in which several idols were worshipped. Most of the statues of these idols seem to have been placed within the section of the Hijr. This observation is derived from numerous reports locating several Meccan idols opposite the façade of the Ka'ba, or in the vicinity of the Black Stone, and more frequently, near the well of Zamzam. The statue of Hubal is reported to have been situated opposite the façade of the Ka'ba, next to its door.³³ The statue of the idol Manāf was, reportedly, situated opposite the Black Stone,³⁴ and the statues of Isāf and Nā'ila were located near Zamzam.³⁵ It is reported that the area surrounding Isāf

Mecca, maintain that he used to stand opposite the south eastern wall of the Ka'ba, so that the Ka'ba was between him and Jerusalem. See e.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 319, 372; Bayhaqī, I, 439; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 183; Ḥalabī, I, 264, 332, 414; Ibn Sa'd, I, 243.

³⁰ Muḥammad's return to the *qibla* of the Ka'ba was criticised by *ahl al-kitāb* as a setback toward the *dīn* of his fellow tribesmen. See Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 148; Rāzī, IV, 91. See also 'Askari, I, 332.

³¹ Fākhi, 329a: ...*fa-kāna (s) yuṣalli ilā l-mi'zāb wa-huwa bt-l-madīna*... See also Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 119-120.

³² Khargūshī, 168a; Fāsī, I, 218. On the *qibla* of the *mi'zāb* see further Azraqī, 249; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 14; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 147.

³³ Wāqidi, II, 832: *wa-huwa wujāha l-ka'ba 'alā bābihā*. This report contradicts the usual accounts locating Hubal inside the Ka'ba.

³⁴ Yāqūt, IV, 185; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 39.

³⁵ E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 84-85; Ibn al-Kalbī, 29; Azraqī, 75; Fāsī, II, 53. Other reports maintain that Isāf and Nā'ila were situated opposite the Black Rukn and the southern Rukn. See Ya'qūbi, I, 254; Muqātil, II, 210b; Kister, "Labbayka", 57.

and Nā'ila was considered pure, so that menstruating women were not allowed to enter it.³⁶

It seems that in the Ka'ba itself there were no statues at all. This may seem strange at first sight, but one must take into consideration the fact that the Ka'ba was actually considered as "the sacred House of Allāh". Allāh was worshipped by the Meccans as the High God, and for him there was no statue. The lesser deities were apparently worshipped outside the Ka'ba, in the area of the Hījr, where their statues were situated.

The actual worship of the idols in the Hījr consisted of sacrificial slaughter which was performed near the well of Zamzam. It is reported that this well was situated in the place where Quraysh used to slaughter their sacrificial animals.³⁷ Zamzam is also said to have been situated "*bayna l-farth wa-l-dam*",³⁸ i.e., between the intestines and the blood (of sacrificial animals).³⁹ In one report it is stated that Zamzam was located near the idols (*aṣnām*) of Quraysh, which had intestines (*farth*) upon their heads.⁴⁰ The actual slaughter was performed near special stones called *anṣāb* (sing. *nuṣub*). This is indicated in further reports stating that Zamzam was located near the "red sacrificial stones" (*al-anṣāb al-ḥumr*).⁴¹ The red colour of the stones implies that the blood of the sacrificial animals was shed or smeared upon them.⁴² Further reports indicate that the sacrificial meat was sliced and also laid upon the stones,⁴³ but some of it was cooked and eaten by the worshippers in a communion feast.⁴⁴ It seems that those Meccans who first practiced sacrificial slaughter in the Hījr belonged to the tribe of Khuzā'a. This is indicated in some additional reports stating that Zamzam was situated near the

³⁶ Azraqī 75. This prohibition is already mentioned in an early verse dealing with Isāf. See Ibn al-Kalbī, 29; Azraqī, 75. The same verse is also recorded in relation to Manāf. See Wellhausen, 56-57; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 122.

³⁷ E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 154, 84.

³⁸ Ibn Hishām, I, 154.

³⁹ For the ritual significance of this phrase see also Dozy, 181-182; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 108, n. 2.

⁴⁰ Fākihi, 338^b (Sa'īd b. Jubayr).

⁴¹ Fākihi, 338^b; 'Adawī, 93^a; 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 314; Azraqī, 282; Bayhaqī, I, 73; Khargūshī, 194^a.

⁴² On the implication of blood and the red colour see e.g., I. Lichtenstädter, "A note on the *gharāniq*", *IOS (Israel Oriental Studies)*, V, 1975, 59, n. 20.

⁴³ E.g., Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, VI, 48 (Ibn Jurayj).

⁴⁴ See Bayhaqī, I, 385.

nuṣub of Khuzā'a,⁴⁵ or near the *mawḍi'* of Khuzā'a,⁴⁶ or near their *majlis*.⁴⁷ In fact, it is reported that there were in Mecca 360 *anṣāb*, 300 of which were in the territory of Khuzā'a.⁴⁸

The statues of Isāf and Nā'ila which were situated in the Ḥijr functioned as *anṣāb*. It is reported that shortly before the conquest of Mecca, Abū Sufyān shaved his head near these idols and slaughtered animals for them, and smeared their heads with the blood. He vowed to worship them forever.⁴⁹ The staining of Isāf and Nā'ila with the blood means that it was regarded as consecrated to them, but from other reports one may conclude that the blood was consecrated not only to the idols, but to the Lord of the Ka'ba as well, i.e., to Allāh. Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150H/767) reports that when the pre-Islamic Arabs slaughtered their sacrificial animals near Zamzam, they used to sprinkle the blood towards the Ka'ba, saying: "O, Lord, accept it from us!"⁵⁰ Other reports as well imply that the sacrificial blood was smeared upon the idols, as well as upon the walls of the Ka'ba.⁵¹ Human sacrifice may have also been performed in that area. At least it is reported that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib once intended to slaughter 'Abdallāh, his son, between Isāf and Nā'ila, or near Isāf.⁵²

The term "Ḥijr" itself⁵³ has a profound ritual significance which is connected with sacrificial slaughter. This term means "inviolable", "sacrosanct", and the basic function of the area to which this term was applied is elucidated in a Muslim tradition relating that Abraham built the Ḥijr next to the Ka'ba, as *arīsh* made of *arāk* trees, into which goats could burst. It served as a pen (*zarb*) for Ishmael's sheep.⁵⁴ This legend seems to reflect an authentic reality, namely, that the Ḥijr, or the area between the ancient *jidār* and the Ka'ba, served as a pen, or fold for

⁴⁵ Fakihi, 338^a; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 415.

⁴⁶ Fakihi, 338^a.

⁴⁷ Ibn Sa'd, I, 84.

⁴⁸ Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, VI, 48.

⁴⁹ Wāqidi, II, 795; Wellhausen, 77.

⁵⁰ Muqātil, *Khams mi'a*, 95-96. See also *idem.*, II, 25^b.

⁵¹ Rāzī, XXIII, 37. And see further, Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, 363.

⁵² E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 162; Bayhaqī, I, 82; Kalā'ī, I, 224; Ḥalabī, I, 36; Nahrawālī, 48. see also Wellhausen, 115-116.

⁵³ On this term see Hawting, "Origins," 33ff.

⁵⁴ Azraqī, 31; Kalā'ī, I, 114; Shāmī, I, 181; 'Adawī, 15^b; Fāsī, I, 211; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VI, 289. Cf. also Luling, 372 n. 47.

sheep. The same is suggested by the term "*jidār*" which already in ancient Hebrew denotes quite often a fold for sheep.⁵⁵ The term "Hijr" appears in a similar context in the Quran. Sūra VI/138 deals with cattle and cultivated fields which the pre-Islamic Arabs used to consecrate to their idols by labelling them as "Hijr", i.e., sacrosanct. In view of this, one may conclude that "Hijr" signifies a fold for sacred animals which were regarded as belonging to the idols. Such a fold was situated opposite the façade of the Ka'ba, where the animals consecrated to this sanctuary were kept. Various kinds of consecrated animals are mentioned in Quran V/103 which refers to the *Bahīra*, the *Sā'iba* and the *Hāmī*.⁵⁶ These animals were eventually slaughtered, and it is reported that the *Bahīra* was slaughtered next to the Ka'ba, near Isāf and Nā'ila.⁵⁷ These sacrificial ceremonies could be seen from the mountain of Abū Qubays. It is related that a leader of the tribe of Jurhum ascended this mountain and watched the camels being slaughtered and eaten in the valley.⁵⁸ It seems that he was actually watching the sacrificial rites in the Hijr.

The Hijr functioned also as a public square where various ritual, legal and other matters were discussed and announced. In pre-Islamic times, whenever a leap year was to be observed, one of those in charge of the calendar (the *qalāmisa*) would stand at the door of the Ka'ba, and another – in the Hijr, and proclaim the intercalation of the year to come.⁵⁹ When Muḥammad adopted Zayd b. Hāritha he announced it in the Hijr.⁶⁰ Various political matters, for instance the measures which Quraysh should have taken against the prophet, were discussed in the Hijr.⁶¹

3. The sacredness of the Hijr in Islam

In Islamic times, the Hijr continued to function as a place of worship which henceforth was devoted exclusively to the Lord of the Ka'ba, i.e., to Allāh. For Muḥammad, this area served mainly as a place of prayer.

⁵⁵ See *Numbers*, XXXII/16, 24, 36; *I Samuel*, XXIV/3; *Zephaniah*, II/6. On the *jidār* cf. also Dozy, 80 ff.

⁵⁶ For these terms see Wellhausen, 112 ff.

⁵⁷ Fāsi, II, 54.

⁵⁸ Azraqī, 56; 'Iṣāmī, I, 181; 'Adawī, 29^a.

⁵⁹ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 156-157.

⁶⁰ Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, I, 469.

⁶¹ E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 309-310; Wāqidi, I, 120, 125; Ibn Sa'd, IV, 199-201.

Some traditions indicate that the prophet used to pray in the Hījr during the early Meccan period.⁶² According to some more specific traditions he used to pray opposite the Black Stone, which served as his first *qibla*.⁶³ Other reports, however, imply that in the early Meccan period, Muḥammad prayed opposite Maqām Ibrāhīm.⁶⁴ In any case, it is clear that the façade of the Ka'ba was his first *qibla*.⁶⁵ Later on, when Mecca was conquered, Muḥammad again prayed near the Maqām, and even declared that this was to become the official Muslim *qibla*.⁶⁶ In later days, the Hījr continued to function as a place for public prayers. Some traditions indicate that in the first decades after Muḥammad's death the Jumu'a service was held in the Hījr, and this was also the place of the *minbar*.⁶⁷ Already Muḥammad himself, reportedly, delivered the ceremonial *khutba* "between the House and Zamzam",⁶⁸ and some further traditions indicate that the *minbar* was set close to the Rukn (= the Black Stone).⁶⁹

A special sacredness is attributed in Muslim tradition to that part of the Hījr which lies between the Rukn and the Maqām. The prophet told 'Ā'isha that this area was the best of all places, the purest, and the closest to Allāh. It was a garden (*rawḍa*) of Paradise, and whoever prayed in

⁶² Bukhārī, I, 58; Khargūshī, 107^b; Ḥalabī, I, 332; Fāsi, I, 220.

⁶³ Ḥalabī, I, 264 (from *Imtā' al-asmā'*); ...*wa-kānat ṣalātuḥu (s) nahwa l-Ka'ba wa-istaqbalā l-hajara l-aswada*... For Muḥammad's prayer towards the Black Stone see further Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 139.

⁶⁴ Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XXX, 164, 165; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 369; Muqātil, II, 26^b.

⁶⁵ Other traditions as well imply that since his first revelation Muḥammad used to pray towards the Ka'ba. See Bayhaqī, I, 401; Suyūṭī, *Khaṣā'is*, I, 233-234. And see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 4: *qāla Ibn Jurayj: ṣallā rasūlu llāhi (s) awwala mā ṣallā ilā l-Ka'ba*... Lüling (p. 136-140) maintains that the pre-Islamic Meccans (including Muḥammad) used to pray towards Jerusalem, till the prophet adopted the *qibla* of the Ka'ba, some months after the Hijra. This assumption must be rejected in view of the fact that Muḥammad himself prayed towards the Ka'ba since his first revelation. Quraysh as well, being in charge of the regular operation of the Ka'ba, were regarded as *sadana* of the *din*, and as *umanā'* of the *qibla* (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 182; Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm", 146).

⁶⁶ Fāsi, I, 219, 222; *Qirā*, 349; Ḥalabī, III, 87. See also Wāqidi, II, 832. It is related that already Abraham used the Maqām as a *qibla*, when he prayed towards the door of the Ka'ba. See Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 119; 'Adawī, 86^a; *Qirā*, 342. Adam as well is said to have prayed in the direction of the door of the Ka'ba. See Ḥalabī, I, 152. In some early verses of the *ḥanīf* Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl it is stated, likewise, that Abraham prayed towards the *qibla* of the Ka'ba. See Ibn Hishām, I, 245; Zubayr b. Bakkar, fol. 166^b.

⁶⁷ 'Abd al-Razzāq, III, 176, 178;

⁶⁸ Fākihi, 414^b.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 415^a

that place was pardoned by God.⁷⁰ Several traditions indicate that this area functioned as a place for oaths. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh declared that if he had to swear between the Rukn and the Maqām, he would have sworn that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maḥdī was the most trustworthy traditionist.⁷¹ According to some reports the Maḥdī himself was to receive his pledge of allegiance between the Maqām and the Rukn.⁷² Another eschatological event which would take place between the Rukn and the Maqām was the emergence of the mythical *dābbat al-arḍ*.⁷³ Invocations against evil-doers were, likewise, held between the Rukn and the Maqām.⁷⁴ The same vicinity was in fact the place where oaths connected with all kinds of criminal issues were taken.⁷⁵ Executions were carried out in the same area. On the conquest of Mecca, Muḥammad executed one of the Meccans ('Abdallāh b. Khaṭal) between Zamzam and the Maqām.⁷⁶ According to another report, he was executed between the Rukn and the Maqām.⁷⁷

The sacredness attached in Muslim tradition to the Ḥijr is focused on the idea that this area was the burial place of noble dead, especially Ishmael, who is connected in Muslim legend with the history of the Ka'ba. The tomb of this patriarch is located nowadays in the present Ḥijr, i.e., opposite the north-western wall of the Ka'ba,⁷⁸ but this location is secondary. Originally, Ishmael's tomb was located opposite the façade of the Ka'ba, i.e., within the original area called Ḥijr. 'Abd al-Razzāq has recorded a tradition on the authority of Ibn Jurayj which is traced back to Ka'b al-Aḥbār. The latter reportedly stated that Ishmael was buried in the area spreading between Zamzam, the (Black) Rukn, and

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 333b. See also Fāsi, I, 197; Kister, "Maqām", 482.

⁷¹ Ibn Hibbān, I, 52.

⁷² Kister, "Maqām", 482.

⁷³ 'Adawī, 65b.

⁷⁴ E.g., Kalā'ī, I, 124; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, II, 40.

⁷⁵ Azraqī, 271; Kister, "Maqām", 482.

⁷⁶ *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VIII, 13 (from *Kitāb Makka* of 'Umar b. Shabba).

⁷⁷ Wāqidi, II, 859. On Ibn Khaṭal see also Zubayr b. Bakkār, 200a.

⁷⁸ See *EI*², s.v. "Ka'ba". This location dates back to the days of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr who reportedly "discovered" in this area the tombs of Hagar and Ishmael. See Azraqī, 220, 142-143, 149; Shāmī, I, 194-195; for the graves of prophets in this area see further Azraqī, 39; *Qirā*, 654-655; Fāsi, I, 198, 218; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārīf*, 14; Ibn Sa'd, I, 52.

the Maqām.⁷⁹ Al-Masʿūdī reports that Ishmael was buried "opposite the place of the Black Stone".⁸⁰ According to a tradition of Ibn ʿAbbās as recorded by al-Fākihī, Ishmael's burial place was "in the Ḥijr, opposite the Black Rukn".⁸¹ According to al-Kalāʿī, Ishmael was buried "inside the Ḥijr, next to the door of the Kaʿba".⁸² According to al-Shāmī, Ishmael's tomb was located "in al-Ḥajūn (!), next to the door of the Kaʿba".⁸³ The reason why the Ḥijr was chosen by Muslim tradition to be Ishmael's burial place seems to have been connected with the fact that this area was very close to the well of Zamzam, which is regarded in Muslim tradition as the well of Ishmael. It is related that this well was revealed by Gabriel for Hagar and her son, when they were wandering in the wilderness of Mecca.⁸⁴ It means that Zamzam is regarded in Muslim tradition as an ancient well dating back to biblical times, so that most traditions about its actual digging, which was carried out by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad's grandfather, are based upon the assumption that he merely re-discovered this supposedly ancient well, after it had disappeared, for one reason or another.⁸⁵ It is believed, in fact, that Zamzam was mentioned in the Bible,⁸⁶ being evidently identified with the well of Lahai Roi, where Hagar had a vision about the forthcoming birth of Ishmael (*Gen. XVI/1 ff.*). It seems that this connection between Zamzam

⁷⁹ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 119-120: *dufina Ismāʿīl bayna Zamzam wa-l-Rukn wa-l-Maqām*.

⁸⁰ Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, II, 48: ...*ḥiyāla l-mawḍiʿi lladhī fīhi l-Ḥajar l-Aswad*. See also Fāsī, I, 218 (from al-Masʿūdī); Ḥalabī, I, 154, 170.

⁸¹ Fākihī, 357^a: ...*fa-gabru Ismāʿīl fī l-Ḥijr, muqābila l-Rukn l-Aswad*.

⁸² Kalāʿī, I, 119: ...*dākhila l-Ḥijr mimma yalī bāb al-Kaʿba*.

⁸³ Shāmī, I, 187.

⁸⁴ See e.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 116; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, I, 177, 178-179, 180; Bukhārī, IV, 173 ff.; Azraqī, 23, 280 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt*, 38-39; Ṭaḥṭabī, 72; Bayhaqī, I, 323; Shāmī, I, 175; Fāsī, I, 247 ff.; Hawting, "Zamzam", 44 ff. According to some verses attributed to Khuwaylid b. Asad (Khadija's father), Zamzam existed since the days of Adam. See e.g., Kalāʿī, I, 222; *Nahj*, III, 468-469; Mughultāy, 57^a.

⁸⁵ E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 152, 153. For the various reasons given for the disappearance of Zamzam, see Yāqūt, III, 149; *Nahj*, III, 469; Ḥalabī, I, 32; ʿAdawī, 91^b; Azraqī, 52; Khargūshī, 194^a; Zurqānī, I, 92. See also Hawting, "Zamzam", 45-46. It may be noted that in some earlier versions about the digging of Zamzam there is not yet any allusion to the relation between this well and Ishmael. See Fākihī, 338^a, the traditions of ʿIkrima, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and Saʿīd b. Jubayr.

⁸⁶ E.g., ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 115 ff.; Azraqī, 289-290, 292-293; Khargūshī, 196^a, 197^a; *Qirā*, 487; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 222.

and the biblical well of Ishmael eventually brought about the idea that Ishmael's tomb was situated close to Zamzam, i.e., in the Ḥijr.

The term "Ḥijr" is identical with the name of a place in northern Hijāz, which is mentioned also in Quran XV/80 as the abode of an ancient sinful people who rejected the prophets. This people is identified in Muslim *tafsīr* with the people of Thamūd who rejected Ṣāliḥ. Consequently, the Ḥijr of the Ka'ba was, too, associated with the Quranic prophets who had been rejected by Thamūd, as well as by ʿĀd and other *umam khālīya*. The Meccan Ḥijr was made the asylum and burial place of these prophets. A tradition of Muqātil says that between Zamzam and the Rukn there were buried 70 prophets, including Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and Ishmael.⁸⁷ Another tradition which is traced back to the prophet states that the graves of Nūḥ, Hūd, Shuʿayb, Ṣāliḥ, and Ishmael were located between Zamzam and the Maqām.⁸⁸ In a further tradition, the number of prophets buried between the Rukn, the Maqām, and Zamzam is said to have been 77 or 99.⁸⁹ Another tradition speaks of 70 prophets buried between the Rukn and the Ṣafā.⁹⁰ These large numbers were considered exaggerated by some Muslim scholars who seem to have been responsible for such traditions as the one recorded by al-Fākihī to the effect that in the "Sacred Mosque" there were only two tombs – those of Ishmael and Shuʿayb.⁹¹ Moreover, it was claimed that Hūd and Ṣāliḥ had been constantly preoccupied with their peoples till they died, so that they had never made the pilgrimage to Mecca.⁹²

Not only the Ḥijr as a whole, but also the well of Zamzam features in Muslim tradition as the home of the spirits of noble dead. This is suggested in a series of Muslim traditions comparing the well of Zamzam, as a blessed water source, and the well of Barahūt in Ḥaḍramawt, as a cursed one.⁹³ ʿAlī reportedly stated that the best well upon earth

⁸⁷ Azraqī, 39. See also Fāsī, I, 197.

⁸⁸ Khargūshī, 167^b. Cf. Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 136. The prophet also reportedly stated that around the Ka'ba there were buried 300 prophets, and between al-Rukn al-Yamānī and al-Rukn al-Aswad there were buried 70 prophets. See Khargūshī, 167^b; Ḥalabī, I, 154.

⁸⁹ Azraqī, 34, 363; Fāsī, I, 197, 218; *Qirā*, 53, 654; Damīrī, II, 355; Ḥalabī, I, 154. Cf. Goldziher, II, 280-281.

⁹⁰ Ibn Shahrāshūb, I, 188.

⁹¹ Fākihī, 357^a.

⁹² Azraqī, 38; Ḥalabī, I, 154.

⁹³ On Barahūt see G. Rentz, "Barhūt", *ET*². "Barahūt" appears also as the name of an idol. See *Nawādir al-makhtūṭāt*, I, 288.

was Zamzam, and Barahūt was the worst; it was well in Barahūt where the spirits (*arwāh*) of the unbelievers used to assemble.⁹⁴ A similar statement is recorded on the authority of Ibn Jurayj,⁹⁵ and another version is traced back to the prophet himself.⁹⁶ This comparison is probably designed to imply that unlike Barahūt which was inhabited by evil spirits, Zamzam was the home of the spirits of the righteous. In this context it must be noted that Barahūt is contrasted with other places as well, which are explicitly presented as the home of virtuous spirits. For instance, a tradition traced back to Ibn ʿAbbās says that the spirits of the believers are at al-Jābiya, in al-Shām, whereas the spirits of the unbelievers are at Barahūt, in Ḥaḍramawt.⁹⁷ As indicated by Goldziher,⁹⁸ dead heroes were regarded as a source of blessing for nearby springs and wells, so that one may suppose that the famous curative effects of Zamzam⁹⁹ were also ascribed to the spirits which resided in it, or in its vicinity.

Believed to be the home of blessed dead, the Ḥijr features in Muslim tradition as a place where divine inspiration could be obtained through incubation dreams.¹⁰⁰ Various persons are reported to have been guided by such dreams while sleeping in the Ḥijr. It is related that Kināna heard a voice while sleeping in Ḥijr, telling him about his future.¹⁰¹ Al-Naḍr b. Kināna dreamt in the same place that a cosmic luminous tree was emerging from his loins which symbolized his noble descendants, and especially Muḥammad.¹⁰² ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib dreamt in the Ḥijr that a cosmic chain grew out of his body and turned into a green tree.¹⁰³ He also dreamt there that he was dressed in a beautiful

⁹⁴ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 116; Azraqī, 290; Khargūshī, 196^a; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 222; *Qirā*, 488-489.

⁹⁵ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 116-117; Azraqī, 292; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 222; *Qirā*, 489.

⁹⁶ Mundhirī, III, 45-46.

⁹⁷ Yāqūt, I, 406. See also Muqāṭil, II, 224^b.

⁹⁸ Goldziher, II, 313.

⁹⁹ E.g., ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 115 ff.; Fakihi, 340^a ff.; ʿAdawī, 99^b ff.; Khargūshī, 196^a ff.; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 221 ff.; Azraqī, 289 ff.; *Qirā*, 488; Fāsi, I, 252 ff.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Fahd, *Divination*, 363-364. And see, on the other hand, Fāsi, I, 219 (concerning the Ḥijr): *wa-yanbaghi tawaqqi l-nawmi fihi*. And see also Azraqī, 306, a tradition favouring this practice.

¹⁰¹ Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, I, 35: *wa-raʿā Kināna wa-huwa nāʿimun* (printed: "qā'im") *fi l-Ḥijr, qā'ilan yaqūl*: ...

¹⁰² Khargūshī, 12^a-12^b.

¹⁰³ Khargūshī, 17^b-18^a; Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt*, 104; Zurqānī, I, 90-91; Suyūṭī, *Khaṣāʾis*, I, 98-99.

robe which meant that it was time for him to marry.¹⁰⁴ In the same place, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was also inspired by a series of dreams to dig Zamzam.¹⁰⁵ Āmina, Muḥammad's mother, dreamt in the Ḥijr that she was about to give birth to "Aḥmad", the lord of mankind.¹⁰⁶ The prophet himself received the vision of the *isrā'* while sleeping in the Ḥijr,¹⁰⁷ or, according to another version – in the Ḥaṭīm.¹⁰⁸

4. The Ḥaṭīm

The area of the Ḥijr is often referred to in Muslim sources as "al-Ḥaṭīm".¹⁰⁹ This term, like "Ḥijr", is applied nowadays to the semi-circular enclosure opposite the north-western wall of the Ka'ba, but it seems to have been originally applied to the area opposite the front wall of the Ka'ba. This is attested in some early traditions relating that the Ḥaṭīm was situated between the Black Rukn, the door of the Ka'ba, Maqām Ibrāhīm, and Zamzam.¹¹⁰ The Black Rukn itself was known as "Rukn al-Ḥaṭīm".¹¹¹

The term "Ḥaṭīm", like "Ḥijr", occurs in Muslim sources as the residence of sacrosanct animals. One of the descendants of Khālid b. al-Walīd, for instance, expressed his yearning for the gazelles which were inhabiting the area between al-Ḥaṭīm, al-Ḥathma and al-Ḥajūn.¹¹²

The term "Ḥaṭīm" seems to have been applied to the area of the Ḥijr as a reflection of some ritual ceremonials performed in it. The root

¹⁰⁴ Khargūshī, 13^b. See also 'Isāmī, I, 226; Zurqānī, I, 81-82 (from al-Khargūshī); Mas'ūdī, *Ithbāt*, 101.

¹⁰⁵ E.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 116, 150, 151; Fahd, *Divination*, 262-263. See also Hawting, "Zamzam", 44-45.

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 422.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Hishām, II, 38; Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, I, 256. See also Fahd, *Divination*, 258.

¹⁰⁸ Bukhārī, V, 66. See also Lammens, 147.

¹⁰⁹ It is reported that when Quraysh erected the stone building of the Ka'ba, the area of the Ḥijr was left outside the new building, and henceforth it was allegedly known as "Ḥaṭīm", i.e., wrecked, unrestored. See *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. "ḥ.t.m"; Fāsi, I, 197; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VI, 268-269; *Qirā*, 314. On the Ḥaṭīm see further, Hawting, "Origins", 34ff.

¹¹⁰ E.g., Yāqūt, II, 273; Azraqī, 267; *Qirā*, 314; Fāsi, I, 197; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VI, 268; Khargūshī, 189^a; 'Adawī, 122^b-123^a.

¹¹¹ See *Aghānī*, XIV, 78 l. 15. The expression "*rukṇ al-ḥaṭīm*" refers, no doubt, to the Black Stone, contrary to Lammens 148-149.

¹¹² Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, V, 202, lines 19-20.

"ḥ.t.m." means a crush, or crowding,¹¹³ and it was explained that the term "Ḥaṭīm" stood for a place where the people used to crowd for the purpose of oaths or supplications.¹¹⁴ Ibn Jurayj explains that each imprecation uttered in the Ḥaṭīm against an evil-doer was instantly responded to, and the evil-doer only seldom escaped an immediate punishment. Whoever took a false oath in that place could not avoid an instant penalty. This held people back from sins, and they were afraid of taking false oaths in the Ḥaṭīm. This state of affairs lasted until the emergence of Islam.¹¹⁵ The Ḥaṭīm was, in fact, the place where the pre-Islamic Arabs used to practice the *qasāma*.¹¹⁶ In Islamic times as well people continued to take oaths in the Ḥaṭīm. Ibn Muḥjam, for example, vowed in the Ḥaṭīm to execute 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.¹¹⁷

The term "Ḥaṭīm" was explained by Muslim philologists in some further different ways which shed light on some more ritual functions of the area to which this term was applied. It is reported that the pilgrims used to cast their sacred clothes between Isāf and Nā'ila, at the end of the *ṭawāf* around the Ka'ba. These clothes became *laqan*, i.e., were put under taboo, and no one was allowed to touch or to use them, and they remained there till they fell apart.¹¹⁸ Muslim philologists explained, accordingly, that this place was named "Ḥaṭīm" because the clothes remained there till they crumbled (*ḥuṭima*).¹¹⁹

Another explanation also takes the term "Ḥaṭīm" in the sense of a place where the broken remains of various objects of cultic significance accumulated. Ibn 'Abbās said that the Ḥaṭīm was thus called because the people of the Jāhiliyya used to take oaths there, while casting their whips or their shoes or their bows (as a token of sincerity).¹²⁰

¹¹³ See for example, the phrase "*ḥaṭmat al-nās*", i.e., the crush of the people (during the ceremonies of the *ḥajj*), Bukhārī, II, 203; Wāqidi, III, 1106. And cf. also Azraqī, 58.

¹¹⁴ *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. "ḥ.t.m."; ...*aw bayna l-rukn l-aswad ilā l-bāb ilā l-maqām, ḥaythu yataḥaṭṭamu l-nāsu li-l-duʿā, ay yazdahimūna, fa-yaḥṭimu baʿduhum baʿdan*. See also Azraqī, 267; *Qirā*, 314; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VI, 268; 'Adawī, 123^a. Dozy's attempt (p. 182) to explain the term "Ḥaṭīm" according to the Hebrew "*ḥaṭṭā'im*" is not convincing.

¹¹⁵ Azraqī, 267; *Qirā*, 314; 'Adawī, 123^a.

¹¹⁶ 'Adawī, 122^b-123^a.

¹¹⁷ Wellhausen, 74 n. 1; Lammens, 148, n. 4.

¹¹⁸ Azraqī, 121. For the practice of *laqan* see further *ibid.*, 118ff.; Ibn Hishām, I, 215ff.

¹¹⁹ *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, VIII, 251; *Qirā*, 314; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VI, 268.

¹²⁰ Bukhārī, V, 56. See also Wellhausen, 74, n. 1. Cf. further *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VII, 120-121.

In a further explanation, the term "Ḥaṭīm" is again connected with the casting of objects, this time, in relation to the worship of Isāf and Na'ila, which were situated near Zamzam. Al-Azraqī¹²¹ reports that the people used to cast between the statues of these idols the votive gifts which were donated to the Ka'ba, and this place was named "al-Ḥaṭīm". This report, which confirms that the area called "Ḥaṭīm" was situated opposite the façade of the Ka'ba, implies that the ground of this area functioned as a treasury for the votive gifts which were donated either to the idols of the Ḥijr, or to the Ka'ba itself. The nature of the votive gifts which were laid in the Ḥaṭīm is illuminated by the reports concerning the digging of the well of Zamzam by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.¹²² He reportedly dug this well in the days of the Sāsānī ruler, Kisrā Qubādh (488-531).¹²³ 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is said to have excavated, during the digging, some significant objects. In one report, reference is made to some stones with ancient inscriptions,¹²⁴ but according to most versions, he actually discovered a treasure.¹²⁵ 'Ikrima (d. 105H/723) relates that the treasure contained a golden image of a gazelle (*ghazāl*) decorated with a pair of earrings, as well as jewellery of gold and silver, and some swords wrapped up in garments. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's fellow tribesmen demanded a share in the treasure, and therefore he cast a lot by arrows, according to which the jewellery had to be donated to the Ka'ba, the swords had to be granted to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and the gazelle - to Quraysh.¹²⁶ According to Sa'īd b. Jubayr (d. 95H/713), the treasure contained some swords and a golden gazelle. The swords were attached to the door of the Ka'ba, and the ga-

¹²¹ Azraqī, 75.

¹²² On Zamzam see e.g., Wellhausen, 76; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 210ff. According to Wellhausen, 76, n. 2, Zamzam was "die einzige Quelle von Mekka und also wahrscheinlich der Ursprung sowohl des Heiligtums als der Stadt." This observation which has been shared by other scholars as well (e.g., Snouck Hurgronje, as quoted by Wensinck in *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, s.v., "Ka'ba"). See also Von Grunebaum, 21; Fahd, *Panthéon*, 40) seems to be inaccurate. Muslim sources contain detailed accounts of wells which existed outside and inside Mecca prior to the digging of Zamzam. See e.g., Fākihi, 486^bff.; Azraqī, 68-70, 436ff.; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 61; Hamdānī, II, 33-34; Kalā'ī, I, 223; Ḥalabī, I, 35. It is interesting to note that a well called Zamzam existed in al-Madīna as well. See Samhūdī, II, 254; Nahrawālī, 34-35.

¹²³ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 127. Some Qurashī rivals of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, especially from Nawfal, objected to the digging. See Balādhuri, *Ansab*, I, 78; Ḥalabī, I, 35.

¹²⁴ Fākihi, 339^a.

¹²⁵ Cf. Dozy, 91-92; Hawting, "Zamzam", 45ff.

¹²⁶ Fākihi, 338^a-338^b. Cf. also Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 415-416.

zelle was hung inside.¹²⁷ According to Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab (d. 94H/713), 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib excavated a golden gazelle, a sword and jewellery which were all consecrated to the Ka'ba.¹²⁸ According to al-Zuhri (d. 124H/742), the treasure contained some swords which were donated to the Ka'ba.¹²⁹ These objects seem to have been part of the votive gifts which used to be cast in the Ḥaṭīm. The fact that they contained an image of a gazelle accords with the fact that the same area was also considered as the residence of sacred animals. One may even suppose that some of the sacred stones in this vicinity were shaped in the form of cattle or sheep.¹³⁰

The origin of the objects which were excavated by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is said to have been Persian. In a unique report quoted by Mughulṭāy from *Kitāb al-buldān* by Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204H/819), it is related that the Persian king Bābāk b. Sāsān set out for al-Yaman, and (as he passed through Mecca) he buried (*dafana*) some swords and jewellery "in the place of the well of Zamzam" (*fī mawḍi'i bi'r Zamzam*). These objects were excavated later on by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.¹³¹ This tradition which alludes to a certain involvement of the Persians in the Meccan cult in pre-Islamic times,¹³² indicates clearly that the objects which were discovered by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib were, indeed, votive gifts which had been buried in the Ḥaṭīm, or more accurately, in the "place of Zamzam" i.e., at the site where this well was to be dug later on.¹³³ The custom of burying

¹²⁷ Fākihi, 338^b-339^a.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 338^b. See also *Nahj*, III, 469.

¹²⁹ 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 315-316; Azraqī, 282-283; Bayhaqī, I, 72; Khargūshī, 194^a-194^b; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, III, 219ff.; Ya'qūbī, I, 246; 'Adawī, 93^b.

¹³⁰ A Muslim legend relates that five rams (*akbush*) testified to Dhū l-Qarnayni, who came to Mecca, that Abraham and Ishmael built the Ka'ba according to a divine decree (e.g., Ibn Kathir, I, 165; 'Adawī, 14^b). Commenting on this tradition, al-Fākihi suggests that these rams were actually stone statues. See *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VI, 271 (from al-Fākihi): ...*wa-azunnu l-akbusha l-madhkurata ḥijāratan*... See also Ḥalabī, I, 159.

¹³¹ Mughulṭāy, 57^a.

¹³² In fact, there is evidence that the Meccans had close relations with Persia which included also cooperation in ritual matters. In the commentaries on Quran VI/121 which condemns the relations of the polytheists with "their devils" one finds, for instance, the following statement: *inna mushriki Quraysh kātabū Fārisa 'alā l-Rūm wa-kātabathum Fārisu* (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, VIII, 13). In the same context it is stated that the Persians and the Meccans were allies in pre-Islamic times (*ibid.*, 12: *wa-kānat awliyā'ahum fī l-jāhiliyya*).

¹³³ Hawting ("Zamzam", 46) holds that the objects discovered by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib were of fundamental importance for the Ka'ba, and not merely votive offerings brought by pilgrims. But in view of the tradition just quoted it is clear that whatever their importance to the Ka'ba may have been, these objects were originally votive gifts.

votive gifts was connected in many zones of the ancient world with the veneration of the dead.¹³⁴ The existence of a similar practice in the vicinity of the Ḥaṭīm indicates, therefore, that here too some noble dead were worshipped. This observation seems to be supported by the Muslim traditions mentioned above about various prophets being buried in exactly the same area. These traditions apparently reflect a pre-Islamic idea concerning the functions of this area as the dwelling of noble dead, in honour of whom, votive gifts were laid upon, or buried in, the ground.

Once dug by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Zamzam itself began to function as a treasury for votive gifts, i.e., a kind of *ghabghab*.¹³⁵ This seems to be the reason for the existence of a further version about the Sāsānī presents. This version says that Sāsān b. Bābak brought to Mecca two golden gazelles, jewellery, swords, and a lot of gold which he cast into Zamzam.¹³⁶ This version is based upon the assumption that votive gifts of pilgrims were not only buried in the ground of the Ḥaṭīm, but also cast into Zamzam. In reality, this could have been done only since the digging of the well by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

The Ḥaṭīm and Zamzam were not the only places where votive gifts were collected. Inside the Ka'ba there was a pit which had a similar function. It served as a treasury (*khizāna*) in which votive gifts donated to the Ka'ba were placed.¹³⁷ In a way, this pit was parallel to the Ḥaṭīm outside the Ka'ba, and this is illustrated most clearly by the fact that this indoor pit is sometimes called "Ḥaṭīm".¹³⁸ In some further versions about the votive gifts which were allegedly brought by the Persians to Mecca it is related that these objects, including a golden gazelle, were donated to the Ka'ba,¹³⁹ which probably means that they were deposited in the indoor *khizāna*.¹⁴⁰ Various precious objects which were donated to

¹³⁴ Robertson Smith, 114; K.C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, 1959, 17ff.; Y.M. Grinz, *Studies in early biblical ethnology and history*, Jerusalem 1969, 209ff. (in Hebrew).

¹³⁵ Cf. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 40.

¹³⁶ Mas'ūdi, *Muriij*, I, 242.

¹³⁷ Azraqī, 73, 169-170; ʿAdawī, 76ff. See also ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 99; Wellhausen, 75. For the history of the treasure of the Ka'ba see Azraqī, 170ff. Hawting's doubts as to the real existence of this pit ("Zamzam", 53) seem unjustified.

¹³⁸ *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VII, 120: *al-Ḥaṭīm huwa bi'ru l-Ka'ba llatī kāna yulqā fihā mā yuhdā li-l-bayt*.

¹³⁹ Ḥalabī, I, 32; Suhaylī, I, 166; ʿAdawī, 92^a. See also ʿAskari, I, 66.

¹⁴⁰ It is related further that these objects were later on taken out from the Ka'ba by the last leader of Jurhum and hidden in the place of Zamzam, where they remained till ʿAbd

the Ka'ba were hung upon its door or its walls, and details about these objects have been recorded by al-Azraqī.¹⁴¹ The most notable among these objects was a pair of ram's horns which were believed to have belonged to the ram that Abraham had slaughtered as a ransom for Ishmael. They existed till the days of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.¹⁴²

5. The position of the Ka'ba in relation to other places of worship in Mecca

The Ka'ba was not always the primary place of worship in Mecca. In fact, some elements which are usually regarded as an integral part of this sanctuary, did not belong to it by origin. The Black Stone (= the Black Rukn¹⁴³), for instance, which, according to Wellhausen,¹⁴⁴ was the first kernel of the Ka'ba, was originally located and worshipped in an entirely different place. The original location and ritual functions of this famous stone are indicated in a most instructive report recorded by al-Fākihī¹⁴⁵:

... 'Atā' b. Abī Rabāh from Ibn 'Abbās. He said: 'Quraysh discovered in the first period of their Jāhiliyya two stones on the summit of Abū Qubays. They were brighter and more beautiful than any other stones Quraysh had ever seen before. One of them was yellow and the other was white. They said: "by God, these stones do not belong to the stones of our country, nor to the stones of any other country we know. They must have descended from the sky." Later on, the yellow one was lost. Quraysh used to name it "al-Saḥr". They kept the white one till they built the Ka'ba, and then placed it in it. This is the Black Rukn'.

al-Muṭṭalib excavated them. See Azraqī, 52-53; *Aghānī*, XIII, 109. Other traditions maintain that the leader of Jurhum buried the objects, including the Black Rukn, inside Zamzam (e.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 120, 154; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, I, 38; Shāmī, I, 217; Mughultāy, 58^b; Ḥalabī, I, 32; Kalā'ī, I, 126; Hawting, "Zamzam", 46). These versions are based on the view that in the time of Jurhum, Zamzam, being the well of Ishmael, was already existent. The stories about the hiding of these objects outside the Ka'ba seem to be based on a Jewish model, as indicated by Hawting ("Zamzam", 47ff.). 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib himself, reportedly, placed the gazelle in the Ka'ba again, and it was later on stolen and demolished by Abū Lahab and others. See e.g., Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, II, 37, 39; Ibn Hishām, I, 205; Ibn Sa'd, I, 145; Ḥassān b. Thābit, I, 135, 370, 213, II, 115ff.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 54-67; 'Askarī, I, 64-66; Ḥalabī, I, 34-35.

¹⁴¹ Azraqī, 156ff.

¹⁴² Azraqī, 156; *EI*² s.v. "Ka'ba". See further 'Isāmī, I, 165. Others maintained that the horns belonged to the ram which was sacrificed by Abel. See Ḥalabī, I, 168.

¹⁴³ Cf. Hawting, "Origins", 38ff.

¹⁴⁴ Wellhausen, 74.

¹⁴⁵ Fākihī, 276^a.

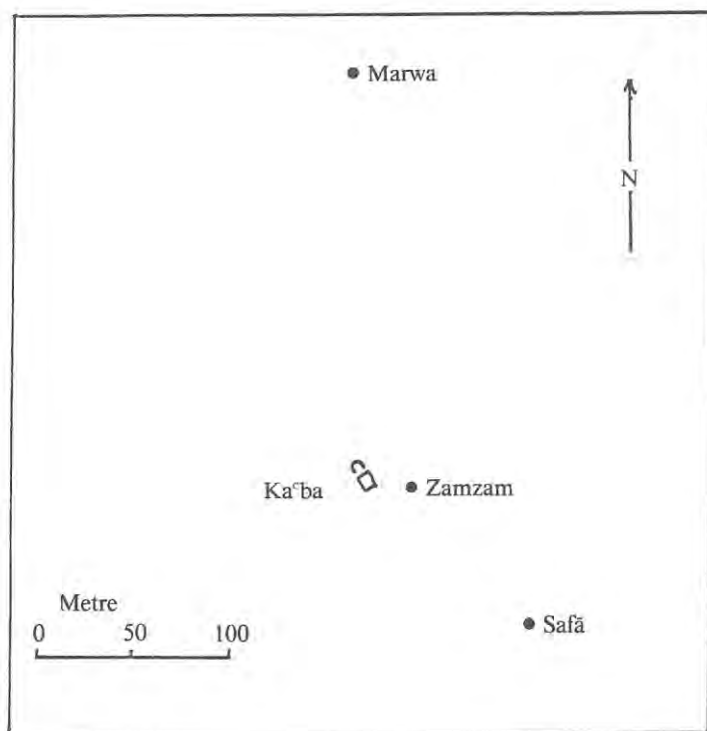


fig. 2. The Safa and the Marwa

This passage indicates clearly that the Black Stone was originally located on the mountain of Abū Qubays, where it became an object of veneration thanks to its unusual brightness, which was explained by its alleged celestial origin. Ibn Sa'd¹⁴⁶ as well, relates that the Black Stone was origi-

¹⁴⁶ Ibn Sa'd, I, 35. And see also Lammens, 102-103. Muslim traditions contain detailed descriptions of the actual installation of the Black Stone into its place in the Ka'ba. The main role in this act is played by young Muḥammad. See e.g., Ibn Hishām, I, 209ff.; Ḥalabī, I, 145; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VII, 111; Bayhaqī, I, 333ff. According to Ma'mar b. Rāshid, the stone was in the Ka'ba already before its building by Quraysh, being situated upon one of its unroofed walls. See 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 102. One tradition relates that it was already al-Ya's b. Muḍar who placed the Rukn in the corner of the Ka'ba. See Ḥalabī, I, 158 (but see *ibid.*, 17, where the same tradition refers to Maqām Ibrāhīm); Abū l-Baqā', 56. Later legendary traditions say that the Black Stone was removed from Abū Qubays already in the days of Abraham and Ishmael. See 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 96, 112; Azraqī, 32, 477-78; Suhaylī, I, 223-224; 'Adawī, 14^b; Muqātil, *Khams mi'a*, 81; *Qirā*, 294; Nahrawālī, 30, Kalā'ī, I, 114-115; Khargūshī, 172^b; Ḥalabī, I, 158; *ET*¹, "Ka'ba".

nally located on Abū Qubays; the people used to ascend the mountain in order to stroke that stone, till it blackened. Quraysh removed it from Abū Qubays four years before Muḥammad's first revelation.¹⁴⁷

The real reason why the "Black Stone" lost its original brightness seems to have been preserved in the explanation of Mujāhid (d. 104H/722) as recorded by al-Fākihī. Mujāhid says that the stone became black because the *Mushrikūn* used to stain it with blood.¹⁴⁸ Others explained that the people of the Jāhiliyya used to stain it with intestines (*farth*) when they slaughtered.¹⁴⁹ It follows that the ritual functions of this stone were quite similar to those of the rest of the *anṣāb*.

An ancient inscription was also found upon the Black Stone; it was considered by Quraysh to be a Syrian one, and was deciphered for them by a Jew.¹⁵⁰

The mountain of Abū Qubays, where the Black Stone was originally situated and worshipped, was in itself a most sacred place. Here the pre-Islamic Arabs used to pray for rain. A tradition recorded by al-Fākihī says that people from the ancient tribe of ʿĀd prayed for rain on this mountain.¹⁵¹ The people of Quraysh headed by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, reportedly climbed the same mountain and prayed for rain upon its summit. They were answered immediately.¹⁵² The elevated position of Abū Qubays was fully preserved in some Muslim legendary traditions. In one of them, it is related that this mountain was the first to be set by Allāh upon earth.¹⁵³ Some traditions stress the superiority of Abū Qubays over

¹⁴⁷ And see also ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 40; *kāna al-Rukn yūdaʿu ʿalā Abī Qubays fa-tudiʿu l-qaryatu min nūrihi kullahā*. Later Muslim traditions reflect the view that the Black Stone actually descended from heaven, but these traditions were refuted by Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyya who stressed that the stone had been of an earthly origin. See ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 38-39; Ibn Qutayba, *Tāwil*, 287ff.

¹⁴⁸ Fākihī, 277a: *qala Mujāhid: innamā swadda mā ṣahara minhu li-anna l-mushrikūn (sic) kānu yaltakhūnahu bi-l-dami fi-l jāhiliyya*.

¹⁴⁹ Fākihī, 276b: *...wa-kāna ahlu l-jāhiliyya idhā naharū laṭakhūhu bi-l-farth*. Others explained that this stone became black because of fire in the days of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr. See Fākihī, 282b; ʿAbd al-Razzāq, V, 38; Azraqī, 153.

¹⁵⁰ Ibn Hishām, I, 208; Azraqī, 43; Kalāʿi, I, 270; Ḥalabi, I, 142.

¹⁵¹ Nahrawālī, 442 (from al-Fākihī).

¹⁵² Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, I, 82-83; Bayhaqī, I, 300ff.; Ibn Saʿd, I, 89-90; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munam-maq*, 166ff.; Ibn Abi l-Dunyā, 7ff.; Suyūṭi, *Khaṣāʾis*, I, 198-200; Suhayli, II, 28-29.

¹⁵³ *Mustadrak*, II, 512; Suyūṭi, *Durr*, VI, 306; ʿAdawī, 5a, 142b; Nahrawālī, 443; Azraqī, 478; Ḥalabi, I, 146.

other mountains. It is related, for example, that Abū Qubays and Jabal al-Bukā', which is another mountain in Mecca, had a race with each other, and Abū Qubays was the first to reach the vicinity of the Ka'ba. Jabal al-Bukā', which remained outside that area, has been weeping ever since.¹⁵⁴

Abū Qubays is also believed to be the sepulchre of some noble dead. Muslim tradition refers to Adam, Eve and Sheth as being buried in a cave there.¹⁵⁵ It follows that not only the area of the Ka'ba, but also other places in Mecca, such as Abū Qubays, were regarded as the dwelling of noble dead, and functioned as places of worship since pre-Islamic times.

It seems that places such as Abū Qubays diverted many worshippers from the Ka'ba, so that, at a certain stage, Quraysh undertook to establish the position of the Ka'ba as the leading place of worship in Mecca. For this purpose, they decided, first of all, to turn the Ka'ba into a permanent stone building. For the construction of the building, they reportedly used stones taken from various mountains, including Abū Qubays.¹⁵⁶ But apart from the actual building of the sanctuary, Quraysh apparently decided to affiliate into its cult all objects of veneration which had been worshipped at other places in Mecca, for instance, on Abū Qubays. This seems to have been the reason for the removal of the Black Stone from this mountain to the new building of the Ka'ba. It may be supposed that the stone was placed in its present location, i.e., on the outside surface of the eastern corner of the Ka'ba.¹⁵⁷ It is perhaps noteworthy that this particular corner is directed towards Abū Qubays, the original place of the stone.

Another object of veneration which was transferred to the Ka'ba when it was built by Quraysh, was the sacred stone known in Islam as

¹⁵⁴ Khargushi, 174^b.

¹⁵⁵ Nahrawālī, 442-443; 'Adawī, 20^a, 142^b-143^a; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, I, 109, 110; 'Iṣāmī, I, 74; Mas'ūdī, *Ithbāt*, 17.

¹⁵⁶ Ḥalabī, I, 153; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VI, 290. For the origin of the stones which Quraysh used for the building of the Ka'ba see further Azraqī, 154-155. Some legendary traditions related that the Ka'ba was built of stones taken from mountains in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Sinai and Arabia. See Ḥalabī, I, 153, 159; Azraqī, 7, 30; *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, VI, 289-290; Suhaylī, I, 223; 'Adawī, 14^a; *EI*², "Ka'ba"; Von Grunebaum, 19.

¹⁵⁷ In later days the Black Stone was removed more than once from its place in the Ka'ba, and was even taken out of Mecca. For details see 'Adawī, 128^{bff}.

"Maqām Ibrāhīm."¹⁵⁸ The original location of this stone is indicated in a legendary Muslim tradition which is recorded on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110H/728). It relates that the Rukn (= the Black Stone) and the Maqām were two sapphires which descended from heaven and were placed by Allāh upon the Ṣafā. Later on, Allāh took away their brightness, and set them in their present place.¹⁵⁹ This tradition is unique in indicating that the stone of Maqām Ibrāhīm was originally situated upon the Ṣafā, and, in this respect, it seems to be authentic.

"Al-Ṣafā" is the name of a well known sacred hill. In fact, it is the foothill of Mount Abū Qubays, and it is usually mentioned in the sources alongside another sacred hill – the Marwa. The latter is the foothill of Mount Qu^ʿayqī^ʿān.¹⁶⁰ It follows that Maqām Ibrāhīm was originally located very close to the Black Stone, and, like the latter, it probably served as an object of veneration, due to its unusual brightness which was considered divine. The above tradition of Wahb indicates that Maqām Ibrāhīm remained upon the Ṣafā till it was transferred to the Ka^ʿba, together with the Black Stone.

Upon being transferred to the Ka^ʿba, the Maqām was placed close to its front wall. Nawfal b. Mu^ʿāwiya declared that in the days of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib he saw the Maqām adjacent (*mulṣaq*) to the Ka^ʿba, shining like a diamond (*mahāt*).¹⁶¹ In Muḥammad's days, the Maqām is reported to have been situated close to the Ka^ʿba, at a distance allowing only one she-goat to pass.¹⁶² On the conquest of Mecca the Maqām is again reported to have been adjacent to the Ka^ʿba.¹⁶³ Only in the days of ʿUmar was the Maqām put in its present place, some metres away from the door of the Ka^ʿba.¹⁶⁴ In later days, however, the Maqām was placed

¹⁵⁸ On Maqām Ibrāhīm see e.g., Wellhausen 76; Kister "Maqām"; Hawting, "Origins", 30ff.

¹⁵⁹ Fakihi, 277^a.

¹⁶⁰ On the location of the Ṣafā at the foot of Abū Qubays see Muqātil, II, 21^b; *idem.*, *Khams mi'a*, 82; Fasi (Wüstenfeld), 84; ʿAdawī, 142^a; Azraqī, 477; Ḥalabī, I, 142; G. Rentz, "Abu Qubays", *EI*². On the Marwa being at the foot of Qu^ʿayqī^ʿān see Fasi (Wüstenfeld), 95. On the Ṣafā and the Marwa in general, see Wellhausen, 76ff.; Fahd, *Panthéon* 105; D.B. Joel, "al-Ṣafā", *EI*¹; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, "Sa^ʿy", *EI*¹.

¹⁶¹ Fakihi, 329^a. Cf. ʿAdawī, 86^a.

¹⁶² Fakihi, 331^a; ...*kāna bayna l-maqām wa-bayna l-kaʿba mamarru l-ʿanza*.

¹⁶³ Waqidi, II, 832.

¹⁶⁴ See Bayhaqī, I, 335; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 120 (from al-Bayhaqī). See also *Fath al-bārī*, VIII, 129; Wellhausen, 76. The reasons for the removal of the Maqām from the Ka^ʿba by

inside the Ka'ba for short periods of time. When al-Khargūshī (d. 406H/1015) visited Mecca, he saw the Maqām inside the Ka'ba, and was even able to see the footprints of Abraham upon it. According to his report, the custodians of the Ka'ba used to place the Maqām inside the Ka'ba during each *mawsim*, in order to protect it.¹⁶⁵ Like the Black Stone, Maqām Ibrāhīm also carried an ancient inscription.¹⁶⁶

The whole area lying between the hills of the Ṣafā and the Marwa seems to have been abundant with stones of special qualities, which could be turned into objects of veneration. This is reflected in the names which were given to these hills. "Ṣafā" means broad smooth stones,¹⁶⁷ and "Marwa" means a bright glittering stone which may produce fire.¹⁶⁸ In fact, this area seems to have formed a cultic zone of its own, with many objects of veneration.

In some early poetic verses ascribed to Abū Ṭālib, reference is made to images (*ṣūra*) and statues (*tamāthil*) situated in the vicinity of the Ṣafā and the Marwa.¹⁶⁹ In another verse, ascribed to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, he refers to his camels which were grazing between the Ṣafā and the Marwa, and the "black ritual stones" ("*al-marwatayni wa-l-mashā'iri l-*

'Umar are not clear. According to Ibn Jurayj, 'Umar wished to secure the Maqām from the damage of the crowds (during the *ṭawāf*). See Fākihī, 331^a. According to Mujāhid, 'Umar wanted to protect the Maqām from the torrents. See 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 47-48.

Whatever the reason, the removal of the Maqām from the Ka'ba had to be legitimized, and appropriate traditions were introduced in due course, claiming that 'Umar merely restored the Maqām to its original place after it had been washed away by a torrent. This was the place of the Maqām since Abraham's days. See *Qirā*, 345-346; 344-345; Azraqī, 275, 276; 'Adawī, 86^b-87^a. One tradition relates that it was already Muḥammad himself who placed the Maqām in its present place, following the advice of 'Umar. See Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 119 (Ibn Abi Dawūd); *Fath al-bārī*, VIII, 129 (Ibn Mardawayhi); cf. Ḥalabī, I, 161. Some scholars, however, objected to the removal of the Maqām from the Ka'ba, claiming that its original place was rather close to the Ka'ba. See Fākihī, 331^a, 331^b; 'Abd al-Razzāq, V, 48; Azraqī, 277; *Qirā*, 345. Some traditions relate, accordingly, that the Maqām was attached to the Ka'ba by no other than Abraham himself. See *Fath al-bārī*, VIII, 129 ('Abd al-Razzāq), VI, 289; Maṣ'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 49; Shāmi, I, 182; Kalā'ī, I, 115; Ḥalabī, I, 161; Ibn Kathīr, I, 164. A harmonizing tradition holds that the Maqām was adjacent to the Ka'ba since the days of Muḥammad, then was transferred by 'Umar to its present place, then it was swept away by a flood towards the Ka'ba, and then 'Umar put it again in its previous place. See *Fath al-bārī*, VIII, 129 (Ibn Abi Ḥatīm). For further data on this matter see M.J. Kister, "Maqām Ibrāhīm", *EI*².

¹⁶⁵ Khargūshī, 190^a.

¹⁶⁶ See Dozy, 155ff., 195ff.; Kister, "Maqām", 486ff.

¹⁶⁷ *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. "ṣ.f.w."

¹⁶⁸ *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. "m.r.w."

¹⁶⁹ Ibn Hishām, I, 292.

sūd”).¹⁷⁰ A report recorded by al-Fākihī relates that when Muḥammad conquered Mecca, there were in it 36 (!) idols; one was upon the Ṣafā, one upon the Marwa, and the rest covered the area between them.¹⁷¹ Some reports mention the names of two idols which were upon the Ṣafā and the Marwa in pre-Islamic times – Isāf and Nā’ila. The one who set them there is said to have been ‘Amr b. Luḥayy from Khuzā’a.¹⁷² This means that Isāf and Nā’ila, like the Black Stone and Maqām Ibrāhīm, had been worshipped in the area of the Ṣafā and the Marwa, before Quraysh transferred them to the vicinity of the Ka’ba, i.e., to the Hījr.

The removal of Isāf and Nā’ila from the Ṣafā and the Marwa is ascribed to Quṣayy, the one who established Quraysh as the leading power in Mecca.¹⁷³ It is reported that he placed one of these idols next to the Ka’ba, and the other – in the place where the well of Zamzam was to be dug later on. Others say that he set both of them in the place of Zamzam, where they remained till the conquest of Mecca.¹⁷⁴

The worship of the idols at the Ṣafā and the Marwa consisted in the *ṭawāf* (circumambulation) which was performed between these two hills. In so doing, the worshippers reportedly used to stroke the statues of these idols.¹⁷⁵ Other reports say that the Arabs used to recite a certain ritual utterance from which it may be concluded that they actually used to strike at the stones of the Ṣafā and the Marwa.¹⁷⁶ The *ṭawāf* itself was performed by running,¹⁷⁷ but only during one of its stages, upon crossing

¹⁷⁰ Muqātil, II, 251b. See also Mughultāy, 26^a (from Muqātil).

¹⁷¹ Fākihī, 380^a.

¹⁷² E.g., Azraqī, 74-75; 49-50. And see also, Fākihī, 380^a; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 311; Yāqūt, I, 170; Wāḥidī, 25. And see further, Wellhausen, 77-78; Fahd, *Pantheon*, 103ff.; Lüling, 172-173. According to some reports, Isāf and Nā’ila were made of copper (*Fath al-bārī*, III, 400). Some reports say that the idols upon the Ṣafā and the Marwa were named Mujāwid al-Rih and Muṭ‘im al-Ṭayr. See Fākihī, 380^a; Ya‘qūbī, I, 254; Azraqī, 78; ‘Adawī, 42^b. Cf. Wellhausen, 78; Fahd, *Pantheon*, 106ff. In a peculiar tradition recorded by Muslim (IV, 68), “Isaf and Na’ila” are mentioned as a pair of idols at the seashore.

¹⁷³ See Kister “Khuzā’a”, 77ff.

¹⁷⁴ Azraqī, 74-75. See also, *ibid.*, 49-50; ‘Adawī, 41^b. And cf. Ḥalabī, I, 12, where the transfer of these idols to the place of Zamzam is attributed to ‘Amr b. Luḥayy. A divergent report relates that Isāf and Nā’ila were originally near the Ka’ba, and only later on were transferred by Quraysh to the Ṣafā and the Marwa. See Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, 344-345.

¹⁷⁵ *Fath al-bārī*, III, 400 (Nasā’i).

¹⁷⁶ Fākihī, 380^a. the verse was: *al-yawma qarri ‘aynan/bi-qar’i l-marwataynā* (!).

¹⁷⁷ Fākihī, 380^a: ...*fa-kāna ahlu l-jāhiliyya yas‘awna baynahumā*. See also *Fath al-bārī*, III, 400; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 160; Wellhausen, 76.

the valley between the Ṣafā and the Marwa. Al-Bukhārī has recorded a tradition to the effect that the people of the Jāhiliyya used to say: "we only cross the valley running."¹⁷⁸ The reason for the running in the valley seems to have been the fear of floods which were quite frequent and dangerous in that area.

The *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa seems to have formed the major threat against the position of the Ka'ba as a dominant place of worship in Mecca. Therefore, those Meccan circles who considered themselves devoted to the Ka'ba, objected to this practice. These circles included the tribe of Quraysh, as well as the entire organization of the Ḥums, in which Quraysh formed the dominant part. The main object of this organization was to maintain the elevated position of the sacred territory of Mecca, in general, as well as the position of the Ka'ba inside this territory, in particular. The devotion of the Ḥums to the Ka'ba is indicated clearly in the explanation that the term "Ḥums" was derived from "al-Ḥamsā", being one of the names of the Ka'ba, referring to the grey colour of its stones.¹⁷⁹ The objection of the Ḥums to the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa is demonstrated in the following report of Muqātil b. Sulaymān:

The Ḥums – they were Quraysh, Kināna, Khuzā'a and 'Āmir b. Ṣa'sa'a – said: 'the Ṣafā and the Marwa do not belong in the sacred sites (*sha'ā'ir*) of Allāh'. In the Jāhiliyya there was on the Ṣafā an idol named Nā'ila (!), and on the Marwa there was an idol named Isāf (!). They (i.e., the Ḥums) said: 'it is improper for us to make the *ṭawāf* between them', and therefore they did not make the *ṭawāf* between them...¹⁸⁰

The report that the Ḥums did not make the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa, which contradicts the information recorded by Ibn Ḥabīb,¹⁸¹ is mentioned by al-Marzūqī as well.¹⁸² It indicates that the Ḥums wished to confine the Meccan rituals to the area of the Ka'ba, which, according to the view of the Ḥums, was to become the only appropriate place for

¹⁷⁸ Bukhārī, V, 55-56: *lā nujizu l-baḥā'a illā shaddan*. See also *Qirā*, 369.

¹⁷⁹ Fāsī, II, 41, 43; *Qirā*, 381; *Faḥ al-bārī*, III, 412. And see Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm", 139: "That the idea of the Ḥums was in fact connected with the cult of the Ka'ba is plainly attested by the fact that the Ka'ba was called al-Ḥamsā'."

¹⁸⁰ Muqātil, I, 25^b. See also *idem.*, *Khams mi'a*, 90.

¹⁸¹ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 180.

¹⁸² Marzūqī, II, 237: *wa-kānat al-Ḥums tada'u 'Arafāt tahāwunan bihā wa-ikhhlālan, wa-tada'u l-Ṣafā wa-l-Marwa*.

the performance of the *ṭawāf*.¹⁸³ In fact, since the transfer of Isāf and Nā'ila from the Ṣafā and the Marwa, their worship was affiliated into the cult of the Ka'ba, and the *ṭawāf* around them became part of the *ṭawāf* around this sanctuary. It is reported that when the Arabs made the *ṭawāf* around the Ka'ba, they started near Isāf, whom they used to touch, and concluded it near Nā'ila, whom they, likewise, stroked.¹⁸⁴

The attempts of the Ḥums to turn the Ka'ba into the primary place of worship in Mecca were not entirely successful. The Meccan rites were attended not only by the Ḥums, but also by tribes belonging to the organization of the Ḥilla, for some of whom there was no point in avoiding the ceremonies at the Ṣafā and the Marwa. It seems that certain idols continued to be worshipped by the latter at the Ṣafā and the Marwa, even after the removal of Isāf and Nā'ila from this area. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256H/870) reports that those people of the Ḥilla who kept on coming to the Ṣafā and the Marwa belonged to Khindif.¹⁸⁵

With the advent of Islam, the last hopes for maintaining the leading position of the Ka'ba were lost. Muḥammad, although one of the Ḥums, attended the rites of the Ṣafā and the Marwa during each pilgrimage to Mecca.¹⁸⁶ His first 'Umra from al-Madīna was *'umrat al-qadiyya* (7H/629), and during this 'Umra Muḥammad not only made the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa, but also slaughtered sacrificial animals near the Marwa, declaring that this was the place of slaughter, together with the rest of the Meccan ground.¹⁸⁷ In fact, some reports state that the Muslims performed the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa during this 'Umra, while the pre-Islamic idols were still situated upon these hills.¹⁸⁸ The *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa was eventually provi-

¹⁸³ The Aws and the Khazraj from al-Madīna, too, refrained from performing the *ṭawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa because they adhered to the worship of Manāt in Qudayd. See Muslim, IV, 68ff.; Bukhārī, II, 193-194; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, II, 29; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 159; Azraqī, 78-79; *Qirā*, 361; Abū Dāwūd, I, 438-439; *Fath al-bārī*, III, 398ff.; *Mustadrak*, II, 270. Cf. also Wellhausen 28.

¹⁸⁴ Azraqī, 75, 121; 'Adawī, 41^b.

¹⁸⁵ Fāsī, II, 42 (from al-Zubayr b. Bakkār).

¹⁸⁶ E.g., Wāqidi, III, 959 ('Umrat al-Jirāna), 1098-1099 (Ḥajjat al-Wadā'); Ibn Sa'd, II, 173 (Ḥajjat al-wadā').

¹⁸⁷ Wāqidi, II, 736: *hādha l-manḥaru wa-kullu fījāj Makka manḥar*. See also Ibn Sa'd, II, 122; *Qirā*, 620; Wellhausen, 77.

¹⁸⁸ Ṭabarī, II, 45: *fa-kāna l-nāsu yas'awna wa-l-aṣnāmu 'alā ḥālīhā*. The pre-Islamic idols, including Isāf and Nā'ila, were demolished only after the conquest of Mecca (8H/630). See Azraqī, 75, 77; Wāqidi, II, 841-842; Suyūṭī, *Durr*, IV, 199.

ded with a proper Quranic rehabilitation.¹⁸⁹

The practice of running during some parts of the *tawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa was adopted intact by Islam, and the pre-Islamic saying about this practice (see above) was eventually circulated as a *ḥadīth* of the prophet.¹⁹⁰ In order to legitimize this practice, Islam connected it with Abraham, who, allegedly, had run in that area in order to escape the devil, or, with Hagar, who, allegedly, had run to and fro while looking for water.¹⁹¹ In adopting the *tawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa, Muḥammad's chief aim seems to have been to turn Islam into a religion which would be acceptable to all the Arabs, and not just to Quraysh and the Ḥums. With this object in mind, the prophet took some measures which were designed to break the old ritual restrictions of the Ḥums, and, consequently, he rehabilitated the *tawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa. The result of this was that the rites near the Ka'ba were reduced to merely one stage in the whole process of the pilgrimage, and the Ka'ba thus lost much of its exclusive status.

In fact, Muḥammad took another measure which had a considerable effect on the position of Mecca as a whole. The Ḥums, wishing to stress the elevated position of the *ḥaram* of Mecca, never went out of it for ritual purposes, and avoided the ceremonies of 'Arafa which lay outside the Meccan *ḥaram*. The prophet, however, attended these rites,¹⁹² thus making them an integral part of the Islamic pilgrimage. In this manner, Islam actually rendered void the ritual priority of the Meccan sacred territory.

¹⁸⁹ See Quran, II/158. Some Muslim scholars maintained, however, that the *tawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa was not obligatory. See *Qirā*, 363-364. The majority of the scholars, however, defined this practice as *rukṇ*, whereas others labeled it merely as *wājib*, or *sunna*, or *mustahabb*. See *Fath al-bārī*, III, 398; *Qirā*, 362; Tirmidhi, IV, 95.

¹⁹⁰ E.g., *Qirā*, 369 (Nasā'i). But running during the *tawāf* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa was not always regarded as obligatory, and some maintained that the prophet used to run only to demonstrate his strength to the polytheists. See Bukhārī, II, 195; Tirmidhi, IV, 96ff.

¹⁹¹ *ET*¹ s.v. "Sa'y"; Von Grunebaum, 30-31. It is related that Moses, too, performed the *sa'ī* between the Ṣafā and the Marwa. See Fākihī, 377b; Azraqī, 34-35, 37, 38. Cf. 349.

¹⁹² E.g., Wāqidi, III, 1102. See also, *ibid.*, 1077-1078 (Abū Bakr); Azraqī, 128. It is reported that Muḥammad started to take part in the rites of 'Arafa already during the first year of his prophethood (Azraqī, 130), or, even earlier (Wāqidi, III, 1102).

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